CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion: Another Tourism is Possible

7.1 Introduction

Since the advent of the era of modern mass tourism in the 1950s, the interpretation of tourism's purpose has narrowed considerably. On one hand, in an era of heightened consumerism, tourism is seen as an individualistic, hedonistic leisure activity. On the other, with the growth of the corporate sector of tourism, considerable effort has been made to emphasise its commercial and industrial character. These developments have overshadowed a conceptualisation of tourism as a potent social force which can be harnessed to achieve significant human welfare goals. This is clearly demonstrated by the transformative alternative tourisms previously discussed. More significantly, this thesis has argued that tourism holds significant potential in shaping our world through its capacity to influence global order.

7.2 Review of thesis

This thesis has explored one way of understanding contemporary tourism and globalisation which raises both grave concerns and promising hopes. Utilising critical enquiry and a model of globalisation as a lens to evaluate these forces, it is

suggested that the role of tourism in contemporary societies is worthy of serious reflection.

On one hand, the effects of marketisation driven by capitalist globalisation have seen the hegemony of the discourse of tourism as an industry limit focus to its commercial and business aspects. This has marginalised a wider perspective of tourism as a social force which advocates the use of tourism for public welfare, equitable development and human fulfilment. This has occurred in the context of capitalist globalisation whose hegemony has driven a restructure of international relations in a profound way. In particular, the notion of development for human welfare has given way to a market ideology which many analysts regard as detrimental to social equity and ecological integrity. Such a situation has polarised people, as some advocate the bounties of capitalist globalisation (the TCC in particular) while others mobilise to oppose it and champion alternatives (the global justice movement exemplified by the WSF).

The unique task of this thesis was to apply Sklair's analysis of the dynamics of capitalist globalisation to the sphere of tourism in order to derive a conceptual understanding of the relationship between the two phenomena. The result was an understanding of corporatised tourism which is both a result of and a catalyst to capitalist globalisation. Corporatised tourism creates a self-reinforcing system driven by the interactions between the transnational capitalist class, their transnational practices, a culture-ideology of consumerism and a structure of institutions which work to secure hegemony of the system despite its widespread drawbacks. Thus we see dedicated efforts on the part of individual members of the

TCC (such as Geoffrey Lipman) and institutions such as the UNWTO and the WTTC to secure the GATS in the interests of TNCs. However, like capitalist globalisation, corporatised tourism results in unacceptable levels of social polarisation and environmental degradation. It has inspired opposition in the tourism arena which parallels the global justice movement arrayed against capitalist globalisation. The GTIF in fact commits itself not only to overturn an inequitable tourism system, but is also aligning itself with the wider anti-capitalist globalisation movement in order to play its part in overturning capitalist globalisation. However, this thesis has demonstrated that the potential for transformation emanating from the tourism sector is not limited to the GTIF.

This thesis posits that alternative tourisms are capable of changing human relationships in such a way as to make alternative forms of globalisation possible. It was suggested, using Stewart-Harawira's (2005a, 2005b) vision of eco-humanism, that certain alternative tourisms such as ecotourism, sustainability, fair trade in tourism, pro-poor tourism, peace through tourism, community-based tourism, volunteer tourism and justice tourism contribute to changes towards greater equity and ecological responsibility in tourism. Individually and collectively these alternative tourisms contribute to gradual reforms of human consciousness, tourism operations and development models. They not only inaugurate alternative ways of doing tourism that challenge the corporatised tourism model but also undermine the values and ideology of capitalist globalisation. In the case of volunteer tourism and justice tourism the challenge is more pronounced and overt. In particular, some proponents of justice tourism regard their mission as a revolutionary one to overturn inequitable tourism and globalisation.

It is not possible at this stage to prove that alternative tourisms are leading us to more benign forms of globalisation. It is essentially a process in progress. It can only remain a premise for the moment which must await the outcomes of the GTIF's efforts to align itself with the WSF movement. It would also be fruitful to pursue a macro research program which would delve deeper into the impacts of alternative tourisms that have been largely overlooked by the commodified tourism research agenda (Wearing *et al.*, 2005) itself a by-product of the era of corporatised tourism.[1]

The Indigenous case study presented in this thesis of the Ngarrindjeri's efforts to use reconciliation tourism to attain their goals of equity, understanding and ecological awareness showed that effective change through tourism is no easy matter. The Ngarrindjeri dedicated their efforts through Camp Coorong since 1985 to addressing the racism and the disadvantage that they confront from Australian society by using the tourism opportunity to educate others. Nevertheless, this strategy failed to serve them in the Hindmarsh Island Bridge conflict and the International Year of Ecotourism 2002 dispute. Instead, the Ngarrindjeri community has developed an assertive agenda of promoting their Indigenous rights in order to ensure protection and continuance of Ngarrindjeri lifeways against the destructive developmental pressures stemming from capitalist globalisation and corporatised tourism.

The case study underlined the limitations confronting alternative tourisms in the effort to secure transformations in a context of capitalist globalisation. While it was

[1] For instance, research is needed into the impacts of the reality tours of Global Exchange, the impacts of the solidarity tours of activists from developing countries visiting developed countries for awareness-raising, and longitudinal studies of changes in consciousness and resultant activism for the environment and/or justice by volunteer tourists.

suggested that alternative tourism may help secure an alternative globalisation through the eco-humanistic transformations it engenders, it also seems that alternative tourism needs an alternative globalisation to avoid being undermined and/or usurped before such transformations can be achieved. Therefore, it would appear that under the current structures of corporatised tourism and capitalist globalisation a dedicated strategy of fostering concomitant political and societal change is needed to secure the full array of human rights necessary for alternative tourism to fulfil its full potential. Nevertheless, even though alternative tourism cannot reform these powerful forces on its own, there is still strong reason to continue to focus on the role of tourism in the development of international relations and world order. As has been demonstrated in this thesis, corporatised tourism is one of the key props of capitalist globalisation and underpins a global order predicated on continuous growth and associated consumption. While the marketisation of tourism that accompanied this dynamic has limited the role of tourism in contemporary societies, it has also been demonstrated throughout this thesis that the latent capacities of tourism as a potent social force remain. One of the major efforts of this work has been to contradict the "there is no alternative" discourse of capitalist globalisation and corporatised tourism and to show that another tourism other than the corporatised model is apparent and possible.

Critics of the analysis developed in this thesis may well dismiss it as utopian, idealistic and therefore irrelevant to events in the real world.[2] When we confront a marketisation ideology that is so pervasive that its norms are almost fully accepted, it is very difficult to challenge the "there is no alternative" mantra that has come to

[2] Stewart-Harawira argues articulately for the need to conceptualise visions of utopia or develop "pedagogies of hope" which provide us with tools for critique and social transformation (2005a, p. 160).

dominate our perspectives. In tourism academia, Wearing and Ponting (2006) suggest in their call for a decommodified research agenda, that if we resist the "dominant, Western, neoliberal economic approach" in order to make a space for the multitude of "local ways of valuing" we could increase the quality of life of developing communities (and in fact all local communities confronted by tourism).[3] In addition to voices in the academy challenging the hegemony of marketisation, evidence of transformation in contemporary events is also worthy of notice.

7.3 Another world is possible

Besides Sklair's contribution on socialist globalisation through human rights, numerous other analysts and activists have been busy imagining what alternative, fairer and sustainable systems could be developed to displace the divisive and destructive dynamics of capitalist globalisation. Thus, George Monbiot, journalist with the *Guardian* newspaper of the UK and activist, has written a "manifesto for a new world order" in the *Age of consent* (2003) in which he provides a detailed plan for democratising human action at the global level in order to bypass the nation-state system which has allowed capitalist globalisation to reign unchecked in its exploitation of people and places. Other authors have contributed to an edited volume entitled *There is an alternative* outlining a "subsistence perspective" which they contend presents an alternative to imposed "corporate globalization". Successful examples are drawn from such diverse places as Papua New Guinea,

[3] This analysis from Wearing and Ponting arises from an exchange in *the Journal of Sustainable Tourism* where an earlier article authored by Wearing *et al*. (2005) championing a "decommodified research paradigm in tourism" was challenged by Butcher (2006) who countered that alternative approaches to tourism research is unnecessary. Wearing and Ponting (2006) ground their argument for a decommodified research agenda in the feminist critique of "male-oriented explanations" of society and its processes as well as postcolonial criticism of Eurocentric perspectives.

Mexico and Bangladesh as well as developed countries like Germany and the UK (Bennholdt-Thomsen *et al.*, 2001). Such analytical reflections have their counterparts in developments around the globe which are constructing alternatives for people facing dire need for greater equity and sustainability.

Latin America arguably stands at the forefront of these changes and it is no coincidence that this was one of the earliest regions to confront the full force of the destructive impacts of neoliberalism. For instance, the Indigenous people of Chiapas, Mexico have opposed the imposition of capitalist globalisation as Mexico prepared to join NAFTA in 1994. They formed the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN or Zapatistas) and rebelled against central authority by declaring Indigenous zones of autonomy in their region. This has provided a model of inspiration and success for the global justice movement and through their philosophy of "*zapatismo*" demonstrated a vision of creating "a world where many worlds fit" (Ross & Arsenault, 2004).[4]

In Venezuela, since Hugo Chavez was elected in 1998, 70,000 cooperatives have been developed in all economic sectors leading to a model of development which originates from within (endogenous development) and forsakes the orthodoxy of neoliberalism which claims the global market is the only path to development (Harnecker, 2006, p. 11). More importantly, Venezuela has undertaken a major transformation in democracy through what it calls its Bolivarian revolution which has seen the drafting of a new constitution endorsed by a public referendum in 1999 with a key principle being that "sovereignty resides in the people" (*Constitución de*

[4] Solidarity tourists have since flocked to Chiapas to observe the transformations underway.

la Repύblica Bolivariana de Venezuela, 2000). Key to this new constitution is an acknowledgement of the full array of human rights, including economic, social, cultural, Indigenous and environmental rights. Given Venezuela's oil wealth, its ability to fulfil these commitments is promising and it could stand as a model for alternative choices that are available to states which decide to put their people's welfare above the ideology of capital. Additionally, Venezuela, Cuba and Argentina[5] have formed an alliance which offers an alternative model of global trade. Thus Cuba provides Venezuela with doctors and teachers in exchange for oil (Ransom, 2006, p. 4).[6]

These Latin American transformations are more leftist and socialist, perhaps as a reaction against the long experience of the impacts of neoliberalism these countries have endured.[7] However, other places are implementing other alternatives. One path to autonomous and endogenous development has been modelled by the Ladakh

[5] Argentina could also be explored for alternative models. Since the economic collapse of 2001 that resulted from Argentina's embrace of neoliberalism (see Klein, 2003), workers takeovers of failed businesses and institutions such as universities (including the Hotel Bauen recounted in Chapter four) has demonstrated a more pro-people way of organising economies.
Similarly, Bolivia's embrace of leftist Indigenous leader Evo Morales has to be seen in light of the popular movements opposing privatisation such as the one seen at Cochabamba where people mobilised in 2001 when the city's water supply was slated for sale to US corporation Bechtel. Popular resistance led to the deal being cancelled and is since seen as a victory by the global justice movement against capitalist globalisation.

[6] A survey of the variety of changes underway in Venezuela and a brief assessment of their potential is available in a recent edition of the *New Internationalist* (2006) and demonstrates the profound possibilities these developments offer for a vision of transformations that could lead to a more just globalisation.

[7] In 2006, Chile elected Socialist Michelle Bachelet Jeria to the Presidency. She joined leftist leaders elected in Venezuela, Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay (while Mexico had a leftist candidate leading polls in the July 2006 election but whose results at the time of writing are still unclear as recounts and protests are underway). It is important to remember the context in which this change in Chile has occurred. Chile was the first Latin American country to be opened to the global economy following the removal of socialist leader Allende in 1973 in a military coup supported by the United States. According to Foran (1996), Allende has been characterised as the first democratically elected socialist president in world history and he attempted to construct an innovative "Chilean path toward socialism" which was popularly supported. When Allende was overthrown, the precepts of neoliberalism were imposed on Chile which then became a model for this ideology. Chile now follows a Latin American shift to the left and heralds a movement to rein in the market in the interest of society and a challenge to unrestrained neoliberalism.

Project of the International Society for Ecology and Culture (described in Section 5.3.8). In another province of India, Kerala, a "social justice model of development" is underway and is studied as a potential model for other people and places (see Franke & Chasin, 1995).[8] Staying within the market system, Professor Muhammad Yunus conceived the development tool of micro-credit and founded the "Grameen Bank" out of keen observation of the conditions of the poor in Bangladesh.[9] In cities and other communities around the globe, "exchange circles" are developing such as the Local Exchange and Trading System (LETS) which seeks to foster non-monetary exchange systems built on community relationships (see Bennholdt-Thomsen *et al.*, 2001). In a different vein, the slow food movement and the "100-mile diet" demonstrate a reaction to corporatised agriculture and the global capitalist distribution system which damages societies, cultures and environments.[10] What this thesis has attempted to underscore is the need for diverse approaches to sustainable futures. The examples cited here suggest some of the possibilities that move beyond the binary logic of the left and the right.

So while analysts, academics and activists theorise about the ways in which another world is possible, people and communities at grass roots levels are actually making other worlds at this moment. The task is to overturn the hegemony of marketisation under capitalist globalisation to ensure that such local developments are allowed to succeed, thrive and deliver equitable and sustainable lives to those undertaking these

[8] A native of Kerala has compiled a listing of resources on the Kerala model. See: http://www.chitram.org/mallu/keralamodel.htm.
[9] http://www.grameen-info.org/bank/
[10] The slow food movement was founded by Carlo Petrini in Italy in 1986. It is described as "an international association that promotes food and wine culture, but also defends food and agricultural biodiversity worldwide" (see: http://www.slowfood.com/eng/sf_cose/sf_cose.lasso). The 100-mile diet requires people to dedicate themselves to the consumption of food and beverages produced within a 100-mile radius of their locality. A variety of motivations are behind this movement including food quality, sustaining local economies and protecting environments and biodiversity (see Roosevelt, 2006).

transformations. As a part of this process, it is also important to ensure that the potential of tourism as a significant social force is not squandered.

7.4 Another tourism is possible

In essence this discussion has been advocating a public welfare role for tourism to serve human needs and well-being. At the beginning of modern mass tourism, tourism was envisioned as a beneficent social force and today it is still harnessed in this way. Not only is there a formidable social tourism presence throughout the global community but tourism is also used locally for reconciliation, solidarity, consciousness-raising, conservation, reciprocity and other non-market values. It has been demonstrated that we could set quite high benchmarks for tourism rather than allowing the proponents of marketisation to limit it only to its commodified essence and market aims. What could the attributes of this other tourism include?

One initial issue is the lack of diversity available under the current capitalist globalisation model as all communities are pressured to join the global trading system by adhering to the same formula. An alternative tourism model offers a conceptualisation of tourism that host communities pursue as one facet of a diversified economy which complements other economic activities including subsistence. As Vivanco (2001) has suggested, we need forms of tourism which foster pluralism and self-determination.

Additionally, the reduction of tourism to hedonism and frivolity does not have to stand unchallenged. Tourism geared to education, cross-cultural interaction, spiritual growth, conservation, solidarity, development assistance and other eco-humanistic values could be encouraged and fostered. These options are available when we challenge the narrow paradigm set by capitalist globalisation and corporatised tourism by recognising that social values have an importance no less valuable than economic ones in our utilisation of and support for tourism. That such a possibility is currently imaginable is suggested by the fact that in its policy statement released in September, 2004 "Creating opportunities for Australian tourism", the Australian Labor Party proposed that the federal government subsidise the domestic educational travel of Australian high school students in order to deliver benefits to a struggling domestic tourism sector and to provide social outcomes for the Australian community.[11] Similar thinking is apparent in the British government's decision to provide considerable financial support for volunteer work during the gap year experience that many young English people undertake (Her Majesty's Treasury & the Home Office, 2002).

Rather than the current ethos under corporatised tourism where the consumer rules and their demands must be met by the host community's service providers and residents if access to tourism's economic largesse is to be secured, we could have a rethinking of tourism where the tourist consumer's rights are accompanied by a clear

[11] This is a form of social tourism that has an educational focus. In light of the fact that many small Aboriginal Australian tourism ventures (such as Camp Coorong) actually cater to school groups in order to provide Aboriginal experiences in support of the Aboriginal Education curriculum, such a policy could additionally assist in income diversification for Aboriginal communities, particularly needed for those that are rural and remote. For instance, Reg Dodd offers such experiences in South Australia's far north (Marree) and the Department of Education of South Australia considers them very useful. However, these tours are too expensive for many school groups because of the distance that must be travelled to arrive there. Subsidies would be very beneficial for educational goals, reconciliation and Aboriginal community development. Unfortunately the Labor party remains in opposition and so this policy vision has yet to be implemented.

set of obligations and responsibilities that apply to both the tourists and the industry. While the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (UNWTO, 1999) does delineate some of these rights and responsibilities, what is clear is that without some form of regulation and enforcement, such precepts can be easily ignored. For instance, policies such as limiting all-inclusives,[12] establishing non-tourist zones in certain areas and collecting poverty-alleviation levies on travellers are all possibilities which have been bypassed in the current era of corporatised tourism. The unsustainable impacts of tourism transport could be addressed by environmental levies which reflect the true costs of international airline flights. More controversially, a policy of rationing may be a future consideration in light of the serious consequences that global environmental change heralds if we cannot address issues soon (see Gossling & Hall, 2005).[13] Such suggestions require greater roles and responsibilities for governmental authorities whose powers and purview have been diminished with neoliberalism's demand to free market forces in the name of growth and efficiency.

Finally, alternative tourisms, as discussed in this thesis, offer profound opportunities to develop an eco-humanism that could reshape the way we organise our societies and economies. The current patterns emerging from the practices of capitalist globalisation of exploiting nature, living materialistic and individualistic lives founded on a culture of consumerism and accepting societies built on norms of

[12]"All inclusive" packages refer to the practice of the tourist paying one fee to a travel agent for diverse tourism and travel services such as travel to the destination, accommodation, drinks, meals and activities. Criticism arises because such practices result in the bulk of the tourist's spending remaining in the originating economy to the detriment of the destination economy. In the late 1990s, Gambia banned all-inclusives, but had to change policy after travel intermediaries pressured the government. See: http://www.responsibletravel.com/Copy/Copy901210.htm.

[13] Rationing is already a likely scenario as scarce oil resources push up prices thereby pricing some consumers out of the tourism market. However, if the universal right to travel and tourism were fully realised, monetary rationing apportioning tourism and travel to the wealthy elite would have to be replaced by a different form of rationing. Perhaps international tourism using aviation would be reserved for the young as part of their education. Regulation could be combined with community education promoting the value of touring closer to home utilising public transport facilities.

competition and a "survival of the fittest" worldview are inherently unsatisfying (Hamilton, 2003, 2006) and unsustainable (Sklair, 2002; Stewart-Harawira, 2005a, 2005b). Stewart-Harawira challenges us to develop pedagogies of hope and a "vision for a new eco-humanism that is about global peace, global justice, and the sanctity of collective life" (2005a, p. 160). The alternative tourisms analysed in this thesis are key facets in this process as they foster possibilities of reconciliation, recognition of the rights of nature, empathy with others, respect for diversity and relations founded on reciprocity and solidarity.

Perhaps we should turn to Inayatullah's checklist for tourism for a final perspective on the ends to which tourism could be directed:

> How does tourism affect the distribution of wealth? Does tourism create conditions where economic growth is sustaining? Does tourism reduce structural violence (poverty, ill-health and racism caused by the system) or does it contribute to the further impoverishment of the periphery? Does tourism reduce personal direct violence? Can we create types of tourism that enhance individual and social peace? Does tourism create the possibilities for cultural pluralism, that is, conditions where one culture understands the categories of the other culture…? Can knowledge of the Other reduce intolerance, creating the possibility of a multicultural peaceful world? Does tourism help create economic democracy? Is tourism progressive? Is there a progressive use of resources, from physical to mental to cultural-spiritual? (Inayatullah, 1995, p. 413).

This suggests an ambitious agenda for tourism. To be realised, key stakeholders in tourism including tourists, governments, host communities, NGOs, tourism institutions and tourism operators will need to be alerted to the potentials of tourism and activated in the effort to ensure that tourism does not succumb to the constrictions that marketisation imposes. Research of the type undertaken in this thesis is one step in this direction.

7.5 Conclusion

This thesis has made a unique contribution to understanding the interface between global order and tourism. By applying Sklair's (2002) theory of the sociology of the global system to tourism, a vision of corporatised tourism was developed which demonstrated the impacts of marketisation with grave environmental and social outcomes. In an effort to combat the acceptance of the ideology of marketisation under corporatised tourism and the corollary that there is no other alternative, this thesis repeatedly invoked rival conceptualisations of the purpose, focus and potentials of tourism, suggesting ultimately that this potent social force may be integral to the process of developing more just and sustainable forms of globalisation.

The current pervasiveness of tourism is a result of globalisation, including the revolutions in communications and transport which mean that time and space have been compressed so considerably that practically all human communities are in contact and share experiences on a scale hitherto unknown. Such dynamics mean that the formation of a global village is underway and tourism will surely be integral to the process. But as this thesis has suggested, it is our choice as to what kind of global village it will be. Will it be one where we cooperate, accept diversity, ensure welfare, secure justice and share "our" environment with other humans and species? Or will it be one where we accept a hierarchy of "haves" and "have-nots", where pressured resources are usurped by the powerful, where the powerless are forced into undignified and inhumane lives in order to eke out the most basic survival, where whole environments are sacrificed to feed the insatiable appetite for economic growth that capitalist economics requires? The transformative tourisms analysed

here prod us to work towards the former and demonstrate the price of allowing the latter to continue. The eco-humanism fostered by these alternative tourisms challenge the dominance of the marketisation paradigm currently influencing the conduct of contemporary tourism. As the case study in this thesis suggests, work done by communities such as the Ngarrindjeri at Camp Coorong demonstrate alternative ways of engaging with and using tourism. They are joined by communities around the world demonstrating the potentials of alternative tourisms for transformation. These alternative tourisms for transformation offer pedagogies of hope that suggest that indeed another world is possible.