CHAPTER ONE

Examining Tourism: Critical Ethnography and Indigenous Research

1.1 Introduction

Globalisation is one of the defining features of this era and its impacts are hotly debated in many circles. The role of tourism in the development of globalisation has received some attention as tourist circuits expand globally and incorporate almost all places and peoples (e. g. Cohen & Kennedy, 2000; Meethan, 2001). Tourism has also come in for critical attention for its role in political, social and economic changes in developing countries as these countries are compelled to join the global economy in order to secure development (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). The interstices between tourism and globalisation present a fruitful terrain for analysis and this thesis takes up this task.

While some might think that the relevance of studying globalisation and tourism has receded in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the USA on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent "war on terror", others such as Baudrillard argue that these events themselves are ultimately about globalisation. He writes "terrorism is immoral. The

World Trade Centre event, that symbolic challenge is immoral, and it is a response to a globalisation which is itself immoral" (Baudrillard, 2002, pp. 5 & 12).

Globalisation remains a key concern for world order and safe human futures. As will be presented in this thesis, tourism could have a profound role to play in these associated developments. What sort of role is one of the intriguing questions posed here.

1.1.1 The contribution of this study

This thesis makes a unique contribution to academic study by combining disciplines rarely combined, namely international relations, tourism and Indigenous studies, in order to derive critical insights into the macro-level and micro-level dynamics of contemporary societies. Mowforth and Munt claim tourism "is an activity which helps us to understand the world and ways in which humans interact with the planet and with each other in a range of senses" (Mowforth & Munt, 1998, pp. 2-3). They also contend that tourism "is a 'prism' for understanding broader global issues and relations" (2003, p. 271). This thesis analyses both globalisation and tourism to illuminate the contemporary dynamics of marketisation and the negative ecological and social impacts that result. However, a careful note has been taken of Bianchi's concern that we need a nuanced analysis of tourism and globalisation. He asserts that there is a clear divide between macro-level and micro-level analyses with the former providing critical analysis focused upon capitalism and exploitation of peoples; but there is ample evidence of micro-level local resistances and usurpation of tourism for local needs (Bianchi, 2003).[1] He states "there is thus perhaps an even

[1] Peter M. Burns has made a similar call for a more nuanced analysis of tourism at the "local-global nexus" (2001).

stronger case than before, to develop a rigorous theoretical understanding of the systemic sources of economic, political and ideological power which continue to exclude and marginalise many people from the still unrealised potential of tourism as a force for development" (Bianchi, 2003, p. 20).

At the macro-level, this work draws on Leslie Sklair's (2002) interpretation of the dynamics of capitalist globalisation to shed light on the dynamics of corporatised tourism and to explore the promise of alternative tourism to deliver a more just and sustainable form of globalisation. This approach is complemented by a micro-level case study analysis of the experience of the Ngarrindjeri community of South Australia. When confronted with the destructive dynamics of capitalist driven development and exploitative tourism, this Indigenous Australian group has attempted to usurp tourism for its needs of achieving a reconciled community in which their children can safely grow up while simultaneously resisting exploitation by asserting their Indigenous rights.

My thesis proceeds on some basic assumptions which are well supported by the analysis of numerous scholars of globalisation, political economy and politics.[2] Chief among these assumptions is that marketisation, as the by-product of capitalist globalisation, is the driving force which has allowed the economic to reign over the social realm to damaging effect.[3] This has had differential impacts upon the peoples of the developing and the developed worlds but is no less detrimental to each. What

[2] These include Beder, 2006; Cox, 1993; Gill, 1995, 1999; Hamilton, 2003; Harvey, 2005; McMichael, 1998; Sklair, 2002; Stewart-Harawira, 2005a, 2005b.

[3] This point is epitomised by Habermas' analysis of the application of the "laws of the commodity economy" to such diverse areas as schools, health, environmental management, leisure and tourism which he describes as the "colonization of the lifeworld" (1987, p. 368). This in essence signifies a dominance of the economic over the previously separate realms of the social and ecological.

we see in the developing world is that development is undermined by market agendas which overturn government commitment to the social welfare of its people in favour of the needs and interests of capital whose investment is touted as the only path out of poverty and underdevelopment in the current era (McMichael, 1998; Sklair, 2002). In contrast in the developed countries, marketisation has seen the values of consumerism, materialism, competition and individualism pervade the society, so that while wealth and security is the norm for the majority of citizens, unhappiness and loss of meaning pervades their lives (Hamilton, 2006). While capitalist globalisation plays out in such different ways, it nevertheless results in societies devoted to economic growth, geared to the global trade system and vulnerable to social and ecological difficulties. In fact, it is well recognised by critics of capitalist globalisation that its negative social and environmental impacts are potent catalysts to resistance and championing of alternatives (e.g. Klein, 2001; Sklair, 2002; Stewart-Harawira, 2005b). This is most visibly manifest in the "anti-globalisation" movement[4] which has achieved global attention since the protests of Seattle in 1999 and has caused grave concern to the supporters of capitalist globalisation. As will be argued in this thesis, such circumstances give us a potential transformative moment through which global dynamics can be shaped to create a system more benign both socially and environmentally. If we fail to seize this opportunity for enshrining justice, equity and ecological living, we may secure for ourselves a brutal future that is already evident before us through the events of 9/11, the signs of global warming, and the rise in violence and instability.

[4] In fact, some of the diverse groups that oppose capitalist globalisation are seeking an alternative form of globalisation and so the epithet "anti-globalisation" is inaccurate. Monbiot suggests that "the global justice movement" may be more accurate (2003).

Uniquely, this thesis argues that tourism has an important part to play in the unfolding and understanding of these trends. While many view tourism as a trivial and inconsequential activity, it is suggested here that tourism plays an important role in the marketisation agenda of capitalist globalisation. All countries are potentially drawn into the global market economy where tourism is touted as a lucrative economic opportunity particularly to those countries that are bereft of other options. Thus almost by stealth the "culture-ideology of consumerism" (Sklair, 2002) is encouraged to develop universally in this process.

However, tourism is also a potent social force which can contribute to more benign forms of globalisation at this transformational moment. If the marketisation of tourism was reined in and its capacities as a social force for public welfare facilitated instead, tourism could be turned to vital beneficial purposes. Such possibilities include the education and spiritual development of people, the development of cosmopolitan attitudes, the fostering of tolerance, cross-cultural understanding and peace, the inclusion of tourism as part of a well-balanced economic development portfolio that ensures security and sustenance to communities, and the creation of a tourism programme that fosters an environmental ethic and thereby assists in underpinning vital sustainability.[5]

Most importantly, the chief concern of this thesis is to argue that tourism is not inconsequential. It has the capacity to inflict grave damage when left to the logic of the market. It also has the capacity to serve humanity and facilitate more benign human-ecological relations if freed from market fetters and harnessed for equity,

[5] Commitment to a sustainability paradigm is one of the key challenges of our era and is a central focus of Chapter five which discusses a variety of alternative tourisms and their potential to foster an "eco-humanism".

justice, well-being and the environment. Thus this thesis challenges facile "knee-jerk" anti-globalisation and anti-tourism outlooks which pervade a good deal of liberal academia. On one hand, the arguments presented in this thesis demonstrate that corporatised tourism is one facet of capitalist globalisation that tends to deliver benefits to an elite minority while marginalising and dispossessing large numbers of others and simultaneously causing social and ecological crises that cannot be ignored. On the other hand, it is acknowledged that globalisation and tourism premised on human welfare and ecological sustainability could lead to a more just and sustainable future. The eradication of globalisation and tourism is not a feasible option in an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world, nor is it a desirable one. This analysis suggests that our common interests demand an exploration of alternatives to both capitalist globalisation and corporatised tourism, and it suggests both alternative tourisms and Indigenous ontologies as useful options to consider.

1.1.2 Theoretical perspective and methodology

This thesis uses a qualitative research methodology to examine the macro-level relationship between the forces of tourism and globalisation and the micro-level experience of the Ngarrindjeri community. The development of this work has proceeded in the spirit of qualitative research advocated by Hollinshead: "qualitative researchers always ought to think historically, interactionally, structurally, reflectively and biographically when they probe the lived experiences of the here and now in tourism matters" (1996, p. 71). As Piantanida and Garman assert, "the researcher's thinking lies at the heart of the inquiry" (1999, p. 24). In this context, it is important to acknowledge that this work has arisen from my life experiences

which have fostered a concern with the forces of tourism and globalisation. In particular, it developed from the intuition described in the Preface of this thesis. It also arose from an ongoing concern with international relations formed during previous academic study and from my work as a Peace Corps volunteer in the late 1980s. My interest in tourism is more recent growing from a chance opportunity to volunteer with Community Aid Abroad's One World Tours Unit in 1997 and securing an academic post in tourism in 2001. Lastly, this work derives from a complex relationship I have established with the Ngarrindjeri which extends beyond research to a friendship and solidarity that will continue well past the submission of the thesis. The formal ethics protocols of social and behavioural research of Flinders University and guidelines for research involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians have been followed (see section 1.1.3). However, this research process has attempted to go further through a commitment to the principles of critical, transformative research. Velazquez describes its nature succinctly:

> Transformative research is not a methodology. It is an orientation toward research that is defined by its intended outcome: producing a more just and equitable world … Transformative research stimulates critical awareness of power relationships and empowers researcher and participants with the knowledge to change power relationships (1998, pp. 65–66).

I have chosen critical, transformative research approaches because of the disempowerment and inequality that arise at the intersection of contemporary tourism, economic globalisation and Indigenous peoples. In particular, it became evident early in my relationship with Ngarrindjeri Elders that, for the research to be worthwhile, I needed to focus on the real concerns of a community facing grave difficulties but determined to secure their rights and their children's future.

At the methodological level, I have embraced the recommendation by some tourism analysts for the qualitative tourism researcher to act as a *bricoleur*[6] in the conduct of research (Hollinshead, 1996; Jamal & Hollinshead, 2000; Walle, 1996; described in Dann & Phillips, 2000, p. 250). This approach best suits this particular research topic that merges a macro-theoretical perspective on global issues with a micro-experiential case study of the lived experiences of the Ngarrindjeri community. The discussion which follows is thus based on an examination of the literature on tourism, globalisation and Indigenous peoples; an investigation of primary documents including tourism strategies, tourism brochures and relevant declarations and agreements; interaction over an extended period of time with the Ngarrindjeri community; and data collection on their facility at Camp Coorong including participative and non-participative observation, analysis of their visitors books and in-depth, semi-structured interviews.

Case study methodology is the most appropriate tool of social science enquiry for this thesis because the empirical study at the micro-level is meant to shed light on the validity of the theorising of macro-level processes and events. As Yin claims, "a case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (1994, p. 13). To understand how people experience tourism and globalisation requires such a grounding in real-life experiences and a

[6] *Bricoleur* can be translated as a "Jack of all trades" (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2000, p. 65) and refers to the need of the qualitative researcher to draw on a many-faceted "toolkit". Dann and Phillips describe the process of the *bricoleur* as "a creative approach … open to avenues of interpretation, introspection and the interactivity of gender and ethnicity" (2000, p. 250). Walle describes their thought process as "The bricoleur comes to conclusions by utilizing available information which arrives in piece-meal fashion from chance observation" (1996, p. 879). Jamal and Hollinshead describe the *bricoleur* approach as "an eclectic approach that enables multi-method, multi-theoretical approaches to be used" (2000, p. 65).

detailed account of their contexts. Additionally, Yin specifies that a case study approach is called for when the research necessitates a broad definition of research topics rather than a narrow one, when the discussion covers "complex multivariate conditions and not just isolated variables" and when the researcher relies on multiple rather than singular sources of evidence (2003, p. xi). Such conditions characterise this research study. However, Yin advocates sound case study methodology in order to avoid the criticisms of it as "soft research" prone to researcher bias and sloppy technique (1994, pp. 9-13).[7] While my critical research work with the Ngarrindjeri cannot be characterised as neutral and objective (see below), I utilised sound case study technique to corroborate Ngarrindjeri narratives and triangulate the data through review of documentary evidence, interviews and participative and non-participative observation.

In undertaking this research, I have rejected the position of objective neutrality of the researcher required by the positivist tradition in favour of the engaged position of the transformative researcher despite the resistance of the tourism discipline to engaged, qualitative research. The dominance of the positivist tradition in tourism is under challenge as evidenced in the works of Dann and Phillips (2000), Hobson (2003) and Hollinshead (1996), as well as recent texts promoting qualitative methodologies in tourism such as Phillimore and Goodson (2004). In fact, Wearing, McDonald and Ponting (2005) have recently criticised research into the tourism field from a perspective which holds some resonance with my analysis. They suggest that tourism research has been driven by a narrow focus on its commodified forms, applied practice and managerial concerns. Wearing *et al.* champion a

[7] Another common (erroneous) complaint against case studies noted by Yin is the charge that case study evidence cannot be used to develop scientific generalisations (see 1994, p. 10).

decommodified tourism research agenda motivated by alternative philosophies such as feminism and ecocentrism which would destabilise the concentration on industry profits and instead privilege social, cultural and ecological concerns (2005). My analysis contributes to such an effort as it uses a critical paradigm to present new insights into the tourism phenomenon and heralds transformations that would inaugurate greater equity and sustainability.

Kincheloe and McLaren claim that critical theory "produces…undeniably dangerous knowledge, the kind of information and insight that upsets institutions and threatens to overturn sovereign regimes of truth" (2000, p. 279). Jennings claims that researchers utilising critical theory "see inquiry as a means to benefit the world and change conditions, particularly for the oppressed" (2001, p. 41). Analysing Habermas' model of social inquiry, Madison describes critical theory as a mode of analysis "in which social life is represented and analyzed for the political purpose of overcoming social oppression, particularly forms that reflect advanced capitalism through the overt polemics of the researcher" (2005, p. 6). This is certainly an apt description of the theoretical analysis provided in the first half of this thesis as it presents a critical evaluation of the dynamics of capitalist globalisation and corporatised tourism rather than seeking to provide a full account of both the benefits and drawbacks of these forces in a kind of neutral ledger sheet analysis that might characterise a positivist approach. This approach reveals how the structures and systems of capitalist globalisation and corporatised tourism foster inequity and ecological damages in the drive to deliver profits to the powerful beneficiaries of capitalism.

The methodology employed in the empirical work of this thesis is critical ethnography which involves a continuum of practice varying from cultural critique to involved political activism and collaborative research agendas. These approaches generally share such common values as a rejection of positivism and a concern with relationships between the powerful and powerless (Foley & Valenzuela, 2005, p. 217). My personal life has been characterised by political activism for social justice and human rights and this has informed the content and character of my work.[8] As the next section reveals, this thesis is also a collaborative critical ethnography as I have worked closely with the Ngarrindjeri during the duration of this project. Like many practitioners of critical ethnography, this thesis is keen to connect universalistic/theoretical knowledge with a local/practical context in order to indicate how larger structures, systems and power affect local trajectories and how local communities can exert resistance and foster alternatives to such structures and systems. In doing this, I hope to rise to the challenge set by Maori academic Stewart-Harawira who claims: "For critical theorists, scholars and activists, the challenge is to identify strategies that go beyond resisting empire. It is my contention that the most urgent task facing us today is to effect transformation of the ontological underpinnings of the terms in which world order is conceived and the meaning of existence is articulated" (2005b, p.3).

[8] See Martin (1984) for a valuable analysis of the barriers to social activism in academia and a proposal to overcome these.

1.1.3 Ethics and Indigenous research

The era in which this thesis has been written has been one in which methodologies and power have shifted in favour of Indigenous participants of the research. In Australia, Indigenous Australians have been very assertive of Indigenous rights in order to arrest a history of exploitation and abuse by researchers. In the field of anthropology, for example, research of Indigenous peoples has been used to promote racial theories which historically have supported the dispossession and institutionalisation of Indigenous peoples.[9] As a result of Indigenous activism in conjunction with responsive support from the academy, research protocols have been developed to guide researchers on appropriate, ethical practice in Indigenous Australian research. One example is the "Ethics in Aboriginal Research" developed by the Kaurna Higher Education Centre in Adelaide, South Australia (1993).[10] The National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) has developed a set of research guidelines particularly focused on research ethics in the health area (2003) but its broad principles can be used to inform other types of research with Indigenous Australians. In particular, these guidelines emphasise a spiritual value rather than a codified checklist to inform research relationships. The key principles it asserts include: spirit and integrity, reciprocity, respect, equality, survival and protection and lastly, responsibility (NHMRC, 2003). More broadly, the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) released *Guidelines for ethical research in Indigenous studies* in 2000. This document establishes a list of

[9] Indigenous Australians have been described as "the most researched group in the world" but Indigenous Australians have felt that this research has been both exploitative and irrelevant to their lives (Kaurna Higher Education Centre, 1993, p. 1).

[10] This set of protocols seeks to overturn the exploitative dynamic of previous research by outlining issues of consultation, ownership, control and community involvement in the research process and fostering a collaborative spirit to the research undertaken between non-Indigenous researchers and Indigenous Australians (Kaurna Higher Education Centre, 1993, p. 1).

principles of ethical research which includes such principles as: full consultation to obtain free and informed consent; respect for Indigenous knowledges and processes; delivery of benefits to and agreed outcomes for the researched; and that research should be a continuously collaborative process throughout the research project (AIATSIS, 2000).

My PhD was already underway when I first experienced the reconciliation tourism offered by the Ngarrindjeri community through their Camp Coorong Race Relations and Cultural Education Centre in January 1999. It was this experience which consolidated my vision of a case study and I soon asked the Elders managing Camp Coorong for permission to conduct research on their work and its impacts. Secondly I had to go through the formal ethics approval process of the university which has been developed to secure ethical research practice. I have continuously endeavoured to fulfil both the principle and spirit of collaboration in my research with the Ngarrindjeri.[11] I hope that the community will find useful the documentation of the impacts of Camp Coorong, the discussion of the role of tourism development in general and my attempts to explain how Ngarrindjeri efforts are a model for the assertion of Indigenous rights in tourism. I am also committed to a long-term relationship with the Ngarrindjeri that I hope endures far beyond the close of this research project, which I believe exemplifies the "spirit and integrity" advocated by the NHMRC (2003). In the mode of Denzin (2005, p. 950), this work attempts to

[11] I have consulted the Ngarrindjeri about the role of the case study of Camp Coorong in my work. I have showed them the drafts of my publications discussing their work and changed them according to corrections and concerns that they had. I have committed to a relationship based on reciprocity as I have been on call to assist the Ngarrindjeri community in any way that I can, including providing advice on tourism developments, assisting in the marketing of Camp Coorong, assisting them in global networking with visiting academics and activists, and assisting in a myriad of more minor ways as requested. A report for the community has been drafted stating the outcomes of the case study. See Schuler, Aberdeen and Dyer (1999) for a reflection on conducting culturally sensitive tourism research with the Djabugay Indigenous Australian community of Queensland.

respect and follow an Indigenous research ethic which has as its aim the support of Indigenous self-determination. Denzin has described the Indigenous research ethic as calling for a "collaborative social science research model that makes the researcher responsible not to a removed discipline … but to those studied… it forcefully aligns the ethics of research with a politics of the oppressed, with a politics of resistance, hope, and freedom" (2005, p. 952).

Nevertheless I must acknowledge mine is not an Indigenist research project. Lester-Irabinna Rigney, an academic descended from the Narungga, Ngarrindjeri and Kaurna nations of South Australia, has developed a conceptualisation of an Indigenist research methodology which he has derived from the liberation epistemologies of the feminist movement (1997). Rigney's conceptualisation of Indigenist research is based on three "inter-related principles":

1. Resistance as the emancipatory imperative in Indigenist research
2. Political integrity in Indigenous research
3. Privileging Indigenous voices in Indigenist research (1997, p. 118).

Rigney asserts that Indigenist research must be conducted by Indigenous Australians, using Indigenous Australian informants and in support of the liberation and self-determination of Indigenous Australians (1997, p. 120). While not fitting Rigney's criteria here, I would argue that this work is supportive of an Indigenist agenda as it is derived from a critical theory base with justice and equity as its goal. This work notes the resistance of the Ngarrindjeri through their concerted campaign to assert their Indigenous rights in tourism. I have not baulked at engaging with the issues of

the Hindmarsh Island Bridge conflict, the International Year of Ecotourism 2002 launch and other conflicts, despite the sensitivities of these issues.[12] Lastly, this project has tried at every turn to privilege the voice of the Ngarrindjeri.[13] Unlike current studies of volunteer tourism where it is usually the tourists and not the hosts who are the informants (e.g. Volunteer Tourism, 2003; Wearing, 2001), this case study focuses on the Ngarrindjeri who run Camp Coorong and identifies their commitment to use tourism for reconciliation as the key issue. However, whereas Rigney asserts that an Indigenist research agenda must be conducted by Indigenous Australians because "Indigenous Australians have to set their own political agenda for liberation" (Rigney, 1997, p. 118), other Indigenous academics invite non-Indigenous engagement with Indigenous issues if approached in a spirit of respect and solidarity. Within this thesis, the work of Maori academic Stewart-Harawira is a pivotal resource. She argues that "traditional indigenous knowledge forms have a profound contribution to make towards an alternative ontology for a just global order" (2005 b, p. 32). Non-Indigenous qualitative researcher Norman Denzin has reflected at length on the role of the non-Indigenous researcher in Indigenous research and has provided principles that could guide the development of a meaningful dialogue between critical and Indigenous theorists which could see the possibility for the non-Indigenous researcher to become an "allied other" (2005, p. 936).[14] In engaging with the complex issues of the interrelationship between

[12]For instance, if this thesis only told the positive story of the reconciliation tourism undertaken at Camp Coorong and omitted the controversial political issues raised in Chapter six, the thesis might be more appealing to some readers preferring a compact and uncontroversial narrative. However, such a strategy would have undermined the critical ethnographic imperative to align the research with the interests of the oppressed.

[13] Ngarrindjeri voices are heard from the transcripts of numerous interviews and the citing of numerous publications they have written or contributed to; they are the experts on these issues and it is their voices which matter.

[14] Rigney also accepts a role for non-Indigenous researchers: "We are indebted too to the research contributions of non-Indigenous Australians to this struggle. It is, however, inappropriate that the

globalisation, tourism and Indigenous interests, I have tried to navigate between respect for Indigenous research standpoints and my "allied other" commitment to liberation and justice not only for Indigenous Australians but for us all.

1.2 Thesis overview

This thesis provides a macro-level conceptual analysis of the relationship between tourism and globalisation and a micro-level case study based on empirical work with an Indigenous Australian community. The discussion is organised in the following way:

CHAPTER TWO - *Tourism as an Industry versus Tourism as a Social Force* – demonstrates how the agenda of securing recognition of tourism as an industry has overshadowed a long-enduring conceptualisation of tourism as a potent social force. This works in the interests of supporters of corporatised tourism.

CHAPTER THREE - *Globalisation* – in recognition that contemporary tourism can only be understood in the context of globalisation, presents a brief survey of the literature on contemporary globalisation before arguing that it is capitalist globalisation which matters most because of the significant negative impacts it has on society and ecology. The analyses of capitalist globalisation offered by Sklair (2002), Gill (1995, 1999) and Stewart-Harawira (2005b) are presented to develop a conceptualisation or model that can be applied to the dynamics of corporatised tourism.

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research contribution to the political cause come solely from non-Indigenous Australians" (1997, p. 118).

CHAPTER FOUR - *From Globalisation to Corporatised Tourism* – applies this model to contemporary tourism. The analysis focuses on institutional structures such as the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC); transnational practices (TNPs) evident in such phenomena as liberalisation under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the International Year of Ecotourism 2002 (IYE 2002); and the "culture-ideology of consumerism" evident in the realm of corporatised tourism. This discussion finds that, similar to capitalist globalisation, corporatised tourism crystallises opposition and resistance due to its negative social and ecological affects. The analysts of capitalist globalisation suggest that its dynamics offer the possibility to secure alternative globalisations and so it is asked whether such dynamics also hold true in the tourism arena.

CHAPTER FIVE - *Alternative Tourism as a Path to Alternative Globalisation* - examines facets of the alternative tourism movement in order to gauge their capacities to foster a more equitable and sustainable tourism that might be a precursor to an alternative globalisation.

CHAPTER SIX - *Case Study of the Ngarrindjeri of South Australia* - investigates the experiences of the Ngarrindjeri community of South Australia in order to test the conceptual theories developed in the preceding chapters. The Ngarrindjeri have been pioneers at using tourism as an educational tool to foster reconciliation. However, the Ngarrindjeri have also suffered the impacts of marginalisation and exploitation from a corporatised tourism system acting according to the precepts of capitalist

globalisation. As a result of these experiences of conflict that the Ngarrindjeri view as threats to their very survival, they have planned a concerted effort to assert their Indigenous rights at all levels of interaction with governments and other bodies to prevent the erosion of their rights and interests associated with capitalist globalisation.

CHAPTER SEVEN – *Conclusion*: *Another Tourism is Possible* - recapitulates the main points of the discussion on capitalist globalisation and corporatised tourism. Because of the social and ecological crises that accompany these systems, alternative globalisations will be advocated by those who desire greater equity and sustainability. This thesis suggests that alternative tourisms have a role to play in the formation of a more just and sustainable global order. The Ngarrindjeri case study suggests that alternative tourism is insufficient to achieve such a transformation without a concerted political agenda to overturn the power structures which underpin an unjust and unsustainable global system.

Nonetheless, another tourism is still possible with or without these global transformations. As argued in this thesis, corporatised tourism is only one perspective on the role of tourism in contemporary societies. The capabilities of tourism as a social force will endure and continue to benefit people who embrace tourism's full capacities.