'Reality Tours' to Chiapas, Mexico: The Role of Justice Tourism in Development

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the role of justice tourism as a form of tourism and as a form of activism. It contains the results of research carried out in Chiapas, Mexico on a Reality Tour organised by San Francisco-based human rights organisation, Global Exchange. The research investigated the views and experiences of the three main parties involved in the tour, Global Exchange, the tour participants and the host NGOs.

In acknowledging that the aims of the parties involved go beyond that of tourism development, it uses the concepts of empowerment, the role of NGOs and social movements to assess the tour's usefulness in the context of both alternative and post development. In doing so it suggests that although the practice of the Reality Tours is set within alternative development and that the tours are able to support alternative development initiatives, it also presents a way Northern NGOs can support post development processes that are occurring in Third World countries.

The research was designed to firstly assess the impact of the tour as a form of tourism. Through comparison to the tourism literature it concluded that it is a form of alternative tourism with a high level of measures taken to ensure social responsibility in its operation. Unlike the majority of forms of tourism it is not intended to contribute to the development of an industry. Secondly the research was designed to assess the tours usefulness as a method of education and tool for activism. With regards to activism the research highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the Reality Tours as a method of stimulating action. It concludes that the experiences gained during the tour are particularly useful in supporting certain forms of action that are both diverse and closely aligned with the participants existing interests.

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List of Abbreviations

CIDESI	*Centro Indígena de Capacitación Integral* Indigenous Centre for Integral Training
CIEPAC	*Centro de Investigaciones Económicas y Políticas de Acción Comunitaria,* Center for Economic and Political Research for Community Action
EZLN	*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* Zapatista National Liberation Army
Fray Bart	*Centro de Derechos Humanos Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas* Fray Bartolomé Human Rights Centre
GX	Global Exchange
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PRI	*Partido Revolucionario Institucional* Institutional Revolutionary Party
UNDR	United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The idea of a human rights organisation which organises a 'holiday' to the scene of human rights violations is a strange one, but this is what is happening in the Reality Tours run by Global Exchange. Global Exchange is a San Francisco based human rights organisation that has been running Reality Tours since 1988 and these tours are a key part of the education work of this organisation. The Reality Tours are also the focus of this thesis.

To introduce the thesis, Chapter 1 begins by outlining its purpose and key research questions. The second, and major part of the chapter, then covers the background to the location of the case study in this research, Chiapas.

Purpose of this Thesis

This thesis is designed to investigate the concept of justice tourism, using the Reality Tours as a basis.

Justice tourism is an area in need of study for two main reasons. Firstly, there has been little scope given to the possibility that the tourism process can deal with social justice issues due to the nature of tourism and the motivations of tourists:

> The egalitarian cause receives little assistance from the diffuse and transient travelling public, which is unlikely to prioritise basic human rights (Richter, 2001 p. 49)

The Reality Tours and justice tourism would appear to deal directly with such issues and so would be in contrast to the majority of tourism practice. Secondly:

> ... past impact studies have usually concentrated solely on the effect that tourists have *within the destinations*. Future macro-based studies may attempt to correlate the effects of an individual within the tourist region but also in light of the effect that person would also have had on their home environment (Fennell, 2003 p. 81)

This study acknowledges that the intention of these tours is to create action by the tour participants on their return home. It is therefore crucial that both the intentions and destination-based impacts are compared to those impacts that occur in the tourists' home country. Therefore this thesis intends to investigate the concept of Reality Tours paying consideration to both of these elements: the way the tours deal with social justice issues and importantly, the nature of the impacts outside of the tourism experience.

Research Questions

The idea of an NGO running a tourism operation dealing with relatively heavy issues immediately raises a number of questions, because it is an operation that brings together three parties who may or may not have very differing motivations: the NGO running the tour, the tour participants and the host NGOs. These motivations play a large role in whether Global Exchange will be successful in what they set out to do. For example, organisations such as Earthwatch (http://www.earthwatch.org) and Oxfam (http://www.oxfam.org) run trips that are designed to contribute financially to their work in other sectors of the organisation. Are Reality Tours seen as a fundraising venture for other Global Exchange activities? Another significant question is, if the tours aim to stimulate action from the tour participants, what are the motivations of this group? Are they motivated by the same reasons as Global Exchange, or are they inspired by conventional tourism motivations, and if these contradict, does this matter? Lastly what are the motivations of the communities and NGOs visited as part of a Reality Tour? Does tourism present a financial opportunity that may guide their interaction with Global Exchange tour groups or do they see the tour groups as something more than tourists? Whose needs are taking priority?

In order to answer these questions, this study asks a number of key questions to the three central parties involved in the Reality. In recognising the key role the tour leaders may play in the tours, information will also be gained from them to answer these questions.

What are the aims of the tours from the perspectives of:

a. the hosts/local NGOs
b. Global Exchange
c. tour participants

Are they different? Does it matter?

↓

What are the benefits/effects of the tours? From the perspective of:

a. the hosts/local NGOs
b. Global Exchange
c. tour participants

Do the effects meet the needs of all parties, or does one parties' aims take precedence over the others?

As a starting point for this study the next section intends to give some background to the location of the research and Global Exchange's previous involvement in Chiapas. Considerable detail is provided in order to not only give background to the location of the tourism operation

but also to give details for the social justice issues covered as part of the tour. As the tour's intention is to create changes beyond the tourism experience, detailed information is needed to assess both the immediate tourism impacts and the possible wider structural impacts that the tours are trying to achieve.

Chiapas: An Introduction

The Current Situation in Chiapas

The state of Chiapas lies in the South-East corner of Mexico. It covers an area of 70,887 km^2 and its population in 2003 was estimated at just under 4.25 million (Mexico Tourism Board Website, 2006). A third of the population are of full or predominantly Mayan descent, a quarter from seven main ethnic groups; Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Ch'ol, Mame, Tojolabal, Zoque, and Kanjobal (Harvey, 1998 p. 71). The capital of Chiapas is Tuxtla Gutiérrez, an hour and half drive from San Cristobal de las Casas where the Reality Tour to Chiapas was based. San Cristobal de las Casas itself has a population of 112,442, one that has rapidly grown in the past twenty years (Brinkhoff, 2004).

The social and economic situation in Chiapas is reflected in national statistics. The Gross National Income per capita of Mexico in 2005 according to the World Bank was US $6,770 (BBC, 2006) which says little about the real situation of many Mexicans, due to the highly unequal income distribution that exists. This inequality is also one that has increased over the past 20 years, the richest 10% of the population that held 32.8% of the wealth in 1984 now receive 40% of the country's income (Pickard, 2004). These economic indicators are underlined in Mexico's case by it having the second highest infant mortality rate in the OECD (OECD, 2005) and having an estimated 40% of the population living below the poverty line in 2003 (CIA, 2006). Chiapas has often been regarded as the poorest state in Mexico despite having abundant natural resources, something that is reflected in it having the highest rate of malnutrition in Mexico, believed to effect 55% of the population (CIEPAC, 1998). Statistics for Chiapas would appear to support this view with 75.9% of the population living in poverty, 70.1% of those, being in extreme poverty (Pickard, 2004).

Figure 1.1 Map of Chiapas

History of Chiapas

So how did Chiapas get to this point? A quick look at the history of Chiapas throws light on Chiapas' current economic and social situation as well as giving insight into the reasons for the Zapatista uprising, the focus of the Reality Tour to Chiapas. Until the 19th Century, Chiapas was essentially a backwater, large landowners controlling the majority of the land using conscripted indigenous labour to produce cattle, sugar and grains for the Chiapas market (Rus, Mattiace, & Castillo, 2003). In the 1890s this began to change aided by the government who sold off large tracts of land to foreigners for use as plantations. In the 1890s Chiapas rapidly became the largest producer of coffee in Mexico as well as being in the top five producers of a number of other plantation-based commodities. Plantations needed labour, but local indigenous populations due to their subsistence-based lifestyle on communal lands, did not necessarily need the jobs. In order to supply labour for the plantations the government followed a dual strategy of taxing local populations and selling off indigenous lands, meaning that the Indian populations of Chiapas was less able to support themselves without a monetary wage (ibid.). The 1910 Revolution in Mexico led by Emiliano Zapata changed the course of events for many Mexicans and started a national programme of land reform, which came to Chiapas in the 1930s (ibid.). The land reform had some benefits for the indigenous population with three quarters of the land in Chiapas in the hands of the indigenous Agrarian population by 1975 (Earle & Simonelli, 2000). However in many cases, the land was distributed through state associations and so in applying for land, indigenous populations were tying themselves to the state structure. The state associations were also selective in how they distributed land and in some areas distributed uncleared 'national lands', rather than challenging the existing plantations (Harvey, 1998). As a result the land reform that occurred either transferred patronage of indigenous populations from local land owners to the state, or left many, who did not receive land, disenfranchised (Earle & Simonelli, 2000).

The distribution of land through state associations was a reflection of the 'state corporatist' system in Mexico that was set up after the election of the PRI in the 1930s. The state maintained strong links with citizens through a vertical patronage based system. The vast majority of Mexicans were members of state organisations, with different organisations for different sectors of society. For indigenous Mexicans this state organisation was the CNC (National Peasant Federation) founded in 1938, which maintained a strong grip on communities until the 1960s through the control of government funding, distribution of land and the use of force if necessary (Rus et al., 2003). The 1970s saw a rise in the price of oil. This allowed the Mexican government to borrow heavily against their oil reserves, but also meant the cost of production for indigenous farmers also increased. The Mexican Government failed to increase the guaranteed price of corn, letting commodity prices drop to world market levels at the same time as increasing imports. This meant that state funds from agriculture started to dry up and the control of the state through the corporatist system began to collapse. Government spending

however was really cut back in 1982 when, due to the fall in the price of oil and subsequent collapse of the peso, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had to bail out the Mexican government in exchange for structural adjustment packages (Earle & Simonelli, 2000 p. 104). These conditions meant that the little social spending that was occurring was redirected towards the urban sectors (ibid.), further undermining the position of the CNC in rural areas.

The agricultural downturn not only effected the government. For local people in Chiapas the drop in commodity prices, increased price of fuel and fertilisers and bad exchange rates meant that many landowners were reluctant to invest in land, and production was cut back dramatically. Through out the 1980s demand for labour in agriculture fell and didn't regain its position until the 1990s when most of the large landowners had abandoned their land due to the problems of the previous decade. They were replaced by small landowners and ejidatarios (communal owners) (Rus et al., 2003). During the same period, job shortages were compounded by a population explosion in the area and a vast number of Guatemalan refugees (approximately 200,000) who had crossed the border and were now competing for jobs with local people and who were willing to work for lower wages (ibid. p. 6). This meant that the agriculture that employed 80% of the Chiapas workforce in 1970, only employed 40% of the workforce by 1990.

The results of these economic and social changes, were a reduction in state control of peasant populations and alternative survival strategies being developed by the indigenous people of Chiapas. As well as branching out into new production activities such as flowers and artesianía (local crafts), increasing numbers of rural people were moving to the cities in search of work or were resettling in areas of the Lacandón jungle. By the 1990s the scope of these migrations had also extended to the US (Rus et al., 2003). The problems faced by many campesinos in Chiapas had led to the development of a new political consciousness, and this period is often referred to as a time of 'awakening' (ibid. p. 8). The break down of state support systems as well as their virtual absence in newly colonised areas such as the Lacandón jungle meant that alternative political systems were being devised. Helped by the liberation theology preached by the Catholic Diocese of San Cristobal, the indigenous catechists trained by the church became 'not only the religious leaders of their communities, but had also often become social and political leaders as well' (Rus et al., 2003 p. 10).

The problems experienced by campesinos in Chiapas came to a head with the repeal of Article 27 of the Mexican constitution. Article 27 had prevented the private sale of ejido (communal) land (Simpson & Rapone, 1994), a provision that was both culturally important to campesino people as well as safeguarding their existence in times of hardship. The repeal of this section of the constitution coincided with the announcement that the program of land reform, started with the

revolution, had ended. Measures brought in were intended to prepare the Chiapas economy for the introduction of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) in 1994 (Rus et al., 2003). The ending of these two provisions in the law not only meant that many peasants were left without the land they had been waiting decades for (Simpson & Rapone, 1994) but it also 'communicated politically: the demise of the indigenous way of life' (Earle (1994) in Earle & Simonelli, 2000).

The Zapatista Uprising

What really put Chiapas on the map in the eyes of the world was the uprising lead by the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army) on January 1st 1994. This uprising has had a great impact within Chiapas and has affected the lives of those in a vast number of communities outside of the direct rebellion (Rus et al., 2003). It is also a movement that the NGOs in this study have played a role in and so remains highly relevant in the context of this thesis.

The EZLN emerged from the Lacandón Jungle at the start of 1994 and took over 7 towns including San Cristobal de las Casas. The uprising coincided with the first day of the implementation of NAFTA, an agreement considered by the EZLN to be a 'death sentence for the Indian peoples of Mexico' (Harvey, 1995). The initial fighting only lasted 12 days with a cease-fire being signed on January 12th 1994. The EZLN in their initial declaration said they wanted 'jobs, land, housing, democracy, justice and peace' (cited in Harvey, 1995), further Zapatista communiqués showing their political struggle was based around the issues of land tenure, indigenous rights and democracy (Harvey, 1998). Importantly, they were not trying to take power, but wanted the option to take an alternative path (Benjamin, 1995).

The initial talks with the government that were started after the cease-fire came to some agreement. However, they were later rejected after a lengthy consultation process in the EZLN communities. The consultation also showed that the communities did not want to go back to hostilities and this stimulated a 'new dialogue with civil society' (Paulson, 2004). Throughout the next twelve years the EZLN have made a number of efforts to create such a dialogue, inviting members from national and international NGOs, solidarity groups and activists to Chiapas, to participate in talks. These talks often mirrored the talks the EZLN were having with the government. This international presence 'made it difficult, if not impossible, for the government to reduce the scope of the conflict to Chiapas' (Rus et al., 2003 p. 17)

Alongside negotiation with the government the Zapatistas have gradually developed an autonomous region outside of the state's direct control. By the end of 1994 the EZLN had started a non-violent military offensive wherein half of Chiapas declared itself to be a rebel territory. At the end of 1994 they also created a number of Aguascalientes, areas where the

Zapatista communities could meet with civil society. A number of these were destroyed in 1995 by government military offensives. However, new Aguascalientes in La Realidad, Oventic, Morelia and La Garruchato were inaugurated on New Years Eve 1995.

The end of 1995 saw the start of the most successful round of talks the EZLN have had with the government. The first round of the San Andrés talks on Indigenous Rights and Culture came to an agreement, with the final draft by the facilitating body, the Commission on Concordance and Pacification (COCOPA), being accepted by both sides. However a few weeks later the government backtracked and reassessed the agreement making 27 observations and changes to the document. The agreement was then rejected by the EZLN (Paulson, 2004).

Starting in late 1994 and culminating in the Acteal massacre in December 1997 paramilitary (local vigilante groups) activity in the region increased, aided by local PRI affiliated bosses, who armed the groups (Rus et al., 2003). There was also increased action taken against local NGOs', with offices being firebombed and death threats being sent. Government repression continued in 1998 with the invasion and dismantling of both the autonomous municipalities of Tierra y Libertad and San Juan de la Libertad (El Bosque) (Paulson, 2004). During this time the military were restrained by the existence of peace camps run by organisations such as Fray Bartolomé Human Rights Centre (Rus et al., 2003). Global Exchange provided volunteers for such peace camps. However during 1998 a large number of international human rights observers were expelled, with National Immigration Institute of Mexico (INM) bringing in new regulations that made it harder for human rights observers to visit the region (Paulson, 2004).

The year 2000 brought government elections to Mexico these were won by the opposition party for the first time in 71 years (Rus et al., 2003). The incoming President Vincento Fox Quesada of the PAN party claimed he could solve the Zapatista problem 'in fifteen minutes' and one of his first acts of government was to send the COPOCA agreement, the outcome of the San Andrés talks on Indigenous Rights and Culture, to Congress. The EZLN organised a tour to Mexico City, nicknamed the 'zapatour', in order to speak to Congress before the act was passed (Rus et al., 2003). The act was passed but without the measures regarding autonomy, as this was considered unconstitutional.

During the next couple of years the position of the EZLN on the political stage was fairly quiet, instead the communities were reorganising. In August 2003 the *juntas de buen gobierno* (Councils of good governance) were set up in autonomous municipalities and autonomous education and health systems were organised. They considered this their way of implementing the San Andrés accords on Indigenous Right and Culture unilaterally (EZLN, 2005b) without the support of the Mexican government. This also started a process of separating the military 'from

the autonomous-democratic aspects of organisation in the Zapatista communities' (ibid.). As a result the autonomous communities now come under five central *caracoles* (snail shells) (originally called *aguacalientes*); La Realidad, Morelia, La Garrucha, Roberto Barrios and Oventic, which control visitors to the communities as well as the donations of aid from outsiders. This was considered necessary as some communities were receiving more visitors and contributions than others.

2005 saw the EZLN issue a Red Alert, the third since the 1994 uprising, that requested all international visitors to leave the caracoles (EZLN, 2005a). This occurred on the 19th of June shortly before the start of the fieldwork in this thesis. The reason for the alert was to protect the Zapatista communities and leadership whilst they carried out an internal consulta (consultation process) to decide their future direction. Taking such measures was needed due to the government having attacked the Zapatista communities during a previous consulta in February 1995. The EZLN started to issue the series of texts that made up the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle on the 29th June. The Red Alert was lifted a couple of weeks later, the day after the Reality Tour to Chiapas ended. The EZLN had issued five previous declarations at various times since the 1994 uprising and they normally were an explanation of their recent evolution and their future goals. As such they often commented on their progress, or lack of, with the Mexican state and their desire to increase their interaction with civil society. The sixth declaration maintained their commitment to an offensive cease-fire but stressed their desire to reach out to like-minded people across Mexico and overseas.

Finally in January 2006, the Zapatistas launched the 'other campaign', a campaign designed by the Zapatista communities and backed by a number of NGOs, designed to 'to consolidate the non-electoral, anti-capitalist left' (Ross, 2006) . This involved a group of Zapatistas led by the charismatic 'leader' Subcomandante Marcos, renamed 'Delegante Zero', travelling round the 31 Mexican states, as part of an alternative political campaign in the run up to the 2006 Mexican elections. This is a tour that is still in progress as this thesis goes to print.

As acknowledged by the EZLN in the Sixth Declaration, the autonomy desired by the Zapatista communities is not a new struggle (EZLN, 2005b). As shown by Cal y Mayor (Burguete Cal y Mayor, 2003) there are a number of other autonomous movements in Chiapas outside of the Zapatistas and she has dated them back to the 1980s when the Tojolabals declared a de facto autonomous region. Since 1994 these autonomous regions have reproduced themselves on a large scale. Burguete Cal y Mayor defines two major autonomous blocs in Chiapas, the Zapatista autonomous regions (RAZ) and civil autonomy (RAP, pluriethnic regional autonomy), where communities have declared themselves autonomous as a means to put pressure on the government to create new municipalities. RAP has been the most prominent in the north of

Chiapas but has also formed the basis for the autonomy of many of the Zapatista communities. Burgete Cal y Mayor also points out that the EZLN did not initially declare themselves autonomous, but language about autonomy appeared, gradually culminating in 1997 with the establishment of de facto autonomous governments (ibid.).

Within Chiapas there are also two other factors which have created division throughout the communities. Firstly, Mexico and Chiapas are primarily Catholic. The presence of Protestant missionaries in recent years has had a large impact in Chiapas, as the conversion of a number of campesinos to Protestantism has meant that they have had to leave their communities. Many are now living on the outskirts of San Cristobal de las Casas (Jeffrey, 1997). Secondly, on a political level the situation is not as clear cut as being pro-Zapatista or pro-government. The current government is PAN, but there also exist supporters of the previous administration, PRI. Many of the communities balance a fine line between the government and the Zapatistas, often defining themselves as communities in non aligned resistance (Earle & Simonelli, 2000) rather than communities in rebellion (as Zapatista communities would do).

NGOs in Chiapas

Within Chiapas, the presence of NGOs has been influenced by two main factors: the presence of Guatemalan refugees and the 1994 uprising. Before 1994 there was solid NGO presence in response to a number of factors including the decline of the public sector and the increased internal divisions within communities. However the influx of Guatemalan refugees in the 1980s brought an increased number of NGOs, including UN agencies to the area, working specifically with this group (Earle & Simonelli, 2000). UN agencies tended to work with the refugees and not the Mexicans meaning that in many instances the living conditions of the Guatemalan refugees was better than that of the local population. A number of NGOs started to work with local Mexican populations, in response to their needs but also as a result of the Guatemalan's loss of refugee status in 1999 and the finishing of UN funding for this sector of the population in 2000. Working with Mexican populations, meant that their work had become more political and as a result a number of NGOs started to work in the field of human rights (Earle & Simonelli, 2000).

The Zapatista uprising in 1994 brought international attention to the area and increased funding for NGOs working with the indigenous communities. It also saw an increased amount of aid coming from the Mexican government in an attempt to lure communities away from the Zapatistas (Rus et al., 2003) However, as media attention fell, funding for the NGOs decreased.

In looking at the operation of NGOs in Chiapas a number of researchers have identified problems in their operation. Earle and Simonelli (2000) criticised the work of NGOs in the area with regards to the assessment of needs:

> Just as the NGO did not agree with the prerogatives of the funding agency, the communities did not concur with the NGO's assessment of their particular needs (Earle & Simonelli, 2000 p. 114).

Specifically with regard to the NGO they were looking at, they said the NGO saw a need for empowerment whilst the local communities were more interested in economic benefits. Burguete Cal y Mayor (2003) have also noted that the current involvement of NGOs in the area has been used as a counter weight to the unequal power structure that exists in Chiapas and has, as a result, 'further recreated divisions' in the area. Furthering this idea Earle and Simonelli express the concern that 'advocacy in the midst of political violence turns the real and substantive risk of endangering those with whom one works' (Earle & Simonelli, 2000). Global Exchange, therefore, are working in a context where aid and development are highly politicised, traditional development NGOs being susceptible to the influence of Western funders and conflicts over who to target and how to proceed.

Tourism in Chiapas

Tourism in Mexico as a whole is a significant industry employing 1.9 million people and creating 8.3% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2003 (Mexico Tourism Board Website, 2006). Until the late 1960s there was little tourism in Chiapas and what tourism there was was based in San Cristobal de las Casas. Van Den Berge (1994), in his study on ethnic tourism in San Cristobal, gives a good description of tourism in the area since the late 1950s. Starting in the 1950s he defines three stages of tourism. The first stage was made up of middle aged, fairly affluent and adventurous North Americans visiting San Cristobal as a stop over on a drive down to Central America or as a base for a trip into the Lacandón jungle. The town did have an airstrip but tourists rarely flew in. In 1959 when he was first in San Cristobal he estimated that there were normally less than ten tourists in the town on any given day and only 3 small hotels. The second period was backpacker tourism *turismo de mochila* or as local people refer to it *turismo pobre* (poor tourism) (ibid. p. 47). This started in the late 1960s but was less desired by the locals due to the tight budgets that these tourists were working to. However it did spread the name of San Cristobal as a must visit destination on the Central American hippy trail. The final stage started in the 1980s and was made up of older Europeans on package tours. By the end of the 1980s there were 21 hotels as well as a number of *posadas* (pensions) and *casas de huéspedes* (guesthouses). At the time he was writing in 1994 Van Den Berge said that tourism was now San Cristobal's main industry and was one that was based mainly around cultural tourism (Van Den Berghe, 1994 p. 99).

Today San Cristobal de las Casas receives more visitors than ever. The majority of tourists are Mexican nationals with a estimated 306,722 national arrivals in 2004 compared to 198,090

overseas visitors (SECTUR, 2005). Interestingly, considering the political situation, the arrivals of tourists in 1994-5 appear to have nearly tripled. Overseas visitors were outnumbering national visitors in the later half of the 1990s. Part of this increase may be a reflection of what can be considered a fourth phase of tourism development, made up of tourists attracted by the Zapatista uprising. Although the number of tourists in San Cristobal for this purpose is hard to judge, at the time of research there were a number of independent tourists visiting the Zapatista communities and a number of North Americans volunteering on projects in the autonomous areas. The interest of tourists in the Zapatista uprising is also reflected in the number of Zapatista inspired souvenirs available in the markets of San Cristobal.

As well as existing cultural-based tourism, state and federal government are promoting ecotourism in the form of the promotion of natural sites in the area (Ballinas, 1999). The development of ecotourism however has found some opposition, with the Zapatistas expelling some ecotourism operations from their area of control (Stewart, 2004).

Global Exchange's Role in Chiapas

Global Exchange runs a number of campaigns that are based on Mexican issues. Issues such as biodiversity and human rights, Guerrero (a state in Mexico), proposed development and alternatives, militarization, energy privatisation and democracy. They have had a presence in Chiapas since 1995 when they set up an office in San Cristobal de las Casas. Their role in Chiapas has consisted of sending delegations to the area through Reality Tours, and providing volunteers to accompany Mexican human rights activists and to populate the peace camps set up in communities. They also played a role in information dissemination about the situation at an international level, publishing a number of reports and hosting speaker tours. While they had an office in the area they provided support for Mexican NGOs in the form of volunteers, translation services and technical and humanitarian aid (Global Exchange, 2005). Their office in Chiapas closed in 2003 due to a number of reasons. As a lot of their work was based on promoting democracy, their funding was reduced with the successful elections in 2000. It was also felt that they had become unnecessary as local groups now had the capacity to be their own representatives (Carleen, GX employee, personal communication, June 30, 2005). Currently their work in Chiapas consists of sending three to four Reality Tours a year to the area. They also distribute information about the current situation via their website (http://www.globalexchange.org).

Outline of Thesis

This chapter has presented the purpose of this thesis and the key questions that form the basis of the research. It has also given the context to the location of the case study featured in the research. The following chapters cover three general areas. Chapter 2 considers two main

development theories, alternative development and post-development. It investigates themes in the development literature such as social movements and NGOs, which are particularly relevant to this thesis. It also examines a number of key concepts that are relevant to the topic, including the role of NGOs and social movements, the role of the state and empowerment. Chapter 3 takes a closer look at the literature on tourism, considering its impacts and forms, the motivations of tourists, power structures and its potential role in empowerment. Chapter 4 lays the groundwork for the research presented in Chapters 5 and 6. It covers the methods, philosophy and ethical considerations of the research. Chapter 5 presents the start of the research findings, giving extensive background to Global Exchange, the tour participants and the NGOs in this study. It continues by discussing the aims of these three parties and their involvement in the Reality Tour. Chapter 6 starts by giving a day by day account of the tour featured in this study and then goes on to deal with the outcomes of the tour, the impacts on the tour participants and the actions that have resulted.

Key threads from the initial six chapters are brought together in chapter 7, wherein the research carried out is compared to the existing literature on both tourism and development. Chapter 8 brings this study to a close by highlighting the central conclusions of this research.

CHAPTER 2:
DEVELOPMENT THEORY

The Reality Tours have two functions, on the one hand they are a form of tourism. On the other hand they stem from and visit organisations that are concerned with development issues. Global Exchange as an organisation uses concepts of human rights to tackle inequalities that exist in various places and to stimulate social change through their work. These are elements that are key to the notion of development. Development itself is hard to define (Adams, 2001) and comes with a lot of value-ridden baggage. However, whether using a definition based on purely economic measures or whether based on quality of life considerations, the problem of underdevelopment exists due to the unequal spread of improvements in people lives. The development literature therefore attempts to provide answers to the inequalities that exist by suggesting strategies that can be followed in order to reach the development that is desired. It is therefore highly relevant to the work of Global Exchange who although define themselves as a human rights organisation, are in many ways using their position to campaign on factors that influence development. Furthermore the host groups that are seen as the attraction in the Reality Tours are surely based in development ideas, whether in juxtaposition to ideas of development or through carrying out grassroots development work. Thus, the development literature can be used to throw light on their actions and their reasons for meeting with Reality Tours groups.

This chapter therefore presents an overview of the relevant literature regarding development. It covers two key perspectives in development: that of alternative development and post development. It will also consider a number of different players in the development process, each having a particular relevance to Reality Tours. Lastly this chapter examines the literature on empowerment. Empowerment if taken in its widest sense is a process designed to create far reaching social change, an intention of Global Exchange. It is therefore relevant in providing insights into the process that enables this social change to take place.

The Recent History of Development

During recent years development discourse has increasingly come to question itself, its purpose and the ideologies it reflects. By the 1990s, fifty years of 'development' (Sachs, 1993) aimed at bringing all societies up to the supposedly high standard of living of the West, had not brought the results that were expected, leaving many in the development community disillusioned with the path they were following. The result was major rethinking in the aims of development as well as a questioning of development itself. These concerns are increasingly being reflected in the

activities of groups on the ground, of both social movements such as the Zapatistas as well as in the activities of Northern based NGOs. Most vehicles of development have changed their development strategies to incorporate new and hopefully more effective aims and strategies as well as to allow for the changes in the world in which they operate.

In order to investigate the possible role of Global Exchange in development today, it is important to firstly briefly cover the history of development to show the reasons why it has reached its current point, with NGOs and social movements taking on very different roles than in the past.

Many claim that 'development' as a concept with particular relevance to the Third World, was introduced through President Truman's speech in 1949 (Esteva & Prakash, 1998). His speech divided the world into the developed and underdeveloped and expressed the need for a program of development to bring economic growth and prosperity to those countries considered underdeveloped (*Inaugural addresses of the presidents of the United States*). The development theory and practice that was born very much reflects the political ideologies of the time, initially being divided into the modernisation and Marxist or Neo-Marxist schools of thought (Varma, 1980). Primarily, development within both paradigms was seen as a linear process, economic growth and industrialisation pushing countries into the modern world and a better standard of living. The modernisation school of thought saw the underdevelopment of much of the world as being a case of these countries having to 'catch up' with the West. The industrialised capitalist-based society of the West was seen as the goal for underdeveloped countries to reach. Initially the state was seen as the driving force behind such development and was the instigator of the majority of development planning.

During the 1980s, within modernisation, changes began to appear in the form of the balance of power between the market and the state. Many of the basic tenants of modernisation remained but new neo-liberal polices promoted a reduction of the role of the state. These had major effects on the policies of governments in the First World as well as in the strategies promoted as ways of developing the Third World. The structural adjustment policies, pushed onto many countries by the global lending agencies such as the World Bank and IMF, reduced the size of the state in an attempt to open up their markets to the benefits of free markets and economic growth.

Reflecting the two major ideologies of the 1960s, the major alternative to modernisation based on capitalism was that of Marxism and particularly in Latin America, the dependency theories it influenced. This could be considered the 'revolutionary model' as opposed to modernisation's 'evolutionary model' of development (Varma, 1980, chap. 3). This still promoted industrialisation, but in recognising the relationships of dependency and oppression that existed

internally, as well as externally, saw the need for countries to industrialise within their own borders. It attempted to cut the unequal ties with Western centres. With the downfall of socialist regimes in many countries, Marxism suffered problems of legitimacy. Within development theory, dependency theory and its associated policies similarly appeared more and more flawed. The application of policies of self reliance were shown to have more or less failed (Lehmann, 1997), described by Hoogvelt (1990, cited in Sofield, 2003) as 'embarrassing failures', getting countries into deeper debt and encouraging highly bureaucratic and inefficient state systems.

Another theory that emerged along similar lines to dependency theory is world system theory. This school of thought led by writers such as Wallerstein, helped explain globalisation, by claiming it was not a new phenomena, world systems having existed for centuries. The difference in current globalisation is that it is based on a global economy rather than a global political system, making it much more stable (Chirot & Hall, 1982; Hettne, 1990). This school of thought divided the world into core, semi-periphery and periphery, the core extracting surplus from the periphery, which fuels its expansion. Wallerstein's theories reflect many Marxist concerns, claiming that the world system creates global class divisions with the majority of the proletariat existing in the periphery or semi-periphery. World system theory in taking a global perspective, sees little hope for change for periphery countries without a complete 'transformation of the world system into a socialist world government' (Hettne, 1990 p. 126)

With the end of the Cold War, the modernisation/neo-liberal school of thought appeared to have won. It became the dominant ideology with ex-Soviet states, which follow similar neo-liberal policies to those promoted elsewhere. The effects however of these policies were showing more and more faults. The development achieved was clearly uneven and could be seen to be lacking in some areas and in others, to have failed. Large-scale government sponsored projects, which were supposed to lay the foundations of countries' industrialisation had rarely achieved their aims. They had also often caused much environmental destruction, damaging the fragile resources local communities relied upon, before it was decided they needed economic development. The market led policies of the 1980s had similarly failed in producing equitable growth, the gap between rich and poor in many instances increasing. The reduction in the role of the state, meant it had limited ability to control any environmental damage that was becoming evident or to provide any support systems for those whose situation was worsened by these policies. As a result the 1980s were termed 'the lost decade of development' (Esteva & Prakash, 1998 p. 280) by many in the development community and led to the need for more radical approaches that dealt with these limitations and concerns.

The two more radical approaches I intend to cover here are that of alternative development and post development, both of which attempt to deal with the problems of development, but in quite different ways.

Alternative Development

The purported failure of development on social and environmental grounds has led to the presentation of a number of ways forward, that try to reorientate the aims of development to take into account these considerations.

A refocusing of the aims of development was noted by Brohman (1996b) to have started in the 1970s, with a growing realisation that the development being achieved was unequal. This started a move towards development being aimed at those groups that had been left out of previous growth based strategies. Initially, through ideas such as 'Redistribution with Growth' which was followed by the World Bank, this concern for equity was put into practice. At the same time, Basic Needs approaches were being pursued by many mainstream development institutions like the International Labour Organisation (Brohman, 1996b), in an attempt to ensure the basics were provided for everyone within a longer-term growth based development strategy. This approach reflected the idea that there was a need to redistribute the benefits of growth, rather then question the basis of what development was aiming for. It is an approach however that presents an idea of development that suggested the need for change in national and international structures, as well as putting people's needs into the vocabulary of human rights (PREALC, 1987).

Later in the 1980s, the criticism over who was benefiting from development efforts, was accompanied by the increased importance that was given to the environmental effects of both the development process as well as the damage caused by the lack of it (Harrison, 2001). A number of factors came together; ecology theories based on ideas of equilibrium and stability, predictions of catastrophe caused by massive population growth, ideas on the limits to resources and an increased awareness of global environmental problems (Adams, 2001). These all fed into the alternative development movement and ideas such as sustainable development came about.

The concept of sustainable development derived from the realisation that development, the environment and equity were all inextricably linked (D. Pearce, Markandya, & Barbier, 1989; Sofield, 2003). The concept of sustainability meant taking a long-term view of development and realising that development in terms of economic growth, is dependent on natural resources. There was also a need to address intragenerational equity issues as the livelihood of the poor was more directly dependant on the resource base and therefore effected earlier by environmental degradation (D. Pearce et al., 1989). Poverty itself was also blamed for much

environmental damage (Adams, 2001), including deforestation and over-exploitative forms of agriculture such as shifting cultivation (Jarosz, 1996). Without development, environmental destruction would continue due to lack of other options by those living in the developing world. Addressing unequal development therefore was of benefit to everyone, preserving the resource base on a global scale. There therefore was a need to pursue development strategies that addressed the development needs of the Third World but also addressed them in an environmentally sustainable manner.

Although sustainable development started as a way of putting the environment and, to a certain extent, people first in the development equation, being a flexible concept it was later mainstreamed into conventional development practices. The issuing of the Brundtland report in 1987 brought sustainable development to a much wider audience including governments and businesses. This opening up of the concept to a wider audience with other priorities had benefits, but also limited the impact of sustainable development. Some critics (Petrucci, 2002; Rees, 1990) pointed out that this once again suggested that the economic development element of the triangle had most importance, environmental and social factors only being considered in as much as their impact on making the development itself unsustainable.

Forms of alternative development that started back in the 1970s have in recent years been deepened, as the 'people' element of development became more and more important. The past failures of development have been blamed on many causes, one of the most prominent being the lack of participation of local populations (Pieterse, 2000). Concern for this lack of participation has led to a number of methods put forward to increase peoples' participation in projects.

Originally, local people were considered as objects in the development process, outsiders bringing methods and ideas that would help bring the people in under developed countries into the 20th century. In opposition to this, ideas of alternative development, have focused on bottom-up development. This was sometimes termed 'popular development' (Brohman, 1996b). The work of Chambers has been very influential in promoting bottom-up development through his techniques of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and rapid rural appraisal (RRA). PRA techniques are designed to challenge the development practitioner's dominant and controlling role in development projects. Instead the practitioner's role is as a facilitator in a process where local communities get to share information, analyse their own situation and propose ways forward. RRA can be seen as a use of these methods that's aimed more at data collection than at having a role in an ongoing empowerment process (Chambers, 1997). Participatory techniques in RRA are used to gather data and assess needs within a community throughout the lifespan of a project. Chambers (1984) has also had a role in identifying a number of biases

present in the development industry, which limit its ability to reach those most in need, reflecting previous concerns regarding unequal development.

Another of the development biases that alternative development has tried to compensate for is women's role in development. The growing recognition of the absence of women from development projects and development agencies led to a number of approaches such as 'women in development' (WID) and 'gender and development' (GAD) that tried to refocus development to include women (Koczberski, 1998). These approaches however have been criticised for devaluing the work women already do in the informal economy and in household production. As such development initiatives designed to include women have often just added to their heavy workload rather than contributing in a positive way (ibid.). However those that take a GAD approach are more likely to consider the social relations between men and women, as well as ways of empowering women so they can play a stronger role in determining the development paths (Moser, 1993).

Finally alternative development has attempted to address the problems caused by using First World solutions to deal with Third World problems. Ideas around appropriate technology (AT) stemmed from basic needs approaches and the ideas of writers such as Schumacher (1973, cited in Ghosh, 1984). Appropriate technology attempted to provide solutions for developing countries that were more socially appropriate than previous attempts of development based on the transfer of 'modern, industrial technology' (Ghosh, 1984 p. 4). Instead of the use of technology that was hoped to stimulate industrial growth, AT was designed to be labour intensive, environmentally sound and self-reliant (ibid.). This technology was aimed at ensuring a minimum standard of living for the users (Evans, 1984) rather than creating capital and fuelling economic growth. AT approaches are significant in that they question the appropriateness of development interventions, especially those based on technology, and that they modify the type of development desired, making 'development' more attainable.

To summarise, alternative development practices have emerged as a response to the failure of past development projects. Analysis of these failures have highlighted those who have been excluded from development, its environmental and social mal effects and the ways the methods and practice of development encourage its failure on social or cultural grounds. For some writers however, adjusting development thought and practice does not go far enough. Alternative development is still a 'product of the same worldview' (Nandy, 1989, cited in Pieterse, 2000 p. 181). What is needed is to move on from the concept of development, with its associated values and ideologies. This view has created the post development school of thought, an approach that I will now discuss.

Post Development

For many, altering the mainstream economic 'development' to consider such factors was not considered enough and as a result, fed by postmodernism, post development thought emerged. This theory is significantly different from alternative development approaches in that it rejects the concept and practice of development. Much of the work on post development has stemmed from the work of writers such as Esteva, Escobar, Leys, Rahnema & Bawtree, Sachs, and Latouche (Pieterse, 2000 p. 176).

In the eyes of post development, development has failed, 'it does not work' (Kothari, 1998, cited in Pieterse, 2000 p. 175). The 'development' that started in 1949, has done nothing but bring unachievable and inappropriate goals to Southern nations. Post development questions the motives and rejects the values of this idea of development. According to Rist (1990a, cited in Pieterse, 2000 p. 175) development is the 'new religion of the West' aimed at bringing Westernisation and homogenisation to the rest of the world. Highly influenced by postmodernism, it rejects the results, as well as the mind set of development (Pieterse, 2000), being highly critical of metanarratives of the past (Agrawal, 1996).

The basic ideas of post development have been put forward by writers such as Colin Leys (1996). He starts his analysis by defining the development that he sees as redundant. He clarifies the differences between development pre 1949 and the 'development theory' that emerged post 1949 (Leys, 1996 p. 5). Pre 1949 development theories founded by the work of Marx and Hegel sought to explain the development of Western societies into the industrialised nations they had become. In contrast the 'development' that was launched post World War II was much more action based, aimed at trying to increase the economic growth and productivity of the neo-colonial states. It also differed in that it was reluctant to draw on these past theories as that would have meant taking Marx seriously which Cold War North American academics, as well as practitioners, were reluctant to do. Recommendations were also based on the results of Bretton Woods, the institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, designed to ensure governments could mange their economies within their own borders. Yet Leys questions the usefulness of one of the original tenets of development theory, that of the Bretton Woods institutions. In today's world with the effect of globalisation and neo-liberalism, countries are no longer able to control much of the development taking place within their own borders. This makes many policies based on their ability to direct development, useless. He also considers some of the other theoretical ways forward that have been presented by development theorists in light of the failings of past development policy and also finds them failing.

What Leys presents is a more global approach: the Western development ideas are failing everyone, not just the Third World. He suggests a replacement of the aid consortia and international development institutions, such as the UN and the World Bank, development assistance being seen less as charity than as a ' rational form of insurance against world disorder' (Leys, 1996 p. 195).

The key points that make Leys' work feed into Post development theory are that he calls for a move on from the development of the past, mirroring the ideas of Esteva as discussed later in this section. He also clearly questions the meanings and motives behind development in a similar way, using the example of mal development in the Western world as a way of showing that 'development', with its aims is not beneficial to everyone in the long run. He cements this view by reasoning that this change of direction 'cannot confine itself to the "Third World" (or any part of it), or treat the "developed world" and whatever global arrangement it makes as a given (benign or otherwise)' (Leys, 1996 p. 196).

According to Gustavo Esteva the development approaches that came out of the 1980s fitted into two categories. In the North the 'mal development' that had occurred was seen to be in need of redevelopment. The redevelopment of the South was to consist of 'dismantling or destroying what was left by the 1980s 'adjustment process', in order to make room for the latest leftovers from the North' (Esteva & Prakash, 1998 p. 280). Post development theory, in a similar way to that of postmodernism attempts to deconstruct the basic tenants of 'development'. Esteva and Prakash describe these as the '3 sacred cows'; global thinking, the universality of human rights and the myth of the individual self (Esteva & Prakash, 1998 p. 294). Each of these concepts, which generally people are reluctant to question, are the justifying forces behind 'development' and once challenged and found to be lacking, cause the disintegration of the concept itself.

Post development therefore calls for more 'endogenous discourses' (Escobar, 1992, cited in Pieterse, 2000 p. 178) not based on these Western constructs. With this, models of development can emerge from developing nations, that have different aims and values, and that are more appropriate. Escobar, in a similar way to Esteva, points to grass roots movements, local knowledge, indigenous peoples and 'the power of popular protests' (cited in Agrawal, 1996 p. 472) as the vehicles of post development.

As with any development theory, post development has its critics. Its central failing can be seen as its inability to present any real alternative to the current development efforts (Schuurmann, 2000, cited in Brigg, 2002; Pieterse, 2000). The unwillingness to present any real practical course of action in the face of obvious problems such as poverty can make post development an excuse to do nothing. Escobar (1995) suggesting that 'all development interventions should be opposed

as they are discursive conduits of global capitalism and Western cultural hegemony' (cited in Robins, 2003 p. 267). In the opinion of Cowen and Shenton this support of the status quo is post development's main weakness (cited in Pieterse, 2000). It has also been pointed out that it ignores some of the successes of development such as the near doubling of life expectancy in much of the Third World (Kiely, 1999:17 cited in Pieterse, 2000). It further fails to consider the spread of cultures other than Westernization, such as those from Asia.

As well as opposing development interventions, post development is highly critical of the role of the state as shown in Ferguson's work (1990), viewing this as primarily a controlling force as well as a purveyor of Western homogenization. Ferguson claiming that development interventions both depoliticise society and that even when these interventions fail, they tend to increase the state's ability to intervene in society. This result however would be at odds with the intentions of neo-liberalism, which could be considered the main Western economic ideology, as it supports a withdrawal of much of the role of the state (Robins, 2003).

Role of the State

The role of the state in development has changed in a number of ways that make it significant when talking about the struggle of the Zapatistas as well as the need for a civil society based third party in the form of Global Exchange. Originally in development economics the state was seen to have a key role (Mohan & Stokke, 2000) with both liberal and Marxist theories being based on the existence and power of the nation state (Waterman, 2001). However the influence of neo-liberal policies, advocating free trade and increasing the power of large corporations (Harris & Seid, 2000), has led to governments having less control over the economies within their own borders. In neo-liberal economics the state is, in many instances, seen as a barrier to development of the economy rather than its leader and instigator (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). Instead the market has an increased role, regulating and initialising growth. Globalisation has also contributed to the decreased role of the state, national borders are becoming less significant and so states are less able to control development within them (Giddens, 1990). These conditions have in many ways influenced the role the state now plays in development.

From an alternative development perspective, the state still has a role (Pieterse, 2000), and is able in many instances to carry out alternative development projects. However NGOs are becoming more and more significant in the provision of basic services in developing countries (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001) and in the facilitating of development projects. Alternative development writers such as Friedmann (1992) and Brohman (1996) see a role for the state even in this context as 'a strong civil society needs a strong state' (cited in Pieterse, 2000 p.183). Acknowledging the effect of wider social forces on the state, Whites maintains that a job of NGOs should be to increase the capacity of the state as part of their grassroots work instead of

creating an alternative welfare system (cited in Mohan & Stokke, 2000). The increased role of NGOs in relation to the state, is due to wider forces such as neo-liberalism and globalisation, which has meant the reduced capacity of the state to take on social and economic development functions (Lehmann, 1997). There is also the belief that NGOs are more able to identify people's real needs and are more cost effective (Rahmena, 1992).

The ideas of Giddens have also had a large impact in assigning a role to the state in light of the forces of globalisation. He defines globalisation as:

> The intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (Giddens, 1990 p. 64)

Giddens sees globalisation as a process that goes beyond the expansion of capitalism and includes the expansion of industrialism, surveillance and military power. In having a degree of control over all four elements of this process, the state is in a good position to play a significant role (Giddens, 1990). This role, termed 'The Third Way', sees an increased role for the state in managing the process and ensuring elements of equality are maintained (Giddens, 1999). Giddens sees globalisation as a positive force, with the potential of having a democratising effect, with new information technologies that can create 'new global public spheres' (Lewandowski, 2003). These aspects of the globalisation process are significant when considering the methods use by the groups in Chiapas and Global Exchange.

In comparison, in post development thought the role of the state in development is much more clear cut. The state, alongside international institutions such as the IMF and World Bank should not have a role; instead development should come from the grassroots. Many alternative development practices encourage bottom up development, but post development sees the grass roots as the source of the aims, direction and definition of development rather than as a way of achieving the goals set within a regular development framework. Lehmann (1997) claims post development is postmodern in that the state has disappeared from its frame of reference. The replacement of the state by social movements and NGOs is necessary, not because of the inability of the state to provide development, but because it can be seen as part of the institutional infrastructure of the development paradigm that Escobar (1995) claims needs to be dismantled (cited in Agrawal, 1996). Instead post development points to social movements as the leaders of the post development era, and it is to these phenomena we now turn.

Role of Social Movements

The role of social movements has been seen to have been somewhat separated from the majority of development theory and practice (Korten in Venter & Swart, 2002). Giddens' work however, brings us to consider the role of social movements within globalisation and therefore in development. Giddens sees social movements as having the potential to play an important positive role within Globalisation. As a result of the globalisation process, social movements have been produced that fall into four categories that roughly correspond to the four elements of globalisation.

Social Movement concerns	Related aspect of Globalisation
Free Speech/Democracy	Surveillance
Peace	Control of means of violence
Ecological	Stemming from the created environment/ caused by industrialism
Labour	Resulting from economic capitalism

Table 2.1 The type of Social Movements that have emerged in response to different aspects of Globalisation

Source: (Giddens, 1990 p. 159)

In responding to the four influences of globalisation, social movements can play a humanising role and can 'provide glimpses of possible futures and are in some part vehicles for their realisation'. (Giddens, 1990 p. 161) Their role is in combating some of the possible negative impacts of globalisation as well as in helping to spread the positive ones such as democratisation.

Post development theory similarly sees a role for social movements in finding a way forward. In rejecting development led by the state and outside development organisations post development theory has been left with two options, either do nothing or promote endogenous development led by social movements. It is the latter option that Esteva and Prakash (1998) turn to in suggesting ways forward for post development theory. Esteva and Prakash refer to 'pioneering social movements that are groping for their liberation from the 'Global Project' (Esteva & Prakash, 1998 p. 280) and specifically refer to the Zapatista rebellion in Mexico (Esteva, 1994; Esteva & Prakash, 1998). They highlight this as a process of post development for a number of reasons. The EZLN's actions in 1994 and the following widespread support from both groups within Mexico as well as all round the world caused the Mexican government to promise money and development for the region as well as appointing a Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation. The EZLN agreed to begin talks with the Commissioner. These fell apart however after two months when they rejected the government's offers of money and

development. This, according to Esteva & Prakash (1998), signalled the Zapatista's saying 'no to all forms of development'; instead of demanding the expansion of the economy into Chiapas and protesting at their lack of development, they 'expelled it from their domain' (Esteva & Prakash, 1998 p. 285). Esteva & Prakash also suggested that the EZLN's methods of communication and political style and direction could be considered postmodern.

Using the Chiapas rebellion as a starting point Esteva and Prakash highlight a number of factors that they consider to be elements of these new social movements:
The new social movements:

- Distrust leaders and centralised political direction
- Allow for participation of differing ideologies and classes
- Avoid temptation to lead or try to control the social forces they activate
- Have flexible organisational structures
- Prefer to concentrate on specific campaigns

Esteva & Prakash further stress the importance of acting locally though such methods, seeing a limited role of acting globally, calling it a 'dangerous fantasy' (Esteva & Prakash, 1997a p. 278). They justify this by the complexity of the world, and our ability to therefore only know a small part of it. Global thinking is therefore thought to be 'at best an illusion'. Aware of the global forces that are now in existence, they claim that as these manifest themselves via their effects at a local level, they are therefore best resisted at this local level (Esteva & Prakash, 1997a). They do however see a role for the global, as local resistance movements need outside allies to 'create a critical mass of political opposition capable of stopping those forces' (Esteva & Prakash, 1997a p. 281). In this way Esteva sees the role of outsiders in development as one of support for the events happening in the local arena. If these actions are scaled up as many writers suggest, they run the risk of being 'minor players in the global game' (Esteva & Prakash, 1997a p. 282); their concerns getting diluted in the context of global action when put up against the concerns of other parties.

Korten (1990), in his work on explaining the changing nature of NGOs, depicts a role for social movements that echoes many of the concerns expressed by Esteva and Prakash. As explained in the next section, he sees social movements as the primary development vehicles, in both operationalising development as well as in helping redefine what development should be.

Role of NGOs

In response to arguments on the failures of the development process the role of many of the vehicles of development has changed. The role of NGOs has increased dramatically in recent

years. With the withdrawal of the state under neo-liberal regimes, NGOs have often been faced with the prospect of replacing the state in the provision of many basic services (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001).

The role of NGOs in the past has been discussed by many authors, with some such as Korten (1990) suggesting ways in which particularly Western-based organisations, could adapt to best deal with past criticism as well as the challenges of globalisation. As a way of explaining the evolution of NGOs in response to their own analysis of the way they can best tackle the problems they set out to alleviate, as well as the changing situations in which they operate, he identifies 4 types of NGO strategy. First generation NGOs, he argues, were concerned with relief and aid work, primarily concerned with meeting people's immediate needs, giving little thought to the causes of poverty, therefore dealing very much with the symptoms rather than the causes themselves. Second generation NGOs continue to deal with problems at a local level, seeing the causes of poverty as resulting from local people's inertia. In this situation the NGO's role is to act as a facilitator helping people to gain the skills needed to work themselves out of poverty. Intervention is on a project level, the local population, once having gained the skills, being seen as able to continue the project after the NGO has left. Third generation NGOs recognise how local power structures influence people's ability to better their own situation. They therefore work at a slightly more macro level pursuing the change of specific policies that affect this ability at local, national and global levels. Korten originally suggested just three generations but considering the experience of many NGOs, added a fourth generation strategy which I would argue fits well with the work of Global Exchange. Fourth generation NGOs work at a more macro level reflecting the realisation that inequalities at an international level have a high level of impact on problems at the local level. Without impacting on policy at the international level any strategy on policy at the local level has to be duplicated many times to have a wide ranging effect as well as always running the risk of being reversed by international forces.

Korten describes fourth generation strategies as an 'alternative development strategy' (Korten, 1990 p. 123) based on the actions of social movements. Social movements he claims have a special quality in development in that they are driven by ideas as opposed to money and, as such, if given large amounts of financial aid they run the risk of turning into ineffective bureaucracies. The role of NGOs therefore is not to contribute financially to these social movements but to take on a role of activist or educator. Their goal should be to 'energise a critical mass of independent, decentralised initiative in support of a social vision' (Korten, 1990 p. 127). He identifies that as of yet this type of strategy has been most prominent in voluntary organisations concerned with women, peace, human rights, consumer affairs or environmental movements as opposed to alternative development (Korten, 1990). This would appear to fit the categorisation of Global Exchange, it describing itself as a human rights organisation. When

however it is using that mandate to support wider development or possibly post development movements like the Zapatistas, it could be considered to be an NGO that supports development movements. I would suggest that the approach put forward by Korten, is also one that may be used in post development. A fourth generation strategy used by a development NGO would still promote a certain view of development and so could be seen as guilty of promoting the concept of development. The use of this strategy by NGOs in different sectors such as human rights or peace, presents the possibility of providing support without promoting a particular worldview of development. Withstanding criticism on the universalism of human rights and their Western cultural bias, human rights have the potential to be used as an adaptable tool in supporting social movements rather than limiting or guiding the aims and direction of that movement.

Following on from Korten, Nyamugasira (1998) suggests that a new division of labour for NGOs from the North and South has arisen. Northern based NGOs are now focusing more on ideas, research, empowerment and networking (Nyamugasira, 1998) whereas Southern NGOs are dealing more with the day to day implementation of programs. The new division is a response to the same problems identified by Korten; centrally the recognition of the wider forces at play in creating the problems of the Third World. This division recognises more clearly the role of Southern NGOs. These NGOs are assumed to have the best ability to recognise local people's real needs and the utilising of their resources by the Northern led development movement, is a reflection of an increased commitment to local empowerment (Sutherns, 1996, cited in Nyamugasira, 1998). Overall they are seen to be in a better position to implement projects on the ground. The process of globalisation on the other hand has meant an increased level of global forces effecting the day to day lives of local communities and has made the new advocacy based role of Northern NGOs very urgent (Nyamugasira, 1998). Nyamugasira makes a couple of other important points with regard to the role of Northern NGOs. More concern needs to be given to ensuring there is a good flow of information, not from only Southern NGOs, but the poor themselves. This information needs to be gained within a culture of respect for their Southern Partners, being aware at all times that Northern NGOs themselves are not the actors in local development. Nyamugasira also identifies a need for linguistics; 'someone who can interpret the reality of the poor' (Nyamugasira, 1998 p.303). People from the North or South can take on this role given enough time and the right attitude. He also identifies a need for interim representation in many developing countries where the ability to analyse and represent themselves is not fully present. This interim representation however must be on a short-term basis, with efforts made to increase the capacity of local people and communities to do this for themselves.

Importantly, Petras (2003) when considering different forms of development, divides NGOs along three lines, closely in line with types of development. He makes an association between types of

NGOs and their sources of funding, thus influencing the type of development they are able to pursue. First are the NGOs working with large sums of money from donors such as the World Bank and USAID. These NGOs due to the interests of these organisations 'act as promoters of neo-liberalism' (Petras, 2003 p. 141). Second are the reformist NGOs trying to 'correct the excess of the free market', a strategy that would mirror the aims of alternative development strategies. Last are the radical NGOs. These NGOs align themselves more with popular mass movements than global institutions and would be in a better position to follow strategies based on the ideas of post development.

These three approaches consider the roles of Northern NGOs or one of the vehicles of 'development'. The first two (Korten and Nyamugasira) could be seen in a similar way to post development, to suggest that Northern NGOs concerned with the conditions in the South, should remove themselves to a great extent from attempting to 'develop' Third World nations. All three definitions allow space for the roles of NGOs as suggested by post development, a disassociation with the vehicle of the development project and a redefined role of building networks and support rather than to implement development programs. However in a similar way to a point highlighted by Nyamugasira (1998), the actions taken at a global level by Northern NGOs could have a similar devastating effect to development programs on the ground, if not carried out with a high importance given to an accurate and unbiased flow of information from Southern to Northern NGOs. Within a post development context it is also important that the advocacy followed by Northern NGOs is not set within their own ideologies, allowing Southern NGOs and the people they represent to follow alternative development ideals if they so wish. As has been pointed out by Venter and Swart (2002) the VO (voluntary organisation) and PO (people's organisation) types of NGO lie outside of mainstream development, as followed by governments and larger international bodies such as the WTO. This means they are in a better position to challenge mainstream development policy (Venter & Swart, 2002).

When considering the roles of the Zapatistas as a social movement and the role of Global Exchange, similarities can be drawn from the roles assigned by Korten for NGOs and social movements. Venter and Swart (2002) have also identified this through using Korten's 4 strategies in relation to the anti globalisation movement, seeing the organisations involved in this movement fitting the criteria for a fourth generation strategy. The movement takes the majority of its momentum from social movements as recommended by Korten and seeks to 'transform the global to empower the local' (Korten 1995:6 in Venter & Swart, 2002 p. 60). Significantly for this study, Bond (cited in Venter & Swart, 2002) uses the Zapatista movement amongst others as an example of a Southern social movement whose anti-globalisation stance works well with the wider anti-globalisation movement.

Human rights and the role of NGOs

Traditionally there has been a divide between human rights NGOs and development NGOs. Global Exchange defines itself as a human rights organisation but through its work can be seen to be supporting many development initiatives. This blurring of roles between the two types of NGO is one that is occurring widely within human rights organisations, with mainstream NGOs such as Amnesty International expanding their rights definitions to include those rooted firmly within considerations of the causes of poverty. When considering the way the concepts of human rights and development coexist it is also important to discuss some of the limitations and criticisms of human rights that have been proposed in order to fully assess its usefulness as a concept in development.

Kennedy (2004) uses his own experience of working in the human rights advocacy sector to highlight a number possible of risks. Firstly he claims that the wide use of human rights discourse can 'crowd out or delegitimise other emancipatory struggles based on religious, national or local energies' (D. Kennedy, 2004 p. 9). The increased position of human rights as a preferred advocacy basis may mean that struggles not couched in the language of human rights may get ignored. He also stresses a common criticism of human rights, the myth that they are universal. The application of universal concepts to local situations can be seen as inappropriate, these concepts not having the ability to reflect the true situation of local people as well as in being unrelated and therefore unusable to local communities. A second common criticism he expresses is that they are a Western concept, linked to Western liberalism. The assumption of a Western concept to be universal, reflects unequal power relationships between the North and South as well as the homogenising ability of Western culture. Western culture promoted through human rights can be seen to be promoting individualism, downgrading the importance of religion as well as promoting ideals such as property rights; a narrowing of socio-economic rights to those desired by capitalism. He voices a number of other concerns including the stress on the enforcing of rights being put in the hands of governments, increasing the power of governments rather than the people they are trying to help. The instilling of rights into laws also 'blunts awareness of diversity' (D. Kennedy, 2004 p. 13) assigning rights to certain groups, ignoring the fluidity of cultural groups.

Russell (1998) also makes important points with regards to human rights NGOs. He claims that most human rights NGOs focus on civil and political rights to the exclusion of economic and social rights. This he says is not using the broad scope of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which includes social and economic rights. Campaigning for only civil and political rights also ignores the principle of international law that all human rights are indivisible. A significant point with regards to the Reality Tours is that Russell maintains human rights based strategies only

tend to make accountable, the state where the human right's violation takes place, rarely considering human rights infringements by other states in the national context.

Molyneux and Lazar (2003) examine the right based strategies taken by Latin American NGOs and make some interesting observations. The need for rights based strategies they see as having resulted from social and economic changes of the 1980s. After the restoration of civil rule in many Latin American countries, political and civil rights were extended, but due to the extension of neo-liberal policies many social rights, such as employment and social security were reduced (Molyneux & Lazar, 2003). This called for a rights based approach, which used a broad definition of rights that included social and economic rights as well as the political ones. They identify 4 ways in which rights based strategies are followed by NGOs, the first two in relation to empowerment and the second to helping strengthen the efficiency of the state:

- Encouraging people to assumes their rights on a personal subjective level
- Strengthening of popular organisation
- Strengthening legal mechanisms of the state
- Applying political pressure

Global Exchange could be seen as working towards the first two strategies, contributing to empowerment and also working towards the last strategy. These four strategies assume that rights based strategies are being followed within the confines of the nation state. This is an element that would have to be questioned because they could be considered as having derived from the inability of the state to ensure social rights. This is also especially relevant when considering the nature of the conflict in Chiapas and the way in which a global civil society appears to be being used to promote and ensure the rights of the Zapatistas.

Molyneux and Lazar are generally positive about the role of rights based strategies, seeing them as a strategic way of dealing with the policies that effect people's lives as well as being empowering. They also see them as contributing to the sustainability of development interventions by putting in place the structures that make communities less reliant on outside help. In a similar way to most writers that consider human rights, they rebut key criticisms of human rights. The argument that human rights are a form of cultural imperialism they argue ignores the fact that human rights concepts as well as the cultures to which they are applied are both fluid. What is important in this situation then is the way in which they are introduced:

> the important question of culture is ... how cultural practices [including ideas if human rights] are introduced, appropriated, deployed, reintroduced and redefined in a social field of power over a historical period (Merry, 2001: 46 in Molyneux & Lazar, 2003 p.91)

Molyneux and Lazar feel it is possible to find similar concepts in indigenous communities to those expressed by human rights discourse, and therefore argue they can then be translated into ideas that are culturally appropriate (Molyneux & Lazar, 2003). Human rights being a fluid concept, has led some to question the effect of political influences in the originating countries of Northern NGOs on the changing nature of these rights. VeneKlasen et al. (2004) point out that the criteria for which human rights are pursued, has been highly influenced by the US government, as well as wider social values. In this way the USAID stance, in only supporting economic rights in terms of investment and property rights, could be seen as using human rights to impose cultural imperialism, advocating only those rights that support the expansion of capitalism. This could be seen as support for Korten's idea that NGOs linked to the government are not in a good position to follow the 3rd and 4th generation strategies that would require the challenging of such norms (Korten, 1990). In a similar way VeneKlasen et al. support this idea saying that 'when examining advocacy campaigns carried out by more elite national and international groups, questions are also raised about who sets the advocacy agenda and what this means for achieving social change' (VeneKlasen et al., 2004 p. 27)

This is significant in the work of Global Exchange when examining the way they use their role as a 'human rights' based organisation to express and communicate the causes that they are advocating.

VeneKlasen et al.(2004) highlight a key distinction between human rights based NGOs and development NGOs. Human rights NGOs are traditionally trying to stop things from happening and development NGOs trying to make things happen. The role of both types of organisation however is changing. They claim that following on from the adoption of rights based approaches in development NGOs, human rights NGOs have similarly started to consider the wider development implications of human rights advocacy. Development NGOs which follow rights based strategies according to VanaKlasen et al. are seeing them as a way of advancing systematic change. Policy changes on the basis of human rights, helps to improve social and economic conditions of those most in need. In this light the use of human rights approaches followed by development NGOs can be seen as a way of following the 3rd or 4th generation strategies as proposed by Korten. VeneKlasen et al. however also point out the risk for development NGOs in following these more long term strategies: the immediate needs of the poor do not get met, funding being diverted from traditional development work (VeneKlasen et al., 2004). Examining Global Exchange from this perspective also sheds light on what their possible role is within development. They define themselves as a human rights organisation, but I would argue that this may have more to do with the strategies they pursue and the ways in which they define rights. The way in which they use the Reality Tours would also play a role in this, whether they are seen as purely an advocacy tool, or whether they see their financial

contribution to the local community also as a priority. This could therefore be seen as an economic empowerment tool in a similar way to tourism ventures promoted by development NGOs.

Significantly VeneKlasen et al. also point out the key link between rights based approaches and empowerment. The criticism of the narrowness of human rights definitions has created a two-fold response. Firstly there has been an expansion of what are considered rights (to include social and economic rights, not just political ones) and secondly a consideration of the processes that lay behind the implementation of human rights. As part of this response, human rights based approaches have been linked to both participation and empowerment. These processes allow for accurate representation of people's needs in human rights discourse as well as for the building of the structures to allow continued development demands to be made:

> There is an emerging recognition within HR field of the failure of their narrow legal and policy approaches and a growing eagerness to explore participatory methods that are grounded in adult education theory and Freirian and feminist notions of empowerment and dialogue (VeneKlasen et al., 2004 p.16)

This leaves rights based approaches with a division similar to that which can be seen with alternative and post development. Rights based approaches would traditionally come under the idea of alternative development, especially when considering their use in demanding the economic rights of marginalised groups to participate in the wider economy. However due to concern that Western human rights concepts are too narrow and value laden they offer the possibility of being expanded and used as part of an empowerment process. Through their adaptation to local cultural values they can be used to help communities and countries follow their own development path, a way of justifying their demands. They can therefore play a significant role in empowerment, human right concepts being used as a tool either within mainstream development or in safe guarding communities' rights to operate outside of it.

Empowerment

Empowerment is therefore an important concept to consider in discussions of human rights and development. Within the Chiapas region, the results of the 1994 uprising indicate that the Zapatisata movement and its associated communities have already gone through their own empowerment process. This empowerment process is one that has allowed them to recognise their own situation and decide on the development path they want to pursue, a path that, as previously discussed, is considered post development by a number of authors. Within mainstream development, empowerment has become a key concept, it being seen as a way to ensure the success of development projects. Similarly, empowerment is slowly emerging as a goal in tourism discourse.

The next section will therefore look at the concept of empowerment and what it means for development both in terms of the ways it is used in development projects and the ways it can influence the direction of development. I will then go on to look at the situation of Chiapas specifically. This will focus on the Zapatistas whose participation in an empowerment process has had major implications for their own communities as well as Chiapas on a wider level.

What is Empowerment?

Many of the ideas surrounding empowerment have stemmed from the work of Paulo Friere (1970). Based on work in education he regarded empowerment as a process aimed at promoting social change on a wider scale, not only changing a person's position in the structure of society but also changing the structure itself if necessary. Starting with a process of education 'based on problem solving and dialogue among equals' (Triantafillou & Nielsen, 2001 p. 71) rather than just simple knowledge transfer, the oppressed would gradually realise their own situation and be aware of the forces that oppressed them. This realisation, termed as conscientization, would then give them the knowledge and the ability to unite with others in a similar situation to force changes in society as a whole.

Others such as Stromquist (2002) have similarly described empowerment as a process made up of four dimensions: the cognitive, the psychological, the political and the economic. The cognitive and psychological encompass elements of conscientization such as awareness of one's reality as well as increased self-esteem. The political and economic cover more practical issues such as the ability to organise and economically survive.

In terms of community development a number of explanations have been put forward such as that by Onyx and Benton seeing empowerment as 'connected to concepts of self-help, participation, networking and equity' (cited in Sofield, 2003 p. 81). Within the context of development projects, empowerment has tended to focus on the local, rarely extending itself to Frierian based concepts that stimulate major social change. Instead empowerment is used as a tool of development:

> increasing the power and control of groups over the circumstance of their own lives, so that they are in the position to become their own development agents in the future (Thomas, 1992)

Empowerment, participation and development

Empowerment with regards to development projects is increasingly being cited as an aim with the 'old concept of "growth with social justice" ... replaced with the new goal of "development

with empowerment'" (Mohanty, 2001 p. 23). This is often seen in terms of economic empowerment, money-generating activities promoted by development projects giving local communities increased economic capital (ibid.). It was found however that economic empowerment did not guarantee social and political empowerment (Friedmann, 1992) and thus the economic benefits were only going to certain sections of the community, rarely those most in need. As a result of these inequalities and the failure of past projects based on infrastructure (which would appear to benefit all) (Triantafillou & Nielsen, 2001), social empowerment was given more consideration, in the guise of participation.

Participation is now seen as an essential part of making a project work: the lack of it having been blamed for the failure of aid in the past (Rahmena, 1992). It helps to ensure that project aims match the real needs of local communities and to ensure projects continue after the development practitioners have left. Participation by the local community at the various stages of a project, is said to contribute to their social and political empowerment through increasing their ability to recognise and express their needs. This is accompanied by increasing their ability to organise themselves into groups so that they are able to verbalise these needs and put pressure on the relevant authorities in order to get these needs met. In many ways as far as development projects are concerned participation is seen as the key to the empowerment of communities.

The increasing importance of participation as a component of a project has been accompanied by many criticisms as to how it can be used in ways not true to its original aims. It has been criticised by some as being a way in which costs of projects are passed onto the poor or being used purely as a tool or resource to keep the economy alive (Rahmena, 1992). In some cases it has even been found to have been co-opted by governments to reinforce local power structures (Botes & Rensburg, 2000). The faults of participation with regards to empowerment in many ways could be seen as resulting from the position of the NGOs and governments that implement the projects. State sponsored development projects that have an empowerment based element, are obviously going to want to limit the effects of empowerment of groups, not wanting it to threaten their own position or be put in a situation where there are demands made of them which they are unable to meet. With regard to NGOs, those with their origins overseas always run the risk of being prevented from working in a particular country if their activities pose too much of a threat to a government. Local NGOs similarly face oppression from local authorities if they threaten their position too much. Empowerment as an aim of development is also difficult to quantify and measure, when quantification is given increasing importance in monitoring and evaluation conducted by NGOs. It is for this reason that participation in order to achieve more quantifiable aims is often given priority rather than participation for the sake of empowerment.

Development projects based around the idea of empowerment, work on the basis that an outside change agent (for example the state or an NGO) is needed to stimulate the empowerment process (Rahmena, 1992), acting as a 'catalytic spark in the face of adversity' (Friedmann, 1992). The role of the state and NGOs as a catalyst, as previously discussed has limitations. The state in particular, would not favour wide reaching empowerment that could threaten their position. NGOs, both local and international, are similarly under the influence of pressures from state forces. When empowerment is stimulated by an outside agent, even by independent NGOs, it is also susceptible to that agent's own values or biases (Rahmena, 1992). The importance given to having an outside change agent also has a tendency to make this change agent a 'substitute for "expert" and so their biases run the risk of devaluing existing forms of power and possibly ignoring existing "traditional or local knowledge systems"' (ibid.). Considering empowerment as a wide-ranging process that has the ability to change political and economic structures means that it is one that is ongoing and so is not one easily confined to a development project. It would imply that empowerment processes started by internal forces, would suffer less from such limitations, being much more in tune to the needs and wants of local communities.

Another catalyst of empowerment that is worth considering when looking at the situation of Chiapas is religion. The influence of liberation theology can be seen clearly in Chiapas with the Catholic Church playing a large role in supporting the struggles of local indigenous peoples. The human rights centre, one of the case study NGOs in this thesis being named after Bartholomé de las Casas, a prominent follower of liberation theology in the sixteenth century (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Liberation theology is also much of the basis of Freire's work on empowerment, the 'dialogue for liberation' desire by Freire being 'supplemented by religious practice' (Melkote & Steeves, 2001 p. 279)

When considering empowerment with regard to alternative and post development it has a strong role in both. Alternative development sees empowerment as a way of insuring people's successful participation in the world economy. It acknowledges the unequal power relationships that exist and sees economic and social empowerment as a way of rectifying these inequalities. Friedmann states that 'alternative development doesn't deny the need for economic growth but includes a political element (inclusive democracy) as one of its principle ends of action.' (Friedmann, 1992 p. 34) Post development on the other hand, by its nature of not defining methods of development, does not specify empowerment as a tool for development. Its need for endogenous discourses and social movements to lead it forward would however imply the need for an empowerment process for these to be realised. It also means that this empowerment process would need to come from within, free of the biases and development priorities of outside agents.

Within the context of Chiapas, the Zapatista rebellion and its associated politicising of the population could be seen as the result of an internal empowerment process, a process that has led to the politicisation of not only the Zapatista communities but the wider society in Chiapas as a whole. Empowerment with regard to the Zapatistas is discussed in the next section, considering also the role of agents in this process.

Empowerment and the Zapatistas

As Esteva (1994) suggests the struggle of the EZLN could in many ways been seen as a rebellion against the mainstream concept of development and the development projects it creates. The failure of development in the region has led to an empowerment process that could be seen as having come from within. The role of Subcomandante Marcos alongside influences such as liberation theology could be seen in many ways as one of the outside catalysts that started the process of conscientization. In his own words Marcos' original role in the movement was to teach the *palabra politic*a (political word), the area's history in Western terms (Harvey, 1998 p. 165). The realisation of the state's inability to deal with the region's high levels of poverty and increasing marginalisation in the wake of globalisation has led the local population to take matters into their own hands and put in place their own development process. This development process has a number of elements that would suggest that it was started with an empowerment process bearing similarities to those promoted by writers such as Freire. Firstly the movement would appear to be highly democratic, decisions are made by Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committees (CCRI's) a form of popular assembly, in which all members of the population are encouraged to participate. The dialogue generated by such assemblies could be seen as the tool by which needs are realised and expressed to the upper levels of the movement. Secondly, there is an awareness of the oppressive structures within campesino society itself. Women in contradiction with traditional culture are encouraged to participate in all levels of public life and reach high levels in the army's command. On a day to day level this is backed up by 'The Women's Revolutionary Law' which stipulates women's rights to participate as well as including the right of women to control the number of children they have. It also bans rape and abuse. Thirdly the stated aim of the EZLN is not to claim power but to create a political space in which democracy can be exercised (Benjamin, 1995) . It therefore realises the risk of becoming the oppressors in its struggle for empowerment, as noted by Freire. One essential part of the movement's development process has been through education initiatives, teaching campesino communities Spanish. Although this would appear to contradict Freire's desire for education to be framed in the language of the oppressed, the movement has encouraged the learning of Spanish so local populations are more able to communicate in the county's dominant language, giving them an increased ability to understand the wider forces that effect their reality. It could also be seen as helping prevent certain members of the community controlling the flow of

information, illiteracy being seen by Blackburn as a major obstacle to conscientization (Blackburn, 2000 p. 7).

As an empowerment process that has come from within a society, it is also not subject to the many risks of empowerment processes as promoted by outside NGOs. The participation encouraged, unlike that of many development projects, is 'intransitive'; that is, the person participating is the subject of a process with no predefined purpose (Rahmena, 1992 p. 116). The result of this should be more spontaneous, with the ability to be more wide reaching than more goal-orientated forms of participation. Coming from within a community, this form of empowerment, although risking being guided by existing elites, would not ignore existing power structures through ignorance as an outsider may do. Structures that the community wish to change can be addressed but existing forms of resistance would not be devalued in the process.

The empowerment process of the Zapatistas is examined in this chapter as a reflection of the varying processes that have existed within Chiapas. The economic and social forces that have played out in the region have led to conditions that have stimulated increased awareness and politicisation through necessity. The period of 'awakening' (Rus et al., 2003 p. 8) led to a wide variety of alternatives being created, both to serve as survival strategies as well as in order to reject and contain the outside forces that had done so much damage in the past. Empowerment processes are therefore significant in explaining the development of these strategies and varying forms of resistance that exist in Chiapas.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to give a background to the wider forces that are influencing both Global Exchange and the societies visited by the Reality Tours. The development literature explains the strategies used by human rights and development NGOs and is therefore a good basis for understanding the actions of Global Exchange and the host NGOs the Reality Tours meet with. It also, in critiquing the use of certain concepts, such as human rights and empowerment, highlights their pitfalls and suggests ways these ideas can be best utilised for the benefit of those whom development is trying to help. These suggestions of how these concepts can be best employed are of use in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the Reality Tours.

They are also important in relation to the following chapter concerning the literature on tourism. Tourism is an industry and therefore even in purely economic terms is situated within forms of development. As the following chapter will discuss, it has also contributed to other forms of social, cultural and environmental development whether in a positive or negative way. Tourism

is also increasingly being seen as a tool for development (Harrison, 2001) and as such has been situated in the development literature. Development and Tourism literature within the context of this thesis go hand in hand in attempting to understand the Reality Tours and their effects. An investigation of the tourism literature is therefore the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3:
TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

Tourism, as an activity, has been around for a long time in one form or another. Initially, only the privilege of the upper classes, changes in Western society, in terms of free time and later the opening up of air travel to a large proportion of society, has fuelled its growth. It is therefore now one of the world's biggest industries and plays a part in the economies of all countries. Due to its rapid growth as an industry and despite its weaknesses, tourism is now widely seen as a tool for development (Harrison, 2001)

Global Exchange's Reality Tours are essentially a form of tourism. Whether they are classified as tourism, alternative tourism or justice tourism, they still share some central attributes. The Reality Tours process takes groups of relatively wealthy US citizens to normally Third World destinations for short periods of time[1]. It is therefore very important to examine the literature on tourism as a tool to investigate the Reality Tours; this chapter is accordingly intended to be an investigation of some of the relevant literature on tourism. Due to the vast nature of the literature on tourism, it has been narrowed to look specifically at certain elements that are of most relevance to the Reality Tours. This chapter starts by examining debates around the impact of tourism, both positive and negative. Secondly, it considers some of the theoretical underpinnings of much of the analysis of tourism, giving particular attention to its place in modernisation, power relationships and the influence of postmodernism. Thirdly tourist motivations are contemplated, in as much as they guide the tourism product and influence the actions of tourists both during and after the tourism experience. Tourism is an industry heavily led by consumer demand, consumers that are influenced by the society around them, altering their motivations and the types of experiences they desire (Urry, 2002). The exploration of the theoretical and practical implications of tourism leads us to alternative forms of tourism, newer forms that have been created, in order to avoid problems commonly associated with conventional tourism. As a response to the past failures of tourism, particularly on environmental and social grounds, there has been much research into the impact of tourism and the possible ways in which to maximise the benefits and reduce the mal effects (Fennell, 2003). Lastly attention is given to the literature on empowerment and tourism. This is a concept which has been given little consideration in the majority of tourism literature (Sofield, 2003) but is of significance considering the social justice basis of the Reality Tours.

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[1] Exceptions to this description are Reality Tours to Ireland that consider its colonised history and Bike-Aid trips across the US, designed to raise awareness and funds for Global Exchange.

All these factors have influenced the types of tourism that exist, as well as the ones that are promoted in the name of development. The analysis that exists on such types of tourism can help us to understand its current and possible role in development. In order to fully understand the role of the Reality Tours of Global Exchange it is useful to see how these tours would fit into this context.

Debates Concerning the Benefits of Tourism

The benefits and disadvantages of tourism are often part of the same process and so it is useful to discuss them in the same context. They are also factors that according to Harrison (Harrison, 2001) tend to be discussed within a modernisation theory framework; a significant point when dealing with a type of tourism which does not seem to be founded on modernisation theory's premises. Like any industry, tourism was initially encouraged for its economic potential. The mass tourism which started after World War II (Keyser, 2002) had brought high levels of growth to many of the areas it visited. With regards to tourism in developing countries it is therefore not surprising that it started, although relatively late, to be seen as a viable development strategy. Initial tourism research focused on the mass tourism that stemmed out of the increased air travel of the 1960s. Mass tourism although appearing to bring economic prosperity, was seen to have had many disadvantages.

Tourism presents the opportunity to bring in much-needed foreign exchange. In practice however it was found that tourism development in the Third World suffered the problem of 'leakage'. The demand for Western products by tourists in Third World destinations accompanied by ownership of resorts by Western companies meant most profits from tourism were returning to Western countries through the import of products and the export of profits (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

Being a service sector industry, tourism can provide many employment opportunities for local populations. These jobs do not necessarily demand high levels of education and so are relatively open to local populations that may not have had access to extensive education. On the other hand, for the same reasons the jobs provided for local populations are normally limited to those at the lower levels, higher skilled outsiders normally brought in for the higher paid, more skilled positions (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Scheyvens & Purdie, 1999). This deprives local communities of higher paying positions as well as meaning real power and decision making resides outside of the local communities' control (Mitchell & Reid, 2001). In response to these problems, there has been a drive within development literature to highlight the importance of local ownership and control in order to keep profits, employment and control within communities.

Tourism is also an industry that has been found to be highly reliant on the environment. In order for it to be sustainable it needs to retain its natural attributes to maintain its economic viability (Keyser, 2002). This realisation is one that has stemmed out of tourism research upon areas subjected to mass tourism in the past and is one that has clearly fed into current development planning for tourism in developing countries (Wahab, 1997). This link, shown in such a clear way, makes it an industry wherein it now makes good business sense to have environmental concerns at its core. Large-scale resorts, despite a passing concern for the aesthetics of their immediate environments, often effect the environment in more discreet ways, putting increased pressure to the natural resources and the already fragile infrastructural resources local people depend upon (Hunter & Green, 1995). The economic possibilities tourism presents, can mean that the demands of the tourists for such resources has tends to take primary importance. To ensure the needs of the local population take priority, it is important that the ownership of tourism enterprises and resource control remains in the hands of locals.

There have also been many debates as to whether the interaction of different cultures in the tourism process is beneficial to local communities. Echoing concerns over the host-guest power relationship, the impact of Western tourists on the cultures of destination communities has been much discussed (Hunter & Green, 1995; Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004; Lea, 1988; Mansperger, 1995; Wearing & Neil, 1999). Smith maintains that tourism is an agent of cultural change in indigenous societies (Smith, 1989a in Carter & Beeton, 2003). If Western visitors are seen to have the most power, tourism has the ability to do much damage in indigenous communities in spreading Western culture. However tourism is never solely responsible for culture change (Scheyvens, 2002). It is nevertheless considered important that local communities retain control over the tourism process. Accepting the fact that cultures are fluid, and are constantly changing even without the presence of tourism, control over tourism gives local communities influence over the extent and nature of the cultural impact caused in their communities (Carter & Beeton, 2003).

The increased interest in forms of tourism centred on local culture, have presented opportunities for tourism to redress the unequal influences in the interaction of two, often very different cultures. With the increased demand for cultural experiences from tourists, tourism has provided an opportunity for local communities to use the cultural resources they have, to bring in revenue. This is not only beneficial in an economic sense but the increased importance of these cultural practices has 'helped build solidarity, pride in traditions and strengthen identity' (Rabibhadana, 1992 in Carter & Beeton, 2003 p. 1). It has therefore led some writers such as Graburn (1976,1983), Lansing (1974) and McKean (1976, 1977) to have the view that tourism 'is a positive force in combining economic development with support for tradition' (cited in Sofield,

2003 p. 57). Graburn finds that this can increase self esteem and self-identity within communities (cited in Sofield, 2003).

This same process however has been accused of commodifing culture (Nunez, 1977 cited in Carter & Beeton, 2003). The positioning of tourism in a capitalist system and the associated power relations, mean that the local communities are not the ones in control of the way in which they are presented, their culture being turned into a product by tourism promoters outside their communities. Marketing surveys of potential tourists, influence what is presented, utilising only aspects of the society that would appeal to visitors and glossing over aspects that may not (Wearing, 2001). Later work on the role of culture in tourism clearly illustrates that the process of commodification is not as clear cut as first thought, stressing the importance of the interactions of tourists and hosts in practice and the representations that are created. Grünewald notes that the Pataxó of Brazil, play an important role in the commodification of their own culture, realising how through promoting certain aspects of their culture and identity they can bring both economic and cultural benefits to the group, leading Grünewald to conclude that 'tourism has not acted degradingly on indigenous culture. Quite the opposite: it gives the Pataxó a distinctive status in the region' (Grünewald, 2002 p. 1001). The Pataxó distinguish between, and value differently, the culture for tourism and their day to day cultural practices. This differentiation enables them to retain ownership of their social lives and use tourism in the ways they see fit.

Aas et al. (2005) have highlighted that tourism also has the potential to contribute to heritage management, by increasing the importance of heritage sites in economic terms, in the eyes of local populations. Richter points out that heritage tourism also can play a role in 'national identity, political communication and socialisation' (Richter, 2002 p. 108), elements I would suggest contribute to the strengthening of culture. Reflecting the diversity of cultures and political interests that exists within a national identity, Richter also recognises the political side of such tourism, and the risks of showing bias when portraying historical events (Richter, 2002). Richter's analysis places heritage tourism within a power structure that influences what is told and what is forgotten. The representation of minority groups and their views within heritage tourism can therefore have an empowering effect adjusting the mainstream version of history to accommodate the experiences of those previously ignored.

The commodification process has also been linked to debates around the authenticity of the tourism experience (Harrison, 2001). Many writers have discussed the desire of tourists for an authentic experience (MacCannell, 1999). MacCannell also proposes the idea of Staged Authenticity, a situation where due to the desire of tourists for authenticity, a constructed authenticity is staged for their benefit. Using Goffman's Front and Back dichotomy, he argues

that tourist experiences usually take place in 'front' spaces, with tourists rarely getting to glimpse into 'back' areas. With the recognition that tourists in many cases do want an authentic experience that allows them to see the reality of the places they are visiting, these front and back spaces are getting increasingly difficult to identify. MacCannell divides the categories of front and back further into a number of stages depending on the level of access to back spaces tourists get. MacCannell also points out that it is difficult for tourists themselves to assess the authenticity of the experience they are getting. This would indicate that the level of authenticity is very much controlled by the hosts. When considering the Reality Tours and their desire for real or authentic experience, the views of the hosts with regard to the purpose of the meetings would matter a great deal. If the hosts have a vested economic interest in tourism then their interactions with visiting groups may be seen as a production for the benefit of the visiting tourists. If the earnings of the host groups, from the meetings, were significant and this mattered more to them than the education of the Reality Tour participants, then the portrayal of the reality of the situation would take second place to the interests and desires of the tourists.

An important point to note regarding the impacts of tourism is that the vast majority of studies assess impacts solely within the context of the destination area (Fennell, 2003). As Fennell suggests, future studies may also want to consider the effects a tourist has in their home environment, taking the effects of the tourism experience beyond the confines of the vacation itself (ibid.). This I would suggest is highly important with regard to the Reality Tours considering their desire to create change within the home locations of the tourists, the tours clearly intending to have an impact beyond the tour destination.

Tourism Theory

In order to explain the causes of the effects of tourism, a growing body of tourism theory has been developed. This theory helps place the phenomena of tourism within wider development structures as well as shedding light on the causes of the mal effects and therefore suggest ways they can be lessened.

Development literature has to a certain point, discussed the phenomenon of tourism in the terms just discussed, that of its pros and cons. Theoretical models have tended to be limited to explanations of its progressive development, such as the S shaped sequence model by Butler or the 4 types of tourism proposed by Weaver (Weaver, 2001) as discussed in the alternative tourism section. It is for this reason that some authors such as Pearce and Moscardo maintain that 'tourism has yet to be supported by a strong theoretical base' (P. L. Pearce & Moscardo, 2002 p.41). The tourism process however has been discussed within wider development theory, initially being placed within a modernisation framework, which guided much of its analysis. With new forms of tourism appearing however, it has been increasingly compared to elements of

postmodern discourse. This positioning questions the structure in which tourism operates, as well as tourism's intended use and possibilities as a social process.

Tourism, Modernisation and the Role of the State

The wider theory that does exist for tourism tends to place it within capitalistic processes, in much the same way as it is criticised for furthering the reach of modernisation and capitalism. Tourism is seen as a way of spreading the social and economic structures of capitalism to new parts of the world (Harrison, 2001). Mirroring wider development theory some writers such as Britton (1982), Nash (1989) and van dee Abbeele (1980) (cited in Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p. 49) link it to imperialism and dependency. Britton's work in Fiji was particularly influential in putting across the view that tourism perpetuates the unequal relationships between the First and Third Worlds. Nash and van dee Abeele link tourism to imperialism, due to it being created by demand from the metropolitan areas and due to the commodifying process involved.

In a similar way to modernisation theory, the state is seen as essential in tourism development in Third World countries (Harrison, 2001) providing the infrastructure and planning needed to created a successful industry. The World Tourism organisation (WTO) has specified five ways in which the state can contribute to tourism development:

- Provides framework within which the private and public sector can operate
- Legislates and regulates to protect environmental and cultural heritage
- Constructs infrastructure
- Develops training and education for tourism
- Formulates overall policy and plans for tourism development

Source: (Harrison, 2001 p. 34)

Sofield has also commented that Third World governments are increasingly taking a role in tourism development, seeing it as a way of bringing in foreign exchange, creating jobs and encouraging a diversification of the economy. Sofield also points out that this is in contrast to First World destinations, where there is a trend for governments to reduce their role in the industry (Sofield, 2003). This trend in Third World destinations, would be in contradiction to neo-liberal policies encouraging a reduction of the state in many industries and would raise questions as to the state's ability to fulfil these functions (Harrison, 2001).

The consideration of tourism in the context of states outside of standard Western capitalism may present other ways in which the Reality Tours are functioning. The Zapatistas can be seen to have said 'no' to Western capitalism and so the extent to which such tourism can be discussed in the context of capitalism is debatable. This is relevant considering the Reality Tours' operation in socialist states such as Cuba and their association with social movements. Harrison uses Cuba as

an example of the state's changing relationship to tourism. Initially Cuba was unwelcoming to visitors from non-communist states. As the need for hard currency become more urgent in the 1970s this stance was relaxed, culminating in the state actively encouraging tourism development from the 1990s onwards (Harrison, 2001). Hall suggests that tourism in socialist states has been used in a number of different ways to conventional tourism. Internal tourism was used as a way of redistributing employment opportunities and promoting positive national and regional images. External tourism was often used as a foreign policy tool, a way of generating propaganda as to the benefits of communism (Hall, 2001). As a result much of the infrastructure for tourism, such as hotels, was owned and operated by the state, a result of their centralised economic system. It could also be seen as a reflection of nationalistic rather than economic reasoning behind tourism development (Harrison, 2001).

Power in Tourism

A highly significant aspect of tourism and its role in development is the power relationships that are played out. Whether it is between tourists and hosts, the state and local communities or the state and the tourists, power relationships play a significant role in who benefits and the experiences that are gained. As Nina Rao states 'tourism takes place in the context of great inequality of wealth and power' (cited in Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p. 45). Mowforth and Munt's book, from which this quote is taken is highly critical of tourism in general, much of their criticism stemming from this unequal power relationship and its effects. They also criticise tourism literature on this basis saying that 'much tourism analysis has downplayed relationships of power, which remain implicit or are absent' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p. 45). They maintain that tourism is an example of 'hegemony in practice' (ibid. p. 48) and is seen as a way of spreading certain political, cultural or moral values to subordinate groups. This is done in two possible ways: either through spreading the values associated with capitalism, or in attempting to influence tourism practice in the Third World to coincide with Western environmental or human rights concerns.

A second and much cited perspective on this binary view of the power relationships that exist in tourism is that of Urry's 'tourist gaze' (2002). In Urry's analysis it is the 'tourist gaze' that motivates tourism and controls the growth of the infrastructure that is created to meet this demand. This gaze is developed from the desire to experience the new and exotic. Tourism allows the tourists to interact with 'the other', 'allowing one's senses to engage with a sense of stimuli that contrasts with the everyday and the mundane' (Urry, 2002 p. 2). It is a gaze that is socially constructed, primarily outside of the tourism location. The concept of tourist gaze therefore implies that it is the tourists that possess the power in tourism practices. It is their gaze that attaches value to different attractions, value that in turn controls the tourism industry.

Despite this binary view of the power relationships in tourism being generally accepted (Pearce, 1989 cited in Cheong & Miller, 2000), some writers such as Chambers (1997), Cohen (1985a) and van de Berghe and Keyes (1984) (cited in Cheong & Miller, 2000) develop it further in recognising the power of intermediaries such as guides, in this relationship. The importance of the role of intermediaries is significant when considering the Reality Tours where the tour leaders have control over the tour content and the tours have an overtly political nature which is dictated by the intermediary, Global Exchange. Cheong and Miller use the work of Foucault to look at the power relationships in tourism, allowing for players in the relationship to take on more complex roles. Rather than the relationship being just one way, the tourist being in the position of power and having a negative effect on the host population, they divide those involved in tourism up into tourists, brokers and hosts. The brokers category covers those involved in the tourism industry, who are not tourists. Locals are people in the host country who are not involved in the industry. Unlike many theories that see the tourists as the ones with all the power this model sees the brokers having a great deal of power in controlling what the tourist sees, where they go and even their behaviour. In a similar way to Mowforth and Munt (2003) as discussed later in this chapter, they see a professionalisation of the tourism industry, whereby the increased position of brokers such as tour agents and tour guides makes them sources of information for tourists, this information guiding where they go and their behaviour. Although not as direct, Cheong and Miller's ideas also recognise the power of the locals who can similarly control tourists behaviour and actions. This is done through using Urry's concept of the gaze but attributes it to the locals rather than the tourists. Through the power of their gaze, the local's behaviour towards tourists controls the areas they get access to and the areas in which they don't feel welcome. In using Foucault's ideas on power they make some important points on the nature of the relationships between the tourists, brokers and hosts; firstly power is omnipresent and therefore exists in every relationship. Secondly, it exists in networks, and manifests itself at different times and in different places. Thirdly, the 'agents perform their power *via* the construction and exertion of knowledge, normalising discourse (what is acceptable and not acceptable), and an inspecting gaze' (Cheong & Miller, 2000 p.376). It also has a productive power shown through trends such as the professionalisaton of the industry, the planning and research that now goes into tourism being a symptom of this.

Tourism and Postmodernism

MacCannell and Krippendorf (cited in Harrison, 2001) also relate the rise of tourism to changes in Western capitalism but maintain that it reflects the rise of postmodernism and postmodern practices. The linking of alternative tourism practices to postmodernism has been highlighted by many writers such as, Urry (1990), Rojek (1993) and Eco (1986) (cited in Lennon & Foley, 1999), MacCannell (MacCannell, 1992; 1999) and Mowforth and Munt (2003). Significantly for the work of Global Exchange, Urry (2002) identifies one of the key aspects of postmodernism as

the blurring of the lines between different cultural forms, forms such as tourism and education. The combination of tourism and education, by tour operators such as Global Exchange, could therefore be seen as a postmodern form of tourism.

Mowforth and Munt (2003 p.116) echo this idea in defining postmodern tourism as having 3 key components.

- Specialist agents and tour operators
- Differentiation of tourism as it becomes associated with other activities
- Increasing interest in other cultures, environments and their association with the emergence of new social movements

In many ways, the tourism practices of Global Exchange are described by all three of these conditions. They are specialists in their field, offering tours with a particular angle and tours that are highly associated with other activities, such as education, and more serious issues such as campaigning for human rights. They are also, especially, as with the case of the Zapatistas, closely linked to new social movements, in the context of the tours' focus as well as the responses they intend to promote in tourists from the experience.

Tourists' Motivations in Alternative Tourism

Another issue that has been considered in tourism literature is that of tourist motivations. This is significant in that motivations influence the interaction of tourists with local populations and may make the tour participants use their experiences from the tour in activism upon their return home. Initially many writers viewed tourism as being motivated by purely selfish reasons, being associated with 'pleasure and a certain playfulness' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p.45). In this light, it appears that there is little opportunity for the demands of tourists to include considerations as to how their presence effects host communities, or for them to contribute to positive social change. Further research into the motives of tourists has revealed that not all tourists have pleasure as their sole motivation for travel. Pearce points out that people's actions in participating in tourism are multi-motive, tourists responding to a number of motives at one time. He also states that most motives are extrinsic and change over the life span of the individual (P. L. Pearce, 1993). This makes them highly influenced by the views of others and changing social values in wider society.

With regards to alternative forms of tourism and its motivations, Mowforth and Munt (2003) see society as divided along two lines. Drawing strongly on Bourdieu's work (1984 cited in Mowforth & Munt, 2003), tourists types are defined along class lines, motivations for participating in tourism being the gaining of cultural capital and its potential contribution to class status. As

such, they take a negative view of tourist motivations, casting doubt on whether new forms of tourism based on altruism really reflect the true motives of the participants. According to Mowforth and Munt the new bourgeoisie are the ones participating in ecotourism, with access to high amounts of economic capital allowing them to participate in exclusive tours with mainstream concerns such as environmentalism, helping to legitimise their travel. Possibly more significantly for the work of Global Exchange, they identify the motivations of the petit bourgeoisie, the 'ego-tourists'; a class who are less affluent but who are trying to define themselves by their individuality, and therefore their participation in alternative tourism practices. As a result of this view they go on to define some motivations of these new forms of tourists.

The three forms they identify are significant to the work of Global Exchange, as they present a possible view of the tourists that participate in the Reality Tours, and the wider process of tourism in the Chiapas area. Firstly, they identify 'CV builders', younger people who are using travel experiences as a way of building their cultural capital. Their search for 'authentic' experiences is seen as compensating for those experiences that they may not have access to due to lack of economic capital. Secondly, they highlight 'new intellectuals' who legitimise their travel experiences through the addition of educational aspects. Thirdly, what could be seen as a tourism trend, rather than a motivational category, are the travel 'Professionals'. The professionalisation of the tourism industry is said to reflect the widening of what is considered a profession and is seen in the portrayal of tour leaders and travel staff as experts in their field, with some tours being described as projects led by dedicated professionals. Travel itself according to Mowforth and Munt is increasingly being seen as a qualification, not only for the tourism industry but also for other industries such as international development. Tours that require experience or qualifications for people to join them, although few in number, are also seen as part of this professionalisation. Mowforth and Munt give the example of applications for trips to the Himalayas needing ' your climbing CV' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p.127). Significantly for Reality Tours, which use tour leaders who are not full time and normally occupied in other work, they identify a trend of people in other professions diversifying into tourism. Lastly Mowforth and Munt point to professional bodies that have sprung up around the tourism industry, specifically in relation to ecotourism. Bodies such as the Ecotourism Society and the codes of ethics that they produce are formed by such tourism professionals. Mowforth and Munt see these professionals as being the opinion formers in society with regard to tourism practice. These 'professionals' also often have affiliations to other Northern NGOs, with their own interests, and this brings them to say 'We must ask what vision of the world they are pursing and the degree to which such visions are imposed from the First World onto the Third World' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p. 127). Codes of ethics that are produced by such organisations have been widely adopted, with many tour operators also creating their own. These according to

Mowforth and Munt are manifestations of the 'hegemony of travel', a hegemony with environmental concerns at its core.

As far as the work of Global Exchange is concerned these descriptions are highly relevant, the latter two probably the most so. The first type, the CV builders, I would suggest applies to more longer term tourism experiences as discussed by Wearing (2001) in his work on volunteer tourism or possibly those tourists that visit the Chiapas region independently. The second and third categories may, on investigation apply to the participants of the Reality Tours, having a high educational content and reflecting the concerns of many Western NGOs. This Professional category may particularly reflect the nature of the research tours Global Exchange additionally organise and highlights the need to consider the views Global Exchange are promoting within their tours. Although in Mowforth and Munt's work the influence of these tourists is presented in a negative light, it does point to this group in Western society being the opinion formers and so would suggest that as well as having the ability to have a negative effect they also may have the ability to be a positive force. The acknowledgement of this power would indicate the possible role the opinions derived from the Reality Tour experience may have in contributing to the wider development action initiated in the First World.

Others have taken a less negative view of motivations of tourists and the benefits tourists receive from such experiences. With regards to volunteer tourism Wearing sees it as a way of contributing to the development of self, especially amongst younger volunteers (Wearing, 2001). Wearing builds on the work of Kelly (1982, 1983, 1987) and his work on leisure. The freedom entailed in the leisure element of tourism allows for the investment in self, and this would indicate that authentic experiences in Third World countries can contribute to the forming of opinions, and therefore possibly to the actions of participants on returning to their home countries. He takes a fairly sympathetic view of the role of volunteer tourism and the motivations of those involved referring to it as 'serious leisure', indicating the possibility of combining the attributes associated with traditional tourism with activities and issues considered more serious, such as the human rights aspect of the work of Global Exchange. Further discussion of Wearing's work on volunteer tourism can be found in the next section on alternative tourism.

Another study that has been significant in understanding tourism from the perspective of the tourist is that of Hutnyk's (1996) work in Calcutta. His interviews of volunteers in healthcare programmes, such as The Mother Teresa Trust, throws significant light on varying motivations and the level of understanding of situations shown by participants. He acknowledges that volunteers' understanding is limited by a number of factors, including the insularity of traveller lifestyle, the cultural and class background of the volunteers and the hegemonic effects of the

traveller's gaze and 'travel lore' (ibid. p. 44). In saying this, however, he shows that the volunteers themselves question these stereotypes and that their ideas and understanding can deepen on longer-term contact with the subject of 'Calcutta'. This leads some tourists in Calcutta to question wider development processes.

One of the reasons analysis of the motivations of tourists has continued to be a field of interest in tourism, is the emergence of alternative forms of tourism. This, accompanied by postmodern analysis of tourism practices, has presented a number of ways tourism has developed to present alternatives to mainstream tourism that involve different motivations of tourists and new possibilities for the role of tourism. Accordingly, it is to alternative forms of tourism this chapter now turns.

Alternative Tourism

As a result of the problems identified with the process of tourism, a number of different forms of alternative tourism have emerged (Fennell, 2003). Alternative tourism has been defined as 'options or strategies considered preferable to mass tourism' (Pearce cited in Wearing, 2001 p. 27). It is said to focus on ideas of local ownership, consideration of scale, community participation and sustainability (Brohman, 1996a). Although being seen by some such as Mowforth and Munt (2003) as having the same problems as conventional tourism, others such as Butler and Cohen see alternative tourism as a significant area in its own right (cited in Wearing, 2001). Weaver (2001) similarly defines alternative tourism by its nature of being an 'alternative' to mass tourism and its characteristics therefore vary but are normally in opposition to the problems caused by mass tourism. Weaver importantly makes four distinctions in forms of tourism as shown by the following table, covering intentions in tourism strategy as well as results from forms of tourism with very little control or strategy.

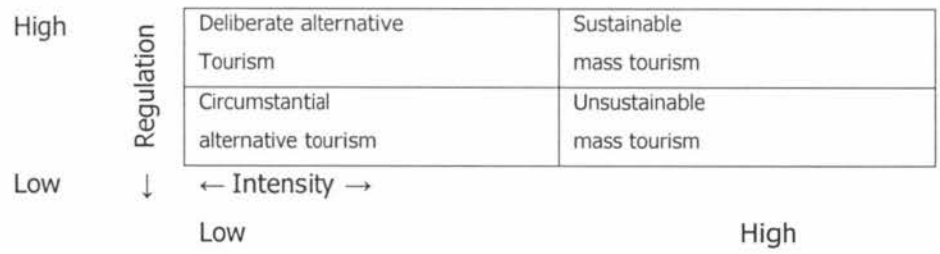

Figure 3.1 Weaver's Four Types of Tourism

Source: Weaver, 2001 p. 164

These divisions are useful in placing very small-scale tourism and its effects within a wider tourism development process, important when looking at the role of Reality Tours. It also brings

attention to factors of scale and regulation, and shows that the beneficial results of alternative tourism can be achieved through both intentional and unintentional practices.

Alternative forms of tourism, like alternative development have been partly triggered by environmental concerns. The concept of ecotourism has been highly influential in the development of more environmentally sustainable forms of tourism as well as in the marketing of nature based tourism. Ecotourism is separated from nature based tourism on a number of levels including having an educational component, and ethical considerations in its management. Fennell defines ecotourism as:

> ... a sustainable form of natural resource-based tourism that focuses primarily on experiencing and learning about nature, and which is ethically managed to be low-impact, non-consumptive, and locally orientated (control, benefits, and scale). It typically occurs in natural areas, and should contribute to the conservation or preservation of such areas (Fennell, 2003 p. 25).

Fennell also points out the hard and soft dimensions of ecotourism as discussed by Laarman and Durst (1987).

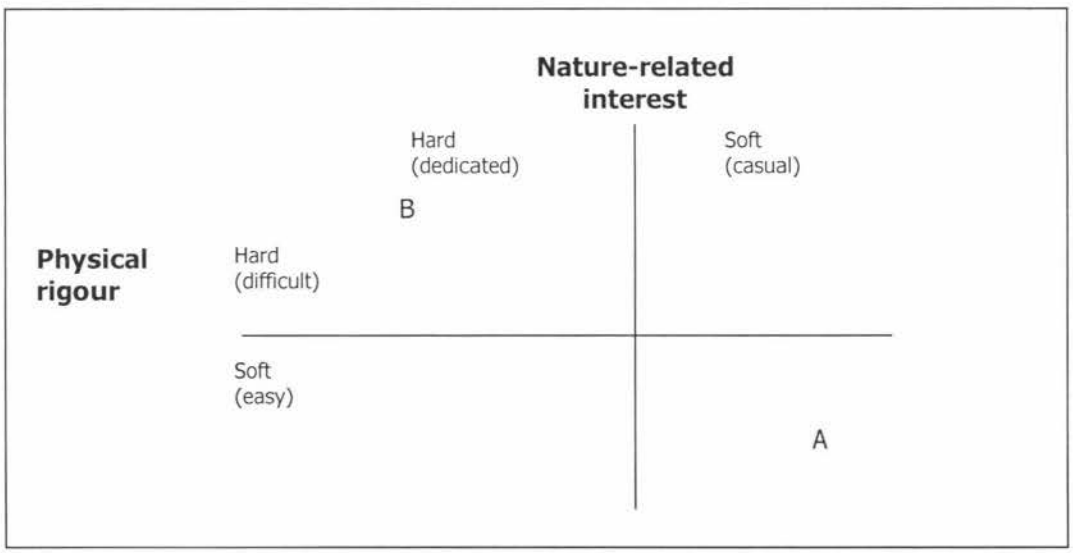

Figure 3.2 Hard and Soft Dimensions of Ecotourism

Source: Laarman and Durst, 1987, in Fennell, 2003 p.21

This diagram shows that the more dedicated ecotourist (B) is more likely to be willing to endure hardships in pursuit of the ecotourism experience. A tourist with a low level of interest in the nature basis of the tourism (A) will be less willing to be put out through physical discomfort in order to secure this experience. It is also possible to equate Laarman and Durst's categories with those of Weaver's (2001) types of tourism, particularly with regard to the alternative

tourism categories. The practices of deliberate alternative tourism operators would mirror the concerns of hard tourists, hard tourists being more willing to conform to a highly regulated industry for the benefit of the environment. Soft tourists would be more likely to participate in circumstantial alternative tourism, forms of tourism that require little hardship or change of behaviour on their part.

Ecotourism however led to concerns that environmental issues may take precedence over the needs of the local communities, this being described by Dobson as a form of 'ecoimperialism' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p.46) that answers to the environmental needs and demands of the West. This has been particularly evident in the setting up of national parks where local populations have been excluded in favour of environmental conservation and the desires of tourists (Scheyvens, 2002). In a similar way to wider development practice, ecotourism has to a certain extent been mainstreamed into ideas of sustainable tourism development and despite Mowforth and Munt's (2003) reservations as to the motivations of the tourists that participate, it has lead to concrete positive changes in tourism practice.

Another important element of sustainable tourism development is a concern for maintaining local ownership and control (Moscardo, Morrison, & Pearce, 1996; Scheyvens, 2002). Alternative forms of tourism such as community based tourism have in a similar way to ecotourism influenced mainstream sustainable tourism development practice. Participation of local populations in tourism development is now being seen as essential in maintaining the sustainability of tourism ventures (Marien & Pizam, 1997). It has however been pointed out that local ownership does not guarantee equitable distribution of the benefits, there always being the risk of local elites monopolising the benefits of tourism ventures (Mowforth & Munt, 2003)

A specific concern for social justice has emerged in forms of alternative tourism such as pro-poor tourism. In direct response to inequalities of those benefiting from tourism as well as a recognition of tourism's possible role in development, ideas such a pro-poor tourism have been promoted by development agencies such as DFID (1999). Pro-Poor tourism sees tourism as a possible development strategy for a number of reasons, including the possibility of rural and remote areas being tourist attractions due to their natural attributes. Tourism also has the ability to provide labour intensive, small scale employment (Ashley, Boyd, & Goodwin, 2000) This approach to tourism development promotes strategies that encourage the participation of poor sections of society in tourism destinations. It also recognises the need to identify and deal with the barriers, economic and social that stand in the way of the participation of poorer sectors of society (Ashley et al., 2000).

A significant form of alternative tourism as mentioned earlier is volunteer tourism. This form of tourism has been generated in response to a recognition that tourists motivations include a 'desire for deeper involvement with society and culture' (MacCannell, 1976 cited in Wearing, 2001 p. 26). Volunteer tourists combine work in environmental or development sectors with their visits to other countries in order to fulfil this motivation. The tourist demand has created organisations and tour operators specifically aimed at this market. It is therefore a form of tourism that can be seen as being generated in response to tourist demand rather than as a response to the environmental or social impacts of standard tourism. Through operating in environmental and development fields however it has taken on elements of ecotourism and socially responsible forms of tourism in its operation. Wearing's work on volunteer tourism raises a number of important points that may be significant in understanding the methods Global Exchange are using in the Reality Tours. His work also raises questions with regard to Mowforth and Munt's classifying of these types of tourists. Those involved in volunteer tourism tend to be young people but in contradiction to ego-tourists they are often paying more for the experience than standard tourism. They are also very much influenced by the experience, it being seen as a way of developing their self-identity as well. As Whitmore (1988) claims, 'learning in these community settings is nevertheless real and substantive' (cited in Wearing, 2001 p. 55). This points to such experiences having a role in promoting wider development through informing participant's actions within this form of tourism as well in their actions on their return home. It would suggest that the experience of living and volunteering in a Third World country can increase participants' knowledge of development issues, their causes and ways in which they can contribute to alleviation of development problems. Wearing supports this idea seeing volunteer tourism as a way of bringing about sustainable development in communities as well as being instrumental in leaving the participants feeling empowered that they can make a difference.

Some of these processes as carried through in volunteer tourism however take time, the awareness raising element often being an indirect result of the work volunteers are doing. Reality Tours work over a short period of time and would appear to be much more politically direct. They are also, in most cases, centrally about an information exchange rather than work in a community. This is not to say they may not create opportunities for volunteer tourism (such as working as a human rights observer in Chiapas) or contain elements of volunteering (such as in the Fair Trade tour to Nicaragua where the participants participate in the harvesting of fair trade coffee). This is not however their primary aim. It is therefore important to look at other forms of tourism that work over a shorter period of time and deal directly with social justice issues.

Justice Tourism

A type of alternative tourism that has emerged which deals directly with the social justice issues that emerge as a result of volunteer tourism and the inequalities found in conventional tourism is that of justice tourism. Wenham and Wenham (1984) describe participants of such tourism as being in the 'knowledge that he/she is not an agent of oppression but is attempting to participate in the liberation process' (cited in Scheyvens, 2002 p.104). Wenham and Wenham's criteria for justice tourism also gains from much of past criticism of tourism, echoing concerns for local ownership of tourism facilities, an equal relationship between tourist and host and a respect for local culture and values. Scheyvens goes on to describe 5 types of justice tourism using the Reality Tours of Global Exchange as an example of last one of these, revolutionary tourism.

- Hosts telling their own stories of past oppression
  Black Heritage tours
- Improving tourists' understanding of poverty issues
  Soweto Township tours
- Voluntary conservation work by tourists
  Earthwatch
- Voluntary development work by tourists
  Cross Cultural solutions
- Revolutionary tourism
  Global Exchange's Reality Tours

Source: Scheyvens, 2002

These examples of justice tourism given by Scheyvens encompass many of the positive aspects of the types of tourism previously discussed but also adding new types such as Soweto township tours that directly confront and increase understanding of the inequalities that exist rather than contribute to their repetition. All these examples of justice tourism if not completed correctly with respect for local communities and careful consideration to represent issues fairly can run the risk of imposing the views of the operators promoting them. They also, as pointed out by Scheyvens, depend very much on the motivations of the tourists themselves, running the risk of being motivated by the 'thrill of entering a potential conflict zone, rather than any concern for building solidarity or a commitment to justice issues' (Scheyvens, 2002 p. 117). Considering areas where human rights atrocities have taken place these tours could also be susceptible to turning into darker forms of tourism such as those discussed by Lennon and Foley (1999) and Hall (2001). Such forms of tourism have been accused of being motivated by voyeurism and promoted for financial reasons, 'milking the macabre' (Dan, 1994, cited in Richter, 2002) rather than any real desire for education or having a significant impact on the participants.

Empowerment and Tourism

The need for forms of tourism that deal directly with social justice issues, along with the recognition that tourism to developing countries operates within unequal power relationships, implies that there is a need for empowerment of host communities. The role of empowerment processes in tourism has generally been seen along similar lines to other development projects. Participation is desired as a way of increasing the success of tourism projects and ironing out any conflict tourism development may create. However, this participation is not often taken to an empowerment level, local populations are encouraged to be involved in the process but are rarely given the option to prevent the existence of tourism in their communities (Sofield, 2003). This option is one that would show a true level of empowerment, where the communities have control over the whole process rather than just parts of it. This is not to say that the tourism process has not contributed to degrees of empowerment, economic rewards and increasing concern for the distribution of benefits to disadvantaged sectors of society, making an impact on the power relationships within communities. The rise in popularity of cultural tourism can be seen to have contributed in a similar way, cultural tourism strengthening traditional practices and increasing community pride in local heritage, processes that could be considered the starting blocks for an empowerment process. This however has been primarily as a by-product of tourist desire for cultural tourism, rather than for the primary purpose of empowerment. These same processes, as discussed earlier, have also been accused of encouraging the commodification of culture, and encouraging culture and indigenous knowledge, only in so far as it is a benefit to the tourism industry. The empowerment potential of cultural tourism has tended to be limited to the aims of the tourism industry in which it is produced.

Forms of tourism such as justice tourism which deals directly with the power structures that exist in tourism destinations, can help stimulate education within communities about their situation, as well as build support networks through contact with outside visitors. These elements, when examined with reference to empowerment processes, as discussed in Chapter 2, could be seen as contributing to conscientization as described by Freire as well as the networking element of empowerment, as described by Onyx and Benton (Sofield, 2003).

The tendency for empowerment processes to be limited by the needs of the tourism industry has meant there has been much discussion of the power relationships that are inherent in tourism but little that deals with wider empowerment processes. As Sofield (2003) points out the majority of literature on tourism considers participation but rarely takes it to the empowerment level. In fact 'empowerment is conspicuous by its virtual absence' (Sofield, 2003 p. 100). He identifies four themes of empowerment as shown on the following page:

- involving the redistribution of power,
- to enable or make possible
- professionalisation
- individual level

The first two forms are what he sees to be directly related to tourism development. With most empowerment processes in tourism being based on the results of participation, the empowerment created comes under the 'to enable or make possible' theme. As in wider development, most forms of tourism development rarely try to challenge existing power structures, nor do they focus on increasing people's ability to represent themselves and work within these power structures. In this context participation, in a similar way to much mainstream development work, is now seen as a key tool in bringing about sustainable tourism development. However, like any social process the results of such measures are not controllable, there always being the possibility of real empowerment occurring as a result of the participation and equity concerns within newer forms of tourism. This, I would say, is especially relevant to the newer forms of tourism which are discussed in the next section and which have particular elements that have the possibility of contributing to wider empowerment processes.

When considering empowerment specifically in a tourism context, Scheyvens' (1999) identification of four areas where tourism can contribute to empowerment is useful to consider. Scheyvens divides forms of empowerment into economic, political, psychological and the social. The first three forms are covered by Stromquist (1995, cited in Stromquist, 2002) as discussed in the previous chapter; the fourth however, needs adding, especially when considering the context in which the Reality Tours operate. An example of social empowerment is when tourism enhances community cohesion (Scheyvens, 2000). This is an important aspect of empowerment to include, as it extends empowerment processes beyond the individual level. This is especially relevant considering the importance of the collective identity that exists in many of the campesino communities that the Reality Tour visits. Without consideration of the collective, notions of empowerment could be criticised of working from a purely Western, individualistic perspective.

Empowerment, Tourism and the Activities of Global Exchange

The theoretical aspects of tourism as discussed earlier can shed some light onto the role of the Reality Tours in development as well as highlighting the ways in which it does not fit in with conventional theory. If viewed as conventional tourism the tours operated by Global Exchange merely contribute to the spread of capitalism, if only in a limited way. They are sporadic and so would not encourage dependency on the industry by the local population. However, if the wider situation is considered, that of there being a large number of independent tourists that visit the

region, this still could be considered a risk. As far as the ideological side of capitalism is concerned, the Reality Tours' role in spreading the values and ideals of Western society could also be seen as limited. Part of the objective of many of Global Exchange's tours is to educate tourists as to the problems in the spread of global capitalism. The Reality Tours could therefore be seen as trying to stop the spread of capitalism as opposed to paving the way for it.

Considering that the Reality Tours do not appear to concur with conventional tourism, it is useful to consider whether they do have a role in empowerment processes and in wider development. Considering how established the Zapatista movement was before Global Exchange got involved in their struggle, it would appear that empowerment on a local level had already been achieved. The role of Global Exchange could therefore be seen to be working in many ways at a later level of empowerment than normal tourism activities. Situated more at a macro level, the activism encouraged by Global Exchange could be seen as ensuring the local level empowerment achieved by the social movement is not crushed by the wider political structures in which it operates. This is especially significant in today's world, when global forces play an increasingly important part in influencing actions at a local level. As discussed by many authors, such as Korten, it can be seen to reflect the role of Fourth Generation NGOs in working at a Macro level in advocacy, rather than in implementing empowerment programs at the local level (Atak, 1999).

Summary

It is therefore important to consider the actions of Global Exchange within the context of both tourism and wider development. The objectives of Global Exchange may be met through the effects of tourism on its participants, as discussed in the tourism literature. Discussion as to the types of people who participate, their concerns and the ways these tours contribute to this social process of forming their opinions and actions, feeds into development concerns regarding social movements and the possible alternatives they offer. If Porritt is correct in saying the 'post industrial revolution is likely to be pioneered by the middle classes' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p. 145), the effect that justice tourism has on these classes, may be significant in wider social change.

This chapter has presented ideas from a range of the relevant tourism literature. This chapter, alongside Chapter 2 on the development literature, serves as a conceptual base for the research in this study and its analysis. The next chapter can be seen as the start of the research based section of this thesis. As preparation for the results of the research, it covers the design of the research taking into account methodological and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 4:
RESEARCH & METHODOLOGY

This chapter aims to discuss both the methods and the methodological considerations of the research in this study. It starts with an overview of the philosophy behind the research and the rationale for the type of methods chosen. It then continues on to consider the selection of the research site, the subjects of the research, the methods used and their appropriateness. Lastly attention is given to the ethical considerations that informed the practice and analysis of the research.

Research Philosophy

Based on my own personal views and the requirements of this research, it has been done within a humanist framework (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005). A framework that suggests that 'social reality is fundamentally a world of ideas and meaning, which cannot exist independently of the human subjects who create and interpret such meaning' (McLean, 1999). This is not to deny the existence of structural influences but is based on the belief that people do have agency and the ability to change these structures. Without this belief in the agency of human beings the study of a process such as the Reality Tours, which aim to change wider social and economic structures, would be difficult. If I were to consider the Reality Tours within a purely structural based philosophy, it would invalidate many of the aims expressed by the participants in this study. This, as well as not reflecting my own views, would be a patronising stance to take with regard to the knowledge of the study participants. Another element of the humanist approach utilised in this study is the perspective that human beings are moral beings. This is important when dealing with social justice issues, activism and motivations. This perspective allows the research to take morally based motivations at face value. The recognition of beliefs, intentions and desires (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005) as useful knowledge is also intended to encourage understanding of local views of the world and not to be trapped within a Western-dominated view.

Acknowledging the existence of influencing structures in society reflects post-Marxist thought (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005), and is important in understanding the action and motives of those involved in the Reality Tours. This research's purpose is not to question whether this structure exists, but to understand the Reality Tours as a process and the meanings those involved in the Reality Tour attach to their position and actions in this structure. The research is thus done in a hermeneutical vein attempting to understand rather than explain (Kitchen & Tate, 2000), and

where the meanings attached to practices and actions are taken seriously (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005).

The recognition of the structures of society also influenced the purpose of this research. In a world system when tourism practices are primarily led by the desires of the First World, I felt it important that the research give the NGOs and the communities the tour visits an opportunity to voice their opinions on the impact and aims of the Reality Tours. Global Exchange has a clear view as to the structure of the world system and the place of the Reality Tours within this. However the host populations come from a different culture and economic position to that of Global Exchange and may have a different opinion, a view that ordinarily may not have the opportunity to be aired.

Methodology

Due to the nature of my research, the information I wanted to collect and as a reflection my research philosophy, the primary research methods used in the field were to be qualitative. Large scale, quantitative research on the Reality Tours programme as a whole would have been logistically difficult as their tours are located in many different countries. The tours would have been difficult to compare due to the very different cultures and political situations in which they are operating. This meant my research needed to be qualitative due to the context in which it was set. It also needed to be qualitative due to the information I wanted to collect. I was interested in motivations and impacts of the parties involved in the Reality Tour as well as the tour's results. Qualitative methods according to Brockington and Sullivan are useful in investigating the 'nature and causes of individual behaviour' (2003 p. 57) and would therefore be suitable for assessing motivations. I was also interested in comparing views on the same event (the Reality Tour) from a number of perspectives, including views that existed in different cultural and social contexts. It was therefore necessary for me to attempt to understand the Reality Tour from the perspective of the different groups in this study, understanding that is best gained from qualitative techniques (Bryman, 2004). Further, the research needed to provide descriptive detail of the tour and its effects, a characteristic of qualitative research (ibid.). This is significant due to the importance of context in development studies research. Within my research the individuals being interviewed were operating within a tourism process, set within wider power structures that may have influenced their motivations and actions. They were also participating in the Reality Tour as part of a group, whose influence may have had an effect on their views and actions.

In practice both the methods chosen for data collection as well as the method of data analysis used were designed to adapt to the research topic and site chosen. The primary method of data collection, semi-structured interviews, were intended to collect data that would both answer my

research questions regarding the aims and results of the Reality Tours as well as give plenty of scope for the discovery of unexpected results. Given the nature of development studies research, in that it is often carried out outside of the researcher's own culture, I felt it was important to use methods that would allow for the investigation of previously unconsidered topics. Semi-structured interviews fulfil this need in being flexible and allowing the interviewee to talk about and highlight the factors that they consider important (Bryman, 2004). I felt that semi-structured interviews would allow me to focus on getting answers to my research questions but also would not keep the lines of enquiry purely based on my preconceived ideas. In order to validate the information I gathered through these interviews, follow-up questionnaires were sent out in an attempt to compare what the informants were telling me while on the tour and how they felt about their experiences after their journey had ended.

At the analysis stage of my research, the data I collected was initially processed through a process of thematic analysis as described by Boyatzis (1998). The process of coding was ideally suited to the conversational form of my data, allowing me to compare and contrast responses as well as highlighting the themes and responses that seemed most prevalent. The coding was done through a hybrid combination of data driven and prior research driven code development. This allowed for my previous literature review to feed into the understanding and sorting of my data (examples of themes identified were the idea of another world is possible, the importance of the dispersal of knowledge and views on tourism). It also importantly allowed for themes not considered as part of my original literature review to come out. This in a similar way to the methods used for data collection was important in making sure the data sorting was not limited by my own cultural viewpoint of what themes were important. An example of this was that I considered that the tourists would have a role in furthering the empowerment of the host population, they however in practice, played only a small role in this.

Within the analysis stage of my research it is also important to note the influence of my own background on the process. Prior to enrolling for this degree I have worked as a tour leader and in a number of tourism operations. This as well as inspiring my choice of research topic has had an influence on the research process. My experiences in this role guided a number of the questions I asked during the research. I also used this experience as a tool during the analysis stage of the research process, these experiences forming the basis of my judgements on what the behaviour of a conventional tour group would be like.

Research Site

A number of factors were considered when I chose the organisation my study would focus on and the particular research site. Global Exchange was an organisation that was first brought to my attention by Scheyvens (2002) in her work on justice tourism. This firstly spiked my interest

and after an extensive internet search of organisations involved in the practice of this form of tourism I returned to Global Exchange for a number of reasons. Although there exists an increasing number of organisations running volunteering based holidays, there are few that offer short trips with a political stance such as those run by Global Exchange. Global Exchange also run their trips on a regular basis, departures being listed on their website and being open and easily accessible to the general public, with seemingly little vetting of applicants. It is also an organisation that is primarily a human rights campaigning organisation rather than one of overseas experience. It therefore appears to have many of the characteristics of being a regular tour operator as well as clearly being an activist organisation, an interesting combination which I hoped would highlight many of the differences as well as possible harmonies of two seemingly different practices.

In choosing a research site I was guided by a number of factors. Global Exchange was based in San Francisco, thus logistically I wanted to study a location that was relatively close to the Global Exchange offices for both time and monetary factors. I initially had two possible trips to focus on based on my research schedule, a trip to Oaxaca or the one I participated in: 'Chiapas- Tierra y Libertad' (Chiapas- Land and Freedom). I had reservations about going to Chiapas as having studied the Zapatista rebellion, I realised I already had my own views on the situation, which could have biased my research. However my choice was limited by the fact that the trip to Oaxaca was unlikely to go ahead at the time of booking, so in order to ensure I had a trip to research I booked the Chiapas tour. Although this limited my choice for a research site, it was useful in demonstrating one of the possible limitations of such tours, that of being dependent on consumer demand. The Chiapas trip had the allure of the Zapatista movement with which to attract participants.

The current political situation in Chiapas also had a major influence on both the focus of my research as well as some of its methodological goals. Initially my focus was to be the Zapatista communities, with particular consideration given to getting the opinions of a representative selection of the community. A week before I left for the initial stage of my research in San Francisco, the EZLN declared a Red alert, closing down the Zapatista communities to outside visitors. This ironically remained in place until the day after the Reality Tour finished and meant that access to the communities would have been virtually impossible as well as being unethical due to their request for outsiders to stay away. The itinerary was therefore not set before the tour departure and developed as the tour progressed. This resulted in my having to take a very flexible approach to the research in order to get data from members of the destination area, something that was aided by my primary research method of interviews. The use of single in depth semi-structured interviews allowed me change research focus without changing the design of the research, this flexible method being applicable to the various research situations I was

presented with. I considered studying the communities we visited with the group, but as it was the first time these communities had met with a Global Exchange group, they would not have been able to provide the information needed to answer my research questions. My research questions were intended to assess the impact of the tour over time, including any post tour contact the communities have had with previous Reality Tour groups: questions these communities would not have been able to answer. In place of this I decided to focus on the views of the NGOs that the group visited. This made sense in that they were organisations that regularly met with Global Exchange delegations and so were able to give their views on Global Exchange's role over time and information on any lasting effects they may have had. This change of focus however did not detract from the overall value of the research. Studying local NGOs added an interesting aspect to my research with regard to the role of NGOs and the role of the relationships that exist between them. It also added an important local-global aspect to the research seen through the interaction of national NGOs an international ones in the form of Global Exchange. The relationship that existed between Global Exchange and these NGOs added another consideration to my research in that I was speaking to people who were representatives of these organisations and who would probably have had an interest in maintaining a good relationship with Global Exchange.

Target Groups

I collected primary information from four different target groups (Global Exchange, tour leaders, NGOs and tour participants), as well as secondary data. These target groups consisted of 8 members of the tour group, 8 members of staff at Global Exchange, 3 tour leaders and representatives from 4 different NGOs in Chiapas.

The number of people interviewed from each of the target groups was chosen differently depending on the situation. My intention was to interview half the tour participants, equal numbers of males and females. In reality, due to the pressures of interviewing people in such a short space of time (the tour lasted one week) the numbers interviewed turned out to be slightly unequal in terms of gender, with 5 female informants and 3 male informants. As there were only four NGOs we visited with the group (other host groups were either co-operatives or communities) I was able to interview a representative from all of them and in the case of Melel Xojobal, I was able to interview two representatives separately. These interviews were carried out during the week and a half I was in Chiapas after the tour had finished. The staff at Global Exchange were chosen through a snowball approach to sampling, focusing on the areas of their work I was interested in and the people that were available during my time there. These interviews were carried out over a three-week period, split either side of the time I spent in Mexico. This allowed me to fit in with the schedule of the staff at Global Exchange as well as follow up on questions raised as a result of participation in the tour.

Data Collection in Practice

As previously mentioned my main data collection method was semi-structured interviews carried out throughout the period of my research. The following discussion deals with each target group interviewed.

Tour group participants

My initial intention was to complete two interviews with half the members of the tour, with participants divided up in to male and female and then randomly selected. The first interview was to cover expectations, previous activism and motivations and the second interview was to focus more on their impressions and the effects of the tour. In practice however I had to limit it to one interview per respondent. As the tour progressed it became obvious that there was not enough free time during the tour week to carry out two interviews with my respondents. This experience had its own merit in being a reflection of the nature of the tour, there being little free time outside of the group meetings. It did however mean that my interviews carried out at the start of the tour were somewhat different to the more complete interviews I carried out in the last half of the tour. It affected both the questions I asked as well as the responses I received, some respondents having already experienced the whole tour whilst other having only had one day on the tour. The tour itself was relatively short (one week) and during this time I had to complete all but one of the interviews as the majority of the participants left Mexico the morning the tour finished.

Global Exchange staff

Interviews with Global Exchange staff were carried out both before and after the tour, depending on when they had free time to speak to me. My primary contact person was the co-ordinator of the Central America programme. She, as well as being an informant in her role as the San Francisco organiser for the tour to Chiapas, facilitated access to the other Global Exchange staff members. My choice of participants was initially based on her knowledge of who I should speak to, but it was later added to by my own requests for further information on certain topics and leads I received in the process of interviewing other members of staff. The number of staff in the offices in San Francisco is relatively few, especially those related to the Reality Tours programme. It was also an open plan office so it was easy for me to see the number of people I could possibly interview and get the view that I was not being steered to certain people and points of view.

NGOs in Chiapas

In total I carried out 5 interviews with representatives of the four NGOs we visited with the Global Exchange delegation. The interviews were secured whilst meeting the NGOs with the tour group or through follow up emails, if the opportunity did not present itself during our initial

meeting. They were therefore carried out with the same representatives that had met with the group initially and all occurred after the tour had finished. Two of these interviews were conducted with the use of translators. I investigated the possibility of hiring translators from a local language school but as translating was not their primary activity I was unable to get a translator for the time at which I had arranged interviews. I therefore used the tour leaders as translators for my interviews. Having a representative of Global Exchange there may have biased the responses of the NGO representatives. The tour leaders were, however, primarily activists working in the community, one having previously worked for one of the NGOs interviewed. The effect of them being Global Exchange representatives therefore would have been mediated by their primary role in the community as fellow NGO workers. Considering its recent history, the situation in Chiapas, is also one where trust, such as that existing between the tour leaders and local NGOs, would have had beneficial effects when interviewing and asking question about the NGOs.

Tour leaders

The two tour leaders that led the tour provided me with much information. This was through one informal interview but more through day to day conversations. I also carried out an interview with an ex tour leader in the Global Exchange offices. This gave me an interesting contrast and information on the impact the personality and priorities individual tour leaders have on the running of the tour.

Other Methods

Participant observation

The overt participant observation was mainly focused on the tour in Chiapas, and involved observing the tour participants and the interactions with the groups we met with. It also included observing the responses of the communities to the group and extended to specific questions I asked the NGOs and communities whilst with the group.

Questionnaires

Follow up questionnaires (see appendix 1) were sent out to all the members of the tour group approximately 2 months after returning from the tour. They covered questions on the activism done by tour participants since returning to the US, previous activism and contact they had had with other members of the trip. These were designed to assess the longer-term impact of the tour on the participants and compensate for the incomplete interviews carried out with tour participants at the very start of the tour. This had a response rate that although was reasonable considering the medium that was being used, seven responses out of a possible seventeen, was less than optimal, if trying to generalise from the responses.

Secondary data sources

The secondary data sources I looked at consisted of information from Global Exchange including leaflets and their website. I also looked at the websites of the NGOs in my study and more general information such as tourism statistics for Chiapas.

In order for me to get an idea as to the actions stimulated by the tour I have looked at a Yahoo group site that was set up after the tour for group members to post messages and photos on. This group was set up by myself on behalf of the group and so could be seen as an orchestrated avenue for the expression of the groups actions. In fact, however, it has not been used as a method to organise action, but more as a reporting/sharing photos mechanism.

Ethical Considerations of the Research

Working in an area as highly politicised as Chiapas raises a number of ethical issues when carrying out research. These issues were identified through two different processes. Firstly, an outline of the research was put before the Massey University's Human Ethics committee. In meeting a number of requirements regarding possible harm to participants, confidentiality and informed consent, the research was approved as ethically low risk. Secondly the research and its ethical considerations were discussed in an internal department meeting. This process involved myself, my supervisors and another member of staff from the department. This highlighted the possible risks and ways to alleviate or avoid them. These processes identified a number of issues that will now be discussed.

My research was also on a number of different groups each in a different political situation. For all the participants interviewed, the purpose and use of the information they supplied was specified and permission was asked to tape the interviews.

Within the context of the written thesis, all the participants apart from Global Exchange staff members were given false names. It was felt that in the case of Global Exchange staff members, their positions in the organisation were at times significant in the perspective they were giving. Referring to people's positions made anonymity impossible due to the small number of staff at Global Exchange. I also felt that in being representatives of an organisation and being based in the US, there was little risk involved in using their real names. For the NGOs in this study, the people I spoke to were similarly representatives of their organisations. They were in the course of the interviews giving the views of their organisation as well as their own personal views. I therefore felt it important to use pseudonyms in place of their names so their views were put in context of their organisation and its objectives without specifying which staff member had been interviewed. This I suspect would have a similar flaw to the anonymity of the

tour group's participants as I discuss later. The small number of staff at the NGOs in question meant that, internally it would be easy for other NGO staff to work out which staff member had been interviewed. Importantly though this anonymity would have meant that for people outside of the organisations, the respondents would have been hard to identify and views would be associated with the organisation rather than an individual.

Another factor that should be acknowledged with the regard to the NGOs in this study is their position as representatives of the community in that I wanted to know how Global Exchange's Reality Tours influenced local communities. There have been many debates as to the extent NGOs are an accurate representation of the communities they serve (Nyamugasira, 1998). This is also a point that was made by the NGOs themselves. This is an important factor to consider with regard to information the NGOs supplied regarding the views of the communities. However most of the information the NGOs supplied was with regard to the NGO itself and so less subject to this criticism.

There were additional ethical considerations with respect to the tour group, which I was a part of. At the start of the tour my intentions to carry out research through interviews and observation were discussed with the group and opportunity given for members of the group to opt out of the process or discuss with me any concerns they may have had. This process was repeated with the members of the group that were interviewed, consent being gained for both the interview and its tape recording. As previously mentioned those interviewed when cited in the course of this research have been given new names. The tour group being relatively small presents the same problem of anonymity as the NGO representatives. However their anonymity would have been aided by my approaching the prospective participants on an individual basis, those in the group having only a limited idea as to who had been interviewed.

With regard to the other groups and people the tour came into contact with, they raise a number of ethical questions due to the position of the majority of them as part of indigenous groups existing in a strained and divided political context. Explaining the purpose of my questions and gaining consent for the information they supplied in many cases needed a different approach. Written information was not necessarily adequate and would have been insensitive due to Spanish being a second language to many of these groups. In these instances I therefore concentrated on explaining verbally, often with the help of a translator, the purpose of my questions and in getting consent. As discussed in Chapter 1, many communities in Chiapas tread a fine line between autonomy and the government, with the presence of a researcher or outside groups having the possibility of making them a target for the opposing groups within the area (Earle & Simonelli, 2000). It was therefore important to retain the anonymity of the communities

visited as part of the Reality Tour. It is for that reason, these communities are not named in this study with only their general context and rough location given.

Summary

This chapter has intended to present the methodological basis of the research, from which emerged results which are discussed in the following chapters. It has attempted to explain the philosophical origins of the researcher's perspective and the resulting methods that were chosen for the research. In discussing the methods, choice of participants, ethical considerations and the socio-political context of the research, it seeks to highlight the influence these factors have had on the research and the resulting findings. The stage now set, the next chapter will start to consider the findings of the data collection discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5:
BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF THE REALITY TOURS

> There is no substitute for the profound change that happens deep inside your heart when you are in a place seeing what is actually going on. Most of us who have academic training will be able to tell you about underdeveloped imperialism or whatever but it's a lot different to actually feel solidarity with the people because you've stayed in their home, you ate their food, you've held their kids. (Kevin, GX founder, personal communication, July 28, 2005)

Reality Tours are essentially a form of tourism run by a human rights organisation. In order to understand them as a phenomenon and in order to comprehend their value, we need to examine them as part of the wider strategy of Global Exchange. As they form such a large part of the organisation's strategy they must have a specific purpose, one that is investigated in this chapter.

This chapter firstly discusses the 3 main parties involved in Reality Tours: Global Exchange, the tour participants and the NGOs the group visited. It is important to give background information on all the parties involved in the Reality Tours as a way of framing their participation in the Reality Tours. The tour leaders are acknowledged as an important part of the Reality Tour process but in the context of this section are included within the analysis of Global Exchange. After I have presented the findings relating to the background of the different parties involved: who they are, their structure, history and their motives. I then will continue on to present the data collected regarding the aims of the Chiapas Reality Tour for all those involved, the tour groups, Global Exchange and the host NGOs.

Global Exchange as an Organisation

Global Exchange defines itself as an international human rights organisation. Within the organisation there is a clear understanding of both what they are and what they are not.

What they are...

Global Exchange's key aim is to educate, specifically educate the US public. Across the organisation there was a felt need to educate the US public, due to the inaccurate information that was currently available to them through the media. In this way Global Exchange felt a need to provide alternative knowledge. It was also stressed that this knowledge should be at a basic and accessible level in order for it to be accessible to the widest number of people as well as

compensating for the feeling that the US public were in many ways behind other countries in their knowledge of social and economic justice issues:

> Well I think often the US is far far behind socially the rest of the world, like decades I think, so often what we are trying to do, we're often still at that early education or early enlightenment stage. (Kirsten, GX Founder, personal communication, August 3, 2005)

The education was also at a structural level, looking at issues from a global perspective. Within the campaign side of the organisation the focus was also at a US level. Countries outside of the US were part of campaigns only in as much as they were related to issues such as trade agreements and the role of multinationals. These were issues that affected the countries the Reality Tours visited but were also ones where the US played a controlling role.

Global Exchange uses a wide concept of human rights to guide their work. When asked what concepts of human rights were used they often referred back to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights but also stressed how there were two parts to this document, political as well as economic rights. A couple of the staff said that their main focus as an organisation was on economic rights, seeing them as being just as important as political rights. The focus on economic rights was seen to be in contrast to many other human rights organisations that tended to focus on the political ones. Although recognising the worth of this organisational focus it was suggested that this was often influenced by the funding sources of such organisations, and their need to not question the structures from which they drew their funds:

> ... traditional human rights organisations, they've tended to be focused on political rights and part of that is because of where their money comes from (Kevin, GX founder, personal communication, July 28, 2005)

This position also makes an impact on and reflects the position of Global Exchange in relation to the state, in this case the US state. Campaigning on purely political rights would confine their campaigns to issues in the US, US political rights rarely affecting those in other countries. By widening their concept of rights however they have the scope to question the US state on economic and foreign policy, the factors that have more of an influence in the destinations of the Reality Tours.

There was also awareness within Global Exchange of the debates surrounding the ability of human rights concepts to be universal. One of the founders said she had been part of these debates, but felt the UN charter continued to be relevant due to it's acceptance by over 200 countries. Another of the founders commented that the UN documents tended to be very anthropocentric and referred to the Earth Charter (The Earth Charter Initiative, 2006) as a useful extension of these UN documents. The Earth Charter combines human rights concepts with

ecological principles. This concern to include ecological aspects to their work is also seen in the focus of many of Global Exchange's campaigns.

The campaigns pursued by the wider organisation fall into two categories; the 'global economy' and 'war, peace and democracy'. The 'global economy' covers issues such as the IMF, trade agreements, fair trade and the green economy, and appears to reflect the concern with economic rights. The 'war, peace and democracy' section covers issues such as the Iraq war, women's rights, the Cuba travel ban and a US voting rights campaign. These campaigns have many elements that would tie them into more political rights-based strategies. As far as individual campaigns are concerned, they appear to depend on two considerations. Firstly they have to pass a number of threshold questions. Examples given of these were, whether the US is playing a role in the problem and considering what other people in the movement were doing on a particular issue. Feedback from their partners in the South on what issues needed to be acted upon was also stated as playing a role. Finally campaigns generally needed a member of staff who was motivated enough on a particular issue to spearhead the research and preparation needed to meet the threshold questions.

The basis of many of Global Exchange's campaigns in economic rights appeared to reflect a wider concern, clearly shown in the more practical aspects of their work such as in trying to create activism amongst US citizens. Campaigns based on economic rights could be seen as having a more global focus, and are ones that US corporations and government have a more clear and direct role in, rather than political rights issues that tend to be played out more on a national level in outside countries. This may reflect a concern that US political control in other countries, that was once more direct, is now being played out through economic means. It could also reflect their desire not to get involved with actions in other countries and to focus more on campaigning against their own government.

Education appears to be Global Exchange's primary focus and is the basis of their tax exemption from the US government. The purpose of this education, however, is to create action. Primarily it is action on a US level, aimed at the US government or US corporations, rather than businesses or institutions in the countries where the problems are manifesting themselves. This was due to two factors, firstly a 'responsibility of US citizens to object to unfair US foreign policy' (Malia, GX employee, personal communication, July 7, 2005), a motivation that was stated as one of the key elements in the set up of the organisation. There was also a realisation that it was not the US's place to tell other countries what to do. This is a concern that was clearly shown when Global Exchange staff were discussing individual Reality Tours. For example with regard to the Cuba travel ban:

> ... at the end of that day its not what Cuba should do about whatever issues, it's what should US policy towards Cuba should be (Kevin, GX founder, personal communication, July 28, 2005)

As far as the type of action they were trying to create there was criticism of many organisations and activists on the 'left' for being too critical of other groups' methods. The staff at Global Exchange favoured a more eclectic approach with the possibility of a number of activism approaches working simultaneously. There was also a concern for this activism to be done in a positive manner presenting possible alternatives rather than 'this screaming on the barricade, about how the Armageddon is coming ... which doesn't mobilise people, it demobilises people' (Kevin, GX founder, personal communication, July 28, 2005).

What they are not....

The staff at Global Exchange were also keen to highlight a number of things they were not. Concern that they should not be seen as a charity or a funding organisation was highlighted a number of times. This was considered by many in both the Reality Tours programme as well as in the wider organisation as important because if they were viewed as such it would change the relationship they had with the communities they work with:

> We never say we're an aid agency because if people hear you're from Oxfam then right away the relationship becomes polluted. (Kevin, GX founder, personal communication, July 28, 2005)

This had particular relevance to the Reality Tour programme where being perceived as a funding organisation was seen as risking changing the nature of the relationship and therefore the information and interaction they received during meetings.

Originally the founders of Global Exchange had close ties to an organisation called Food First, and at its conception Global Exchange had a partnerships division linking it to a number of Southern NGOs and development projects. The founders of Global Exchange later separated from Food First as it was moving towards being a think tank organisation, something they did not want to be. They also ended the partnerships programme as they felt it made their role 'muddy', their mission not being clear and being unable to adequately fund projects making their role in this sense less effective. Their role currently in funding development is generally limited to acting as a funnel for funds raised by tour participants for NGOs they have met, with Global Exchange feeling unable to take on any kind of prioritising or evaluation role with regards to these projects. Their lack of capacity, as well as unwillingness to act as a traditional development organisation, reflected some of the views on development practice held within the organisation. One of the founders identified the tendency of development organisations to get focused on a small problem and not look at the macro scale as a problem. This person

commented that a 'true development organisation has a more comprehensive plan than just giving money' (Kirsten, GX founder, personal communication, August 3, 2005). Even when pursuing advocacy, development agencies tended to do this within the developing country, differing Global Exchange in that they were working on a US level. It was also considered that their strategy was more of a long-term approach to change, 'an aspect that is often neglected' (Kirsten, GX founder, personal communication, August 3, 2005). The possible close links between their organisation and development work were highlighted by the idea put forward that 'development and advocacy go hand in hand' (Kirsten, GX founder, personal communication, August 3, 2005).

Another element that was stressed a number of times was that Global Exchange was not a 'country specific solidarity organisation' (Nadya, GX employee, personal communication, July 28, 2005) or one that takes orders from specific movements. There was however much use of the term solidarity, especially in the context of the results of the Reality Tours. This would therefore indicate that, in covering a number of different countries and social movements, Global Exchange as an organisation take a role as a bridge between social movements and the US public, facilitating the connection and possible solidarity that may be created between the two.

Search for an alternative

The alternative put forward by a member of staff at Global Exchange, significantly one of the founders, was a 'local green economy' with an idea expressed that the elements of this green economy were already in existence but needed to be brought together. This was also an alternative that would eventually not work within the current system (for example is not reformist) but something that would exist after the current empire had died. The idea of the environment playing a key role in the alternative was reflected in the campaigns pursued by Global Exchange around issues such as oil dependence and the organisation of the yearly Green Festivals (http://www.greenfestivals.com); an opportunity for showcasing green alternatives. It is also a concern that appeared in many of the tour participants' analysis of the current situation, and in the Zapatistas as a movement. The focus on 'local' also reflected the idea that change would not primarily come through the influence of North. Activism in the North had the primary role of challenging the power inequalities that exist, but did not have a role in creating the alternatives in specific areas, this change was to come from the grass roots: 'the rich won't solve poverty only the poor can do that' (Kevin, GX founder, personal communication, July 28, 2005).

Organisational links

The position of Global Exchange within a wider movement was also reflected in the links Global Exchange has with other organisations. At the start of new campaigns, questions are asked as to who else is working on the issue with the idea that 'there is a basic principle, there is always

more smart people outside your organisation than inside your organisation, so the question is how are you going to link with those people' (Kevin, GX founder, personal communication, July 28, 2005).

Links to other organisations vary from the links to the organisations groups meet with on the Reality Tours, to coalitions on certain projects such as the green festivals with co-op America and being part of networks such as the Hemisphere Social Alliance. These alliances are seen as a mutually beneficial way of sharing information and inspiration.

The Reality Tours Programme

The Reality Tours programme makes up a third of the activities of Global Exchange and has always played a large role in the organisation since its conception in 1988. It was started from the experience of the founders that travel has the ability to create profound change within people. This is followed though on a theoretical level being based on a model of experimental education of outside learning, the aim being to 'meet the people, learn the facts and make a change' (Malia, GX employee, personal communication, July 1, 2005).

Locations

Locations for Reality Tours are decided based on a number of factors. Tours tend to focus on the global South but also include countries such as Northern Ireland that show the effects of being in a colonial relationship. Another key factor is countries where US policy has an influence, directly linking their locations to the type of activism desired. There is also a personal element to the choosing of locations. One of the founders is Irish American so has an interest in running tours to Northern Ireland. A number of the staff at Global Exchange are Spanish speaking, which was highlighted as a determinant in tour locations. This however could also be a result of the tours travelling there, rather than a deciding factor. It was also pointed out that having contacts in a particular area can have an influence on the setting up of a new tour, making it much easier to access local knowledge and contacts.

Like any tour operator, the Reality Tours were shown to be subject to market conditions. Without 'the hook' (Andrea, GX employee, personal communication, June 28, 2005) a particular event, culture, or aspect that had a lot of public interest, it was difficult to fill a tour. This was also reflected in the longer term planing for the Reality Tour programme, the director stating that one of her jobs was to 'look at industry traits' (Malia, GX employee, personal communication, July 1, 2005), the places where people had an interest in going. Distance was also seen as another factor, trips to Latin America being more attractive due to the relatively short travelling distance and cost from the US. In acknowledging there was a need to follow consumer demand, this also had an impact on tour content as well as location. Some tours were seen as being more intense,

or more 'hardcore' than others, and as a result were normally harder to fill. These tours were seen as such, due to a highly packed itinerary, three or more meetings a day and often dealt with more difficult topics such as human rights abuses. There was therefore a need identified, to have more general tours that are attractive to a wider section of the public in order to bring in and raise awareness among the mainstream public as well as to ensure the economic viability of the programme. It was also indicated that this is something that has increasingly appeared over time, the more general topic tours with a higher level of light-hearted activities being more significant now than they were previously.

The topics covered by the Reality Tours vary, especially when considering the use of cultural attractions unique to each country as part of the tours. In line with their views on US based activism, topics appear to be guided by either areas where the US plays a role and therefore activism is required, or areas such as social movements where inspiration can be gained. There also appeared to be an element of topics that help people to understand the situation of Third World countries and the possible effects outside control can have. One co-ordinator presented ideas such as colonialism, oppression, occupation, dependency and methods of resistance as themes that ran through the tours which she co-ordinated. More general education around themes such as these would appear to reflect education for inclusion in a wider movement and reflect a worldview in which the US and the economic and political dominance they have, is seen as a continuation of colonialism and historical trends. There were also a few tours that fitted more closely to Global Exchange campaigns than others. Examples were the Cuba Reality Tours that directly challenge the travel ban and therefore mirror the aims of the Cuba Travel ban campaign. Issues raised in the Reality Tours to the US-Mexico border that visit Maquiladoras, feed directly into the Sweat Free campaign and visits to Nicaragua to help harvest fair trade coffee, support the Fair Trade campaign.

With regard to the tour to Chiapas, its importance as a destination was explained by Global Exchange staff as being because of issues such as immigration, trade and Mexico's status as a Southern neighbour. Within the advertising for the tour these issues translated into looking at themes such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the effects of neo-liberalisation, globalisation and looking at popular movements and autonomy issues.

On a day to day level the areas covered by a Reality Tour are significantly under the control of the tour leader, the San Francisco office trying to give them 'autonomy for programme development' (Malia, GX employee, personal communication, July 1, 2005) and saying that they don't really control the programme from the San Francisco offices. Through this process, and contributed to by the information group members put on their application forms, the content of the tours varies according to who is coming on the tour and the ideas of the tour leader.

Selection of tour leaders

As previously mentioned the tours in-country are organised by either a travel service or the tour co-ordinator/leader, and these are people that have control over much of the content of individual Reality Tours. Their selection is therefore significant in influencing the type of people who are chosen to organise and develop the tour and consequently the views covered. Most tour leaders appear to have been found through contacts within the organisation, the current Chiapas tour leaders having connections to the people who staffed the Global Exchange office in San Cristobal two years earlier. However there were some clear ideas shown as to the types of people the staff in San Francisco wanted to run the tour. It was important firstly for the tour leaders to have connections or at least knowledge of the community, and so they tended to be either working within the community or academics with a good level of knowledge. In the case of Chiapas both of the tour leaders were working for local NGOs, living in the area where the tour was based. Similarly the staff member at Global Exchange who had been a tour leader in Chiapas previously, was at the time working on a water project as well as running the tours. In selection of tour leaders it was considered important in tours where the state played a controlling or organising role (for example Cuba), to have a tour leader accompany the groups from outside of this structure, to help give or organise access to alternative points of view. As far as the political views of the tour leader was concerned though it was important for their views to be, to a certain degree, in line with those of the organisation:

> Politics- definitely left of the centre, we don't want mainstream bourgeoisie tour leaders frankly because look at Global Exchange we are not a mainstream bourgeoisie type organisation (Nadya, GX employee, personal communication, July 28, 2005)

The role the tour leader has in organising the content of tour also makes an impact on the relationship Global Exchange has with the NGOs visited as part of a tour, it being based on a personal relationship between the tour leader and the host NGO. This personal relationship was seen as significant in differentiating Reality Tours from other types of tourism and as a way NGOs, through the trust established in these relationships, ensured that meeting these groups was a worthwhile use of their time. The NGOs and community groups chosen for inclusion in the tours is guided by the information the prospective tour groups give before the tour. The application form gives the tour leaders information on the subject areas members of the tours are interested in. For that reason on the tour I participated in there was a strong emphasis on education, with us visiting a street children project and having a talk from an advisor on alternative education. One of the Chiapas tour leaders also said that when organising the tour there were three NGOs she liked to visit every time as they provided a good overview of the situation and dealt with issues she felt were important for the group to know about. Two of these groups, CIDESI and CIEPAC, we visited with on my tour. The tour leaders indicated that

communities to visit were found either through being directly approached or through the prior knowledge that a particular community was keen to have groups come and visit them. It is also important to note that they said that their intentions as an organisation were clearly laid out when starting a relationship with any new group, specifically that they were not trying to convert them to being what they wanted to see. There was also a concern by one tour leader to find groups that had had previous contact with international visitors in an attempt not to create an unnecessary impact.

Type of tourism

The Reality Tours in tourism terms were defined by Global Exchange as alternative tourism. Global Exchange focused on three aspects when using this definition; increased social, economic and environmental considerations. There was more importance given to social and economic aspects of this definition, with these being the first and sometimes only aspect mentioned when asked. In practice this was also the side of alternative tourism that was implemented rather than running tours with environmental concerns being paramount. With both social and economic considerations, concern was based around the idea of not having a high cultural or social impact. The idea that the presence of the tour groups was to have as little social impact as possible also effected their economic impact; Global Exchange not seeing the tours as an opportunity for economic development as this ran the risk of creating dependency.

The socially responsible aspect came out in a number of ways. Logistically there is an emphasis, stressed by a number of people who worked in the programme, including tour leaders, that the tours use locally owned, small hotels and restaurants and co-operatives for transport needs. This aimed at ensuring the inevitable economic impact was evenly spread and the money spent stayed in the local community. This concern was related to the tour leaders and travel services that were operating in the host country. It was pointed out that in the countries where they used the travel services of regular tourism business to organise the logistics of the tour, this concern was harder to translate into reality, due to their priorities to make a profit on the tour. In the case of the Chiapas tour we stayed in a small locally owned hotel and used co-operatively run transport and restaurants organised by the tour leaders.

The idea of socially responsible tourism is seen to extend very much into the domain of tourist behaviour. Before the Chiapas tour, a seven-page article was sent out to the group members. It detailed some of the potential problems with tourism as well as guidelines on choosing a tour operator and on behaviour while in the host country. This was backed up whilst on tour, particularly at the initial meeting where what was expected of the group was discussed. This included things such as, always asking before taking a photograph, not being fussy with what you were eating while in communities and especially with Zapatista communities, not taking gifts

a firm seal thereafter.

The samples were then stored at three different temperatures, modelled to represent the commonly used commercial storage environments. These were;

a) - 10°C - normal frozen storage temperature for FFMR

b) 5°C - normal refrigeration temperature for the fat

c) and 20°C - ambient storage temperature

For each temperature and every test interval, eight samples of each treatment (four of those flushed with nitrogen and four of those sealed without nitrogen purging) were stored. These samples were produced on two batch runs. For the *nitrogen material*, all the samples were flushed with nitrogen. The samples were analysed for oxidation at intervals of one day, one month, and four months. Three of the four samples were tested during each analysis. The forth sample was tested only when the results of the other three were inconsistant. The FFMR stored at -18°C was also analysed to serve as a control. This was tested at the 24 hours and one month intervals.

7.3 Measurement of The Oxidation Related Factors

7.3.1 Oxygen Dissolved in the Fat

The amount of oxygen dissolved in the fat at the beginning and after the spray crystallising process, and also, in the head-space of the sample bags was determined using an oxygen meter. The meter was calibrated in air, and was tested for accuracy by analysing air-saturated water at 20°C and 45°C, comparing the values obtained with the figures supplied in the calibration table. Moreover, the oxygen content of air-saturated FFMR was determined at 45°C. This was found to be 10.8 ppm, which tied very well with the oxygen content recorded for the environment (10.2 - 12.5 ppm). For the feed, measurements were carried in the melt at 40°C to 45°C. While readings were taken, the

electrode was stirred continuously to ensure that there was no deposit of fat adjacent to the oxygen membrane with an oxygen concentration less than that of the bulk sample. For the analysis of oxygen in the powders, the sample was filled into a tightly closed 250 ml glass jar, which was wrapped with aluminium foil, then placed in an oven at about 50°C to melt the powder. The melting process took about 1½ to 2 hours to complete. The temperature of the melt was allowed to drop to about 45°C, before opening the jar, and the oxygen content quickly measured. The time required for this temperature adjustment was determined to be 5 - 8 minutes.

The oxygen contained in the sample bags' head-space was estimated by making a hole at one corner of the bag, which was large enough to just insert the meter's electrode. The measurement was effected by carefully, but rapidly, stirring the air in the head-space with the electrode, whilst the bag's entrance was tightly sealed to minimize exchange of air with the environment. This whole exercise was completed in one minute.

7.3.2 Peroxide Value

Glassware preparation

All the glassware used for this test were soaked overnight in 50 percent hydrochloric acid solution, then rinsed thoroughly with deionised water, and dried.

Spectrophotometer

The spectrophotometer was started and adjusted for the test wavelength (505 nm) at least 20 minutes before commencing the measurements. This was done to stabilise the wavelength.

Test Solutions

The solutions were prepared as follows:

1. Chloroform - methanol mixture of 70 parts by volume of chloroform and 30 parts by volume of anhydrous methanol.

2. Ferrous chloride solution; prepared in indirect dimmed light. About 0.4 g barium chloride ($BaCl_2.2H_2O$) was dissolved in 50 ml of deionised water. Again, about 0.5 g ferrous sulphate ($FeSO_4.7H_2O$) was dissolved in 50 ml water. Slowly, the barrium chloride solution was poured, with constant stirring, into the ferrous sulphate solution. About 2 ml of 10 M hydrochloric acid was added to the mixture. The mixture container was placed in the dark to allow the precipitate to settle, and the clear solution was decanted into an amber bottle thereafter.

   NOTE: Absorbance of reagent blank had to be below 0.05 at 505 nm.

3. Ammonium thiocyanate solution; About 15 g of the solute was dissolved in 50 ml deionised water to make a 30% (m/v) colourless solution.

4. Standard solutions of ferric chloride; About 1.079 g ammonium ferric sulphate was dissolved in 70 ml water mixed with 5 ml conc. HCl. This was diluted to 100 ml to make solution A. From solution A, 10 ml was diluted to 100 ml with water to make solution B. 2 ml of dilution B was diluted with chloroform-methanol mixture (70:30) to 100 ml to give solution C. Solutions for a reference curve were prepared by measuring 2 ml, 4 ml, 6 ml, and 8 ml of solution C into test tubes. These were then diluted with 8 ml, 6 ml, 4 ml, and 2 ml of chloroform-methanol, in that order, to give a series containing 5, 10, 15, and 20μm ferric ion. 0.5 ml ammonium thiocyanate solution and 0.5 ml of 0.2 M HCL were added to each tube and mixed. The solutions were allowed to stand at ambient temperature for 5 minutes, after which their absorbance was measured at 505 nm. These were measured against the absorbance of the chloroform-methanol mixture. A reference curve was constructed by plotting ferric ion concentration against the absorbance.

Analysis of the Samples

The samples were tested by dissolving 1.0 gram (accurately weighed) of the melted fat (as described in section 7.3.1) in 8.9 ml of chloroform and methanol mixture (70:30),

contained in a test-tube. Then 0.5 ml of iron (II) chloride and 0.5 ml of ammonium thiocyanate were added and mixed thoroughly. The mixture was allowed to react in the dark, at ambient temperature, for five minutes. The absorbance of the samples was immediately determined at 505 nm in a 1.0 cm path-length cell. These were measured against a methanol-chloroform blank. Also, a fat blank was prapared by dissolving about 1.0 gram of the fat in methanol-chloroform, and was read under the same conditions as the samples. The resulting reading was used to correct the samples' readings as described by the equation below.

$$Nett\ absorbance = [\frac{Abs}{W_s}(sample)] - [\frac{Abs}{W_b}(fat\ \ blank) + Abs(reagent\ \ blank)] \qquad (7.1)$$

Where W_s = weight of sample in grams

W_b = weight of sample in the fat blank in grams

The entire duration of the test for each batch of samples, from the time they were weighed until they were read for absorbance, was restricted to below 15 minutes. Each sample was analysed in triplicate, and each repeat was done in duplicate.

The amount of the iron (III) in the samples was read from the reference curve, and the peroxide values were calculated from the ferric ions concentrations using the relationship

$$Peroxide\ Value\ (meq\ O_2/kg) = a \div 55.84 \qquad (7.2)$$

Where a = content of ferric ion in µg

7.3.3 Free Fatty Acids

Solutions

1. 0.1 M Sodium Hydroxide solution; About 0.5138 g NaOH pellets were dissolved in 200 ml of deionised water.
2. Neutralised 95% ethanol
3. 2% phenolphthalein indicator.

Analysis

About 10 grams of the molten sample was dispersed in 50 ml of ethanol, and 1 ml of phenolphthalein indicator solution was added. The mixture was boiled for 1 minute and was immediately titrated with 0.1 M sodium hydroxide solution to the phenolphthalein end-point. The acidity was calculated as oleic acid through the following expression;

$$Free\ Fatty\ Acid\ (as\ oleic)\ \% = \frac{Titre \times M \times 28.2}{W} \qquad (7.3)$$

Where M = molarity of NaOH

W = weight of sample (g)

7.3.4 Moisture Content

The moisture content of the powder was determined as the percentage loss in weight when 5.0 g fat powder, contained in aluminium dishes, was dried at 120-150°C on a hotplate.

7.4 Results and Discussions

7.4.1 The Physical State of the Powders

No significant changes were noted in the samples after the first day of storage, but after one month, the samples which had been stored at 20°C had melted, and smelled rancid. The rest of the samples, stored at 5°C and -10°C, were still in powder form, and smelled fresh. After four months all the samples had developed rancid smell.

7.4.2 The Peroxide Value (PV)

Air material

The peroxide values for the air material are summarised in table 7.2 below. These values are average results for three sample bags.

Figure 7.1 shows that in all the air material samples tested there was a significant increase ($P<0.05$) in the peroxide value after one month of storage. The PV doubled for all the samples stored at 20°C, and increased by up to half the original amount for the samples stored at 5°C and -10°C. The above trends were observed for both nitrogen flushed and non flushed samples, indicating that nitrogen-flushing did not suppress the progression of oxidation. The latter outcome was unexpected because nitrogen is known to be a good deterent for oxidation, especially for packed foods. Nonetheless, this eventuality may be explained as follows. First, it is likely that by the time the powder was bagged it had already absorbed sufficient amount of oxygen to cause the observed PV increase. In support for this argument, Jebson *et al* (1973) stated that if all the oxygen dissolved in the fat reacted during storage, to solely give peroxides, then by equivalence, every one ppm of oxygen would yield 0.125 meq, which is a significantly high yield. Second, it is probable that the method employed for injecting nitrogen into the sample bags was not very effective. This could not be helped at the time because no other better method was available. The latter possibility is very likely, considering the lower peroxide values obtained for the vacuum packed samples at the end of the study. Also, although precautions were exercised to minimise exposure of the fat to light, the contribution

Table 7.2 **The Peroxide Values of the Air Material Stored under Different Temperature Conditions.**

Temperature of storage	Cooled with Air and Packed in air (mEqvO_2/kg of sample)			Cooled in Air and flushed with nitrogen (mEqv O_2/kg of sample)		
	24 hrs	1 month	4 months	24hrs	1 month	4 months
-10°C	0.23±0.01	0.35±0.01	0.31±0.02	0.24±0.01	0.35±0.01	-
5°C	0.22±0.02	0.28±0.01	0.34±0.01	0.25±0.02	0.36±0.01	-
20°C	0.23±0.01	0.56±0.01	0.73±0.05	0.25±0.02	0.53±0.04	0.61±0.05

$P < 0.05$

FFMR; After 24 hrs = 0.12±0.01 mEqv O_2/kg sample

After 1 month = 0.21±0.03 mEqv O_2/kg sample

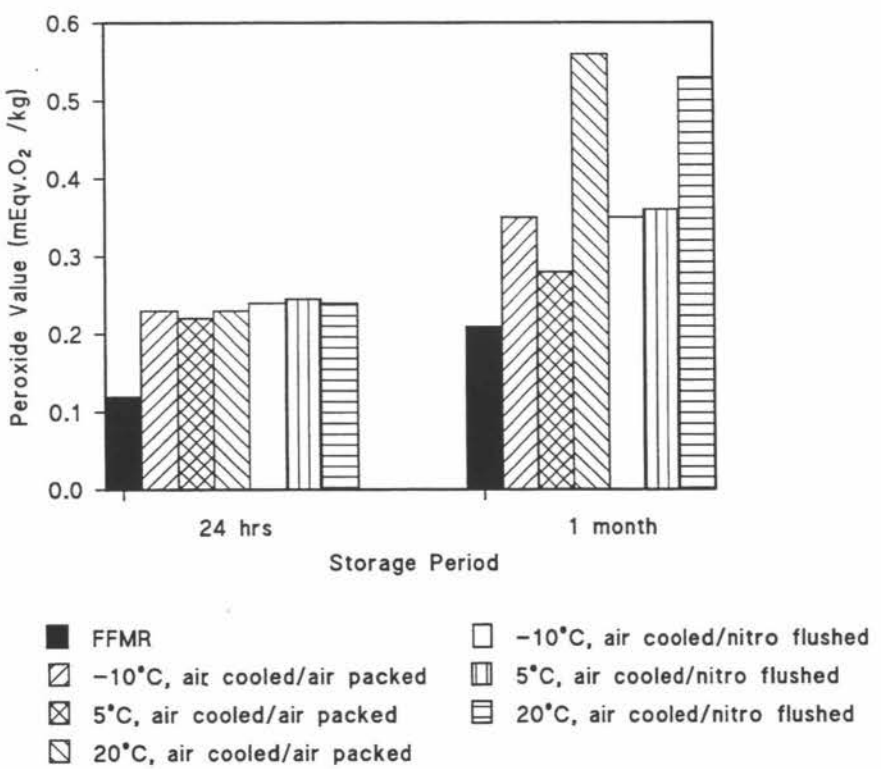

Fig. 7.1 The Peroxide Values of the Air Material After 24hrs and 1 Month of Storage at Different Temperatures.

of light to the PV results may have been significant during the various transfer stages of the samples. This could be expected since light has been shown to have very strong influence on the rate of lipid oxidation. For example, Keogh *et al* (1986) found that when liquid fat was exposed to fluorescent light for a quarter of an hour, an increase in the PV of up to 29% resulted. Nawar (1985) contended that under normal circumstances the initiation of the oxidation chain reaction is thermodynamically difficult (activation energy of about 35 kcal/mol), but with exposure to light the initial reaction step is booted, giving rise to reactive radicals. In brief, it is likely that by the time the samples were bagged, the oxidation reaction was already entering the most rapid *propagation* step. Whatever the exact reasons may be, it can be deduced from the FFMR's (control) peroxide values that the rise in the peroxide values of the powdered fats was not caused solely by processing with air.

There seemed to be an identical pattern in the variation of the oxygen concentration in the bags' head-space and in the molten samples, for most of the samples analysed. This pattern was more pronounced for the samples stored at 20°C, and is graphically demonstrated in figure 7.2.

The general trend was a slight increase, with time, of the head-space oxygen, followed by a decrease. The observed increase could have been caused by the release of residual oxygen from the intra and inter particles' voids when the powder melted, or equilibration of the dissolved oxygen. The oxygen in the samples increased for 20°C samples and was coupled by an abrupt PV increase. This rise may have been caused by, among other factors, the head space oxygen dissolving in the sample, moreso that the sample had a high proportion of liquid fat. Timms *et al* (1982) and Jebson et al (1973) demonstrated that the amount of oxygen that can dissolve in milk fat varies with the proportion of the liquid fat and the temperature. The more the liquid fat the higher the amount of oxygen that can dissolve, and vice versa. For the samples stored at 5°C and -10°C, which were predominantly in the solid phase, the oxygen in the samples remained constant for a few months.

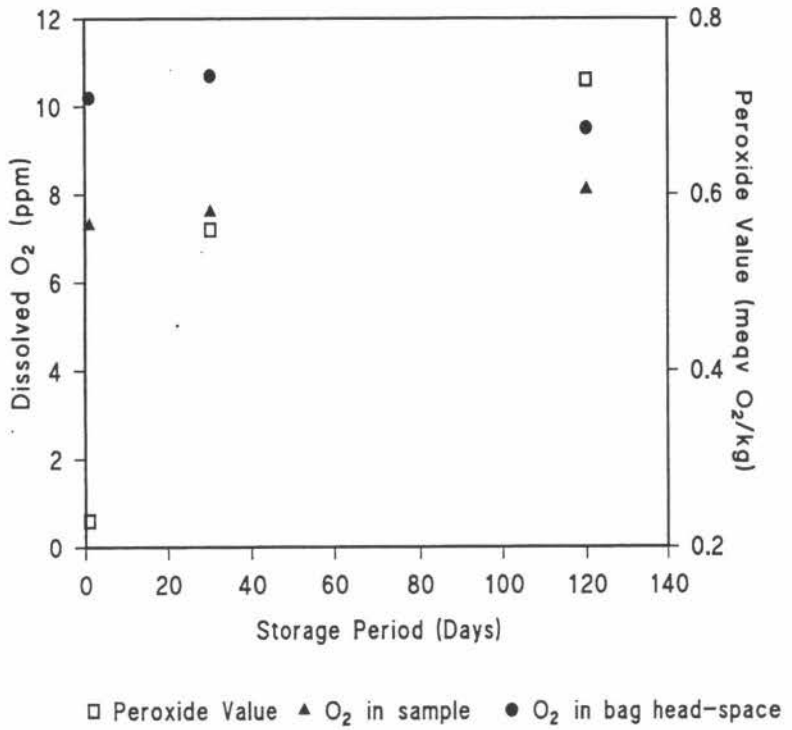

Fig. 7.2 Variation of head-space oxygen, oxygen in the molten sample and the peroxide value for the air material samples stored at 20°C.

Table 7.3 The estimated weight of the oxygen dissolved in fat, and the amount present in the head space.

Storage period	Oxygen dissolved in fat (mg)	Oxygen in head space (mg)
24 hrs	1.30	10.43
1 month	1.35	10.94
4 months	1.44	9.71

However, this oxygen concentration dropped during the fourth month, possibly reflecting an uptake of oxygen by the oxidation reaction. The latter observation was not obvious for the 20°C samples, and was suspected to be shadowed by the high dissolution of the

headspace oxygen into the sample.

The results for the head-space oxygen in the bags should be treated with caution, owing to the crudeness of the technique employed. A more accurate analysis of this parameter could be achieved using the gas chromatographic method. Perhaps it should be stated here that while the trends of the oxygen concentrations within the sealed bags are explained above, and seemed to display a logical pattern for the oxidation transformation steps, these trends did not form an important part of this study. The main emphasis was centred on the changes of the peroxide value *per se,* and hence, extra care was exercised in assessing the latter rather than the former.

Table 7.4 **The oxygen content in the air material sample bags' head-space and the molten samples measured using an oxygen meter**

Storage Temperature	Cooled with air & packed in air						Cooled in air & flushed with nitrogen					
	O_2 content in the bag (ppm) *			O_2 content in sample (ppm) **			O_2 content in the bag (ppm) *			O_2 content in sample (ppm) **		
	24hrs	1 Mo	4 Mo	24hr	1 Mo	4 Mo	24hr	1 Mo	4 Mo	24h	1M	4Mo
-10°C	10.7	10.7	10.6	10.6	10.7	10.1	8.3	9.4	9.4	4.4	8.5	8.2
5°C	10.1	10.2	10.0	7.2	7.2	7.0	8.2	7.2	7.0	4.2	8.5	8.1
20°C	10.2	10.7	9.5	7.3	7.6	8.1	8.3	9.3	7.6	4.3	8.7	7.3

P <0.05 hrs/hr = hours ppm = parts per million

Mo = month * Std. dev.= ±1.3 to 2.2 ** Std. dev. = ± 0.7 to 0.9

The oxygen content in the molten fat before spray cooling ranged from 4.2 ppm to 4.4 ppm for the different batches processed. This concentration was determined at the begining of each run. Although some measures were taken to minimise contact of the liquid fat with the environmental air while the production was in progress, the possibility of more dissolution of air in the fat could not be ruled out. More so that it took up to as long as 30 minutes to complete each production run. The oxygen in the environment ranged from 10.2 ppm to 12.5 ppm, measured at 9 to 17°C.

In general, all the samples were considered spoiled after one month. This conclusion was based on the fact that at the peroxide values of 3 to 4 meqvO_2/kg, AMF is not suitable for most applications (CSIRO, 1945). It was obvious from these results that an improved process which did not expose the fat to oxygen was necessary, if low peroxide values were to be maintained in the samples.

Nitrogen material

In comparison with the air material, a slow down in the rate of oxidation for the nitrogen material was observed. The one month storage period produced an increase by 27.7% and 44.4% of the peroxide values for the samples stored at -10°C and 5°C respectively. On the other hand, a high rise of the PV by 85.7% was recorded for the samples stored at 20°C, for the same storage period. After four months the peroxide values had doubled for all the samples, disqualifying the powder for most applications. The average results for these nitrogen materials are tabled below.

Table 7.5 The Peroxide Values of the Powder Samples Manufactured Using Nitrogen as the Chilling Medium.

Temperature of Storage	Peroxide Values (meq O_2/kg)		
	24 hrs	1 month	4 months
-10°C	0.18±0.02	0.23±0.02	0.49±0.03
5°C	0.18±0.01	0.26±0.02	0.51±0.02
20°C	0.21±0.01	0.39±0.03	-

$P < 0.05$

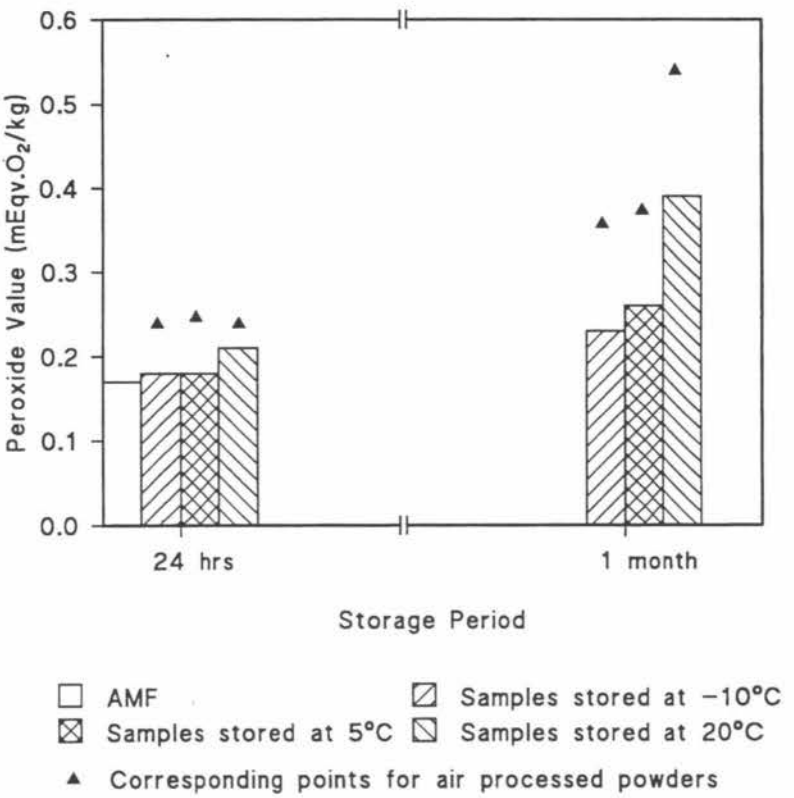

Fig. 7.3 The Peroxide Values of the Nitrogen Material After 24hours and 1 month of Storage at Different Temperatures.

The samples which had been vacuum packed were still usable after three months. However, these were compacted into solid lumps, thus limiting the chances of adopting this packaging method as a potential technique for handling these powders. Nevertheless, it is obvious from the vacuum packed samples' results that elimination of the oxygen in the package is crucial for arresting the rate of oxidation of the powder.

Table. 7.6 The Peroxide Values of the Vacuum Packed Nitrogen Processed Fat Powders.

Storage Temperature	Peroxide Value (meq O_2 /kg)	
	24 hours	3 months
-10°C	0.18±0.01	0.28±0.01
5°C	0.18±0.01	0.29±0.01
20°C	0.19±0.02	0.33±0.03

P <0.05

The foregoing results demonstrated that a relationship exists between the rate of oxidation of the fat powders and the degree of protection against the oxidation agents. It was shown that a longer shelf life can be achieved if the powders are processed under a nitrogen environment. It is envisaged that under full scale production, and with the better melting and liquid fat holding vessels, like those already in place for most modern milk fat plants, much longer shelf lives for the powders would be obtainable. It is also believed that proper protective packaging for these powders would not be a problem. Appropriate gas flushing techniques for packaging highly oxidation-susceptible powders have already been developed, and coincidentally, New Zealand is ahead the world in this packaging technology (Rockell, 1994).

7.3 Conclusions

The fat powders produced were found to be physically and oxidatively unstable at 20°C, but remained reasonably stable at 5°C and -10°C. Hence, 20°C was not a suitable temperature for storing these samples. Storage at -10°C would sustain the powders longer, but storage at 5°C could turn out to be more economical.

Processing of the powders under the conditions which exposed the fat to oxidation resulted in high peroxide values. Also, flushing of the sample bags with nitrogen by the method outlined did not give any protection to the samples against oxidation.

Processing of the powders under the nitrogen environment gave longer shelf lives than when no protection was accorded.

8 THE POTENTIAL FOR SPRAY CHILLING

8.1 Applications

It has been demonstrated that milk fat and/or milk fat fractions can be converted into powder by spray chilling. Infact, any material that can undergo phase changes from liquid to solid under the conditions of spray chilling may be handled as powder. The list may include cocoa butter, shortenings, emulsifiers, hydrogenated vegetable fats, pastry fats, bakery improvers, stabilizers, cheese and others. For example, at an early stage in this project phospholipids were successfully converted into powder, except that under the processing conditions used then, oxidation could not be avoided.

Having the fat in powder form offers a convenient way of blending it with other powdery materials. From the mixing trials reported in chapter 6, a good degree of uniformity could be achieved in the blends. In this respect, this dry blending process outweighed the traditional method of spraying liquid fat into powders. It may also be deduced from chapter 6 that once in powder form, the fat can be mixed with any carrier powder. The maximum amount of fat that can be incorporated in the mixture will depend on the physical properties of the carrier. This versatility in the application of the powdered fat could be a key to other product opportunities. New products such as ice cream powder, and premixes of butter cream powder, which would require only the addition of water for preparation, are some of the products which can be imagined.

The ability to manufacture powders of the milk fat fractions separately may provide a wider choice of AMF powder. This may also avail the advantage of standardising the physical properties of the formulated mixtures through selection and calculated gauging

of the component fat fractions.

8.2 Limitations

Processing of the fats into powder may require that chilling be done with nitrogen only, in order to minimise oxidation of the powders. Under such circumstances, the cost of nitrogen alone may elevate the overall production costs, rendering the technology less suitable for the intended purpose. Fortunately, some suppliers of nitrogen cost their supplies based on cost-reduction curves, which decreases the cost as the amount of nitrogen supplied increases. For example, figure 8.1 demonstrates a typical cost-reduction curve used by BOC Gases New Zealand Limited for the supply of food grade liquid nitrogen.

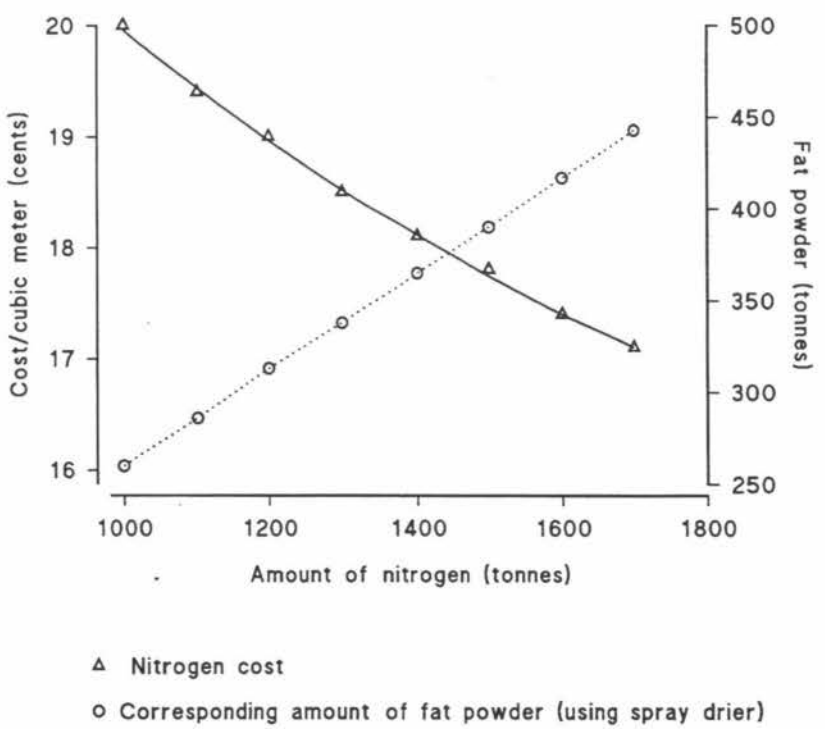

Fig. 8.1 A typical cost reduction curve for the supply of liquid nitrogen (courtesy of BOC Gases New Zealand Limited).

Note: The prices furnished are just estimates and are subject to change at any time.

Aims of the Reality Tours

Those involved in the operation of the Reality Tours, both Global Exchange and the host NGOs are not tourism operators, the majority of their work being based in other fields. It is therefore significant to look the reasons they got involved in the Reality Tours, where they feel it fits with the rest of their work and what they hope to get out of it. This in comparison to the intentions and motivations of the tour participants sheds light on the actual usefulness of the Reality Tours to both the host NGOs and Global Exchange. This section therefore discusses the themes that arose in the investigation of the aims of the Reality Tours: knowledge, search for an alternative, networks, other aims and action.

Knowledge

A key aim for all the parties involved in the Reality Tour (the tour group, Global Exchange and the NGOs) was the gaining or exchanging of knowledge. This was seen as the key intention for Global Exchange, in particular the increased knowledge and awareness they wanted groups to gain from the experience. There were also certain types of knowledge they wanted groups to gain, they wanted them to learn about social justice issues not just at the local level but also to be able to see 'the bigger picture' and the links that this picture shows between the US and these problems:

> ... it was about global to local links and realising that we don't live in a vacuums (Claudia, GX employee and ex tour leader, personal communication, July 19, 2005)

As the name suggests there was a desire for people to see the reality of a country. This was seen to be especially important for US citizens who on a day to day basis are subjected to the influence of the US media, an influence that was seen as biased. In the case of some countries, there was a felt need to break down the stereotypes created by the media, challenging the demonisation of countries such as Cuba, Iran and Iraq:

> No matter what you've been able to walk away with politically, literacy levels in Cuba are higher than the US. How can you compare the richest country in the world to them? Its astounding, no one can deny it. (Ceanna, GX employee, personal communication, August 3, 2005)

The importance of presenting the reality was seen as something important for both the tour groups as well as the hosts, the discussion between tour groups and the hosts also helping host groups find out about the reality of life in the US.

What could be seen as an extension of this, was that in the context of Chiapas there was a felt need to demystify the Zapatista rebellion, showing how it had developed and how it had not happened overnight:

> ... demystifying Chiapas, not just Zapatismo and demystifying that it started in '94, it actually started 40 years prior (Claudia, GX employee, personal communication, July 29, 2005)

Global Exchange also pointed out that the experience of meeting groups was more beneficial when the member of the groups were already involved in similar work to that of the groups they visited. This allowed opportunities for information exchange, allowing the host groups to gain more from the experience.

These factors reflect the nature of the knowledge exchange that was desired by Global Exchange. The importance of the nature of this exchange was shown through concerns that both parties were on an equal footing, and for it to be an exchange of information rather than a one way flow. This was described as being part of 'attitudinal education' (Kevin, GX founder, personal communication, July 28, 2005) for the visitors from the US, moving away from traditional responses to development issues, not romanticising poverty but also not telling other countries what they should do. There was also a concern by the tour leaders that the tours did not force feed an opinion, but let participants make up their own minds.

Global Exchange also intended that the presentation of 'reality' to the participants would stimulate action. The showing of 'reality' would highlight the clear inaccuracies in the coverage of the US Media as well as show the ways in which the US was playing a role, giving the tour participants' motivation as well as opportunity to carry out effective action.

Tour participants also cited knowledge as one of their key motivations, wanting increased knowledge on subjects related to globalisation or in a number of cases wanting to investigate the 'Zapatista myth'. Their ideas on the knowledge they hoped to gain mirrored the intentions of Global Exchange in many ways with a similar concern for the lack of information on certain topics that was available in the United States.

The knowledge gained was also seen as being not only for themselves. As many of the tour participants were involved in the education system, many cited they aimed to gain knowledge to take back to their classrooms, the trip conveniently fitting in with many of the topics they were already teaching about:

> Since I cannot send my students to all of these places I try to carry that experience to the classroom (Ida, tour participant, personal communication, July 11, 2005)

One participant had the trip paid out of the school budget as preparation for a course they were to teach.

Other group members who did not work in education directly, still hoped to gain knowledge that they could adapt to their current work:

> I also hope in the trip to gain a lot of information to bring back to the communities I work with, specifically about youth and talk to them about it. (Anna, tour participant, personal communication, July 6, 2005)

The strong informational basis of the Reality Tours was also seen as a way of collecting specific and detailed information for projects such as writing a book chapter and for collecting contacts for further academic research. Past experience of being on a Reality Tour lead one group member to comment that Global Exchange had contacts that would otherwise take them a long time to form:

> So I thought that for the short time I am there, joining Global Exchange would be a good idea because they do have all the local connections (Ida, tour participant, personal communication, July 11, 2005)

The NGOs the groups met with also saw the exchange of knowledge as being important. Primarily they felt it important to let people know what they were doing, and saw the meeting as a way of disseminating information. The participants' prospective role of taking this information back to their communities was also seen as a way of further multiplying this effect. It was therefore seen as important for the participants to see the reality of life in Chiapas a result that according to CIDESI 'makes sense and has a value in itself' (personal communication, July 19, 2005).

The informant from Fray Bart similarly saw the information exchange as important in helping communities the groups visit realise that there are struggles going on elsewhere. Both CIDESI and CIEPAC also saw it as important for groups of North Americans to be receiving this knowledge as they were the ones in the position of power.

> If we did get more people in the North to be aware about these global issues then we might even have a proportionately a greater impact on many of the policies we are against (CIEPAC representative, personal communication, July 15, 2005)

Search for an Alternative

The search for an alternative was something that came out clearly in the aims for the participants going on a Reality Tour. Six of the eight people interviewed were clearly in a process where they were questioning elements of their own culture and one of their key motivations for being on the trip was to see the alternatives that were being created by social

movements such as the Zapatistas. Key issues being questioned were based around the idea of capitalism, neo-liberalism, consumerism and the environment.

> Well I've been asking the question to myself and to my friends, who can resist the American Dream? And not that that's the only dream available in the world, it's certainly the most powerful one. I would say it's the most destructive one overall, with its good sides, but I certainly have a deep hunger for alternatives to commercialism (Robert, tour participant, personal communication, July 7, 2005)

The way the criticism of current ideology in the US was framed had a clear link to the participant's own background and history. One woman on the trip related capitalism and its problems as being a descendant of patriarchy, and another respondent framed it within concepts of sustainability and inclusion, relating this to his own history of living in areas he defined as border lands.

There was also an awareness expressed among three of the participants that there was a need to look outside of their own culture for answers to the problems of the mainstream ideology. One informant noted that coming from a purely American background, she lacked an alternative culture from which to draw alternative values.

> I was thinking about how I'm from the US, I don't really have - my culture is the modern culture...I guess my challenge is like not having something else, looking at my culture seeing the way that its effecting other cultures and like trying to make it something redeeming, without having another culture to mix it with (Heather, tour participant, personal communication, July 8, 2005)

The search for an alternative within Global Exchange was shown in their actions and views across the organisation, with the Reality Tours being a way of showing the problems with the existing system and showing alternatives. Like CIEPAC, as an organisation Global Exchange was very clear in what it is against, neo-liberalism and corporate-led globalisation being key parts of this. Within the Reality Tours one focus area was to show 'alternatives to corporate Western dominated globalisation' (Nadya, GX employee, personal communication, July 28, 2005) . Although stemming from capitalism there was concern expressed within the organisation that the alternative was not as simple as being in opposition to capitalism or globalisation, certain types of this process being more harmful than others. One member of Global Exchange also put this struggle in class terms, seeing it as a case of the working and middle classes in all countries as having a common link in their fight against the elites that exist in all their countries.

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Day 2

The day started with an introductory meeting where members of the group introduced each other. The two tour leaders discussed the trip, the changes in the itinerary due to the Red Alert and gave us a further information pack that they had put together. They also went through the procedure for forthcoming meetings, explaining that a member of our group was to introduce us at the start of each meeting. The same representative would ask on behalf of the group whether we could take photos and record the information we were given. The tour leaders explained how we should also ask before we took photos outside of the meetings, always dress appropriately and should be patient if the itinerary was changed at short notice. After a brief time for people to change money, we attended our first meeting. This was with Fray Bartolomé Human Rights Centre. The meeting was conducted in the hallway at their offices due to their meeting room being used for discussions about the Red Alert. This meant that many in the group had to sit on the floor, something that no one complained about. The talk followed the pattern that was echoed throughout the other meetings on the trip. Two representatives of the NGO spoke to us about their work. This was then followed by questions from the group. Interestingly one member of the Global Exchange group brought up a question about the appropriateness of human rights concepts and was interested in hearing about how they fitted in with local ideas. After lunch at a women's co-operative restaurant we went to a fair trade coffee house to meet with an alternative education advisor. This meeting, as well as giving us information on alternative education, gave us some background to Las Abejas from Acteal, a pacifist group, due to this advisor's role working with this group.

Day 3

The day started with a meeting with a representative from a local NGO who talked to us about the background of the communities we were to visit in the next two days. The situation in these communities varied, and knowing the background to the ones we visited was very beneficial in putting their struggles in the context of wider issues such as the environment, development and land ownership.

The first community (visited on day 5) was on the outskirts of the Montes Azueles Biosphere Reserve, and was a well-established village. They were currently at odds with the government over land that they had been cultivating for the past 25 years. Ten years previously the government had said they were cultivating this land illegally and that it actually belonged to the Lacandon indigenous people who were living in the Biosphere Reserve. This was a contentious issue in the area, as when the Lacandon people were given the land they were given much more than they requested, which led many to believe that the government was supporting their claims to the land as it made it easier for them to get access to it for their own profit related reasons.

The second community covered during this talk had opted to take the government's relocation package, in response to the formation of the Montes Azules Biosphere Reserve and now were now living in a newly built model village. The new village was put forward by the government as an example of what 'development' could bring, a viewed shared by many of the villagers. In the event however the project had been ill thought through, with major problems in access to water and fuel; and development initiatives that either didn't suit the terrain on which the village was built or did not suit the culture of the community. As a result many of the original community had moved away. This community was not actually visited during the tour due to lack of time but the group were shown photos of it later in the week.

During this meeting the tour leaders also went through with the group how we should behave in the communities and we were given a list of thirteen guidelines to follow (see appendix 3). The list covered issues such as dressing appropriately, not giving gifts or buying from individuals and taking care not to meddle in any community divisions that may exist. We were also asked to be considerate at mealtimes, trying to eat whatever was made for us, even if we were vegetarian, at the very least to be discreet in passing the meat onto someone else. Importantly, with the guidelines the reasons behind them were also given and reinforced our role as respectful visitors, with the desire to make as little impact as possible. There were also guidelines on how to act if we were faced with roadblocks. The group was then taken to the offices of CIEPAC, where we were given a talk focusing on economic development. This NGO also produced a number of different materials (in various languages including indigenous ones) around issues such as free trade agreements, multinational corporations and the IMF. These materials were available to buy which many of the group did.

After a group lunch we went out of town by taxi to visit a women's weaving co-operative. The meeting we had with the women as well as covering how the items were made and how they came up with designs, focused on how the co-operative was organised and the problems they had in getting a fair price for their work. There was also an opportunity at this meeting to buy some of the crafts which many of the group, including myself, did.

Day 4

Day 4 started with a five-hour journey to the Palenque region. Transport for this trip was in two small vans and organised through a local transport co-operative. We first went to visit a small human rights/medical centre in Palenque to hear background material about the medical centre and the village we were to visit. The village we visited was a two-hour drive off the main tarmac road, and was a contrast to the second village we were to visit the following day. This community was well established but was still struggling with the effects of being a long distance from a main centre, having no running water or electricity. At the start of the meeting everyone

was introduced, including their roles in the community. A large number of the village had gathered in the school to speak to us and from the speeches they gave to us before we left, they obviously really appreciated our visit and the distance we had come. There was also a community member taking notes, indicating that the flow of information went both ways and the community regarded the visit as much more than just hosting tourists. That night we stayed in a hotel in Palenque.

Day 5

An early start provided the group with the time to spend an hour and a half at the Palenque Mayan Ruins. Four of the group stayed at the Ruins for the day while the rest of us went on to visit a second community. This was a large village, and could have been considered much more 'developed'. The talk they gave us was also more motivated. They were having a problem with a government development project occurring further upstream which ran the risk of polluting their stretch of river. Meeting with international groups such as ours was clearly seen as a way of publicising their cause through the media or us writing letters. The talk they gave us was therefore a lot more specific than the interaction we had had at the community on the previous day and so the background to this community that we had already been given on day 3 was really useful. After picking up the members of the group we had left at the ruins we made our way back to San Cristobal.

Day 6

In the morning we went to visit the Centre for Indigenous Training (CIDESI). After a talk by the organisation's director we were given a guided tour of the facilities. A number of the group did not come to this meeting, as they were tired from the trip to Palenque. Those that did go however said they found it inspirational. The afternoon was fairly relaxed with most of the group going to visit a Mayan Medicine Museum. In the early evening the group met at the Fair Trade café to hear a talk about fair trade coffee in preparation for our visit to the coffee co-operative the following day.

Day 7

After breakfast the group went in two vans to visit a coffee co-operative an hours drive away from San Cristobal. The meeting was held in the coffee warehouse and the group met with various members of the co-operative including the incoming and outgoing presidents. The talk covered issues, such as how they were organised, the difficulties of getting organic certification and the problems of finding markets. There was also the opportunity to buy some coffee at the end, which the majority of the group did. The co-operative was related to Las Abejas, a pacifist group based in the nearby village of Acteal and so some background to Las Abejas was also given in this meeting. On our return to San Cristobal we stopped in Acteal, which was the site

of a massacre by paramilitaries in 1997. The group was not expected, but the tour leaders knew members of the community having set up meetings there in the past. Whilst there we saw the church that was the site of the massacre and the memorial that had been created by the community. On the journey back to San Cristobal we met the people from the coffee co-operative and went down to visit a coffee farm to get more information on the conditions in which the coffee was grown.

Day 8

For the last full day of the tour, the morning was spent at Melel Xojobal, an organisation that focuses on working with the street children in San Cristobal, meeting with a large number of their staff. After a presentation on the various areas of their work there was a question session that included many of the group sharing their own experiences of working with children. The afternoon was spent in a debrief session. The session started with us all giving our thoughts on things that had stood out for us. Common themes arising were the realisation of the complexity of the situation, the alternative (to Zapatismo) forms of resistance and the impact of visiting Acteal. The experience of visiting Acteal spurred one group member to write a poem, which led to a very long silence from the group. After this, encouraged by the tour leaders, different types of action that we could initiate were discussed. The tour finished with a group dinner at a local restaurant.

Day 9

The majority of the group left for the airport shortly after breakfast. After breakfast we also found out that the Red Alert had been lifted and the Zapatista communities were once again welcoming visitors. Five members of the group, including myself were staying on in San Cristobal so we organised to visit the nearest Caracole two days later. A couple of people that stayed went on to spend the next week at a language school at one of the Zapatista Caracoles, which they had organised before the trip. The three of us remaining visited the nearest Caracole to San Cristobal. Visiting by ourselves served as a useful comparison, as it was clear to me that our level of understanding was lower than when we had visited as a group, with an organised meeting and a translator. The meetings with the welcoming committee and the junta were formal meetings, notably different from the meetings we had had with communities whilst on the Reality Tour. I am sure this was not aided by our limited Spanish but the impression was still given, that the committees were unclear of our motives for being there and as a result they remained fairly reserved. This experience served as an interesting contrast to the meetings I participated in as part of the Reality Tour, showing the benefits of being introduced by trusted people (such as the tour leaders) and being part of a recognised group. Going to a Caracole was a fascinating experience but I still felt that I learnt more about Zapatismo from the previous

weeks meetings, even though these were all with groups who were technically outside of the Zapatistas.

Results of the Tour

The next section will look at the results of the Reality Tour that was the focus of this research. Firstly it will look at the results under a number of themes, closely resembling the categories identified as the aims of the Reality Tours. In doing so it makes comparisons to the aims highlighted in Chapter 5, showing the extent to which these aims are met and the ways the results differ or go beyond the intended effects. Secondly it will use the tourism literature to assess the personal impact the tours had on the tour participants, using these effects as a starting point to assess the action stimulated as a result of this particular Reality Tour to Chiapas.

The information I gained on the effects post-tour was from the interviews conducted towards the end of the tour and the post tour questionnaires that were sent out (Appendix 1). The post tour questionnaires gave information primarily on the networks that were created and the action that had been stimulated. These were sent out to every participant, and although I had a similar response rate to that of the interviews it was a different selection of people, so this makes it hard to compare interviews with post tour follow up.

Knowledge

In practice the Reality Tour to Chiapas was clearly an opportunity to gain knowledge for myself as well as the tour participants. The meetings covered a wide range of topics such as human rights, inter-community conflict, fair trade, trade agreements and their effects, alternative education systems, the environment and the possible conflicts that environmental protection can produce. A number of the group were taping the meetings with the NGOs and communities (normally 2-3 people per meeting) which shows the value attached to the information gathered and also their intention to use this knowledge in future activities. This seemed to be common practice in Reality Tour groups as the need to get permission to tape meetings was mentioned at our introductory meeting with the tour leaders. The request to tape meetings was also included as a matter of course in our introductions to the communities and NGOs.

Whether the tour succeeded in the exchange of knowledge is something that is very hard to measure. However, its effect, with regards to knowledge can be indicated by the comments of the tour participants, through my direct questioning as well as group meetings we had whilst on tour. A clear element that came out at the final group meeting, as well as during individual interviews was that people were now much more aware of the complexity of the situation. The tour showed the many divisions that existed within in the communities, many of the local people balancing a fine line between sympathising with the Zapatista cause but also complying with the

government, out of day to day necessity. The tour also drew attention to the resistance taking place outside of the Zapatista movement. The increased recognition of other forms of resistance was seen as a beneficial result of the practical problem of the tour not being able to visit Zapatista communities. There was also evidence that the experience in Chiapas had made the participants question issues that they had already read about, and to gain a deeper understanding of complexities.

> I remember reading about the people that were kicked off their land in the Montes Azules Biosphere and I thought 'oh well you know they have to save the rainforest that's what there doing' and then I talked to people and they said it really not that simple a lot of people think that and they're doing that because they want the land for other purposes. (Julie, tour participant, personal communication, July 15, 2005)

The portrayal of the conflicts that existed in the communities and the difficulties the community members were faced with, I would suggest indicates that the reality of the situation in Chiapas was being portrayed successfully. The tour had not rested on idealistic assumptions of there being two clear-cut sides to the conflict, one right and one wrong.

While the complexity of the situation was portrayed to a point the tour was nevertheless limited in the views it portrayed. Although there was a concern by the tour leaders to show a range of viewpoints, this was not always possible, meeting with one community faction preventing your meeting with the other side. There was also a time limitation that prevented the whole situation being presented, a factor the staff at Global Exchange were aware of. This was also shown in the comments of one member of the tour group who said she felt like she was 'getting a leftist education' (Fiona, tour participant, personal communication, July 8, 2005). She was probably the most politically mainstream in the group, certainly of those I questioned, and I would suggest this made her more likely to identify this as being of concern. Her ability to recognise a left wing bias made her question some of the information received and gave her the motivation to find out the other side on returning home. This although having the risk of going against the ideals Global Exchange believe in, does show how the information can lead to a reflection and awareness raising experience.

There was also an appreciation that seeing things in real life would increase the impact of knowledge they already had through reading material:

> Just kind of seeing how people live, makes its own impact. Even if you see pictures and theoretically know it you don't feel it the same way, so it gives you more of a motivation to stay active (Seb, tour participant, personal communication, July 12, 2005)

The desire for knowledge by the tour participants was also seen to extend beyond the tour, and was reflected in the actions of the participants that stayed on beyond the final day of the organised tour. All of those remaining went onto visit a Zapatista community of their own accord, one person visiting twice as they were given the opportunity to visit with another NGO delegation and wanted to find out more than we did on our first visit. This was also at the expense of not returning to visit Mayan ruins that was this person's original intention.

There was some evidence within the context of the meetings that the information given by the NGOs was guided by the interests of the groups. The example was given by a couple of NGOs (CIEPAC and Fray Bart) of groups who came wanting to know about fair trade when this was not their subject area. This however made little impact on the information they did supply as they tended to stick to a standard presentation and would not talk about areas they had little knowledge of. This could possibly be a reflection of the way in which groups frame struggles and the information they are open to around their own priorities, rather than the wider reality of places. One of the tour leaders also pointed out that the information given on both sides could not be accusatory, as an attacking stance has the tendency to shut people down, to questions as well as information. This is a consideration that although not mentioned by the NGOs themselves, may have influenced their talk content and possibility the extent to which the 'Northern cause' in local problems was stressed.

As far as the information gained by the NGOs we visited, this is difficult to gauge as follow up was not done with regard to this particular tour. The information on knowledge exchange gained through the original interviews however still reminds a useful indicator, since these NGOs had had previous groups visiting them and so would be able to comment on the effect of these visits. The flow of knowledge was importantly shown to be a two way process with organisations also gaining knowledge from the interaction that had taken place. The information from Melel stressed that in comparison to other groups they have hosted, it was useful to them that Global Exchange groups had backgrounds similar to their area of work:

> I don't know, I think its richer when the people [tour group participants] who come have experience (Maria, Melel Xojobal representative, personal communication, July 16, 2005)

Global Exchange saw in practice the Reality Tours as being a way to further their knowledge about what was happening on the ground, important in making sure they were not too detached from many of the issues they were trying to effect.

Search for Alternative Forms of Resistance

Despite the lack of access to the Zapatista communities, and the alternatives that many of the group were interested in, a number of other forms of resistance were presented during the tour. There are two important points to be made with regard to the alternative forms of resistance that were portrayed. The presenting of alternatives is important in activism in being a positive strategy, positive for the prospective activists as well as giving a positive view of the communities we visited. The view portrayed was always of well-organised communities and organisations, very capable and active in making their own decisions and forming their own alternative ways of living. Tour leaders presented the view that activism can take on many forms, mirroring the view of Global Exchange staff in wanting an eclectic approach to activism and the search for alternatives.

Solidarity

Global Exchange indicated that their desire was to create solidarity between tour group members and the people they visited. In the responses from the tour group there was some evidence that this had occurred:

> I felt that this is a really good connection and that we're all just struggling to make a living, you know basically what it all boils down to, and to be treated with dignity (Julie, tour participant, personal communication, July 15, 2005)

There were also indications given by the NGOs that the meetings produced similar feelings through the recognition of similar problems. The informant from Melel said that the meetings make them feel less 'lonely' and helps them to see there are shared problems and similar struggles going on elsewhere. Fray Bart also suggested that meeting with Global Exchange groups benefited the communities in showing the are not alone and letting them see the work that is going on elsewhere. These factors do seem to indicate an increased feeling of solidarity.

Melel also said the meetings helped them to look at their own work critically and take a wider view on it, through feedback from such groups. This narrowness of focus was something that was identified as a limitation of just networking with people from their field of children's rights.

Networks

After the tour, within the tour group there was some evidence of the networks that had been created as a result of the tour. These primarily seem to revolved around one group member in particular, who also appears to have been one of the most active as a result of the tour. Contact was made via a number of telephone conversations and email. The Yahoo group that was set up by myself was used especially in the time immediately after the tour primarily for posting photos. Later it was also used to post articles and reports on activism. There has also

been one instance where information gained through one member's ongoing contact with one of the host NGOs was dispersed through to the rest of the group through this Yahoo network. Contact between group members however has been sporadic with one participant commenting that they were a little disappointed with the lack of contact between group members after the tour.

For Global Exchange the Reality Tours programme was seen as a way of building relationships. Networks are used when designing a new tour to ensure work is not being duplicated as well as to access groups and organisations. Global Exchange also saw the links made to community groups through the Reality Tours as a way of maintaining an accurate view of events. These links however were primarily based on a personal relationship with the tour leader or a member of staff at Global Exchange, so it would be difficult to say whether this information filtered through to the wider organisation.

The creating of networks linking the tour participants and the NGOs we visited can be analysed from the perspective of the NGOs and how much contact they have with participants after the tours and also from comments of the group participants. Contact NGOs had with the groups after the tours appeared to be limited. However all the NGOs were able to give examples of times when they had had follow up contact with group members. Fray Bart said that they had people returning to do human rights observing, and CIDESI said they had a teacher return to help teach in one of their centres. Melel Xojobal acknowledged that many of the groups (not Global Exchange groups) who visit include prospective volunteers. They did stress however that contact after a tour is not made with individuals unless a person makes a donation, or there is a very specific reason the organisation wants to keep in contact with them. Therefore if a relationship does develop it is normally instigated by the visitor or has stemmed from them spending a longer period of time at Melel Xojobal.

CIEPAC identified lack of post tour contact with groups that visit as a problem and a have 'detected this as a gap in our outreach to the First World' (CIEPAC, representative, personal communication, July 15, 2005). They also saw the nature of Global Exchange groups being a contributing factor in this. The recruitment for tours and the wide geographical scope of the participants make it difficult to get feedback or definite action from the group's participants. The lack of post tour contact may, however, reflect the nature of CIEPAC as an organisation as it provides a source of information rather than offering concrete ways people can help. They were however the organisation that was involved in the most direct resulting action of my group, the representative of CIEPAC giving a talk in September 2005 in the US that was organised by one of the group members. The talk was organised in conjunction with the Mexican Solidarity Network and No More Deaths (a US NGO concerned with border issues) and was held at a fair-trade

coffee house in Arizona. The talk as well as raising awareness raised money for No More Deaths and CIEPAC. The CIEPAC representative was also able to get media coverage whist in Arizona, speaking to local press, radio and television.

Finance

Although funds received by the NGOs from Global Exchange, were minimal there was some evidence that the groups we visited particularly community groups did benefit from the groups visiting. At the coffee co-operative and weaving co-operative the group did buy quite a lot of produce and this was supported by the tour leaders, for the reason that they were co-operatives and so it meant a fairer distribution of the benefits. There was also times at the NGOs when group members bought materials for teaching. This was acknowledged by a representative of Melel Xojobal as a financial benefit to the organisation, a donation in kind. These donations however, I would imagine would not constitute a sizeable financial benefit for the organisation as the sales seemed small and irregular.

Behaviour of the Group

Despite the best intentions of a tour operator, they still cannot control the actions of the tour participants. Members of the Global Exchange group gave more consideration to lessening their impact than a normal tour group and were very respectful to the host community. They also appeared to be less demanding, and more understanding when things like accommodation was not of a good standard (as at the hotel in Palenque). This created an atmosphere different from a conventional tour to the extent where you felt excess souvenir buying would have been frowned upon. There was also the instance where on the suggestion we tip the tour leaders, common practice on most tours, that with the tip they were given the option of the keeping the money or giving it to a local NGO of their choice. This suggestion would indicate that the trip participants were framing the tour and the people involved in it in a very different light to regular tourism.

The one instance where I felt the group was acting like a regular tour group was on our visit to Acteal. This was due to the nature of the visit the group not being expected and not having a clear explanation of the background to the massacre and the community's situation, the visit felt like an intrusion. This was especially noticeable due to the large size of the group and because people were taking photographs. The tour leaders had brought groups to Acteal before and had asked permission for us to be there and to take photographs when we arrived. The community representative did also explain to me that it was important for them to have visitors in order that people knew what had happened there. This was the visit that came out at the final group meeting as having the most effect on the group members, a number of the group obviously being very moved by the experience, leading one to write a poem. This shows the disparity

between the perceived behaviour of a tour group as a whole and the individual responses to experiences and the possible positive impacts this may have.

Chapter 5 established that the central aim of the Reality Tours was to create action and increase the awareness of the US public in regard to social justice issues. In order to assess the use of the results of the tour as previously discussed, such as increased knowledge and networks, it is important to investigate how the tour participants were effected on a personal level. The next section will look at the tour participant's interpretation of their experiences, analysed in relation to the tourism literature that has considered such effects. It is important to consider the tourism literature at this point as although the results of this tour would appear to be quite different from those of the majority of tourism, the literature looking at the way tour participants are effected by their tourism experiences provides some useful insights. Secondly, this section will consider the central way, in relation to the intended aims of the tours, this personal change manifests itself. Hence it will examine the action that was stimulated as a result of Reality Tours, particularly in regard to the tour in this study.

The Participants' Interpretation of their Experiences and its Effect.

As discussed in the tourism literature there have been a number of ways presented to explain the way tourists interpret their experience as well as the effect it has on them. Hutnyk's (1996) work on the effects of a travellers own culture on their perception of Calcutta and the ability of their view to be challenged resonates in the views of the participants of the Reality Tours. In the Reality Tours this works on two levels, firstly Global Exchange are aware of the media images of places that are presented to the US public with one of their aims being to dispel incorrect or distorted myths. This obviously has a greater impact when the tourists are clearly not of the same mind as Global Exchange as exposure to experiences that cause them to dramatically question their own beliefs has the potential to have significant effect. However if looking at the Reality Tour to Chiapas featured in this study, most of the participants described themselves as progressive, and expressed a desire to dispel myths about the situation in Chiapas. This, I would suggest, means that the people participating in Reality Tours generally are the type of people who have already questioned these stereotypes. Rarely would someone put themselves knowingly in a position where their beliefs are vastly different from those of the tour operator.

Secondly I would suggest that the participant's position in the 'progressive' sector of the US public could in a similar way as described by Hutnyk's 'travel lore' (1996 p. 44) frame their expectations and their interpreting of the experiences they have in Chiapas. This can be seen in the comment from Julie about the environmental reasons behind the evicting of people from the Montes Azules Biosphere Reserve. This comment suggests that despite the participants' desire to find out more about the countries in question, their ideas were still framed by their previous

knowledge and the liberal cultural background from which they were coming. This suggests that it is important for the Reality Tours to show the complexities and the various views of the situation in Chiapas, so as not to fall back on Western liberal ideas on the rights and wrongs of any given situation. The very fact that Julie was questioning her original ideas would suggest that the Reality Tours are going some way to achieving this.

Urry (2002) suggests that what is valued in tourism destinations is socially constructed in the tourist's own society. This also can be seen in the initial phases of a Reality Tour. Their operation is dependant on tourist demand and from the perspective of the tour participants rather than Global Exchange. There was evidence that certain areas such as South Africa or Israel and Palestine had at certain times been valued as important places to visit. This may suggest that value is assigned by the tourist's own society rather than the merits as a destination with social justice issues

Wearing's (2001) ideas on volunteer tourism suggest that such forms of tourism can contribute to the development of self. This theory is one that the responses of the tour participants would appear to support. A number of the tour participants complained that due to the intense nature of the tour there was not enough time for them to digest the information and experiences they had received. This would suggest that they intend for the experience to be one that involved a process of reflection and therefore possible contribution to the development of themselves. A couple of the tour participants also expressed a desire to use their increased knowledge of new cultures to contribute to an examining of their own. Considering the impact of culture on 'self', this would also indicate a conscious development of 'self'.

The tour participants were clearly open to and were affected by participating in a Reality Tour. Essentially for Global Exchange this impact is desired to stimulate action, a result that will now be considered.

Action Stimulated

The action that resulted from the group in many ways reflected the ideals of Global Exchange. At a basic level all the respondents to the post tour questionnaire said they had talked about their experience to family and friends, having the multiplier effect the NGOs desired. This, in some cases also included organising opportunities for this information dissemination, in the form of film evenings, talks and discussion groups. One member of the group also commented that his participation on the tour gave him legitimacy in talking about the subject, an effect staff at Global Exchange were aware of:

> It also surprisingly gives you a lot of legitimacy even though you're only there for 20 days everybody wants to hear about your trip, whereas if you read the book that would probably give you more information, they don't want to hear about it (Kirsten, GX founder, personal communication, August 3, 2005).

Three of the group members have written articles for publications on issues in Chiapas. As mentioned earlier one group member also organised for the representative from CIEPAC to give a talk in the United States. The same group member published an article (D. A. Kennedy, 2005) about his experience in Chiapas.

Being teachers, a number of the group said they had used the information gained on their tour to feed into their curriculum, one saying that:

> I did spend the better part of an afternoon at the CIEPAC website collecting information for a book I'm writing on teaching about the border, immigration, and consequences of "free trade" in Mexico. They have done some wonderful work and that's a resource that I would not likely have found without the trip (John, tour participant, personal communication, October 19, 2005)

Another commented that although she did not have the strongest views on the issues we were covering in the Reality Tour and was probably the least political in the group, she had used the materials she had picked up in Chiapas in her teaching work, and had many discussions with people around issues such as NAFTA.

Interestingly many of the tour group used the experience in modified ways, using elements that fitted with their day to day work or activism. For example the reflection stimulated by the tour led one of the participants into the direction of work on inclusion of migrant groups in their community. Another used the knowledge gained from the trip in Chiapas in teaching work on immigration:

> I did teach a three-day institute for 40 teachers at University of California at Los Angeles on Mexico border and immigration issues in August; I think that the time in Chiapas helped deepen my sense of what is going on in Mexico. (John, tour participant, personal communication, October 19, 2005)

The experience in Chiapas for those already active, importantly was shown to have an inspiring and empowering effect:

> the work/success of groups such as the Zapatistas and Las Abejas (people with comparatively little power) helped me to recognise and want to use my power. (Heather, tour participant, personal communication, November 2, 2005)

Based on the feedback I received from my tour group, the tour experience appeared not so much to create activism but to fuel it. In this particular tour there was no evidence of major changes in the participants, but considering the general left wing sympathetic stance that already existed among tour participants, this is not surprising.

The selection of information to feed into existing activism suited the tour participants and probably made it more likely that they actually use the information. However, this may not have coincided with the desired outcomes of the host groups. For example in the visit to the second community on Day 5, the community clearly wanted the group to write letters in support of their conflict with the government. Ideally they wanted international media attention. Judging by the responses of the tour group none of them had done this and so had not accomplished the host groups wishes. Consequently a conflict arises between the priorities of the groups who meet with the Reality Tours and the actions of the tour participants.

These results were taken after a two-month period. They therefore do not reflect possible action taken after this time, based on the experience in Chiapas. They are also selective in that they derive mainly from questionnaires returned by only half of the group. These people I would suggest may be more likely to be the people who do have something to report, the desire for action shown in the tour putting people off reporting that they had not been active. On the other hand I also had an email response from one member saying they were unable to fill the questionnaire out due to the amount of time they were currently spending in activism orientated work on a more local level.

Global Exchange staff in their interviews, were also able to give examples of many times where a Reality Tour created action. For example often after the Cuba Tours people set up sister city projects, an action that would also indicate an increased level of solidarity between the visitors and the hosts. Other examples with regards to Chiapas were a caravan of people who go down every year to deliver items that the communities have requested and one teacher who created a market for the fair trade coffee by getting it to be their school fundraiser.

In order to support people returning from Reality Tours Global Exchange were in the process of setting up programmes such as teacher meet-up groups in order for people to join a network and to get the support they needed to carry out activism. I saw little evidence of this however in finishing the tour. This may have been due to the early stage of development of these programmes, or through not being a US resident or a teacher. Global Exchange were also willing to funnel money raised by tour participants through the organisations to those in the host country.

The views of the NGOs visited on the trip mirrored the concerns of Global Exchange with regard to the follow up of groups returning from Reality Tours. CIEPAC noted the broad geographical spread of the tour participants, which made it almost impossible to monitor the effect of their talks on these people's actions. They also identified the difficulty that exists in trying to ensure people follow through with action on returning home. If this were defined as a prerequisite of joining the tour it would put many people off coming to Chiapas in the first place.

Summary

This chapter has examined one particular Reality Tour in practice. An analysis of the results of this tour acts as a comparison to the aims of the various stakeholders in the tours as outlined in Chapter 5. In identifying the results of the tour it has shown that the tour had an effect on the tour participants on both a personal level and also provided them with information to support existing and future action. A consideration of the tourism literature has shown that the Reality Tours have similarities to other forms of tourism, particularly those that deal with development issues, in being able to effect the participants and getting them to question their own views. It has also shown that the tours do stimulate action, identifying that this action is of a certain nature, rarely directly tied to the work of the NGOs in a local sphere. Instead it is influenced by the local environment of the tour participants and the global issues over which they have some control. As such these results would appear to mirror the intended aims of those NGOs taking a global perspective, rather than those dealing with problems in their national context.

The next chapter discusses the broader concept of Reality Tours in relation to the academic literature on tourism, development and social movements. It attempts to show the Reality Tour's place as a form of tourism and as a form of activism, investigating the merits and difficulties of both approaches.

CHAPTER 7:
DISCUSSION - REALITY TOURS AS A FORM OF TOURISM AND SOCIAL ACTION

The previous two chapters have discussed the aims and intentions of the parties involved in Reality Tours, as well as the results of one actual tour in terms of the knowledge generated, the networks created and its effects on the tour participants. If these tours are to have an impact and a role beyond conventional tourism they have to be considered as part of wider development processes. It is for this reason that the following chapter assesses the Reality Tours as a form of tourism, and as a form of activism and advocacy. The chapter consists of four sections. Firstly, the Reality Tours as a form of tourism is addressed, identifying ways in which they replicate the characteristics of certain forms of tourism and the ways they are distinctly different. The second section starts to consider broader social structures, examining the way the Reality Tours operate within wider power structures. A consideration of structures takes us to the third and final section concerning the social vision of the NGOs involved in the Reality Tour process. The social vision that frames the work of these NGOs is then investigated further through an examination of their work strategies and the place of Reality Tours in them. As such it looks at the place of Reality Tours

Reality Tours as a Form of Tourism

As discussed in Chapter 3 tourism literature primarily deals with the role of tourism on a day to day level, especially the effect the tourism industry has on the host population. Global Exchange defines the Reality Tours as a socially responsible form of tourism and as such it is a form of alternative tourism. This acknowledges its place in tourism but also that it has a role in development which is very different from standard tourism or some forms of alternative tourism.

Chapter 3 revealed that the criticisms of tourism can be seen as being under three broad categories; economic, social (including cultural and political) and environmental. These categories of criticism in turn have led to new alternative forms of tourism. When considering Reality Tours in the context of these three factors the difference between the socially responsible tourism as defined by Global Exchange and much of alternative tourism development becomes clear. A summary of the ways Global Exchange seek to alleviate the criticisms aimed at Third World tourism is presented in Table 7.1 on the following page, and following this it is elaborated further.

Traditional Criticisms of Tourism in the Third World		How Reality Tours address these concerns & seek to alleviate them
Social	Cultural change	Differences between host and guest are minimised through guidelines given to the tour participants: recommendation that material possessions are not taken into the communities
	Commodification	Financial benefit to NGOs and communities is kept to a minimum.
	Staged Authenticity	Communities are told that groups are interested in their 'real' experience. Groups are often meeting with NGOs, whose priorities do not lie in providing a tourism product.
	Spreads Western Hegemony	Measures taken to respect and promote local culture, tours often involved support for indigenous groups. Long term campaigning by GX to reduce influence of Western Hegemony.
	Hosts not given choice to participate in tourism	Communities/NGOs are asked if they want to participate
Economic	Dependency	Economic impact in communities is small and the tours are sporadic in occurrence. Tour participants are advised not to make financial promises in communities.
	Leakage	Use locally owned services. Low demand by tour participants for foreign goods.
	Benefits favour local elite	Mediated through knowledge of tour leaders, use of co-operatives and a focus in the tour on meeting with the marginalised.
	Low skilled, poorly paid jobs for locals	Stress on local ownership of services, meet with locally run NGOs and community groups
	Creates divisions in communities	Recommendations made not to give to individuals and use of Co-operatives for transport, meals and souvenir buying
Environmental	Creates environmental damage in destination and pressure on scarce natural resources	Operating in Third World destinations makes the tour more environmentally problematic. Actions by tour participants however tried to reduce environmental impact (i.e. refilling water bottles)
	Environmental cost of air travel	Introduction of carbon debt scheme

Table 7.1 Table showing the Criticisms of Third World Tourism and the ways the Reality Tours seek to address them.

In economic terms, tourism is seen to contribute to the local economy by providing employment and bringing foreign exchange to an area. The economic benefits, as discussed in Chapter 3, are often criticised for favouring local elites, creating divisions in communities, offering only low skilled and poorly paid jobs to locals and being susceptible to leakage back to the First World. Reality Tours operating in Third World countries do inevitably contribute to the economic

development of the communities they visit. The tour participants stay in hotels, use transport and eat in restaurants, all of which mean Reality Tours have an impact very similar to regular tourism. In promoting socially responsible tourism however, Global Exchange aim to combat many of the traditional criticisms of tourism, through the use of locally owned hotels and the use of co-operatives for transport purposes, ensuring the economic benefits stay in the local communities and are as fairly distributed as possible. The extensive local knowledge of the tour leaders helps with attempts to distribute benefits fairly. As highlighted by Mowforth and Munt (2003) however, staying in locally owned hotels can still be problematic, as it tends to favour the local elite. This is somewhat inevitable considering the elite are more likely to have the economic capital to provide such services, there rarely being alternatives available. I would suggest Global Exchange is aware of this issue but the intense nature of the tours and the need for participants to be well rested prevents them from using lower quality accommodation. If such basic accommodation were acceptable it would be easier for the non-elites to participate in the supply.

Conventional tourism to the Third World has also been criticised for inducing dependency (Britton, 1982). However the Reality Tours are sporadic in their visits to destinations, with only 3 to 4 a year at present. The tours are also working on the fringes of a strong tourism industry in San Cristobal de las Casas itself, and so could not be seen as creating an industry or an economic infrastructure around their visits. Although this may not be the case for other Reality Tours such as those to Cuba which were considerably more frequent. In regard to the Chiapas tours, the visits by Reality Tours groups are too irregular to create dependency. At the same time however this means they are limited in their economic impact in both a positive and negative fashion.

Attempts to limit the tours' social impact is done through controlling the economic impacts such as dependency (economic impact having an influence over social relations) as well as in the guidelines set for their tours and the tour participants. Guidelines include not giving of gifts that would upset the collective spirit of the campesino (peasant) communities and the request not to get involved in internal disputes. These recommendations also aim to reduce cultural impacts, attempting to minimise the differences between the host communities and the visitors. The desire to lessen the social and cultural impact was also indicated by the tour leaders concern to find communities to visit that had already experienced Western visitors or who actively wanted visitors. In all cases the community had the final say in whether they would participate.

Cultural impacts have often been talked about in terms of commodification and debates around authenticity (MacCannell, 1999). The meetings the Reality Tour group had in communities could in many ways be seen as the tourism product, based on the information the communities were providing for the guests. However there are a number of elements about the Reality Tours that I

would suggest lessen the chances of this criticism of commodification and staged authenticity being applied to the Reality Tours. Firstly, it was a two-way dialogue. Although information from guest to host was limited, it was obviously valued, with members of one community taking notes throughout the meeting. Secondly, there was little financial benefit to stimulate a commodification process. With regard to authenticity, the tour leaders stressed to the communities that the groups were interested in what they had to say and their view of the world. This, although under the effect of possible unequal power relationship between the hosts and the group, tries to lessen the effect of the perceived expectations of the tour groups. With regard to the NGOs, their position as NGOs, I suggest, would increase the chances of the tour groups getting an authentic or 'real' experience. As NGOs rather than tour operators, their interests lie in the main premise for their work, rather than in supplying a good tourism product. This was shown in the way that despite tour groups requesting to hear about certain topics such as fair trade, it made little impact on the talks themselves. The talks remained centred on the issues they were both knowledgeable about and felt most important.

The Reality Tour also has the potential to have a positive cultural impact. Cultural forms of tourism have been identified as having the ability to increase self-esteem and cultural identity (Sofield, 2003). The Reality Tours in their meetings with the NGOs can be seen as having a similar effect, one NGO representative identifying that meeting with visiting groups increased the pride they had in their own work. This was borne out in the communities we visited, especially considering that these communities were always presented in a positive light, highlighting how organised and politically active they were.

When considering cultural impact, it is important to also look at the cultural impact on the tour participants. Within the tourism literature there has been some discussion as to the impacts of tourism experiences on the tour participants (Hutnyk, 1996; Wearing, 2001). However there has been little discussion of the possible impact of tourism experiences on the tour participant's society. Within the Reality Tour many of the participants verbalised a desire to understand another culture's way of looking at the world, as a way of examining and possibly changing their own way of life. This would suggest that the interactions between the communities and the tour groups are able to make a large cultural impact on the members of the tour group. An impact heightened by their openness for such change as well as the information supplied at these meetings. The tour participants were mostly teachers and activists and would have a role in educating other members of the public. It could be said that this would put these people at the forefront of wider cultural change as desired by Global Exchange. They could also be considered part of the middle class, the group that according to Porritt will be leading the 'post-industrial revolution' (cited in Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p. 145).

Global Exchange's overriding desire to create changes, social, cultural and economic, within the US, could raise questions as to the extent to which the Reality Tours are guilty of being what Mowforth and Munt describe as 'hegemony in practice' (2003 p. 48). The long-term goals of the Reality Tours and Global Exchange are to present alternatives to the mainstream hegemony. In the short term, however, the Reality Tour participants may inadvertently be guilty of 'hegemony in practice' through exposing communities to their own norms and values. This is a contradiction only resolved by comparing the short term and long term, effects of the Reality Tours, something that is very hard to do, bearing in mind Global Exchange's lack of resources to do any in-depth follow ups.

Looking at the short and long term impact of the Reality Tours however does present an important contradiction. Increased participation in Reality Tours increases Global Exchange's effect in the US. At the same time it runs the risk of creating a bigger economic, social and environmental impact in the host countries. It is also a contradiction that is controlled by consumer demand in the US, increased participation of the US public in the tours, increasing the impact in the destination countries.

Lastly, criticism of regular tourism highlights damage to the environment as something that needs to be addressed through alternative forms of tourism (Fennell, 2003; Wearing & Neil, 1999). Global Exchange are aware that they pay less attention to environmental considerations than they do to social considerations. The concern for the social over the environmental could stem from a number of factors. Global Exchange have a number of environmentally based campaigns, but their primary concern in the Chiapas Reality Tour is social justice issues. The social responsibility part of alternative forms of tourism is therefore their priority. Reality Tours are not ideally sustainable tourism; they are not designed to 'develop' the communities that host them. If the Reality Tours were seen as a method of development in the traditional sense (i.e. contributing to an industry) then that industry would need the local environment to be preserved in order to sustain itself. The Reality Tours' priorities with regards to the environment would therefore not be motivated by this concern. Instead the concern to make the tours more environmentally responsible would stem from the organisation's own values, reflected in existing environmental campaigns throughout the organisation.

Despite the tour clearly not being a form of ecotourism, the literature on ecotourism can provide some parallels, albeit with a social justice rather than environmental bias. The concepts of hard and soft ecotourism (Laarman and Durst (1987) in Fennell, 2003) are imitated in the participants of the Reality Tours and in the range of tours Global Exchange offers. The hard/soft dichotomy argues that the higher the interest level of the tourist in the subject (for example, nature) the more they are willing to endure hardship to attain the subject of their interest. With regard to

the Reality Tours, although there was the point made by Global Exchange staff that the intensity of the tours required a certain standard of accommodation and restaurants, there was evidence in the tour groups of people being more willing to endure physical hardships than a regular tour group. The hotel in Palenque was nowhere near the standard of the one in San Cristobal. However from what I experienced no one complained, something which I would have expected a regular tour group to do. This was also shown in the instances where members of the group were kept waiting for long periods of time, or when the group was travelling long distances on bad roads. From what I could see, this was accepted as necessary in order to go to places and to meet with the people that were the subject of the tour. The hard and soft dichotomy was also reflected in the planning of tours by Global Exchange. They recognised the need to have 'softer' tours with more light-hearted content and a less intensive itinerary in order to attract people from outside the social justice field. People with a stronger interest in social justice issues were considered more suitable to go on tours that dealt with harder issues and had more meetings per day.

The Reality Tours could also not be accused of 'ecoimperialism' (Dobson in Mowforth & Munt, 2003) a criticism which is often aimed at ecotourism. In fact some of the meetings during the tours highlighted the risks of such an attitude. As explained by Julie in Chapter 6 the tour showed the tour group the situation of the Montes Azules Biosphere Reserve. A meeting was held in a community on the outskirts of this reserve highlighting the way concern for the environment had the ability to do great harm to local populations as well as to be motivated by political factors. This tour was one that was run with certain underlying social values that could be seen as imposing Western ways of practice on tourism destinations in a similar way to ecotourism. However, due to the small scale of the Reality Tours and their practices being designed not to create dependency, these social values would have little effect on the wider tourism industry.

The state is typically seen to play a key role in tourism development (Harrison, 2001) as it has a role in it's planning, regulation and promotion. However, Reality Tours in many cases are working against the state in both their eyes as well as the eyes of governments of the host countries. This is something clearly shown in the guidelines given to participants on how to act at checkpoints and in the problems they have had on tours with state officials attempting to sabotage trips. This once again reflects the nature of Reality Tours in not being about tourism development; their aim is not to create a sustainable industry and state support is therefore not so important. The instances of Reality Tours that are highly controlled by the government (i.e. Cuba) are ones where the state already plays a large role in the wider tourism industry.

Reality Tours as a Postmodern Form of Tourism

The Reality Tours in many ways could be seen as a form of postmodern tourism because social concerns are central in the design of the tours and the tours combine very different social forms: education, human rights and tourism. Using Mowforth and Munt's (2003 p. 116) more specific characteristics of postmodern tourism; operator specialisation, association with other activities, and interest in other cultures and social movements, the Reality Tours would appear to fit all three. What Mowforth and Munt fail to do however is to point out the significance of these characteristics. With these characteristics being identified in tourism it would indicate that tourism is starting to be used in different ways than before, not only contributing to development in the traditional sense, economically. The association of tourism with other activities and social movements would suggest that it is taking on a new role.

Justice Tourism and its Risks

Justice tourism extends the role of tourism by highlighting the possibility for tourism to do more than just serve the motivations of the tourists or to meet economic aims of the host community or country. It follows the suggestions of Mowforth and Munt (2003) as discussed in the last section in presenting the possibility that tourism can create positive social change beyond the confines of the tourism experience. Scheyvens' (2002) description of revolutionary tourism is important not only in considering specifically the Reality Tour to Chiapas but also in highlighting that the motivations of the tour participants matter a great deal. These motivations make the difference between this form of tourism being seen purely to serve the participant's desire for an adrenaline rush or for its possibility of building solidarity and creating social change. In this context, if we examine the participants of this particular Reality Tour, it would be fair to say that they did have a commitment to social justice. All of those interviewed and the vast majority of those on the trip had been involved in some form of activism before. They were already well educated on the situation in Chiapas, with a number teaching about Chiapas as part of their courses in schools or colleges. Furthermore, on return from Mexico a number of the group carried out actions directly related to their experiences in Chiapas.

With regard to the motivation's of the tour participants, there was some evidence that the risk element of visiting such areas was appealing, with one group member describing the 'adventurous' sound of the tour as being an attraction. This was one of many motivations, a concern for social justice also playing a key role. An overriding concern for social justice was also shown when one respondent commented on the reason why they came to the area with a group. Travelling with the group, rather than offering them an exciting, 'dangerous' experience, ensured they did not enter into situations where they would be in danger and the advice available would ensure they behaved correctly in complex political situations.

There were elements of the tour, such as the visit to Acteal that could have been described as dark tourism (Hall, 2001; Lennon & Foley, 1999). However this visit, despite my own reservations, had a significant moving impact on the group. There was some background given to the events that had happened at Acteal, though perhaps not as in-depth as on previous trips when there had been a formal visit organised. The visit was placed in context through a visit to an associated coffee co-operative, discussion about the pacifist organisation, Las Abejas, based in Acteal and by the fact that issues around the activities of paramilitaries in the area, were not restricted to Acteal alone. The representative from Acteal also desired the presence of outside visitors, not for monetary reasons but to ensure that what happened there was not forgotten. It was not therefore dark tourism purely motivated by voyeurism, nor did it contain aspects of the commodification of such sites. For these reasons the visit was closely linked to the tour's role as justice tourism, rather than as dark tourism.

The analysis of Reality Tours within the context of alternative forms of tourism has clearly shown the intention of Global Exchange to run a socially responsible business. However this is not a business that is designed to bring economic development within the context of the host communities, it is not 'tourism for development' in the traditional sense. Instead the stakeholders in the Reality Tours have other motivations that indicate it has a very different role in development, a role will be discussed later in this chapter. By comparison we can consider the motivations of the NGOs that participate in the tour and the tour participants. Is the Reality Tours role as socially responsible tourism motivated purely by the priorities of Global Exchange?

Socially Responsible Tourism: Tourism to soothe the Conscience of the West?

The NGOs in this study are to a great extent not in control of the socially responsible aspect of the Reality Tours, their role being unrelated to the provision of accommodation, food or transport. In saying that it is not one of their areas of control, does not mean that they are not effected by the responsibility guidelines set by Global Exchange. The culture of respect, measures taken to ensure the safety of host groups that meet with the Reality Tours and the steps taken to reduce the social impact in the communities would be of concern to the NGOs. This is because these factors would influence their own interactions with the Reality Tour groups; it would also stem from concern for the communities with which they work. This was reflected in one tour leader's comments that their relationship with host groups contained an element of trust that their identities would remain confidential if required and that the tour groups were good people, with whom their time would be well spent.

Generally participants joining Reality Tours share the same motivations as Global Exchange, that is, the possibility that this form of tourism can contribute to activism rather than to the direct development of a destination. The tourism literature however presents arguments against this

idea, claiming that tourists are motivated by more selfish aims. If this is true for the motivations of regular tourists, then a consideration of these in relation to the Reality Tours can shed light on the nature of the tour participants and the Reality Tours as a form of tourism.

Motivations of Reality Tour Participants: Pleasure Seekers or Altruistic Activists?

Types of participants, as shown in Chapter 3, are often defined through their motives for participating in tourism. When considering the motives of the participants of the Reality Tours, their motives are clearly not just leisure based. They are as Pearce (1993) would describe, multi-motive. His observations that the motivations of those participating in tourism will change over a person's lifetime would also appear to be correct for some of the participants of the Reality Tours. Fiona identified that her past participation in ecological volunteering had been a 'little romantic' (personal communication, July 8, 2005) . This would suggest that her motivations when participating in tourism and the values she attached to tourism experiences had changed.

Pearce also maintains that motivations are extrinsically based. This echoes Mowforth and Munt's (2003) ideas based around the motivations for participating in tourism being based in the gaining of social capital. However Mowforth and Munt's categorising of new forms of tourism on class lines are not obviously applicable to the Reality Tours. The participants of Reality Tours have some of the characteristics of ecotourists but with a social justice rather than an ecological basis. This could be seen as a development from the ecological concerns of the 1990s, forms of justice tourism being the latest thing from which to gain cultural capital. They are also tours that require a certain level of economic capital in order to be able to participate. Mowforth and Munt's descriptions of ego-tourists on the other hand maintain that the search for authenticity is also motivated by a concern to gain social capital. The Reality Tours can be seen to contain all of these elements; a concern for social justice, exclusivity based on ability to pay and a desire for authenticity. They would therefore appear to be a combination of ecotourists and ego-tourists. However in the case of the Reality Tours there are a number of factors which would suggest that the participants are not only motivated by the gaining of social capital. On the basis of their past actions they all had a genuine interest in social justice and the information gained from the trip was to be used for more than to boost their own social position. The tours were also not intended to be exclusive by Global Exchange or the tour participants, the paying members of the group subsidising those in the groups less able to pay for the experience. The need for authenticity also served a more significant purpose, not being purely to feed the motivations of the tour participants or as a selling point for Global Exchange. Authentic experiences are the way in which it is possible to be closer to seeing the reality of a country rather than the way it is portrayed in the media, as in the cases of demonised countries such as Iran and Cuba. The difference between the media image and the real/authentic image hopefully stimulates action or at least a more sympathetic view. Global Exchange also indicated that the Reality Tours are a

way for them to keep in touch with the issues they campaign on. It is therefore vital that the information that flows back to Global Exchange is accurate and 'authentic'.

Similarly, Mowforth and Munt's classifications of new forms of tourists into CV builders and new intellectuals limits the use the new tourism experiences can have. They, however, are also classifications that can be superficially seen in the participants of the Reality Tour to Chiapas. The trip to Chiapas could be seen to be enhancing the CVs of a number of the tour group. Many of the group were using the tour to enhance their knowledge of the areas and issues they were teaching or learning about. However I would argue that the Reality Tours 'CV build' in a different way to that described by Mowforth and Munt. Instead of forming a qualification in their own right, the participants were well qualified with little need of such 'travel based experience' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p. 121). Instead the participants use their experiences as a way of enhancing their qualifications for the benefit of others. The experience is a way of deepening qualifications in a positive way rather than constituting an easy and exploitative way of improving a career. Secondly the tour participants could be seen as 'new intellectuals', the tours having a strong educational element. Although the educational element of the tour did serve a legitimising role, it could be argued that this was not just motivated by extrinsic social forces. Instead it was desired in one case, due to the participant's own questioning of the exploitative nature of the tourism process. The intense and serious nature of the issues covered on the tour would also make it difficult to say that it was a tour where social issues could have been secondary to the participants' desire to travel.

The final trend identified by Mowforth and Munt (2003), that of the professionalisation of the industry, is one that can be seen in the Reality Tours. The tour leaders in Chiapas and widely across the Reality Tours programme, were professionals in other areas. The tour was also subject to a number of behavioural guidelines as described by Mowforth and Munt. This process of professionalisation however had a clear purpose, guided by Global Exchange's aims. They wanted tour leaders who were employed in other areas in order to get access to and good knowledge about the areas the tour visited, important if the tours are to have the credibility and the impact desired.

The role of professionals from NGOs guiding the tour implementation was also much more clear-cut than in the influence of the NGO professionals as described by Mowforth and Munt (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). The NGO professionals in question are the ones running the tours and so their agendas are not hidden behind professional tourism bodies. This is demonstrated in Global Exchange's difficulty in getting representatives from opposition groups to meet with the Reality Tour groups, their overt values and beliefs putting these people off meeting with the visiting groups. The values of Global Exchange as an organisation were also clear to the vast majority of

the group participants, these values in some cases being a motivating factor in joining the tour. The tour leaders also said that they would try to explain to host organisations and communities who and what Global Exchange was before a visit was organised. The host communities and groups on the basis of this information were given the option to participate.

The application forms participants had to fill out before starting the tour was one area where the tour process may have fallen into the trap of professionalisation for status rather than for practical reasons. The application forms portraying the idea that Global Exchange selected participants rather than taking them on a first come first served basis would seem to be for the participants' benefit, adding to the adventurous allure of such a tour. The decision to exclude someone from a tour was rare and was normally based on previous experience that the person would be a difficult client rather than their responses on the application from. Whether this was done intentionally or not is difficult to say. The information requested on how applicants were to use the information may have had an ulterior role in getting applicants to consider ways they could act on returning home.

Tour participants having both multiple and conventional tourism motivations such as the desire to travel and to view scenery may have a positive effect side effect beyond meeting the desires of the tour participants. These motivations can open up the Reality Tours to a new audience, one that in Global Exchange's eyes may be in more need of the educational effects of the trip than those tourists primarily motivated by social justice issues.

This first section has investigated the Reality Tours as a form of tourism and has found that its' intention not to be a form of tourism development, has influenced the way that it operates, and the motivations of those participating, a great deal. In order to do this it has assessed the tour on socio-cultural, economic and environmental grounds and scrutinised the motivations of the tour participants, Global Exchange and the host NGOs. The next section intends to take a broader scope to the analysis, examining the wider structures in which the tours are operating.

The Power Relationships Influencing the Reality Tours

The tourism process operates within a wider power structure. As discussed in Chapter 3 it can be seen to be working in both economically and ideologically unequal structures. The tourists that participate in Reality Tours, as previously mentioned, have a certain level of economic capital that allows them to take overseas vacations. They are therefore in a very different situation to the groups that they visit. It is also something that all parties involved in the Reality Tours are aware of, the NGOs, Global Exchange and the group participants themselves. Therefore it could be said that the unequal economic structures that exist facilitate the operation

of the Reality Tours, they are providing its means as well as its reason for being. This is a contradiction acknowledged by staff at Global Exchange and the NGOs in this study.

The visits of First World tourists to Third World countries has been subject to a number of criticisms based on the unequal ideological relationship that exists between the two. Tourism has been accused of spreading capitalist structures, as well as continuing imperialistic relationships and creating dependency between the First and Third Worlds (Britton, 1982, Nash, 1989, van dee Abbeele, 1980 in Mowforth & Munt, 2003 p. 49). The Reality Tours do operate to a certain extent within a capitalist structure, they are frequently visiting areas and communities little used to tourism, so could be seen as opening up these areas in an economic and ideological way to the capitalistic process in which they operate. As one Global Exchange staff member commented, they need to have a monetary cost for the American public to appreciate their value, showing that their participants are very much coming from a capitalist society with its associated values. Overall however I would agree with Harrison (2001 p. 29) who notes that capitalism has already spread to the areas visited by most tourists. The evidence for this is clear in the issues covered by the Reality Tour to Chiapas. In general the groups the tour is meeting with and the places they are staying in have already felt the effects of the capitalist ideologies of modernisation and neo-liberalism. If they had not then they would not be of interest to the tour. The Reality Tours are also run by a non-profit organisation, and are not designed to make a profit beyond what is needed to maintain the Reality Tours programme. This means that they are not located within the exploitative relationships associated with capitalism and its effects on tourism to Third World destinations.

The literature on the use of tourism by communist states can therefore help to explain some of the benefits of the Reality Tours in their destination countries. Tourism in communist states has tended to serve two purposes: propaganda through promotion of their social and economic system, and the production of foreign exchange to support their system. We can consider the Zapatista autonomous areas as being similar to a communist country existing within a wider capitalist/neo-liberal world. The representative from CIEPAC discussed the way the Zapatistas use tourism and saw it as having a role in the spread of their ideas, increasing support for their autonomy and financially aiding their ability to remain separate from the Mexican state. The imposing of the Red Alert in peak tourist season he felt showed that their priorities with regard to tourism did in fact lie in ensuring the continuation of their movement, rather than in the bringing in of tourism revenue. If considering the autonomous communities in a similar way to a 'state' this would also serve as an example of where nationalistic concerns tended to take precedence over the economic, as discussed by Harrison (2001).

The priorities of both the NGOs and the communities that the tour came into contact with were not as clear-cut. However the visits to the NGOs and communities were not of enough financial benefit for this to be a strong motivating factor and so they too could be seen as being motivated by a desire to promote their work. The only two groups that may have been more motivated by economic factors were the co-operatives. This was because they had a sellable product (weaving and coffee) that a majority of the tour group did buy.

Alongside concern to not create dependency, the long-term aims of the Reality Tours also play a role in preventing imperialistic relationships. The campaigning on issues such as US involvement and control in other countries would in a long-term strategy undermine the processes such criticism of tourism claims it maintains. As shown in some of the group participants' responses, the tour to Chiapas was part of their own questioning of the values of capitalism and neo-liberal ideology in which it is set. If we are to assume these forces are primarily Western ones stemming from countries such as the US, an internal (US based) questioning of their values and effects may in some way contribute to the lessening of their effects in Third World destinations.

When examining the day to day power relationships that exist in the process of tourism, Cheong and Miller's (2000) analysis of tourism along the lines of tourist, brokers and locals appears to give an accurate insight into the ways the Reality Tours operate. In the Reality Tour the brokers in the form of the tour leaders and community representatives have a great deal of power. Reflecting Cheong and Millers ideas, the brokers and tourists exist in a network wherein the power of one group has the ability to influence the power of another. The background of the tour participants means they have a great deal of respect for the opinions of the host groups. It also means they place great value on the recommendations of Global Exchange, echoed in one group member's comments that Global Exchange is the 'leftist stamp of approval' (Julie, tour participant, personal communication, July 15, 2005). The tour groups are therefore highly influenced by the wishes of the host groups and that of Global Exchange, and their behaviour is accordingly modified. Global Exchange's role as a human rights organisation as well as a tour operator I would suggest enhances their ability to control aspects of tourists' behaviour, their grounding in social justice work giving their recommendations legitimacy.

Although difficult to prove, it could be said that although this power exists, to what extent it is recognised and utilised by the parties involved varies. The participants' desire to act as socially responsible tourists means that in many ways they were purposely disempowering themselves in these contexts. The communities themselves, however, through existing North-South power relationships and their desire to meet with such groups, may not have realised their own control of the situation and as such operated the meetings reflecting the traditional host-guest power structure. This would also suggest that power relationships exist in layers as well as networks.

The operation of tourism, if wanting to exist in an equal power relationship, would need to tackle both power relationships on a day to day level as well as those that exist in wider society.

The examination of the power relationships that exist during Reality Tours also reveals elements of the role of the state within the tours. Most of the Reality Tours, including the one to Chiapas operate in many ways against the state. Despite the attempt to work outside of state structures it still has a role in the tour. The Mexican state has the ability to limit the information presented as part of the tour through state officials not meeting with the groups as well as in controlling the movements of the tour participants through their use of road blocks. With regards to the Cuba Reality Tours the US government through its strict control of US citizens' travel to Cuba, plays a large role in who participates in the tours. The state in Chiapas therefore has a distinct role in regards to the Reality Tours in comparison to regular tourism. However, this role was a limiting one rather than one of being interested in their development and continuation.

The power relationships that exist in the Reality Tours reflect both the intentions of Global Exchange and the structures the tours are trying to challenge. In order to investigate these structures fully, the next section analyses the social vision of the NGOs involved.

The Social Vision of the Reality Tours

The social vision of the NGOs involved in the Reality Tours helps take the tours beyond the boundaries of most forms of tourism. If the Reality Tours are considered within the confines of the tourism literature, their role as a form of alternative tourism would suggest that they have a place in alternative development. They cannot escape the fact that they are operating within a world system dominated by capitalism and the Western concepts of modernisation that override it. Only tourism forms such as revolutionary tourism suggest tourism has a possible role in questioning development as a concept. For the Reality Tours, the social vision of the NGOs involved in this study shows this is a distinct possibility.

The operation of a form of alternative tourism is not the aim of Global Exchange or of many of the NGOs they are meeting with. Instead if the aims and philosophy of Global Exchange as an organisation is considered, the Reality Tours could be seen as contributing albeit unintentionally to a post development process. This is seen most clearly through two factors: the philosophy of Global Exchange, and the organisations and groups they meet with as part of the Reality Tours.

The central focus of the Reality Tour to Chiapas was to be the Zapatista movement. Although in the tour in this study it did not play such a central role, it has made a large impact on all the communities in Chiapas and was the original intended focus. As previously discussed, the Zapatista social movement is claimed by writers such as Esteva and Prakash (1998) to be a post

development movement. All the NGOs visited as part of the tour had been influenced by this social movement and one in particular, CIDESI, saw Gustavo Esteva as both a friend of the organisation as well as being very influential in their work.

Global Exchange, through the Reality Tours, supports and raises awareness about such movements and so could be seen as supporting a post development process. Global Exchange not only support local social movements but also consider themselves to be part of a wider social movement. The role they take fits Esteva and Prakash's (1998) description of the new social movements that are to be the vehicle of post development. Global Exchange avoids taking a leadership role in this social movement, not desiring to control the activism resulting from the Reality Tours. Considering the wider organisation, they could also be said to be concentrating on specific campaigns. Lastly, and probably most significant for the Reality Tours, a new social movement allows for differing ideologies and political directions, meaning differing endogenous discourses can exist within a wider global social movement. The nature of the Reality Tours in visiting different destinations, each with their own problems and trying to find their own solutions, means that if Global Exchange took the view that there was a correct single ideology or political direction then they would not fulfil a role in post development. Instead Global Exchange in many ways detach themselves from the situations in destination countries, finding common issues that would link them in a global social movement but not claiming they know the answers in local contexts.

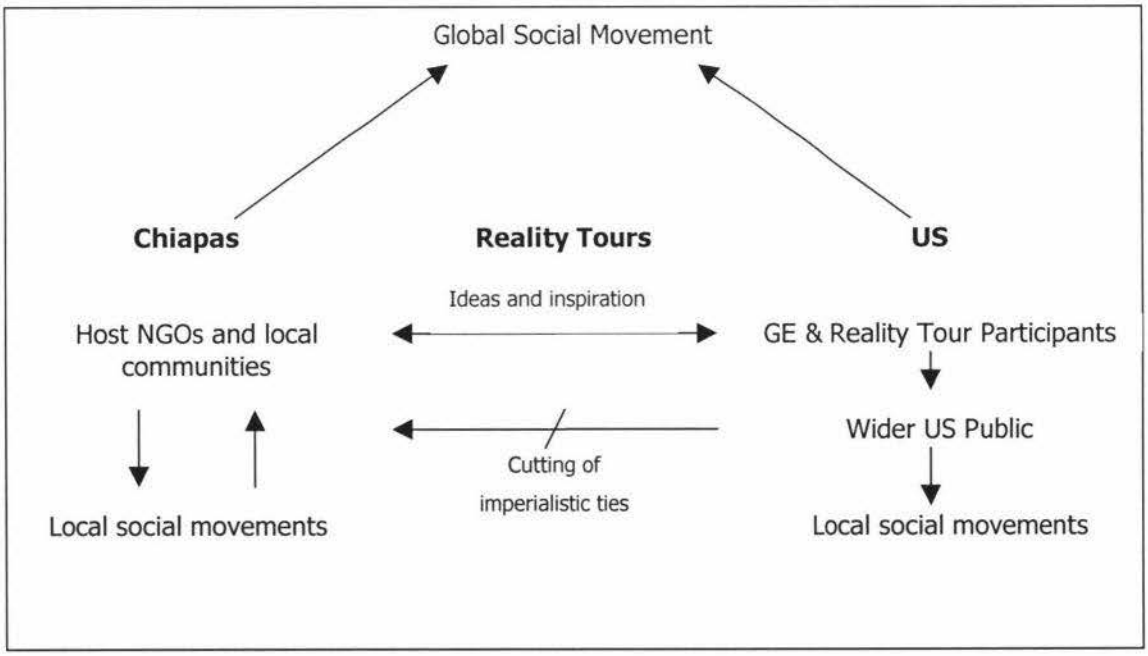

Figure 7.1 The Position of Reality Tours in Relation to Local and Global Social Movements

Social movements can also play a key role in an alternative development perspective; Giddens (1990) maintains that social movements can have a humanising role in globalisation. Global Exchange see themselves as being influenced by the anti-globalisation movement and have campaigns based around altering the negative effects of such processes. This does not place them in the alternative development camp, instead it is a reflection of their dual radical and reformist strategies. Their role as part of a social movement has the short-term aim of reforming current globalisation and a long-term aim that supports post development processes.

A part of the NGOs in this study that would appear to be in contradiction to post development is the use of human rights concepts. Esteva (1997a) claims that the universalism of human rights concepts is a myth and should be avoided as it contributes to the risk associated with global thinking. The use of human rights by Global Exchange and the organisations they work with such as Fray Bart, does not do this. Human rights are applied carefully as recommended by Molyneux and Lazar (2003) and as a result are used as a tool to support social movements and their right to exist. The debate around the constraints of human rights concepts has provided a platform for the concepts to be to be extended making them more applicable and useful for non–Western cultures.

Global Exchange's relationship to the state would also allow them a role in post development. Although their relationship with the state agencies in Reality Tour destinations varied, they were generally anti-state, being on the side of grassroots movements. Those countries where there was a more sympathetic view of the state, were ones that could be seen as rebelling against corporate neo-liberalism. Although this could be seen as just supporting an alternative vision of development rather than moving on from the concept itself, their policy of non-intervention in other countries would indicate that that their strategy would leave other countries to pursue their own visions of what development should be.

The view that Global Exchange's position in post development is unintended stems from their views on development. They did not want to be viewed as a development organisation as this would impact on their relationships with the communities they worked with. Global Exchange did however, see a role for development organisations that had a clear idea about the structural causes of poverty. As such, their position in post development is guided by their work being based in the US, their home location and through the belief that they should not control or guide affairs in the destination countries.

Global Exchange's use of practices (such as alternative tourism) based in alternative development alongside aims that would very much echo the concerns of post development, would present a possible way these two ideologies could work together. They are also a way of

meeting the differing needs of all the NGOs in this study. The ideals of post development have been criticised for not dealing with the immediate problems of poverty or presenting a way forward. The Reality Tour and Global Exchange do present a way that alternative development measures can be used to support a post development process. The wider campaigns of Global Exchange help to improve development conditions in the short term, while the presence of the Reality Tours acts as financial support as well as a source of solidarity for the social movements which are leading a post development process.

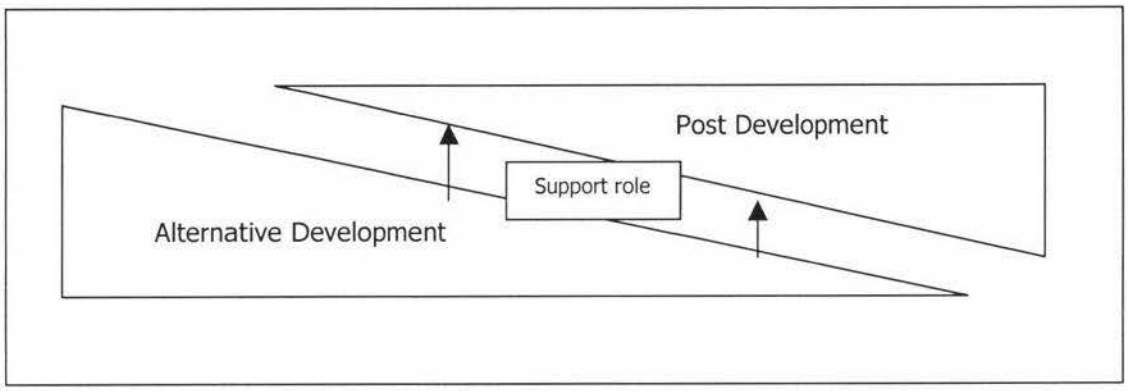

Figure 7.2 The Role of Alternative Development in supporting emerging Post Development processes

It is important to note however that this supporting role would only work if the alternative development practices ensure a space for the post development movements to develop. This space is ensured through the relinquishing of control over the development processes within the post development areas, contact and interaction with alternative development being controlled and regulated by the members of the social movements themselves. This role can be seen in the Zapatistas' use of NGO resources as well as in their use of tourism. Their interaction with NGOs and financial donors is one where they retain control, donors specifying which area they would like to donate to (health or education for example) but they are not allowed to specify exactly on what or where the money is spent. This gives the Zapatista communities control over the type of development that is pursued as well as contributing to a fairer distribution of resources.

So far this chapter has investigated the Reality Tours as a form of tourism and has started to look at the wider structures in which they are both operating and are trying to challenge. This brings us to investigate how the wider social visions of the NGOs in this study are translated into practice, through the work strategies of the NGOs.

The Role of Reality Tours in wider NGO strategies

The social vision of the NGOs studied is reflected in the work strategies that they pursue. This section applies the classifications of NGOs developed by Korten (1990), Nyamugasira (1998) and Petras' (2003) to the NGOs involved in the Reality Tours. It finds that the use of these classifications is too simplistic to be used alone in categorising Southern NGOs.

To recap, Korten's (1990) definitions divided NGOs into four generations. First generation NGOs focus on relief and welfare, second generation NGOs focus on community development and third generation NGO combine community level projects with campaigning for policy change. Korten's fourth generation NGOs take on a role of activist or educator, stimulating action in support of social movements. Nyamugasira (1998) talks about a division of labour that has been created in the NGO community: Northern NGOs taking on the focus of research, empowerment and networking, whilst Southern counterparts concentrate on the day-to-day implementation of projects. Finally Petras' (2003) classifies NGOs according to the funding sources and their consequent ability to pursue different development approaches. On this basis NGOs are divided into supporting neo-liberalism, reformist and radical. The Table 7.2 below demonstrates where the NGOs studied would sit in the models designed by Korten and Petras.

NGO	Generation of NGO Korten (1990)	Radical/ Reformist/ Conformist Petras (2003)
Melel Xojobal	2nd/3rd – work to increase capacity of street children, plus policy work	Reformist – works to compensate for failings of development for local indigenous populations
Fray Bart	3rd- HR work increases capacity of people and campaign for policy change	Reformist - work within state structures but offers some support for radical movements
CIEPAC	4th- research and education on structural issues, aligned to social movement	Radical - campaign against neo liberal institutions
CIDESI	2nd- Increasing capacity of local population through training, aligned to social movement	Radical - promote resistance to neo-liberalism

Table 7.2 Strategies and Position of the Mexican NGOs in this Study, classified according to Korten and Petras

An examination of the Mexican based NGOs in this study reveals some interesting points. Firstly Korten's definitions can be applied to Southern NGOs and in some instances, such as with Melel

Xojobal their strategies would appear to reflect their development philosophy in generation terms.

However looking at the other NGOs show that Korten's classifications should not be used without a separate understanding of the social vision that NGOs are working in. This is most clearly shown in the example of CIDESI. CIDESI could be seen as taking a second-generation strategy based on small scale, self-reliant local development, a strategy that if applied to a Northern NGO using Korten's definitions, would imply that they do not have a well-developed philosophy. However the way they base their work, in wider theory that questions traditional development means this work takes on a very different meaning when placed within the definition of them as a radical NGO. This work in support of resistance, part of a wider social movement suggests that they are working to change wider social and political structures, elements of a fourth generation strategy.

This contradiction between philosophy and strategy is one that is a reflection of these NGOs positions as Third World NGOs and their role in Nyamugasira's North-South division of labour (Nyamugasira, 1998). Faced with the day to day reality of life in the Third World it is difficult for them to take a purely advocacy based stance and reflecting the role of Southern NGOs in Nyamugasira's definition they need take a more practical approach to development.

Looking at Nyamugasira's (1998) division of labour for North and South NGOs and in his criticism of these roles in relation to Chiapas, highlights a number of important points. Firstly the division of NGOs on this basis is too simplistic when looking at the NGOs in this study. The Southern NGOs appear to have a role in the day to day implementation of programs as well as having a role in research, empowerment and networking, crossing the boundaries of both definitions.

Secondly Nyamugasira maintains that what is needed is not this division but a more accurate flow of information from the poor to both Northern and Southern NGOs. The Reality Tours through their concern to meet with communities as well as NGOs would appear to be doing this. The existing division of labour gives Northern NGOs a role in ideas and research and implies that Northern NGOs have the skills to inform the development of Southern partners. Reflecting Nyamugasira's recommendations rather than the existing practices of many development NGOs, Global Exchange's role in development is based on this assumption. Instead they see their role as preventing US involvement in other countries rather than in just altering this involvement to suit an alternative vision.

Finally Nyamugasira states that this division has arisen out of the growing importance placed on the empowerment of local NGOs. This reflects the role of Global Exchange immediately after the

1994 uprising when they had an office in Chiapas providing support to local NGOs. However this classification does not recognise that in some cases the relationship has changed. Aided by the global forces that created this North-South division, the local NGOs now need less representation by outside bodies. Instead Global Exchange is taking on a role in empowering Northern populations. Nyamugasira's definitions therefore do not cover NGOs that are taking a global perspective which requires major social and cultural change in the North in order that Northern populations can also follow alternative development paths.

Taking a closer look at Global Exchange as an organisation and the strategies they pursue gives an insight how these local NGOs, each with differing strategies, are able to fit together with Global Exchange's philosophy and ways of working. Global Exchange could clearly be seen to be taking on a fourth generation NGO strategy as discussed by Korten (1990). Their role as a human rights NGO also echoes his ideas that this strategy is one that is followed more by organisations concerned with issues such as human rights rather than development in general. Global Exchange rarely contributes financially to the organisations they visit (beyond the honorariums) as they maintain it changes the nature of the relationship. Their tours often have strong connections to social movements, clearly shown in the original itinerary for the Chiapas tour, visiting Zapatista communities. In practice the tour didn't have direct contact with the Zapatismo social movement but did meet with local NGOs who play a supporting role to this social movement. Importantly the way Global Exchange wish to stimulate action also reflects Korten's ideas in energising ' a critical mass of independent, decentralised initiative in support of a social vision' (Korten, 1990). The staff at Global Exchange stated on a number of occasions that they did not want to control or 'hand hold' the activism created by the Reality Tours beyond giving people the information in the first place. The wide geographical spread of Reality Tour participants and the ways activism on return from a Reality Tour is directed to a large number of other organisations concerned with particular issues, would seem to indicate that decentralised, independent action is what is desired.

Global Exchange in these terms has elements of being both a radical and a reformist NGO. Their role is to appeal to a wide audience, the US public. It is therefore in their interest to pursue both strategies, having a long-term goal of major structural social change but at the same time promoting reformist small-scale strategies that are accessible to the more conservative elements of the U.S. public. I would argue that this serves a number of purposes. Firstly, it allows some positive change to be made whilst a long-term vision is being realised. Secondly, as pointed out by some of the NGOs in Chiapas, the American public is reformist by nature and so this form of strategy would appeal to the largest amount of people and have the greatest chance of success. It also enables them to work with a number of local NGOs with differing social vision and pursuing a variety of strategies.

Korten (1990) and Russell (1998) state the importance of an NGO having 'a well articulated philosophy or vision' (Korten, 1990). It is something that in this study came out strongly in the work of Global Exchange, CIDESI and CIEPAC. It is also a quality that gives them a similar understanding as to the potential role of the Reality Tours. Another common theme in the NGOs in this study is human rights, a strategy that will be discussed in the next section.

The significance of Human Rights Concepts in the NGO strategies

A common interest of the NGOs that are involved in this study is human rights, and this is a key reason why Global Exchange works with these NGOs. It is important to look at the use of human rights as a campaign strategy due to the criticism of rights based strategies and as a way of comparing the aims of Global Exchange and the host NGOs.

Criticism of human rights has been on the basis of the inappropriateness of universal concepts in differing cultures and its connections to Western Liberalism. This association has resulted in the promotion of individualism and the downgrading of the importance of religion. Global Exchange and the two host NGOs (Fray Bart and Melel Xojobal) clearly use universal human rights concepts in non- Western areas and so could be subject to criticism on this basis. However, there are a number of mediating factors that work to lessen the Western bias of human rights concepts within the work of the NGOs and in the operation of the Reality Tours.

Firstly, within the work of the local NGOs and within Global Exchange there was an awareness of the risk of imposing inappropriate rights on indigenous communities and as a result the local NGOs were working to resolve this conflict and integrate indigenous concepts into their work. This impacted on the Reality Tours in that they tended to leave local issues to be defined by these same NGOs. Although it could be argued that these local NGOs may not represent the local communities, the representation of rights from their perspective would be more accurate than from the purely Western perspective of Global Exchange.

The Reality Tour as a process also showed respect for the communities collective identity through its behavioural guidelines. Their concern to lessen the cultural impact of the tours meant their influence over the rights promoted through the Reality Tours was lessened. The tour also highlighted the positive role the Catholic Church had played in supporting the rights of local people and so was not seen to be advocating Western liberalism in this sense.

Instead, rights based strategies are being used as a tool for the local people rather than a way of furthering a certain ideological viewpoint. Their use for local people was aided by the NGOs view

that all rights were indivisible, a perspective that allowed them to support indigenous peoples' right to autonomy, and the promotion of their cultural identity.

The support of resistance movements through human rights concepts by Global Exchange as well as Fray Bart also showed how the use of human rights concepts in this instance was not necessarily increasing the power of governments, something that Kennedy (2004) lists as a concern. Fray Bart would appear to be following a rights based strategy as discussed by Molyneux and Lazar (2003), a four fold strategy of strengthening popular organisations and the legal mechanisms of the state as well as increasing rights awareness and applying political pressure. Strengthening legal mechanisms I would argue is not increasing the role of the state in the lives of the communities, but it is importantly acknowledging its presence and the influence it has over the lives of the people in the communities. Considering the repressive measures that have been used by the state in the past it is essential and beneficial to the continuing resistance efforts of the local communities to have their rights enshrined in law.

The strategy of Global Exchange on a wider organisational level would also appear to mirror the rights based strategy as described by Molyneux and Lazar (2003). Global Exchange's educational efforts help to empower the US public and through lobbying make human rights transgressors accountable to these concepts. Global Exchange in its use of a broad understanding of human rights that encompasses those concerning poverty and development would also be seen to reflect the ideas of VeneKlasen et al. (2004) in that there is now a blurring of the lines between development and human rights NGOs. Instead of, as VeneKlasen et al argue, a development NGO using human rights strategies to achieve improved social and economic conditions of those most in need, Global Exchange is an human rights NGO using these strategies to support development processes.

An element of human rights based strategies and of alternative development literature and one that requires further consideration is that of empowerment. The way the Reality Tours contribute to empowerment processes is interesting in considering how they are placed in relation to regular tourism as well as suggesting ways they can impact upon wider development processes.

Empowerment and the Reality Tours

As discussed in Chapter 3 analysis of empowerment and tourism has been very limited, any empowerment achieved is normally seen as a by-product of either participation or cultural forms of tourism. The following section argues that not only can empowerment be a distinct result of tourism, but also that it is not necessarily the host community that may require empowering.

The first section of this chapter highlighted the positive cultural effect the Reality Tours have in increasing the pride of the host NGOs, an effect that can contribute to the empowerment of these host groups. This avenue for empowerment is especially significant considering that the visits to the communities were a celebration of existing forms of resistance and organisation. It could be said that the attraction of Chiapas as a destination for the Reality Tours was the culture of resistance that had resulted from existing empowerment processes. The Reality Tours were therefore not acting as a catalyst for this process within the host communities, having only a role in reinforcing existing empowerment. It is therefore important to consider empowerment in both the wider development literature as well as considering it as a process already occurring in Chiapas, to investigate the possible role that the Reality Tours have.

If considering Sofield's (2003) four themes of empowerment, the Reality Tours as a process can be seen to be contributing to three of the four themes. The Reality Tours deal directly with issues concerning the distribution of power through both their long-term aims and in the way they operate in destination countries. They also focus on marginalised groups; those groups they feel have not been heard, directly challenging the effects of unequal power relationships on a national level. In a small way they contribute to empowerment in terms of enabling or making possible, the sharing of information thus contributing to the ability of groups to organise. Lastly, as previously discussed, Reality Tours have an effect at the individual level, giving people the knowledge and support networks needed in a wider empowerment process.

The NGOs visited as part of the Reality Tour to Chiapas play a role in the empowerment of the communities with which they work. All four of the NGOs that were part of this study had a large role in providing information to the local communities. They also showed a concern that this information be unbiased and that it should be in response to requests by the communities rather than just thrust upon them. Melel Xojobal also suggested that the information they provide and the dialogue which they stimulate within the communities in which they work leads to a reflexive process whereby the communities can question aspects of their own culture.

The concern for the provision of unbiased information would suggest that the organisations are trying to provide tools to support the empowerment processes that have been occurring in the communities. The work of Fray Bart supports this process in a slightly different way by campaigning for the human rights structures that ensure that this process can be maintained. It is also important to note that within three of these organisations the effect of liberation theology could also be seen to play a role. As previously mentioned Fray Bart which is named after Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, and Melel Xojobal originally stemmed from work the Catholic Church was doing in communication. CIDESI also pointed out that Catholicism plays a role in their spiritual guidance.

When considering Stromquist's (2002) levels of empowerment discussed in Chapter 2, the meetings tour groups have with NGOs and communities can be seen as contributing to the cognitive and psychological aspects of empowerment. They increase the hosts' awareness of their own reality as well as their self-esteem. The other two aspects Stromquist identifies are that of political and economic empowerment. I would suggest that the Reality Tours are visiting NGOs and communities that are already fairly well organised in a political respect. Reality Tours could be seen as contributing economically through the use of local service providers, albeit in a limited way. The visit of Reality Tours can also be seen to contribute to empowerment in the local context through social empowerment of the communities included in the tour. The community meeting gives the local communities an opportunity to verbalise and communicate to an outside group the issues that are important to them.

However the contrast between the two communities I visited with the tour group highlights the ways such processes can reinforce inequalities. Although meeting with a community as a whole reflects their collective identity, it can also mean that some views are not heard due to the inequalities that exist within that community. In the second community visit, the tour group met with a number of the men of the village. When asked why there were not any women at the meeting they replied that it was because they were not invited. As was shown in the first community visit, where there were a number of women present and articulating their views, the perspectives of men and women on any given situation can vary. In order to get a true and accurate picture for the benefit of the Reality Tour and in order not to reinforce existing inequalities, all perspectives need to be given room to be aired.

It is useful to consider how Global Exchange's role in the region has changed, as this provides pointers as to whose empowerment is being facilitated. Initially Global Exchange had an office in Chiapas that played a supporting role to local NGOs through democracy work and providing an international voice. This office played a role in placing volunteers as human rights observers in the communities. One of the reasons given for the closure of their office in Chiapas was that they were no longer needed in this capacity, local groups now being strong enough to represent themselves. I would therefore argue that as a result of the empowerment processes that have occurred in Chiapas, the nature of Global Exchange's involvement in the area has changed accordingly. They now have a reduced role in local empowerment processes; instead their focus lies in the empowerment of the tour group participants. Reflecting the view of Global Exchange that they, as an organisation and their clients on the Reality Tours tend to get more out of the experience than the host groups.

Just looking at the effects of the Reality Tours with regard to the empowerment of the host communities would therefore ignore what I would suggest is the central way in which they contribute. It would also add to the idea that Third World communities are the only ones in need of empowerment, an assumption that could be seen too as a continuation of Western development thinking. As echoed in Wearing's (2001) comments on the way certain forms of tourism can contribute to the development of self, the Reality Tours can contribute to the empowerment of the group participants. Once again using Stromquist's (1995, cited in Stromquist, 2002) four levels of empowerment as a framework, the Reality Tours are shown to increase the participant's awareness of their reality on an international level through the information gained on the trip. The Reality Tours may have less effect on the participants' self esteem but would contribute to the participants psychologically through an increased awareness that they are not alone in their values and beliefs. As far as the political dimension is concerned, a number of the tour group said that they hoped to gain from the trip information on how these communities had organised and the processes by which they had formed a relatively successful social movement. Therefore the experience and information gained from participation on a Reality Tour, could extend the participants own ability to organise. This flow of information South to North is one that is in contrast to most development interventions, and is contrary to the idea that the 'developed' North has all the answers. Instead it is the South teaching the North, an approach much cited as desirable, but rarely followed in development practice. As far as the economic is concerned, the participants in their position as visitors, already have access to monetary capital. If considering empowerment as a process designed to stimulate social change, the alternatives Global Exchange offers in the form of their efforts to promote the green economy, could be seen as a way of giving these participants an alternative option in the economic sphere.

Figure 7.3 demonstrates the ways in which the Reality Tours are contributing to the empowerment of the host groups as well as of the tour participants.

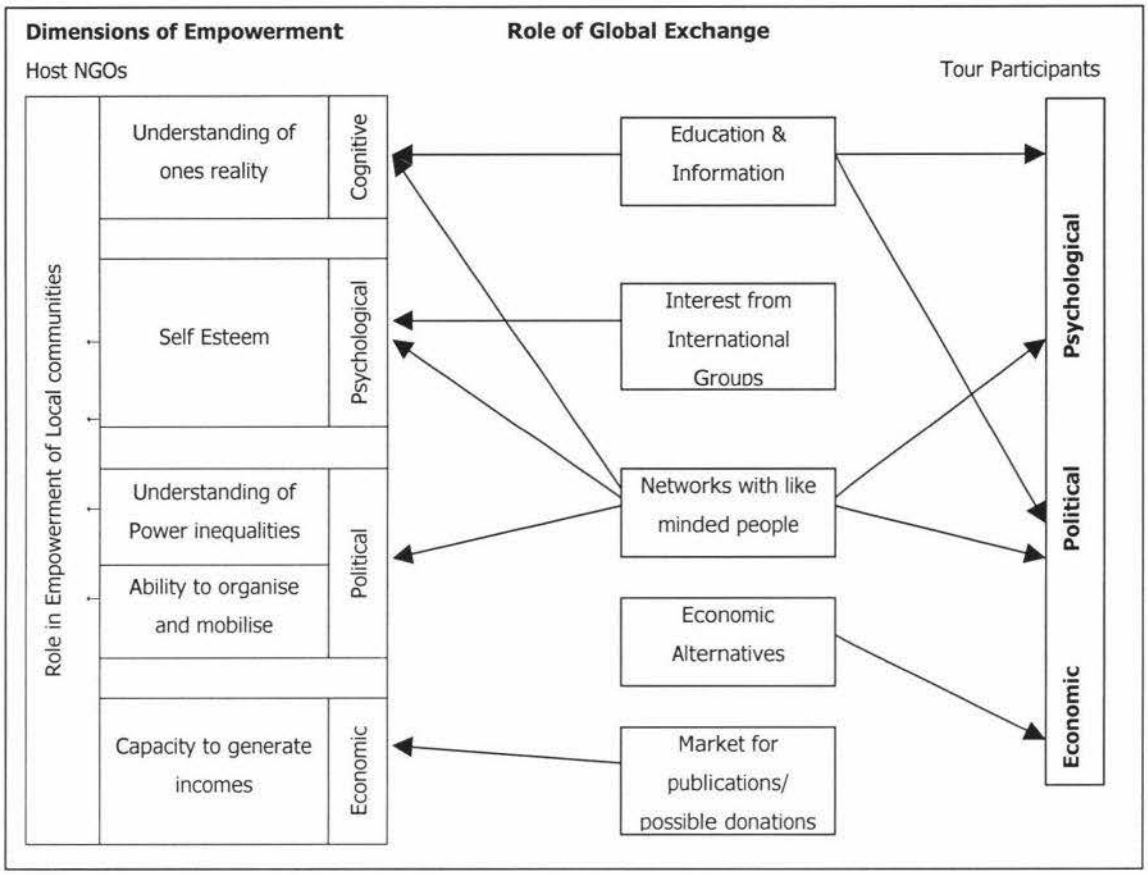

Figure 7.3 The ways in which the Reality Tours contribute to Empowerment of the host NGOs and the Tour Participants

Source: Stromquist (1995, cited in Stromquist, 2002)

When considering the empowerment of the tour participants, Global Exchange can be seen as an outside agent for change. The tours provide the opportunity for the tour participants to become involved in a process of dialogue, similar to that described by Friere (1970) with the NGOs, within the communities as well as internally amongst the group. This process in a similar way to any empowerment process facilitated by any outsider, runs the risk of being steered in certain political directions. The host/guest power structure in which the dialogue occurs and the values of Global Exchange may influence the direction of the dialogue. It is therefore important that these values are implicit to those involved in the process and that getting access to all points of view during the Reality Tours is made a priority.

Although the power relationships as described by Cheong and Miller (Cheong & Miller, 2000) are useful in explaining the day to day interactions during the Reality Tours and may aid the power balance within a dialogue process, it should not be used as a basis for an understanding of the empowerment process. The power structures as described by Cheong and Miller, refer only to

how local relationships are played out. For the empowerment process to challenge global power relationships, an approach is needed that acknowledges local forms of resistance but is also aware of the wider power structures that exist.

Looking at both the empowerment of the tour participants as well as the host communities, raises questions as to its scale and its usefulness in a post development context. Empowerment in tourism usually involves increasing host communities' position and abilities to function within a local context. If a role of the Reality Tours is in empowering US citizens to stimulate action on US issues then this is also occurring in a local context. Due to the powerful position of the US however, this action has the possibility to increase the freedom of destination countries. This form of empowerment would therefore be part of 'thinking globally, acting locally' as desired by Esteva and Prakash (1997a). Secondly the interactions between tour groups and local communities and organisations are a way of building solidarity between the tour participants and the people in the host countries. Through the building of links based on solidarity rather than charity, it is also fulfilling the need of new social movements for outside allies.

If the main aim of the NGO or community group is just to educate groups from the North then the Reality Tours work quite well, the activism created contributing to a wider project but not answering a particular need. However if the communities do see the meetings as a way of gaining specific support, results are dependent on the actions of the participants after the end of the tour. Importantly the tour participants are essentially tourists, although they may be involved in some activism in their home country. This means that they may not have the time or inclination to follow through with any action on returning home. It is therefore important for the tour leaders and organisers to ensure that the communities and NGOs are aware of this. Certainly the NGOs I spoke in this study did seem to be well aware of this. This also suggests that the Reality Tours are better suited to taking on a role in post development than a role in alternative development. The situation of tourists in returning to their home countries means it is easier and more likely that they will carry out action on US issues, rather than directly influencing development initiatives in destination countries. Although there were some examples given by Global Exchange of direct support given to communities resulting from a Reality Tour, this was not the case with the Reality Tour in this study.

Summary

The first part of this chapter discussed the Reality Tours role as a form of tourism and found that they have a role beyond contributing to the development of destination communities. Instead Global Exchange takes a postmodern approach in combining low impact tourism with education for activism. Not only are the intentions of the tour different from the majority of forms of tourism, so are the motivations of the tour participants, who have a central concern for social

justice. As a form of tourism the Reality Tours also have the ability to appeal to other motivations, such as adventure, and therefore have the potential to draw people into the work of an NGO through an attractive activity.

The role Global Exchange has taken on in the destination countries of Reality Tours I would argue has meant they have provided an example of a way a Northern NGO can support a post development process. Although this involvement is not without problems due to the constraints of working within the mainstream capitalist system, it provides ideas and potential for NGOs who want to work towards this process. I would also argue that this role is not intentional when considering Global Exchange's views on development organisations, organisations they see as being separate from themselves. One of the main criticisms of post development is that it is an excuse to do nothing as it doesn't directly deal with the obvious poverty that exists in within developing countries. The support created by the Reality Tours in financial terms would go some way to help sustain social movements without flooding them with money, an action that according to Korten is the surest way to kill a movement (1990 p. 124). The power relationships that exist are weighted in favour of the local people, an asset that is needed if this support is to be used to aid their own endogenous discourses of development rather than the ideas of the visitors themselves. Working with NGOs following both alternative and post development practices makes the content of the tours accessible to a wide range of the US public. It also makes it important that the NGOs are aware of the nature of the activism desired and encouraged by Global Exchange in order that they are fully informed before they decide to use their time in participating in such tours.

CHAPTER 8:
CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has used an example of one Reality Tour as a means to help investigate the role of justice tourism in development processes in Chiapas, Mexico. A number of questions about the intentions of those involved in the tours and the actual results of the tour process were identified in Chapter 1. Consideration of these questions, in the light of both the research findings and the existing literature have shown that justice tourism is interesting in two respects. Firstly, justice tourism challenges elements of tourism analysis with specific regard to tourist motivations. Then, by considering that justice tourism has a role beyond that of being solely a form of tourism, it suggests that there is a need for research on the development of both advocacy and social movements to include an examination the contribution of this type of tourism. In addition to presenting these conclusions, I will also suggest ways that Reality Tours can contribute to the work of the NGOs that have been discussed in this study.

Central Conclusions

Global Exchange and the host NGOs do not view the Reality Tours as a conventional form of tourism. As such the operation of the tours and the experiences received by the tour groups are substantially different from that of conventional tourism.

Global Exchange use a form of alternative tourism in order to achieve aims not associated with tourism development. It is a form of tourism that takes a postmodern approach in tying together two very different practices, tourism and activism. The aims of the tours lie outside of tourism development and are associated more with the activism side of this description. It is this intention that also dictates the type of tourism that is practised. As such, Global Exchange uses a form of tourism designed to make, what they consider to be, the least possible social impact and a small economic impact within the communities. However, they do recognise that they inevitably have some economic impact, and they take measures to distribute this impact as fairly as possible by using the services of co-operatives and locally owned businesses.

The NGOs visited, also saw the Reality Tour groups in a different light to groups of conventional tourists, and as such, the content of the tourism experience was dictated by their needs, rather than the desires of the tour participants. This adds a new element to criticism of tourism along

authenticity lines, the *performance* created not being in response to the perceived desires of the tour groups. With the possibility of the tour group members pursuing advocacy on their behalf, the host groups had a vested interest in portraying the political issues of relevance to those living in Chiapas.

The tour participants have varying motivations, some of which may include social forces. This however does not mean the experiences gained are shallow or of little use beyond increasing the participant's own status.

The tour participants have mainly come from the progressive community in the US, that is a left wing, socially aware, critical sector of society. As part of this community their participation on such tours would have value as a form of social capital, a possible motivation as discussed by writers such as Mowforth and Munt (2003) and Urry (2002). However, with regard to the Reality Tours, the main motivations stated by the tour participants are more significant. The tours were seen as, and were used as, a way of getting information to feed into their work back in the US, and so in practice went very much beyond selfish motivations. Secondly the social standing of the group participants may have some positive benefits. It was acknowledged that after visiting a place such as Chiapas, the tour participants' views were normally given more value by their peers back home. As such, the social capital gained from participating may make them more likely to be able to influence social forces back in the US, the intended outcome of the Reality Tour process. The other motivations of the tour participants (such as seeing Mayan ruins) may not always coincide with the intentions of Global Exchange or the local NGOs. This, however, can be an advantage when it is an NGO running the tourism operation, being an avenue for bringing new people into the work of the organisation.

These factors would suggest that when looking at a form of tourism that is intended to have an impact beyond the tour duration, analysis of tourist motivations based on the gaining of social capital need to be extended to include analysis, of the possible uses of such social capital. In recognising the need to extend this analysis it raises the question of whether taking a purely negative view of motivations is being overly cynical and secondly if it is the most beneficial way to approach the study of tourism. Given the size of the tourism industry and the way such criticism, particularly of tourists' motivations, is unlikely to prevent tourism occurring, investigating the way such motivations can be used in a positive way, may be a more useful approach to take.

Global Exchange supports a variety of development approaches.

Global Exchange use their position as a human rights organisation to support a number of development approaches. This allows them to provide support for alternative development NGOs alongside post development ones, without conflicting with their own 'development' mandate. Their use of alternative tourism provides short-term support for communities and this can help provide support for work towards their long-term goals.

Global Exchange has clear views on certain issues, and there is a repetitive make up to the content of the Reality Tours that supports these views. The effect of approaching destinations with such a clear worldview however is moderated by a number of factors. Firstly, this view is based around rights-based issues rather than an idea of what development should be. Secondly, their stance on issues is clear to the tour participants and an effort is made to relate these views to the host groups they meet. Thirdly, with regard to the NGOs the tours meet, this worldview is a reflection of the views of the majority of these groups. Lastly, within the community meetings, the information is based more on the communities relating their day to day life, and, as such, it is not as influenced by preconceived ideas as to the causes of the struggles they are facing.

Therefore the views of Global Exchange play a guiding role in the places they visit, a philosophy that is important in making the campaigns they pursue relevant in a longer-term strategy.

Alternative development

The Reality Tours can support alternative development strategies in two ways. For Southern NGOs and communities, they provide an avenue for information exchange and the potential for raising finance in support of alternative development strategies. Reality Tours can also be an asset in a Northern NGO strategy based on advocacy. Writers such as Nyamugasira (1998) have highlighted the need for an increased information flow from Southern communities to Northern NGOs. Alternative development approaches have also pointed out the need for the South to be in many ways teaching the North. The Reality Tours offer an accessible way of achieving this, the information gained having the potential to critically assess the work of NGOs in destination countries. The information should not be devalued by NGOs due to it being gained during a tourism process, instead the operation of the tours by a third party, Global Exchange, on whom communities are not financially dependant may work as an advantage in portraying the reality of development interventions.

However the primary use of the information currently, is for Northern activists closely aligned to social movements rather than specific NGOs. These social movements are campaigning for change in the North on issues that effect people in the South and as such it is vitally important

that Northern activists have access to good information. The Reality Tours have the potential to supply such information, information that I would argue would be hard for many individuals to access without the assistance of an NGO such as Global Exchange. In having the potential to be used as a source of information for advocacy, it is important that the tours represent the widest section of the population as possible and that the tourism process through which it is gained does not affect the information.

The Reality Tours present a way that Northern activists can make connections with Southern NGOs and communities. More significant is their potential to contribute to the building of networks in the US. The tourism process can have specific characteristics that can enhance this process. Taking like-minded people out of their home environment and bringing them together as a group, offers the opportunity for shared experiences and connections to be made amongst a group. Due to the geographical spread of the tour participants in the US, it is important that a standard process is in place (such as an email group) to link these people on return home.

The recognition of the role of the Reality Tours, in supplying information to social movements, a key feature of post development approaches, also presents a way the Reality Tours can contribute to this process.

Post development

This research concludes that the Reality Tours present a strategy that can contribute to a post development process in two central ways. Firstly, the tours are a way of challenging Western hegemony and the attitude that justifies development interventions. The tours show the downside of Western economic and social influence by providing a forum for the presentation of endogenous alternatives. The endogenous development alternatives are presented in a positive light and thus challenge the idea that the West has the answer to Southern problems. The tours do not present the idea that these communities are in need of development instigated by outside forces. Instead they focus on the need for these communities to have real control over their lives. Secondly, they feed into Northern social movements by encouraging action on US policies, aimed at removing the control that the West has over affairs in other countries. This internal US intervention, rather than imposing a view of development, frees up space for the alternatives.

The approach taken by Global Exchange and the opinions of the tour participants suggest there is a need for change in the North on both a policy level and on a wider cultural level.

This approach is significant, not only in changing the power structures that affect Southern partners, but it also addresses the problem of mal development as discussed by Leys (1996). It

questions the binary concepts of developed and underdeveloped, and raises the idea that instead of the transfer of Western ideas and technology to the Third World, what may be needed is a transfer of ideas from the Third World to the North. This approach takes a global perspective not only in laying the blame for many Third World problems in the North, but also sensing a need for a change of direction in both spheres.

This approach also has Marxist influences, seeing a need for the empowerment of the majority of the US public. The tour participants, despite being from the North, are seen as having the potential to be in solidarity with those in the South, having common issues and grievances. They therefore require education to increase their awareness, and aid them to take control of the oppressing forces. This is in direct contradiction to the majority of standard tourism analysis, which emphasises the need for the empowerment of local populations in Third World destinations. In this standard analysis, the tourists and tour operators are the parties that are in the dominant position, their wishes overriding those of the host populations.

The Reality Tour process contains a number of inherent contradictions.

Using a form of tourism has its advantages in using the monetary position of Northern tourists as an asset in bringing together those trying to create social change. However in using tourism, they also face a number of contradictions.

Firstly, the unequal power structure that exists between the First and Third Worlds facilitates the running of the tours. The First World's economic position allows the US public to have the financial capital to travel to Reality Tour destinations. For the tourists, being from the West also gives them a degree of protection that enables them to meet with groups in resistance. This degree of protection would not be the same for national tourists or possibly those from other developing countries.

Secondly, the relationship the Reality Tours and the host NGOs have with the state in both Mexico and the US provides much of their reason for being, but also limits their ability to operate in the most successful manner. Tourism literature has stressed the importance of the state in tourism development, especially in developing countries. The support of the state is needed for tourism to realise its potential as a tool for development. Although not desiring tourism development, the Reality Tours would still benefit from state support as it would aid the tours' ability to give a balanced and accurate perspective of the situation in destination countries.

The resistance shown by both the US state and the Mexican state to the operation of such tours also reflects two important points. The resistance of state to the tours operation is a reflection of

the faults of the state, their lack of real commitment to defending democracy and giving a voice to all sectors of the population. It also reflects that the state view the tours as something more than conventional tourism. The Reality Tours obviously pose a treat to the authority of the state, and so the state's actions would indicate that they do have a definite role outside of that of tourism.

Thirdly, the success of Global Exchange in achieving their long-term aims of educating the US public contradicts their efforts to run a minimal impact tourism operation. Increased uptake of the tours is likely to increase the social, economic and environmental impact in the destinations they visit. As such, it is important that increased success of the program is accompanied by an expansion of their efforts to reduce impacts. Utilising the need for a good standard of accommodation during the tours, the tour may be able to give more concern to environmental considerations. The use of higher quality accommodation may make it easier for environmental assessments to be made, and for these assessments to identify places where changes can be made. Global Exchange can also create guidelines aimed at minimising waste, through small measures such as getting hotels to change linen and towels less frequently, and specifying the need for a water source from which tour groups can fill bottles.

Lastly, in order for Global Exchange to educate new sections of the US public, there is a need for the tours to appeal to those outside of the social justice field. This may benefit Global Exchange in meeting their aims, but does not necessarily benefit the NGOs they are meeting during the tours. These NGOs indicated that they gained more from the meetings when they were with people working in associated fields.

Future Research

In the context of the Reality Tours, there has obviously been a great deal of thought put into the way they contribute to the work strategy of Global Exchange. Further analysis of justice tourism and the way it can serve the needs of host groups is needed to ensure that it does not mirror criticism of conventional tourism in serving the needs of the operators and tourists before that of the host populations. Finally, in order to really assess the impact and role of the Reality Tours, research, needs to be done to assess the extent of the actions of the tour participants on return home. This study has attempted to shed some light on whether action is created and the types of action that were created. Further exploration of these impacts may give an indication as to their scale, essential information if the host groups and Global Exchange are to assess whether participation in these tours is a good use of their time.

These conclusions would indicate that, despite its contradictions, justice tourism offers a useful way of exposing the US public to different, ideas, and stimulating action. The Reality Tours

move beyond the aims of tourism development, and have different intentions that frame the operation and the interactions that occur during the tours. As such, future analysis of justice tourism needs to be in the context of wider development processes specifically in relation to the building of social movements and advocacy. The tours have also shown evidence that they may be a way, not of expanding Western hegemony, as criticism of both tourism and wider development agendas may suggest, but should be explored as a possible way of challenging it. Approaching the tours from such a perspective would help highlight the ways in which the tours are best able to contribute to the work of NGOs and social movements.

Appendix 1

Participant's Post Trip questionnaire

Were you involved in activism or the work of any NGOs (non-profits) before coming on this trip?

Have you been involved in any form of activism since returning home?

If yes what form has this activism taken?

And in what ways if any do you think the experience in Chiapas contributed/influenced your participation?

Since returning home, have you had any contact with Global Exchange, the other members of the trip or the groups and organisations we met with in Chiapas?

Completion and return of this questionnaire implies consent. You have the right to decline to answer any particular question. Respondent's names will not be used in the written research.

Appendix 2

Reality Tours Online Application

The start of the application from starts with the personal details of the applicant and questions regarding emergency contact details and language ability.

What are the themes/topics that interest you? (please check all that apply)

Labor rights/Sweatshops
Corporate Accountability
Trade & Investment
Fair Trade & Econ Alternatives
Militarization
Intl Democracy & Elections
Peace and Conflict
Prisons & Police Brutality
Drug War
Poverty & Homelessness
Sanctions & Embargoes
Migration & Immigration
Environment & Sustainable Development
Environmental Racism
Land & Agriculture
Food & Hunger
Women
Children
Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgender
Indigenous People
Art & Culture
Religion & Spirituality
Health & Healing
Energy
Education

Please answer all questions

Why do you want to go to this destination?

What do you expect to gain from participating?

Please state the ways in which your work or studies relate to the issues or themes pertaining to this Reality Tour:

How will you share your learning experiences when you return home?

In what ways can you contribute to the world-wide movement for economic, environmental, social and human rights upon your return?

Do you have any special dietary or medical needs?

At times we are able to arrange private meetings for traveller, in addition to the general itinerary of the group. Is there a particular person or organisation you would like to meet?
Have you ever travelled outside the US? If so, where?

How did you her about this trip?

- ☐ The internet /website (please specify Global Exchange website or other)
- ☐ Global Exchange store
- ☐ Publication (indicate which one)
- ☐ Event (indicate which one)
- ☐ From a friend (name)
- ☐ Radio Show (please specify)
- ☐ Global Exchange mailing
- ☐ Other (please specify)

We are in regular contact with journalists who want to write stories about our trips, or events happening during our scheduled delegation. Would you be interested in being called for an interview? Yes/No

In order to facilitate post tour communication, we send each member of the groups a list of fellow participants' contact information. If you do not want ot be on the list, please check here.
☐

FOR CUBA AND AFGHANISTAN TRAVELERS ONLY: After travelling to these destinations, we find that many participants make new friends they want to keep in touch with; however, the postal systems between the US and Cuba/Afghanistan are unreliable. In the past, we have connected former participants with new ones in order to share their experiences, make new friends and deliver or mail a letter in Havana/Kabul. Are you willing to have your phone number given to a past participant so they can contact you regarding a friendly delivery? Yes/No

(*Reality Tours Online Application*, 2006)

Appendix 3

Basic Rules of Conduct in Community

1. Always respect the customs and cultural norms of the community
2. It is strictly prohibited to interfere in internal affairs of the community. Our role as visitors is to observe and be an international presence in the case of repressive actions by the State.
3. Be discrete. This includes your clothing (no sleeveless shirts, no shorts) and your manner of relating to people in the community. Avoid indiscreet questions. Avoid public displays of romantic affection with other group members while in the community, it's disrespectful.
4. The consumption of alcoholic beverages or drugs is strictly prohibited and will result in your immediate expulsion from the community (and the Reality Tour).
5. Do not take photographs or recordings of people or structures without first asking permission of community authorities.
6. Do not leave garbage (aluminium cans, batteries, etc.) in the community, take al your trash with you.
7. Do not give any personal gifts to individuals in the community, it has extremely negative long term impacts within the community. This includes children.
8. Do not purchase anything from individuals. Only buy from community co-operatives.
9. Do not make any sort of promises of money etc. that could create false expectations.
10. Try as much as possible to eat all food served to you. If you're not hungry share a plate with someone else. In a climate of scarcity it is rude to waste food. Never show disgust. If you don't eat meat: either warn the trip leader beforehand or discreetly pass meat off to other meat eaters.
11. For the same reasons, do not feed the animals.
12. Be friendly and accessible with people in the community. Make an effort to talk to people. Attempt to communicate within-group of with individuals in Spanish, out of respect to the community.
13. In the case that we pass a roadblock on the way other community, be calm and courteous with the officials. Act as tourists: speak English , avoid speaking with officials. In the case that they decide to search our possessions, be polite- but keep an eye out and make sure they don't steal anything out of your belongings.

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