

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Jana L. Donckers for the degree of Master of Arts in Applied Anthropology presented on November 2, 2001.

Title: Advocacy Travel, Creating Social and Ideological Change: A Comparison of Travelers to Cuba and Chiapas.

Redacted for privacy

Abstract Approved: _____

Courtland L. Smith

As a result of academic research into the effects of mass travel, an industry of alternative tourism has emerged. Application of this research has resulted in myriad forms of tourism, two of these being ecotourism and educational travel. Ecotourism represents a response to what is the destructive nature of the mass tourism industry and its damage to host communities' social, economic and environmental systems. Educational travel is an attempt to use tourism for education, such as trips arranged by university study abroad programs. I contend that both forms of alternative travel represent a reactive approach to mitigating the impacts of mass tourism. The potential of educational travel is not realized as it provides no framework or guidelines as to how students can apply the information and knowledge they have acquired on their trip. I will define a new type of tourism, advocacy travel, which seeks to address the shortfalls of ecotourism and educational travel. Advocacy travel is tourism as a strategy used by activists to educate, promote ideological awareness and motivate participants to work for social change.

Global Exchange, a non-profit organization, has been using organized tours as one component of their activist strategy since 1989. Tours to destinations that are politically charged are used as a tactic to create a more politically aware and active citizen from an average person living in the United States. The ultimate goal of the tours is to promote change in the participant that will translate into an increased level

of activism around the international issue about which Global Exchange is attempting change.

This study is specifically aimed at determining whether tourism utilized in this manner can have a successful outcome for the organization employing it. I developed and distributed a survey questionnaire to Reality Tour participants from both the Cuba and Chiapas programs. Results reveal that the trips do promote an increased awareness of general news and world events and, to a lesser degree, serve to make the participant more politically active overall. However, this result is not equally applied to all participants. Those who indicate a previous awareness of the specific situation of their destination or a more general political knowledge are more likely to report that the Reality Tour inspired them to change. Also, I found that the Reality Tour participant differs greatly from the average US citizen in terms of education level, income, area of residence and occupation.

Advocacy Travel, Creating Social and Ideological Change:
A Comparison of Travelers to Cuba and Chiapas

by
Jana L. Donckers

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APPROVED:

Redacted for privacy

Major Professor, representing Applied Anthropology

Redacted for privacy

Chair of Department of Anthropology

Redacted for privacy

Dean of the Graduate School

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Jana L. Donckers, Author

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Advocacy Travel, Creating Social and Ideological Change: A Comparison of Travelers to Cuba and Chiapas

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Although acknowledged to have begun in the years following World War II, the phenomenon of mass tourism has become widely addressed by academic researchers only within the past three decades. This attention is due to the exponential growth of the industry and its significant impacts on the social, political and environmental systems of both the host and the guest communities. The inherent cross-disciplinary impacts of the tourism industry have attracted researchers from myriad academic concentrations, including anthropology, architecture, botany, business, leisure studies and marketing. Combined research originating in these fields has identified numerous negative effects that a typical mass tour has upon its host communities and their environments.

Alternative travel, which seeks to alleviate specific harmful impacts, has developed through the application of academic research. A specific nuance of alternative travel, termed *advocacy travel*, is the focus of this research. One tenet of the paradigm of alternative travel is that enhanced understanding and empathy is a by-product of cross-cultural tourism, but it is not understood whether this effect can be engineered. My research will determine whether an organized tour can be used as a tool to engage participants in a specific political or social issue and motivate them to actively pursue this cause. I will analyze the political and cultural effects, facilitated by advocacy travel, of the interactions between the guest and the host *upon the participants*. I will use anthropological theory and methodology, which will facilitate a balanced perspective. Political science research provides a theory of activism, links tourism to politics and introduces the concept of globalization. This background will contextualize the political milieu in which advocacy travel is operating.

Social scientists began evaluating the effects of mass tourism in the mid-1970's. Several books on the topic served to establish international tourism as an

inherently destructive force that ultimately can unravel the social systems of host countries. Ash and Turner (1976:288) conclude, "tourism is socially corrosive and should be controlled." The consensus opinion within academia held by early sociologists and leisure studies researchers was that by its nature tourism was harmful to host communities. This theory was dominant in the social science field at the time that anthropologists began to offer their insight into the topic.

Anthropologists began to research and writing about tourism as they saw the impacts trickling into their remote research sites. Beginning in the late 1970's anthropologists endeavored to document the changing relationship between the two main groups involved in travel. The first are the travelers themselves, termed "guests." The second are those who live in areas receiving tourists, called "hosts." Similar in methods and terms, this research confirmed earlier sociological studies condemning tourists as neocolonialists, in particular describing them as "the agent of contact between cultures and, directly or indirectly, the cause of change particularly in the less developed regions of the world" (Nash 1996:37). The idea of tourist as "neocolonialist" has become more widespread. Currently social activists and cultural conservationists use the term to describe any individual or business from an industrialized country with interests, economic or otherwise, in countries with developing economies.

As colonialism, whether intentionally or not, resulted in the destruction of myriad unique cultures, the tourist as neocolonialist has consequently been cast in the role as cultural annihilator. This has led to the application of acculturation theory to the analyses of tourism impacts. Dennison Nash (1989) has claimed that tourism is negative phenomenon perpetrated by rich metropolitan peoples on the poor and the Third World. The result is the crass commercialization, expansion of consumerism and global homogenization of cultures, called "cocacolaization" in popular literature. This causes irreversible culture change and loss. As with colonialism, host communities rarely agree to, approve of, or encourage mass tourism. Theron Nuñez has observed, "in the history of acculturation phenomena,

rarely has a community, a country, or a culture been a willing host but rather has had another people and aspects of another way of life foisted or forced upon them” (1989:267). Although cultural commodification and “cocacolaization” were the focus of anthropological criticism of tourism, further research enabled anthropologists to begin to recognize that there must also be positive effects of tourism on culture. Also, the idea that there are several factors that encourage cultural change and acculturation from high levels of tourism was only one.

Any activity that promotes cultural change will confront the values and interests of the various stakeholders involved and also involve issues of power within the decision-making process. Political scientists address the control of the power used to create and change policy in tourism. However, although international tourism unavoidably has political implications, political scientists have largely ignored researching tourism until relatively recently. The research that has been carried out focuses on the tourism policy-making process, the role of the state and the relationship between tourism and dependency. It does not, however, “address questions of power and values and instead examines tourism development issues...from a technical-rational or managerial perspective which excludes substantive questions of politics” (Hall 1994:19). Hall (1994) authored one of the first books focused primarily on the effects of politics on tourism in which he analyzed the impacts of revolution and terrorism on both tourism levels and the politics of tourism development. My research will continue to expand existing research on the political aspects of tourism by establishing tourism as a tool to facilitate and ultimately achieve political change.

Since 1989, Global Exchange, a human rights organization, has worked to “promote economic, political, environmental and social justice around the world by raising the awareness of the US public while building progressive, grassroots, international partnerships” (<http://www.globalexchange.org>). This does not illuminate much, however, except to note the organization’s practical focus. Like most advocacy groups in the Bay Area, Global Exchange, called GX by staff and

other activists, pursues actions that have roots in the theoretical assumptions of anthropology and political science. GX works to build global, international people-to-people ties at the grassroots level, believing them to be a more egalitarian way to facilitate cultural contact. GX pursues their goal through several program areas devoted to issues such as implementing a living wage, eliminating “sweatshops”, institutionalizing fair trade and encouraging the spread of democracy. The organization uses tourism as one of the strategies employed to promote and realize justice.

GX conducts “Reality Tours”, educational delegations centered upon a specific theme. They are designed to give participants insight into a particular political situation and the role of the United States and other non-profit groups in affecting, whether for good or bad, the future of the situation. The aim is to “activate” participants, making them more politically aware and active in their communities, churches and schools. By providing an opportunity for the average citizen to meet and have discussions with grassroots organizers and community leaders committed to a specific issue, GX “hope(s) to provide participants with the tools necessary to engage in issues of human rights, economic justice, peace and conflict, and sustainable development” (GX outreach letter, 10/12/00). Participants are encouraged to tell family and friends about what they learned on their trip and write letters to their Congressional Representatives promoting democracy, fair trade, fair wages and an end to the Cuban embargo. They are urged to attend events and rallies focused around the topic of their Reality Tour. They are also encouraged to donate money to both organizations working in their Reality Tour destination and to GX itself.

GX conducts these Reality Tours to several locations all over the world. As an intern with the Reality Tours--Latin America program from August through December 2000, I became familiar with the methodology of the trips to that part of the world. Additionally, I observed a strong support network of programs in the San Francisco office concerning both Cuba and Chiapas that serves to further GX's

political and social goals in Latin America. This network also assists returned Reality Tour participants with initiating their individual activist goals. The Cuba and Chiapas trips are long running, and activist networks in the countries are firmly established. For these reasons, I chose to concentrate this study on the trips to these two places, comparing the participants of the two destinations to each other.

GX's original and most popular Reality Tour is the delegation to Cuba. Each trip to Cuba is centered on a specific theme, such as medicine or baseball. A general "Cuba at the Crossroads" trip is also offered, usually two or three times each year. These trips serve as a basic introduction to daily Cuban life. A yearly trip entitled "In the Footsteps of Che" has a decidedly more political focus. I chose participants from this trip to be included in the study due to its similarity with the political emphasis of the Chiapas trip in order to facilitate the comparison.

Cuba trips occur approximately twice a month, each taking around 50 people to the island. Although a United States Department of Treasury ban prohibits US citizens from spending their money in Cuba, GX is permitted to conduct these trips through an educational permit obtained through the US Department of State. Staff readily acknowledges that the trips are most likely so popular primarily due to the fact that US citizens are restricted when visiting independently. Cuba trips are intended to show participants that despite economic and trade sanctions imposed on the country, Cuban socialism has created a resilient, healthy society that is not a threat to the world order.

Reality Tours conducted in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas educate delegates about the struggles of the indigenous and peasants within the framework of the Zapatista movement, NAFTA and "globalization." Additionally, they also function as part of an international observer network that serves to ensure protection of citizens from the Mexican government. Participants meet with several non-profit organizations that work with indigenous communities in San Cristóbal de las Casas and they also visit indigenous communities displaced by the Mexican government. When practical, as in the trip profiled in my study, a visit is also made to La Realidad.

This community in the lowland jungle of southern Chiapas is the headquarters of the Zapatistas, the rebel group whose 1994 armed uprising demanding land for impoverished workers garnered the attention of the world. Participants also attend lectures given at the GX--San Cristóbal headquarters by GX staff, activist organizers and community leaders. Lectures provide background information on the material poverty and exploitation of indigenous Chiapans and explain the significance of the San Andres Accords, which, if implemented, would grant an indigenous autonomy virtually unparalleled throughout the world.

In both Cuba and Chiapas, tourism is being employed as a strategy to further political goals. My research will define a new category of tourism, *advocacy travel*, which characterizes tourism as a force that can be manipulated to encourage and promote political change. In framing tourism in this way, historic forms of travel can also be seen as being undertaken to realize political or advocacy goals, giving advocacy travel temporal depth and historic precedent. My comparative literature review provides a theoretical basis for advocacy travel. The main objective of this study, though, is to determine whether tourism can be effectively applied as an activist strategy.

As previously mentioned, the idea of an organization employing international tourism to promote political or cultural change in the “host” country can be considered “neocolonialist.” Activists see neocolonialism, when the dominant culture forces itself uninvited on another culture to the detriment and destruction of the less powerful one, as a synonym of globalization. Globalization is simply the process in which barriers to international economic cooperation are being destroyed. The effects of globalization on more traditional societies can be both positive and negative, but are primarily seen as harmful by academics and activists alike. Globalization is increasingly blamed for the cultural destruction, more precisely termed cultural change, which is occurring among traditional societies. Globalization is an accepted paradigm for explaining cultural change in anthropological theory. Ironically, the worldwide attention given the Zapatista movement is due to the web

of communication linking isolated mountains in southern Mexico to the media headquarters in cities like New York and London that are made possible by globalization. Many argue that this communication is essential in the success of the Zapatista movement.

In terms of garnering international attention and support, the Zapatistas of southern Mexico have conducted one of the most successful indigenous rights movements. Emerging on the world stage on January 1, 1994, with a brief uprising, the Zapatistas succeeded in capturing and holding the attention of the Mexican government for, to date, over seven years. Their presence was a factor in the recent defeat of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), in power for the past 71 years. While campaigning, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) candidate Vicente Fox said that he could solve the Zapatista problem in 15 minutes. His attempts at resolving the situation have not so much focused on government-level negotiations, but on wresting the public opinion spotlight away from charismatic Zapatista spokesman Subcomandante Marcos, a mestizo ex-professor from Mexico City. The struggle has resembled a public relations contest with the media being the weapon of choice. The Zapatistas have practically mastered this method, keeping their local struggle on the world stage by obtaining the indispensable support of international human rights groups and their tourists who work in and visit San Cristóbal de las Casas, the cultural capital of the region.

The indigenous people themselves have also capitalized on these feelings of solidarity. Throughout the streets of San Cristóbal, women sell miniature Zapatista dolls and baklavas, the infamous black facemasks, to tourists from the industrialized world (Global North is GX's preferred terminology). Souvenir shops sell Zapatista postcards and Che Guevara t-shirts. In 1996, a delegation of 15 Italian tourists was permanently expelled from the country for encouraging revolutionary activity after walking through San Cristóbal wearing t-shirts expressing support for the Zapatista movement. Early in 2000, the Mexico Director of GX was not allowed in the

country. GX was accused of fostering “revolutionary tourism” by the Mexican government.

Although campaigning for democracy and basic human rights would appear to be innocuous, the situation must be reframed when international borders are crossed and citizens from one nation are encouraged to promote change in another. In this study, anthropological theory is reviewed to establish underlying motivations for tourism. Political theory offers insight into power relations inherent in touristic activity. Understanding globalization as originating in world systems theory aids in objective comprehension of the effects of the transnational spread of ideas and culture.

This case study will specifically examine tours led to Chiapas and Cuba, which are intended to facilitate international awareness, social activism and political change. I will determine the effectiveness of employing tourism as an agent of activism. Whereas alternative travel offers the hope of suspending further cultural erosion and environmental degradation, advocacy travel advances beyond this reactive framework by establishing both a proactive methodology for promoting social justice and a sustainable niche for tourism outside the for-profit industry. The success of this strategy will be measured not by political or social change in the host countries, but by the level of awareness and activism induced in the participants. Assessing the participants of each Reality Tour will serve to quantify the effects of the Reality Tour on the participant. This will prove useful to GX in compiling future delegations.

CHAPTER 2 THE ROLE OF GLOBAL EXCHANGE

INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

GX is one of several hundred Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), headquartered in the San Francisco Bay Area, that work on issues throughout the world. The organization was founded in 1988 with the goal of "promoting environmental, political, and social justice around the world." This is accomplished by "increasing global awareness among the US public while building international partnerships around the world" (<http://www.globalexchange.com>). Politically, GX can be described as being firmly on the left of domestic and international politics. The leftist or "green" leanings of the organization are indicated by the campaign to end World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programs, their opposition of free trade and neoliberal reforms and the protests against sweatshops and maquiladoras. GX is not a political organization per se, but politics and the political ideology of staff members are dominant shaping forces in determining program areas and the stance the organization takes on current human rights issues.

In its daily operations, GX forms partnerships through grassroots networking, aiming to link both individuals and other activist non-profits to each issue. They stage protests and public speaking events centered on the issue. And they work to publicize these "actions" in the national or international media. In a theoretical sense, GX works to frame localized struggles for fair wages, safe working conditions, human rights and democracy within the global context of rejection of the trend toward "globalization". GX has been instrumental in defining and advancing the growing transnational movement attempting to shift the values of international economic organizations. Before presenting results of this effort, specifically outcomes of the Reality Tours, I will define the organization, its struggles and its successes.

Structure

In the fall of 2000, GX was organized into six central program areas: 1. Global Economy and Corporate Accountability, 2. Campaigns (consisting of Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, Palestine and the United States), 3. Public Education, 4. Fair Trade, 5. Reality Tours, 6. Speakers Bureau. They had program support from a Media Outreach department and a Fundraising division. There is a director for each of the program areas and a few employees working in each section. GX relies heavily on unpaid intern and volunteer support in each program area. This is an advantage in terms of overhead costs for employees' salaries, but a disadvantage in terms of continuity of projects, because of the relatively short amount of time each intern spends at GX.

The high rate of staff turnover would also appear to be a disadvantage. The turnover is typical for most large NGO's. This is most likely a factor of the low pay offered, average for non-profits, but very low when compared to other jobs in the Bay Area. The staff also tends to be very young, with many employees right out of college. The age of employees is also undoubtedly a factor in the high turnover rate as younger employees return to school, leave to travel, or find other jobs.

The organization is non-hierarchical. Although each program area has a director to whom the employees are responsible, for the most part, employees determine their own tasks and work hours. Their tasks are organized and tracked through weekly program meetings within each department. Weekly staff meetings of all program areas serve to help define identity both within the organization and of the anti-globalization movement. During the fall of 2000, defining the organization itself was a priority topic.

Identity

A topic of ongoing concern addressed during the staff meetings is the need to find a “grand theory” of social activism for GX. The purpose of defining a theoretical basis for its activism is twofold. First, it would serve to solidify linkages between the several program areas. By doing this, they would be able to enhance each other’s outreach and networking and end the redundancy that comes from having independent programs. Second, it is assumed that establishing a framework to determine in which issues the organization should become involved is indispensable for the programs to be sustainable. It is thought that this will mitigate the effects of the high staff turnover rate and the tendency for the organization to become active around specific issues that are favored by individual staff members. Finding this theory has proved to be difficult. There is even internal debate about whether the organization should be described as a human rights organization, a social justice organization or an educational organization.

A well-publicized success of GX has been defining and bringing to international attention the anti-globalization movement which has coalesced in the worldwide activist scene following the protests at the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle. According to GX and other non-profit organizations, opposition to the negative economic results of the application of globalization must be in the form of grassroots organizing. GX’s mission to increase awareness of the US public to these negative results is achieved through forming *international* partnerships. However, this is made possible through global linkages such as the internet, media and the travel industry. This itself could be considered globalization.

In response, GX has developed nuanced distinctions within the umbrella of globalization. GX has identified the driving force behind the globalization that promotes economic disparity as international lending organizations (IMF, WB and WTO) and large US corporations. Protesting against and boycotting Nike, GAP, Starbucks and Chiquita, GX has distinguished their struggle to be against “*corporate*

globalization". GX, then, is working to promote the opposite of corporate globalization, what they have termed "*grassroots globalization*".

It is the identification and recognition of this distinction and its promotion on the activist stage that endows GX with an identity unique among activist organizations. But behind the scenes, on an individual staff-member level, the invention and reinforcement of identity plays an essential role. Each staff member is able to identify not only with a famous organization, but also with an ideology. Therefore the GX ideology becomes part of who the staff is and how they view themselves and their place in the world. This is important for young adults searching for a role in the world and is fundamental to the ongoing success of GX. Despite disadvantages such as high staff turnover and the fragmentation or discontinuity of the programs, GX remains a strong and influential organization due to the identification of its staff and volunteers with a broad goal.

All program areas excluding Reality Tours fill an obvious niche in its struggle, but the question of the role of the Reality Tours program area has been perpetual to the organization. Clarifying the forces against which GX is working does not help Reality Tours find a place. How can a program area, Reality Tours, whose director claims "fifty percent of our work has to be that which a travel agency does," effectively serve in the fight against corporate globalization (Everette de la Campa, 12/10/00)? Is using an alternative type of tourism an effective strategy in countering corporate globalization?

THEORY AND APPLICATION OF REALITY TOURS

My internship at GX was in the Reality Tours Department under the supervision of the Latin American Tours Coordinator. Before I arrived, we had communicated by email and telephone to establish my principal duties. These consisted of researching country data and compiling articles for posting on the GX website and producing a background reader for participants on the 2001 *Tierra y Libertad* Reality Tour to Chiapas, Mexico. In practice, however, I became much

more involved in the daily operations and support of GX, answering phone calls and email questions from potential participants, manning GX booths at public speaking engagements, and attending protests organized by various GX program areas and other Bay Area non-profits.

Having never worked at a NGO, I became aware that the GX's goals, to restructure the world economy and guarantee human rights for everyone, are virtually unattainable without support of the majority in economically dominant countries, of the Global North. Therefore, GX employs the strategies of networking, establishing working relationships with other groups that espouse similar goals, and outreach, getting the message to as many of the US public as possible. A typical day of work--talking on the phone, emailing, attending rallies in downtown San Francisco--serves to accomplish the outreach and networking required by the movement and also helps reinforce the activist identity in GX employees. Although I wondered if employees accomplished much during a typical workday, it soon became clear that the networking and outreach (phone calls and protest-attending) *were* their accomplishments.

According to the Reality Tours Coordinator, the Reality Tours Department has traditionally had difficulty establishing links with other program areas. To help heal this division, destinations for tours are not picked randomly, but must be supported by a program area or campaign managed by the San Francisco office. For example, although each Cuba Reality Tour is varied in topic, they are all aimed at gathering public support to end the US blockade of Cuba. It is believed that providing US citizens with a first-hand experience of the realities and successes of daily life in Cuba will help achieve the popular support necessary for ending the embargo. Some topics do not appear to be related to politics or the embargo at all, but they work on the level at which they are intended.

Something like sports or cultural festivals, film festivals, they don't sound political at all. But they're meant to introduce people and educate people through the door of cultural or through the door of

sports to the reality of the country. And again the purpose is the same, to humanize Cubans and connect people in similar backgrounds or hobbies (Everette de la Campa, 12/10/00).

GX has learned that the easiest way to introduce the average citizen of the United States to the politics of GX and their Cuba program is through an already established interest held by the participants.

The tours are supported by the Cuba Campaign, which consists of several branches--sustainable development, freedom to travel and food and medicine. Each of these campaigns provide options and support for returning Reality Tour participants who are encouraged to work to further the goals of the Cuba campaign. However, many participants, especially those who may have gone to Cuba just to play baseball or watch films, may not realize the goals and purpose of their trip. Theoretically, this misinterpretation is what the Cuba support staff is there to dispel. The Cuba program promotes a subtle encouragement to action by use of "Welcome Back" packets. These packets contain suggestions for future action, making phone calls to returned participants and providing evaluation forms in which participants can indicate the actions they are likely to take in the future.

Reality Tours to Chiapas are much more focused directly on the movement for democracy in Mexico. They are part of the GX-Mexico campaign whose purpose, according to the then-director, is "to provide support for the human rights movement in Mexico and the civic movement in Mexico" (Lewis 12/11/00). Conflicts between the Mexico department and Reality Tour department emerged at GX immediately following the Zapatista uprising. The Reality Tours department found success attracting participants by promoting the trips as an opportunity to commune with the rebels. However, it was essential for credibility of the Mexico program to remain a subtle presence and not draw the attention of the Mexican government, who was eagerly and swiftly expelling any foreigners accused of "revolutionary" activities. The Mexico program director had been working to establish, both within the San Francisco activist community and in Mexico, the fact that

(Global Exchange) is not an organization that supports the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. We are an organization that supports the expansion of democracy in Mexico, supports the development of human rights and supports the organizations that are working toward those ends in Mexico. That's our role (Lewis 12/11/00).

The Chiapas Reality Tour serves as the first of three very concrete steps in the Mexico Program's stated mission of seeking to support Mexico's democratic movement through public education in the US concerning the realities of Mexico and the subsequent need for change in US trade and military policy toward Mexico. The Reality Tour is designed for those at a very basic level of international experience and understanding, that is, the vast majority of the US public. "They don't have to speak Spanish, they're given a kind of color-by-number approach to figuring out the politics of the situation. They get their hands held through the whole thing and they're completely taken care of" (Lewis 12/11/00). Many of the short- and long-term volunteers in the region are required to go on a Reality Tour first.

For the next level, the short-term volunteer, a participant with Spanish fluency and international experience can be placed as a witness in an indigenous community in order to provide an international presence and document any human rights abuses. Long-term volunteers, the third step, are the "sinews" of the whole operation. They reside in communities for at least six months and serve as researchers in a sense, talking to people from all organizations working in the area in addition to the indigenous and peasants. They are expected to understand the complexities of the situation and the role of the numerous non-profits working in the area. This information is used by GX to formulate and direct its policy concerning Chiapas. In a sense then, the Reality Tour is the foundation upon which the entire Mexico Program is based. The then-director of the program claimed "in terms of activism...the Reality Tours are important because it means that almost anyone can get in at an initial step" (Lewis, 12/11/00). This is true for the Reality Tour, but the strong work, requiring anywhere from six weeks to six months or more

can only be done by those with a very flexible schedule, ample time off or no job and no pressing responsibilities at home. Theoretically, this could include students, wealthy people and retirees. But students are by far the most utilized by GX.

Appealing to students or young adults is in accordance with the theory of political activism. The Director of Reality Tours maintains

it is vital that we get students to go. I think when you impact people when they're very young, you impact an entire life and that has a huge rippling out effect. It is also because you enable them--they're the ones with the idealism and they have some extra time on their hands (Everette de la Campa, 12/10/00).

This idea echoes the original reason for the development of Reality Tours. One of the co-founders of GX asserts that "the idea for Reality Tours was inspired because of our (the other two co-founders) travel experiences, living abroad and becoming more committed to the friends we made based on that personal experience" (Moeller, 12/17/00). Although there is currently no mechanism in place to allow GX to track the results of participating on a Reality Tour, the program operates under the assumption (based on personal experience of the staff) that travel politicizes people.

There is anecdotal evidence that appears to confirm this theory. The Mexico program sees long-term benefits from the Reality Tours, even though there are immediate drawbacks. The GX-Mexico staff that work in Mexico are required to take time from their work to provide logistical support, direction and education twice each year for the Reality Tour. However, "many of the people who have been on those tours have subsequently donated money or material supplies to those communities because they're moved by the conditions in the communities and the struggle that people are having" (Lewis 12/11/00). In addition to material and financial support, returned Reality Tour participants can serve to give legitimacy to the organization. Typically, an activist organization would have a staff member who is politically active concerning a particular issue give a public lecture about a topic.

But GX can arrange a public speaking engagement with “ordinary” or “regular” citizens who have just returned from an area of conflict or severe poverty. This can appeal to the general public on a different level. Those within the organization have conceptualized tourism as being a viable mechanism in their struggle for social justice. Local struggles from all over the world can be brought to the attention of average citizens in the US.

As tourism is framed by GX as an activist strategy and not a mass leisure activity, the organization must work to both recruit participants and encourage their activism upon returning. The outreach I undertook for the Chiapas trip was aimed at university professors and students. I compiled packets containing background information on the concept of Reality Tours, dates and locations of tours for 2001, information about the fair trade movement and GX’s Fair Trade program in Latin American and the Caribbean. I mailed these packets to all Latin American Studies Departments in universities in the United States and a few in England and Canada. I also used email as a strategy to contact past participants and individuals who had expressed interest in a Reality Tour to inform them of specific dates of upcoming trips.

Partial scholarships for Reality Tours are offered, primarily to students. For tours to Latin America, the amount depends on the number of people registered for each delegation. Scholarship recipients must supply several references, prove a background and interest in the topic and explain how participation will help in their planned career or future activism. Students are targeted for the scholarships as they are seen the most likely to be profoundly affected and translate this passion into activism.

Reality Tours are managed and applied by staff with the conviction that they are shaping future activists. A program area with specific goals supports each Cuba and Mexico Reality Tour. Established networks are in place in order to utilize returned Reality Tour participants. This support is inherent to the concept of advocacy travel.

As previously mentioned, my pre-assigned duties as a Reality Tours-Latin America intern were to research background chronological, political and social information on Costa Rica and Nicaragua for inclusion on the GX website and to compile articles for the background reader on Chiapas. For the *Tierra y Libertad* 2001 trip, the reader was designed to provide participants with a background into the history and politics of the region. The 2000 reader served as a guide for the 2001 reader. I added articles compiled over the year by Reality Tours and Mexico program staff. The reader contained copies of the first four official communiques issued by the Zapatistas shortly after the initial uprising in 1994. Also included were general journalistic accounts (from the New York Times and *La Jornada*) of the activities of the Mexican army and paramilitary against indigenous supporters of the movement, specific reports of the 1997 massacre at Acteal, academic articles concerning the effects of globalization, NAFTA and other neoliberal reform on the lives of indigenous and peasants and a translated firsthand account of the arrest of an innocent indigenous man by the Army.

I never felt that any information included in the reader was false, or even misleading, but there was a palpable agenda. I felt that we were operating in milieu of struggle, of trying to convince whoever would listen that supporting the Zapatista movement against the Mexican government was the moral and philosophically correct position to hold. This is true from the standpoint of an activist organization, but not objective if the name *reality* tour and its slogan, “travel with us and see what’s really happening” are to be taken literally. GX must compensate for the dominance of the mass media and its role in shaping the mainstream pro-government, free trade view, but the reality portrayed is more a true picture of how an activist organization operates than the reality of the situation in Chiapas.

No matter how impartial GX attempts to be in Mexico, any activist organization operating with an agenda draws the attention and suspicion of the government that it is working to change. When the Reality Tours Department initially began operating in southern Mexico, a firm direction for the program had

not yet been established. Originally pursuing a development agenda, the organization quickly drew opposition from the government. According to the Mexico Director, in the wake of the December 1997 Acteal massacre the Mexican government began increasing military presence in Chiapas to threaten the Zapatistas and intimidate international witnesses. Officially, the government appeared to be opening up slightly when it began issuing a new type of visa under which international visitors could stay a few more weeks. But in reality they were exerting pressure on international organizations and expelling a few frequent visitors and outspoken campaigners.

Because of their consistent presence and visibility in Mexico, GX was targeted in the Mexican government's media campaign against what it termed "revolutionary tourism." The government was ascribing to GX the role of inciting and propagating the revolution and using tourism as a means to further agitate the situation. According to GX, this is patently false as they "are not an organization that supports the Zapatista Army of National Liberation." However, they do support the platform of indigenous and peasant rights espoused by the Zapatistas if not the Zapatista methodology. It is a fine line, but a distinct one. The advocacy travel practiced by GX is about understanding the role of international aid organizations in post-uprising Chiapas and the results of the rebellion and subsequent government response on the lives of the citizens. Inspiring or further instigating conflict is the antithesis of the Reality Tour's purpose.

Ironically, in Cuba, there has been little political scandal involved with skirting, albeit legally, the US travel restriction to Cuba. Perhaps because delegations are more frequent, topics more varied and they tend to (anecdotally) be composed of less politically minded participants, the Cuban government has expressed no feeling of threat from having groups of US citizens meet with labor organizers and grassroots cooperatives. More likely, though, it is a result of the goal of the Cuban program being a change in US policy, while the Mexican program works human rights *within Mexico*. However, the advocacy travel practiced by GX is aimed at

getting the traveler to act in his own country, which should therefore not be a credible threat to any host country's government.

Both programs emphasize and encourage participant action with a welcome back packet upon return home from the Reality Tour. Packets consist of contact information for fellow participants, a list of suggestions for action they can take at home, a schedule of upcoming Reality Tours and upcoming actions organized by GX. There is also an evaluation form where participants can make suggestions. About 50% of these forms are returned (Everette de la Campa 12/10/00). These are not used in any formal way to design new tours, but simply as anecdotal suggestions. Follow-up for both trips is important and as the Chiapas tour is much smaller and less frequent, all participants receive a follow-up call from their coordinator. The volume of both participants and staff in the Cuba program make individual follow-up difficult. "The difference is with personnel shifts and personality shifts, the follow-up in terms of this program reaping and making connections with the people that go on the tour isn't happening" (Everette de la Campa 12/10/00). Although it is questionable whether participants are motivated to take action on their own, the Reality Tour does provide a powerful, intense experience that is not easily forgotten.

CHAPTER 3 THE HISTORY OF TRAVEL AND TOURISM: THROUGH A POLITICAL LENS

HISTORY OF TRAVEL

This chapter is a review of anthropological research into the origins and meanings of tourism. Specifically, I trace the rise of mass tourism and juxtapose this with historical, cultural and political impacts on host and guest communities. I show tourism to be frequently framed by anthropologists as a “rite of passage.” GX’s Reality Tours are based on this idea: travel should be a seminal experience in the life of the participant. However, anthropologists have identified harmful cultural impacts of this staged rite of passage as well as offering more sustainable alternatives. In this chapter, I summarize and critique each form of alternative tourism, contrasting it with advocacy travel and argue that the several fragmented classifications can all be consolidated in the definition of advocacy travel.

Although the mass tourism industry and subsequent acknowledgement of the phenomenon by academic researchers has grown exponentially within the past two decades, the origins of tourism and travel are much older. Louis Turner and John Ash chronicled the prehistory of mass tourism in their 1976 book *The Golden Hordes*. Their working definition of tourism is based on the idea that “tourism and touristic attitudes are closely allied to the pursuit of the ‘exotic’ and its obverse” (1976:19). Although they briefly chronicle travel by Greeks, the point is made that this type of travel does not resemble modern tourism as past motivations were for commercial, religious or for sporting events. They “were in no sense attempts to escape from social realities” (1976:20). These travels were in no immediate sense political, either. I conclude then, that although modern mass tourism, by definition, must be for escape, not all modern travel serves that same purpose.

The activity most closely related in motivation and methodology to modern mass tourism is the Grand Tour, which was undertaken by privileged Europeans during the Renaissance. The Grand Tour was an educational trip where the

wealthy and educated, of states whose position of dominance in the world (was) comparatively new, visit countries that have passed their peak of prestige and creativity but are still venerated for historic and cultural reasons (Ash and Turner 1976:29).

Specifically, British and French elite would tour Greece and Italy. This type of travel is similar to two of the modern day incarnations of alternative travel. Cultural tourism is aimed at transmitting cultural knowledge from one society to another. Educational travel describes a travel experience that is used to complete or enhance education. The Grand Tour encompassed both of these goals and was also political in a sense, as it served to facilitate Anglo-Italian diplomatic relations.

Travel as simple migration from place to place can be traced back to the origins of civilization. Throughout history, humans have traveled to hunt and gather food, trade, battle, play games and out of pure curiosity. As population levels grew, travel became necessary to secure sufficient resources and spread religion. It was the rise of the “work life,” brought by the Industrial Revolution that created a space for a contrasting industry, travel for pleasure and escape, to arise. The idea of tourism or travel for pleasure could only exist in context with its opposite, work. Later, beginning after WWII, the reduction of the workday gave Europeans and those from the United States the time to travel. The emergence of the “holiday” or “vacation” did not signal the end of travel for ideological or political reasons. In fact, travel for these reasons can be traced back a thousand years.

I argue that the Crusades represent the beginning of mass travel, and also the first experience organized to promote change to the social order, which was in this case, religious affiliation. The Crusades were a series of Christian military expeditions, taking place between the 11th and 13th centuries that represented an effort to reclaim the Holy Land from the Muslims. Muslims were considered infidels and were seen as a threat to both Christianity in the East and the “peace of God” at home. One hundred thousand people undertook the first crusade from Europe in the Holy Land in 1096. The idea espoused by Pope Urban II was that the more

people who traveled, the more successful the mission would be. Peasants were appealed to on a personal level and told that each person's individual assistance was necessary to further advance peace, justice and righteousness in the world. These missions can be framed as an organized attempt at employing the tourism or travel in order to achieve a goal of inducing cultural or religious change. They also fit the definition of missionary travel--travel in order to promote a way of thought or religious belief.

The modern era of mass tourism has been facilitated by the technological advances of the 20th century. The train, the car and the airplane are indispensable and integral components of how we travel. Modernism ushered in the *technical* vehicles (both literally and figuratively) for travel and mobility, but mass tourism could only begin with the *social* organization of travel. "As important as new transportation technologies have been, it is organizational innovations which have...ensured that the new technologies have been economically successful and culturally emblematic of the modern world" (Lash and Urry 1994:253). Concomitant with the emergence of the production of goods and services that characterize western capitalism came the organizational social structure necessary to facilitate their distribution.

Thomas Cook (now associated with traveler's checks) is inarguably the father of the organization of mass travel, a man who "generated a mass movement of human beings which dwarfs the great migrations of the past and sustains the largest industry in the world" (Brendan 1991:3). He organized what is now considered to be the first "excursion." A train trip took 570 travelers from Leicester to Loughborough in 1841 at a specially reduced fare. This was the first of a several excursions organized by Cook and the beginning of an era. Cook, a Baptist preacher and teetotaler, did not organize the excursions for overtly political means, but their underlying purpose qualifies them as a forerunner for advocacy travel. The 1841 journey was undertaken in order to increase attendance at a temperance meeting. Certainly, Cook believed his goal of educating all people on the evils of alcohol

would be more easily achieved if more citizens were able to attend the yearly meetings and subsequently tell of their experience and revelations. Cook went on to organize sightseeing excursions by rail and steamer to engage in activities such as climbing Mt. Snowdon and trekking in the Lake District, the Isle of Man and Ireland. In 1848, Cook also initiated the first tour of a 'stately home' when the Duke of Rutland opened Belvoir Castle to his excursionists. In this sense, Cook could also be seen as the father of adventure travel and cultural tourism as well.

The pioneer of mass travel, adventure travel, cultural tourism, and perhaps advocacy travel, did not stop there. "He saw 'excursionism' as an agent of democratisation, and in 1861 he demonstrated the sincerity of his democratic principles by organising an excursion of 1,500 to 1,600 people to support a working men's demonstration in Paris" (Turner and Ash, 1976:53). This was an amazing display of solidarity tourism, bringing over a thousand men to support a union strike.

The origins of missionary and solidarity travel can be considered to be simultaneous with the beginning of mass travel, which developed in the mid-nineteenth century. The need for an organized tourism industry was created and it began soon after. Cook's movement of travel for the masses had other important social effects, including an intermingling of social classes and "facilitation of the travel of large numbers of women in Victorian Britain...his (Cook's) company often enabled single women to travel unchaperoned" (Lash and Urry 1994:263). These ideas spread across the Atlantic and found root in the decadent twenties in the United States. This era saw unparalleled growth throughout the world in resort travel to Caribbean and Mediterranean resorts. Travel for leisure or relaxation had originated with the Greeks and undergone a second revival at the end of the Grand Tour era with English baths, French spas and German badens. From the mid-nineteenth century to the start of World War I in Europe, Europeans began to visit the French Riviera and the Italian Riviera. After the war, though, things changed in Europe, mainly due to the rise of the Americans.

“The nouveaux riches of the new world need no longer feel inferior or gauche before an old world of superior culture and refinement” (Turner and Ash 1976:72). Americans headed to the continent in droves; popular literary and artistic figures such as F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein, Cole Porter, Gerald Murphy and Frank Jay Gould established Europe as their summer resort and playground. This idea extended to the new world, as peripheral resorts in Florida, Cuba and Mexico echoed in style and intent the European summer resorts. This marked the beginning of mass tourism to Cuba and Mexico.

World War II offered a brief respite in tourism development, but after the war it returned with an even greater emphasis and intent. The war came to represent a universal loss of innocence that the tourism industry worked to recapture.

The tourist is the centre of his strictly circumscribed world. The package tourist...is surrounded by surrogate parents; the travel agent, the courier, the guide, the hotel manager and his service staff all relieve the tourist of responsibility and protect him from harsh reality (Turner and Ash 1976:90).

Regulating the “vacation” was taken even further by holiday organizers in Britain. Holidays were based on a week-long time frame. “Visitors were informed when they were to eat, what they would eat and exactly when they could use different facilities” (Lash and Urry 1994:267). According to Turner and Ash, the desire, or even necessity, for this type of escapism is due to the industrial shift that occurred in the industrialized countries in the twentieth century when it became necessary to engage in socially functional labor that “provides little opportunity for individual expression, or the gratification of essential desires” (Turner and Ash 1976:90). The escape from pressing responsibilities is perhaps vital for the worker to reconcile his work life with his fantasy life, and the fewer details that need to be considered during the trip, the more successful the vacation can be.

Mass tourism as we recognize it today was also a product of World War II. The twentieth century saw the technological advancements (jet airliners and

computers) and infrastructure developments that have allowed a true mass travel industry to develop. Smith explains, “the technical innovations which helped to win that war also spawned peace-time airborne international tourism and the awareness that freedom to travel is a human right” (Smith 1989:202). The organized tours of the twenties and thirties took place on trains, boats and private automobiles. The airplane changed not only how people traveled, but also exponentially expanded destination choices. Myriad choices inevitably brought competition among vacation destinations. Even in the fifties tourists were searching for the 4S’s- sun, sea, sand and sex- as part of their escapism, such as in Cuba and Mexico. Advertising these attributes was essential for destinations. This was not always enough. Destinations had to project a happy image. It was no longer sufficient to merely have tourism facilities. The infrastructure, staff and service had to be of superior quality. Political problems were played down and opportunities for interactions with “happy natives” were played up.

It was the physical nature of the mass tourism industry that allowed tourists and those in the industry to ignore (either purposefully or simply due to a lack of awareness) the effects of tourism on local populations. Mass travel takes tourists to one of two destination types. They can go to places where culture is viewed as relatively similar, such as Americans traveling to Europe. Travelers from the Global North also visit “exotic” destinations like the Caribbean, Bali or Tahiti. In the latter case, they typically are kept on resorts where their effects on local residents, who tend to live in poverty a few miles away, are difficult to readily observe.

The industry continued to grow in the guest countries to the point that by the late twentieth century, those from the Global North viewed the annual vacation as a right. By the late 1980’s and 1990’s, the tourism industry was competing with oil to be the world’s largest industry. The increase in social science research brought awareness that it wasn’t entirely a “smokeless” industry as predicted earlier in the century. Although the origins of mass travel had political and advocacy overtones,

throughout the early and mid-twentieth century the industry developed primarily and simply for pleasure and escape.

Nearly all Americans and Europeans took vacations or holiday in the late twentieth century and researchers became more aware of the phenomenon. Anthropologists were in the unique position to define and study both the industry and the traveler. Following the comparative tradition of anthropology allows analysis of the concept of tourism both culturally and historically. Cultural and historical analyses can both be used to delineate the concept of "tourist" within an anthropological framework. The most established and accepted definition identifies a tourist as "a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith 1989:1). A cross-cultural perspective, comparing tourists and their motivations in several different societies, helped to develop the classification of the tourist as a type of "pilgrim." Historical comparisons characterized tourism as "play" or recreation and focused on those cultures that received, provided for and are surrounded by the play of wealthier guests.

Anthropologists have either described the ways in which tourism is used as a symbolic means of expressing and maintaining human identity, or they have social, political, economic and environmental effects that result from using touristic modes of production to maintain human life (Lett 1989:277).

The maintenance of human identity can be analyzed from a historical perspective, while the maintenance of human life is a cultural phenomenon.

Anthropologists conceptualizing the tourist as pilgrim are concerned with the maintenance of human identity. This manifests itself in studying and describing the nature of and the patterns within tourism itself. Thus, research concentrates around "exploring the culturally defined meaning that the experience of tourism holds for the tourist and those he or she encounters" (Lett 1989:267). There is a long history of structural examination of events in anthropology, including Durkheim's claim that simple forms of religion were rituals performed to celebrate society itself and that the

rituals exhibited “effervescence, pleasure, games...all that recreates the spirit that has been fatigued by the too great slavishness of daily work” (Durkheim in McGee and Warms 1996:426). Thus, life is understood as a pattern of extended states of normality (work life), broken up by brief stages of liminality (vacation).

Similar to those from more traditional societies who periodically visit holy sites as a “rite of passage,” the human identity approach to tourism “emphasizes the motivations and rewards for the tourist, viewing both tourism and holidays as kinds of ritual time-out from ordinary life in the same way that religious rituals- holy days- are in more religious cultures” (Seymour-Smith 1986:124). In Western societies, the life of the pilgrim tourist operates on a cycle of intense work activity (normality) punctuated by short periods of excitement and renewal (liminality). According to Nelson H.H. Graburn, these short periods are “religious” in traditional societies (India, Saudi Arabia, Israel) while secular themes such as nature, health or freedom dominate in more technologically based societies (Graburn 1983:22-23).

The idea of travel as a “rite of passage” has emerged in the late 20th century, paralleling the popularity of study abroad semesters and summers for university students. Living with a family or participating in social service projects in another country is increasingly viewed as integral to the completion of a students’ education. It is also presumed that students will experience great personal growth during the travel. Travelers may become more aware of and sensitive to problems of others and idealistic young adults could be motivated to improve these conditions.

This is the idea behind GX’s Reality Tours. A Reality Tour framed as a right-of-passage is a concerted attempt to create change in the participants. The tour is intended to be a life-changing experience, complete with a debriefing at the end. GX emphasizes the unique educational opportunity the tours offer. They follow-up after the trip by offering suggestions to help participants “further the cause.” The “passage” is intended to be a rite that changes the person.

Conceptualizing tourism as play reduces it to a cultural component. Each component of culture has an impact on host communities’ social, economic and

cultural systems. Anthropologists have exhaustively researched these effects. An inquiry into the maintenance of human life attempts to describe the nature of the host-guest relationship in tourism and “assess...the range of empirical effects that tourism has upon the sociocultural systems of host societies” (Lett 1989:276). The guest in this study is the individual advocacy traveler. The type of mass tourism envisioned by anthropologists creates a different context for the traveler than advocacy tourism, or even the more encompassing concept of alternative travel.

DEFINING ADVOCACY TRAVEL

Alternative travel represents an attempt to mitigate the cultural destruction brought by mass tourism. It developed in the 1990's as a direct result of the observations of environmentalists that tourism was destroying the physical environment and natural systems of various species. Alternative travel includes niches such as ecotourism, heritage tourism and cultural tourism. The first attempts at ecotourism were aimed at environmental preservation. Culture and natural environments were used as marketing tools for the vertically integrated travel industry.

The concept of cultural tourism that emerged from the alternative travel movement during the 1990's was a result of the realization that traditional mass travel was economically and culturally destructive to host societies. According to Lash and Urry, alternative tourism has several emphases:

on values of self-determination, authenticity, social harmony and preservation of the existing environment; on a fairer partnership between local people and entrepreneurs *and* outside agencies; on a smaller scale of development and greater use of local techniques, materials, architectural styles and skills; and on giving back to the area facilities, resources and quality of the environment from the rewards which the tourism will generate (1994:274-275).

Currently, ecotourism, educational travel and heritage tourism are the most popular with travelers, marketers and social scientists. These accomplish Lash and Urry's goals with varying degrees of success.

Defining the niche for alternative travel based on politics is more difficult. Lack of specific research into the topic has created a more nebulous area of investigation. An inquiry into any type of travel containing a political theme yields several classifications that can be seen as forerunners of advocacy travel. The following are descriptions of types of travel or tours that were found during my literature review while developing the background for advocacy travel.

Perhaps the most established niche of alternative travel is *peace tourism*. The concept of tourism as force for peace emerged after WWII. In 1986, the not-for-profit organization International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT) was founded by a Canadian in Vermont. The organization sees tourism as the first "global peace industry" and is

dedicated to fostering tourism initiatives which contribute to international understanding and cooperation, an improved quality of environment- both built and natural, the preservation of heritage and through these initiatives, helping to bring about a peaceful and sustainable world (<http://www.iipt.org> 2001).

Peace tourism is not a characterization of a specific type of tour, however. It more accurately establishes a purpose or goal for travel beyond relaxation and escapism.

Travel motivated by political situations or goals has been classified using several other terms. The concept of using travel to promote peace originated at the end of WWII just as the development of infrastructure and increase in leisure time began to technically enable the birth of the mass tourism industry.

In reaction to the horrors of World War II (especially the nuclear bombs), mass tourism was promoted as the means to greater global understanding, the reduction of conflict, and the creation of a lasting world peace. By visiting other places and cultures, people could 'see

for themselves' that what unites us as human beings is much stronger than what divides us (Lisle 1993:94).

The emerging idea was to introduce people to the various cultures and ways of life around the globe, to encourage them to understand that we are all connected and that their actions resonate around the world. These "global understandings" could only about when people are personally exposed to people of other cultures during their travels. This is a critical shortfall of modern mass tourism.

Ideas and opinions of the "other" are constructed from within, behind political walls or artificial borders. "World history provides many examples of how closed societies are prone to suspicion, hostility, and armed conflict" (D'Amore 1992:37). Therefore, any attempt at peace through tourism must remove tourists from their protective, responsibility-free bubble and place them in a situation in which they are able to have authentic interactions with local residents. My literature search revealed that the term *peace tourism* has been applied generally in an attempt to characterize the tourism industry and more specific terms focusing directly on conflict have been developed as tourism has been studied in greater depth.

The term *political tourism* was found to have myriad definitions and applications in both academic and popular literature. The phrase originated in mid-to-late twentieth century Europe, when it was used to describe travelers, predominately from England who would venture to the socialist "utopias" of Eastern Europe and Cuba in an attempt at solidarity.

For years, thousands of Brit lefties went every year to a different part of the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. Some came back with glowing tales of life in advertising-free societies with comprehensive welfare states and peace-loving foreign policies (Bennett 1994:53).

More recently, *political tourism* has been used to describe any type of travel to political hotspots, countries that are considered dangerous due to violent war-like or foreign policy situations or have tyrannical and oppressive totalitarian governments. Trips to

places such as Grenada, Nicaragua, Cuba, Israel, Russia and China have all been depicted as political tours in the past twenty years.

An example, anthropologist Richard Clarke places his research on community self-presentation in Hebron against a backdrop of his definition of political tourism. He defines tours in the region as being used by both the Palestinians and the Israelis to construct their identity. Both sides of the conflict conduct tours highlighting cultural and political monuments designed to evoke sympathy and support for their cause, thus typifying a political tour. Clarke reports that a Palestinian tour guide in Hebron began his enterprise in order to “show tourists an alternative view of the Palestinian situation from the archetypal ‘Holy Land’ tour of Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Galilee” (Clarke 1999:13). These tours include visits to Palestine refugee camps and other places which characterize the present Palestinian political situation. The Jewish Community advertises their tour showing “the reality” of everyday life in a Jewish community in Hebron, which is “explicitly designed as promotions for the cause of the Jewish Community” (Clarke 1999:13).

Clarke argues that he encountered these tours as part of his research on peace tourism, which he defines as tours for Israeli visitors to the West Bank and Gaza. Therefore, he differentiates peace tourism and political tourism, not by the destination, but by the goals of the tour. Seeking to represent or portray an identity and gain support for a political cause is political tourism. Peace tourism promotes a greater understanding of average people whose life is affected by violence and war. Advocates of peace tourism hope that it will encourage peace through interactions between tourists and people in the area.

After analyzing the accounts of the Israeli and Palestinian tours, however, I argue that they should be classified as *advocacy travel*. Both the Israeli and Palestinian tours are conducted in the same geographic space, but each guide points out different “significant” buildings and chooses which version of history to interpret for their audience. “The tours inhabit the same *space*, however, they present very

different *places*” (Clarke 1999:17). The place is the side of the conflict that each guide’s ideology and beliefs establish him. According to Clarke, both guides present a slanted, one-sided perspective of the conflict.

Clarke’s research examines this “framing” of identity and what each tour presents to its participants. Both tour guides portray their reality of the situation. The display of what is considered to be the truth of the plight is important because by presenting the reality of the political situation, tour guides in Hebron are encouraging those who have now seen the situation firsthand to share their experiences with family and friends and to create a greater population in solidarity with those in the Middle East. As this the position of an advocate, the classification of the tour as advocacy travel as opposed to political tourism better specifies the nature and objectives of the tour.

Advocacy travel centered on Israel is been long-established and is perhaps the most recognized. Jewish teenagers are routinely sponsored by a Jewish organization to visit Israel. These organizations frequently offer scholarships and funding to students to spend a summer traveling around Israel visiting holy sites or living in a kibbutz. Like Clarke’s experience undertaking short, day tours in Hebron, these trips are intended to introduce Jewish-American teenagers to the ‘reality’ of everyday life in Israel. Financially sponsoring thousands of teenagers a year indicates these organizations, both religious and secular, recognize the benefits of indoctrinating these children in their rhetoric of the conflict. Future payoffs include potential monetary donations to their organizations and increased involvement by American citizens in Israel’s daily or political life.

The practice of political tourism has not gone unnoticed by the popular media, where it has been interpreted differently. Journalist John O’Sullivan claims that the term *political tourism* is an oxymoron, but at the same time he advocates for Grenada as a destination for the political tourist, citing the fact that it was “the first Communist domino to fall in the Cold War” and that “locals (have) stories to tell of how Reagan saved them” (O’Sullivan 1998:57). Political tourism, then, can also take

on an historical angle, with destinations selected for their politically significant history, not the current political situation or struggle.

The term *guerilla tourism* appears in scattered journalistic accounts of tourism to specific violent areas where guerilla activity is popular and has not, of yet, made an appearance in the academic arena. The term appears not to be categorizing a specific form of organized travel, but attempts at understanding guerilla movements around the world. Author and journalist Tina Rosenberg classifies her week spent with the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) guerillas in Peru as guerilla tourism. Spending a week with the guerillas was an authentic experience aimed at promoting understanding of a differing culture or worldview through a “real” experience.

Journalist Mike Theodoulou defined the term slightly differently in 1996 by characterizing the attempts of the Hizbullah (local spelling) guerilla organization to encourage tourism in Lebanon as guerilla tourism. The group had joined with the Lebanese Tourism Ministry to promote tourism at the Roman ruin at Baalbek, which was a stronghold of the guerillas in the mid-1980’s. Again, the attempt appears to be aimed at increased cultural understanding through interpersonal exchange. Although it is conceivable that profit was a motivating factor for the guerillas, Theodoulou did not indicate this. He writes that his guide claimed, “Hizbullah are not monsters; they don’t eat foreigners like your newspapers write” (Theodoulou 1996:7). As Hizbullah watched political events conspire to end the group’s hope of establishing an Islamic state in Lebanon, the group itself was characterized as violent extremists on the world stage. Hizbullah turned to tourism to bolster its image. Although there was no measurable impact on a political level, this represents a case of a group using travel to present their reality and to advocate their political position.

Another specific type of tour coined and described by Giovanna Di Chiro is *toxic tourism*. She describes a tour in Newtown, Georgia, where participants visit a poor, minority area that also has high rates of throat and mouth cancer, lupus and respiratory disease. Di Chiro frames this tour as part of the environmental justice movement. It was organized by “activists to provide unassailable physical evidence

that Newtown residents are suffering from a disproportionate impact of hazardous pollutants” (Di Chiro 2000:276). The fact that the tour is “providing the opportunity for this firsthand, or ‘authentic’ experience of environmental injustice partly underlies (the activists) use of toxic tourism in their strategy for social and environmental change” (Di Chiro 2000:283). The social and environmental reversal desired by the tours’ organizers can only take place with political actions, laws and amendments and is therefore rooted in the use of the tours to promote political change. In fact, GX’s California Reality Tours, which focus on agricultural pesticide use and maquiladoras at the Mexican border, are one model of Di Chiro’s toxic tourism.

Instead of focusing on the political changes encouraged by “toxic tourism,” Di Chiro chooses to concentrate her study on the more immediate environmental focus of the tour and attempts to place it within the context of ecotourism, further complicating the scope of the term. The widely accepted definition of “ecotourism” is that ecotourism is “socially responsible travel that conserves the environment while preserving the welfare of the local people” (International Ecotourism Society 2001). However, Di Chiro recognizes that the aim of the toxic tours differ from that of ecotourism, whose goals include conservation and preservation. She describes toxic tourism as “ecotourism with extra value added,” but the politically proactive objective of the toxic tours warrants a more precise definition that includes the advocacy intent. Although the topic of the tour itself is about environmental toxins, the methodology of the tour necessitates its classification as advocacy travel.

The term *revolutionary tourism* also implies political motivations and is more closely related to a specific area. In fact, a literature review determined the phrase to have been used, both in the popular media and academically, for the first time when describing the response to tourists traveling to Chiapas in the wake of the Zapatista uprising in January 1994. The tourists were frequently associated with human rights organizations and, due to the timing of their trips, were presumably not visiting the area as a leisure experience. The Mexican government, deciding that the foreigners

were encouraging political upheaval, classified them as “revolutionary tourists” and subsequently deported or refused visas to hundreds. Based on this definition, a distinction can be made between revolutionary tourism and advocacy travel. Where revolutionary tourism can be undertaken by any individual with a goal of supporting an uprising against the established political power, advocacy travel is a strategy used by activists who have organized a group trip in hopes of inspiring change in the participants.

Travel used to affect the participants is a strategy favored by educators, especially in the last decade. *Experiential education* is more often deemed a type of education rather than tourism. It is easily recognized in its most popular form, the study abroad program. Several organizations have been formed to study and promote experiential education. One of these, the Association for Experiential Education, justifies the popularity of experiential education by incorporating the quote “Tell me, and I will forget. Show me, and I may remember. Involve me and I will understand” on all promotional material (<http://www.aee.org>). The idea of experiential education is that true understanding of a situation can only come with firsthand experience and this idea is fundamental to advocacy travel. Traveling to a location and experiencing a situation first hand will be more effective in changing a person’s ideology than a teacher’s lecture or being sent an outreach letter by GX. The theory of experiential education easily translates into justification for activists employing tourism to inspire change in the participants.

Advocacy travel is conceptualized as a template that can be universally applied. It supercedes the reactive nature of most alternative travel. Political tourism, guerilla tourism and even revolutionary tourism are all destination or host dependent. These are not frameworks that can be universally applied--the hosts must be involved in some degree of political upheaval or struggle and the guests must visit in order to observe the political situation firsthand. The noble intentions notwithstanding, peace tourism is a simple abstract idea that traveling to other places can increase cultural understanding. This idea can apply to all types of travel,

from mass tourism to business travel to ecotourism. The latter has been hailed as a way to mitigate adverse cultural and environmental effects of tourism, but it is a response, a reaction to negative impacts and attempting to address them. Toxic tourism and experiential education are both attempts to facilitate some degree of ideological awareness or change in the participants. However, especially with experiential education and study abroad, there is no concentrated effort to structure activities or responses at the end of the trip.

Observing the Reality Tours Department at GX introduced me to the idea of tourism advancing the activist strategy. My interest is in determining whether tourism can be used in a proactive manner; used as a method of encouraging social change. By providing essential post-trip support and suggestions for continued activism, methods necessary in the concept of advocacy travel, the camaraderie and sense of struggle generated from the group tour can be harnessed and translated it into action. As advocacy travel is a template or theory of tourism, it can be applied in many situations and locations. Ideology and political situations of the hosts and guests are irrelevant factors.

CHAPTER 4 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

ANTHROPOLOGY AND TOURISM

The central concept of advocacy travel is to encourage ideological change and motivation *in the participants* that will result in their working for practical political change. This study examines the international, cross-cultural Reality Tours organized by GX as a model of advocacy travel. The study is shaped by theoretical concepts developed by anthropologists and political scientists. Additionally, the concept of globalization, around which GX is primarily concerned, must also be examined due to the fact that advocacy travel was instituted in the organization concurrently with their struggle against corporate globalization. Reality Tour participants are encouraged to work against globalization. The literature and theoretical background will examine the intellectual origins of tourism and establish the framework that was essential in forming the concept of advocacy travel.

Initial theoretical inquiries into mass tourism incorporated motivational factors for travel and framed the phenomenon in a modernist perspective. The quest for the sacred, whether as pilgrimage or play, is a concept developed within the paradigm of modernism--“a term drawn from the study of literature and art, applied to anthropology between the 1920s and the mid-1970’s” (McGee and Warms 1996:480). “Analysts suggest that some of the attributes of modernist writing in anthropology were detachment, the assumption of a position of scientific neutrality, and rationalism” (McGee and Warms 1996:480). The modernist perspective therefore has a specific methodology. It “follows a formalist methodology and is most prevalent in the study of scientific thought in traditional cultures” (Barnard 2000:117). Therefore, as the analysis of tourism began within the context of modernism in the social sciences, it was defined within a framework of science and rationalism. As anthropologists study the “other,” academic tourism researchers were concerned with how the “other” thought about tourism--how cultures adapted

to and presented themselves within tourism. The recognition that cultures were being packaged for commoditization by tourism came at the same time as a major paradigmatic shift within the discipline of anthropology--the recognition of self-termed postmodernism.

Maintaining or preserving ethnic and cultural identity for the benefit of the "other" is termed "constructed identity" by anthropologists. Nationalism or shared histories are common components used by a society to construct its identity. However, MacCannell argues that "reconstructed ethnicity" is actually the preservation of ethnic forms for a "generalized other" within a white cultural frame rather than for internal reasons (MacCannell 1992:168). Reconstructed ethnicity "represents an end point in dialogue, a final freezing of ethnic imagery which is artificial and deterministic, even, or especially, when it is based on a drive for authenticity" (MacCannell 1992:168). Cultures or communities must actively attempt to define a single, fixed identity for tourism marketing purposes. True to the nature of modern mass tourism and possibly even to a greater extent with alternative travel based on ethnicity and culture, the presentation of this culture must closely resemble what has been marketed in order for the tourist to feel the experience has been "authentic." These "new reconstructed ethnic forms are appearing as the more or less automatic result of all the groups in the world entering a global network of commercial transactions" (MacCannell 1992:168). The emerging international linkages within business and politics, globalization, is the motivating factor which forces ethnic identity to be defined and presented as a commodity for consumption.

Tourism can be further explained by reframing it in recently dominant paradigms of postmodernism and globalization. Postmodernism emerged in the 1970's to challenge the rational, objective, detached scientific models of modernism, which had dominated social thought through much of the twentieth century. Specifically, postmodern thought in anthropology originated with the hermeneutic perspective that observers can never derive neutral and objective knowledge about the world. The conclusion was that traditional ethnography buries the voice of the

culture under layers of researcher bias, personal history, culture and language. A universal and clear definition of postmodernism has not yet been developed and there is disagreement among anthropologists as to whether postmodernism actually represents a new paradigm. The idea that postmodern thought is more an awareness than a framework for scientific methodology is supported by Gessler's proposition that "postmodernism is elevation of culture shock, experienced by anthropologists in the field, to a globally elaborated cultural form" (Gessler 1997:4). This idea ties the origins of postmodernism to the origins of tourism research, which began when anthropologists began to recognize that tourists were visiting the same places they were studying in the field and that they, themselves, were a kind of tourist. Postmodernism then, requires that tourism researchers examine all voices involved in the phenomenon. Anthropologists have been exhaustive in attempts to understand tourism from the viewpoint of host communities and of their guests, motivations for each group and economic, environmental and cultural problems associated with each community.

Research into and analysis of the nature of culture contact and culture change are fundamental to anthropological inquiry. When anthropologists study tourism, the host-guest relationship and the effects on the culture of guest communities are frequent topics and are well-researched. Nascent tourism research in anthropology demonstrated the negative impacts that modern mass tourism (generally those from economically wealthy nations [Global North] visiting less industrialized countries [Global South]), had on the social systems of more traditional cultures. This line of inquiry focused on: 1. the economic dependence of traditional cultures on tourism, 2. commodification of traditional culture, and 3. the inauthenticity of cultural presentation.

Tourism has recently emerged in both theory and practice as a strategy for development, which has been primarily conceptualized as economic development. Anthropologists have documented several negative effects. Dependency and world systems theory, traditionally the domain of political scientists, are used to critique the

role that government and multinational industries have in underwriting international “development” projects (Howell 1994, de Kadt 1979, Smith 1989). Most often, “leakages” prevent host communities from benefiting economically as profits are funneled back to the international sponsoring institutions. Case studies of Kenya and Costa Rica, typically held up as successful models of international environmental tourism or ecotourism, demonstrate how local communities are actually economically undermined and destabilized by tourism even as revenue generation reaches unprecedented levels (Weaver 2000). In general, these “development” strategies based on mass resort or charter tourism foster continued economic dependency and undermine resource conservation” (Howell 1994:151). As self-sufficient traditional societies find their economies incorporated into the global market they become more dependent on tourist dollars, or economically destroyed according to Weaver. As the industry continues to grow, competition for the tourist dollar becomes more intense. International tourism has served to create economic dependence, so advocacy travel must focus on the conservation and preservation of all systems, including the economic system. On an international level, the idea of encouraging change, even if the guest community sees it as wholly beneficial, can be termed neocolonial as long as it is not chosen and promoted in conjunction with or at the request of the host community.

“Anthropologists began to see the tourist, like the conqueror, the governor, or missionary as the agent of contact between cultures and, directly or indirectly, the cause of change particularly in the less developed regions of the world” (Nash 1991:13). Touristic activities are frequently seen as neocolonialist. Michael Harkin expands on this idea by claiming that tourism as leisure incorporates a “temporary raising of class” and that “much third-world tourism expresses a nostalgia for colonialism” (Harkin 1995:652). In the current global economy, those from middle or even low economic classes in Europe, America or Japan can visit a country in the Global South and automatically become part of an elite with porters, drivers and the ability to dine at nice restaurants and stay in comparatively expensive hotels.

Marketing vacations to wealthy tourists from the Global North, works to establish an expectation of a cultural experience. The expectation is more easily fulfilled by the vertically integrated mass travel industry than by those within that particular culture or those working at the grassroots level. This leads to the theory that cultures are commodified by the tourism industry. The expectation, catalyzed by the advertising industry, must be fulfilled in order for the tourist to feel that they had a successful holiday. Traditional cultures or environments are frequently altered or presented in such a way so that the preconceived expectations of the tourist can be met. Thus, analysis of the commodification of culture leads to questions concerning the authenticity of a culture when it is offered for tourist consumption. Issues of authenticity are present in all aspects of the tourism phenomena from tourists' motivations to the mechanisms of cultural change brought about by tourism. Anthropologists have demonstrated that several aspects of culture--costumes, rituals, feasts, sex, art--have been or have the potential to be utilized for financial gain by the tourism industry, which then renders them inauthentic. It is not the actual purchase of the crafts that causes them to be considered inauthentic, but their creation solely for the tourist trade.

Dean MacCannell first recognized this concept of authenticity in tourism by suggesting that tourists are seeking out an authenticity that they no longer find in their lives and work. "An anxiety about authenticity pervades the tourism experience, and reflects the perceived inauthenticity of modern life" (Harkin 1995:653). Tourists demand authenticity with minimal stress or disruption. This is not typical of the daily life that the tourist is escaping and consequently, host communities often create two lives. One is a back stage life where their day-to-day activities take place and the other a front stage life, consisting of what is displayed for the tourist. As they are not a natural part of the isolated community life, some anthropologists consider these displays to be fake. Urbanowicz (1989:115), in discussing the tourist shows developed by the indigenous inhabitants of the Pacific to provide tourists a glimpse of native culture, terms this "phony-folk-culture."

Waller and Lea (1989:115) have identified four factors that would increase the probability of a tourist believing he had an authentic experience. "These were culture, number of tourists, level of independence, and conformity to the stereotype of the country." In other words, the experience should involve some direct contact with the distinct culture of the destination, such as historic buildings, traditional events and local language. Also, any experience involving large numbers of fellow tourists was inauthentic by that very fact. Visitors who organized their own schedules feel that they have had a more authentic experience. Finally, in terms of conformity, a visit to Spain, for example, should involve seeing sunshine, bullfights and Moorish architecture. The idea that a large number of tourists inauthenticates a tour is also supported by Graburn (1989:31-32)--"the magic is spoiled by the presence of too many other tourists"--and by Joan Laxson's (1991:369) assertion that "if there are too many other tourists, the event comes to be seen as a performance for the tourists rather than an authentic event held for the people of the pueblo."

Staged authenticity is when a situation has been contrived to seem authentic. These experiences need not resemble the activities or items they are patterned after, it is only necessary that the tourist feels and believes that he is having an "authentic" experience. "What matters is the authenticity of the subject's experience; and what matters for that is whether the experience matches the subject's own concept of authenticity" (Waller and Lea 1999:128). As long the tourist feels the experience is authentic, then touristic authenticity has been achieved. However, when inauthentic reproductions begin to replace the original culture, the search for the authentic can undermine cultural integrity and encourage cultural change or loss.

Acculturation theory, as well as anthropological observation, suggests that as two cultures come in contact with one another, inevitable borrowing and transmission will occur. The tourist, in his the theoretical role of neocolonialist, is seen as less interested in or and motivated to understand the traditional way of life in his destination. Host communities, then, must adapt their attitudes, facilities and values to cater to the tourist, thus creating an asymmetrical model of acculturation.

A conclusion of both the academic and activist arenas is that this crass commercialization, consumerism and global homogenization of cultures (“cocacolaization”) cause irreversible culture change and loss. Also, responding to the economic market forces the tourism industry to cater to the expectations and demands of rich guests, thereby ignoring the needs and traditions of host cultures. Thus, when one society uses tourism as a development strategy without equal or even greater input from the host community, cultural homogenization and dependency are the result.

As mentioned above, several forms of alternative travel have been defined and catergorized in an attempt to counteract the economic dependence, commodification and inauthenticity caused by mass tourism that has been identified by anthropologists as damaging or destroying cultural traditions. Valene Smith, in 1989, categorized alternative travel into five groups: ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, historical tourism, environmental tourism and recreational tourism. Since then, the concept of ecotourism has emerged and it could technically embrace all the preceding terms. What is lacking from these previously identified forms of alternative travel is the incorporation of tourist motivations. Advocacy travel, which sees participants traveling for the purpose of gaining the authentic story, not the story offered by the tourist industry or even locals themselves, theoretically can remove all necessity of commoditization. Further, the definition of advocacy travel leads to the exclusion of the participant from actually being a “tourist” according to the widely accepted definition of a tourist offered by Smith above, which defines the motivation of a tourist being to experience a change. This is only a supporting factor in the motivation of an advocacy travel participant.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND TOURISM

A discussion of politics is necessary in this study as the political history and current political situation is of fundamental concern to the Reality Tours department of GX. The political milieu shapes all stages of the Reality Tour from destination choice to the story told on the tour to the suggested follow-up activities. "Politics is about power, who gets what, where, how and why" (Lasswell 1936:12). Tourism devised to induce participants to work for political change is based on attempting to change the power structure. Political science espouses several theories that offer insight into how tourism can affect and effect politics. Tourism studies in political science, like anthropology and sociology, were slow to begin as "the very phenomenon of discretionary mass travel was deemed insignificant" by political scientists within academia (Matthews 1991:122). Although Jean-Maurice Thurot (1975:35) wrote over twenty-five years ago "tourism is a simple continuation of politics by other means," most political scientists studying tourism concentrated on the effect politics exerts on international tourism revenue-generation, destination choice and wages. Studies juxtaposing politics and tourism have become more frequent recently, with focus being on creating a general theory.

Matthews (1991:3) claims that, although scholarly research on the topic was in its infancy, "modern tourism can be a highly political act." His book concentrates primarily on the political regulation of tourism by different governing bodies, and other potential actions governments can take regarding tourism. This action must incorporate theories of other social sciences, however. "Knowledge about the sociological and psychological effects of mass tourism upon a host culture, for example, can become a significant input into political and governmental action" (Matthews 1991:87). This knowledge is fundamentally important as "the salience of tourism as a political issue in a small country is tied to the social/psychological/economic perceptions of the effects of the industry upon people" (Matthews 1991:87). Overwhelmingly, political scientists have concentrated

on the negative effects of tourism, echoing anthropologists in finding economic dependence and commodification of political identity in host countries.

To provide an explanation for this commodification, political scientists have promoted dependency theory. Dependency theory proposes the idea of the “development of underdevelopment.” The global free market serves to establish “core” states that remain perpetually economically advantaged by dictating to the “periphery” states their methods, means and type of production. Dependency creates a “simultaneous disintegration of an indigenous economy and its reorientation to serve the needs of exogenous markets” (Hall 1994:123). Although the general concept is economic, “international tourism is increasingly recognized by dependency theorists as a powerful vehicle for metropolitan manipulation of the periphery [e.g., Matthews 1978:79; Bryden 1973:79,90]” (Francisco 1983:364). Host countries alter their behavior, services and even culture (as explained above) to conform to the desires or demands of white metropolitan guests. Ironically, the more successful they are in catering to tourists, the greater the tourism visitation and income, which in turn results in greater dependency. As tourism is such a dominant international economic force, host governments are reluctant to take actions or pursue policies that would serve to limit tourism or generate disapproval in the eyes of the generating countries. “This dependence can influence the foreign policy of the host country toward the generating country,” affecting politics and international relations with regards to myriad issues, not just tourism (Edgell 1990:226). However as Ronald Francisco found in an empirical study, “economic reliance on tourism...may result in distorted economic development, foreign economic leakage, domestic social dissatisfaction, and resentment, but it does not result in political compliance at the international level” (Francisco 1983:374).

Dependence on tourism can create an avenue of leverage for terrorists. Although the concept of terrorism as an economic weapon is not new, “what (is) new in terrorism is its use to attain political ends and the global attention that media coverage of terrorist incidents focuses on political causes” (Edgell 1990:231).

Terrorist activity within a country dramatically curtails its tourism industry, theoretically rendering tourism-dependent governments more likely to cater to the political demands of terrorists.

It is clear that political stability is needed in order to create a reliable tourism industry. However, an emerging field of study within tourism is that of war tourism or “dark tourism.” This is tourism focused on death, disaster or atrocity (Simpson, personal communication 2001). While certainly not an enterprise designed for mass marketing and consumption (and therefore income), this new classification within tourism demonstrates that political instability can be a niche attraction within tourism. While the tourism industry in host communities who are experiencing high levels of unpredictable violence or kidnapping aimed at tourists such as Colombia, Indonesia or the Philippines, may not benefit from the political situation, other politically charged countries or regions may attract tourists because of the situation. Palestine, South Africa, the North of Ireland and Chiapas are all destinations for GX Reality Tours directly due to their political instability or policies. Cuba, while not experiencing political violence, certainly can be considered a political destination when visited by citizens of the United States, because of fundamental differences in political worldview and the travel restrictions placed on them by their government. Unlike mass tourism, the sustainability of advocacy travel is not dependent upon the internal stability of the destination country. Countries could be motivated to alter their politics or policies to appear more attractive or familiar to guest countries within a context of mass tourism, but as advocacy travel does not, it can be considered to have less of a “colonial” effect on international politics. Any motivation for political change is directed at the guest’s country (and more precisely toward the individual traveler) in advocacy travel, not the host country, as is the case with mass tourism.

Just as there is debate as to whether, politically, tourism is a facet of dependency theory or merely represents a perpetuation of the hegemonic host/guest relationship, there is also debate concerning tourism’s impacts on political

culture and individual political identity. “International tourism is as responsible for the revitalisation of indigenous culture as it is for its demise” (Hall 1994:126). The argument of political scientists’ for tourism serving to revitalize culture is found in the necessity to create and advance a single identity for tourist consumption, paralleling the conclusions of anthropologists. The authenticity of this display is addressed by anthropological theory (as demonstrated above), but there are also political implications of using the tourism industry to establish and portray a national or indigenous identity.

When European colonial powers initially began visiting nations overseas in order to take land, resources and slaves, they largely ignored indigenous groups’ personal and collective identity, and consequently, their interests. In fact, concerted efforts were undertaken by dominant societies to disassociate and weaken indigenous groups in order to further their own power and control. According to James Tully, there is a

set of distinctive techniques (used) to transform indigenous peoples into members of the dominant society through re-education, incentives and socialisation so that they lose their attachment to their identity by outlawing indigenous political and social practices and establishing band councils in their place, residential schools, adoption, exchanging native status for voting rights, programs of de-indigenisation and westernisation, and fostering a co-opted native colonial elite to administer the system (Tully 2000:41).

Although it is true that host communities are able to and do choose to adopt technologies to further their own goals, throughout the history of cultural domination, undermining identity has been a tool used to weaken states or territories. The recent emergence of mass tourism has seen the identity of indigenous groups actually promoted. Destinations such as Hawaii, the Amazon basin and Australia have used their original residents as attractions for tourists to see.

Typically, outsiders such as anthropologists, ethnographers and even tourism marketers have defined these identities, but it is generally recognized that for the sustainability of both the indigenous group and the tourism industry, the creation of

a single indigenous identity must be the role of the indigenous group themselves. This idea is also fundamental for political scientists. Cultural identity and its resultant practices and ideals are now being used by indigenous groups as a basis for political reforms and land claims. "These interests should be defined and contested as much as possible by contemporary indigenous peoples themselves, rather than according to assumptions elaborated within various western anthropological, political or legal doctrines" (Iverson, Patton, Sanders 2000:11). Just as the indigenous identity must be consolidated, the tourist or participant must also come to have a single political identity.

As advocacy travel seeks to instigate political change on the part of the participants, the formation of a political identity in the participants is necessary. "Political socialization" is "a process that can be generally described as the way people acquire their attitudes toward political life" and tourism is increasingly viewed as one of these methods (Matthews 1991:125). "They will be affected not only by what governments have consciously planned for their political consumption, but also by random events like political terrorism, currency exchange rates, and their level of affluence and choice of travel experiences" (Matthews 1991:125). A traveler to Tibet or Cuba is defining himself or herself, politically, differently from someone who spends a week viewing the Caribbean from the deck of a cruise ship. A person on a GX Reality Tour also has a distinct identity, created mainly by the principles and reputation of the organization.

According to Matthews, "tourism as political socialization can be used as an antidote for ethnocentrism" (Matthews 1991:127). This has been the idea behind many educational programs with travel components. He mentions study abroad tours and political travel groups, such as Americans going to Nicaragua or China as "examples of time-tested ways for political organizations to build consensus on foreign policy and empathy across political boundaries" (Matthews 1999:127). He uses the term "affinity travel" to describe that which is used "by the state to

reinforce a sense of community or expand and reinforce ethnic identity,” and offers the summer tours of American teenagers on Israeli kibbutz’s as evidence.

A step beyond counteracting ethnocentrism is using tourism to actively promote political change. When examining the formation of identity in advocacy travel, all stakeholder groups must be considered. In addition to the indigenous or ethnic hosts and the tourists or participants, the identity of the activists encouraging the travel must be evaluated and understood. What compels people to become activists?

Social activism within a society has generally taken the form of helping those who are experiencing greater economic and material need. This is universally viewed as a good deed or morally correct behavior. Michael Gross proposes that

political philosophers since Locke have relied consistently on a morally motivated citizenry capable of sustaining collective action as the last line of defense in the struggle against political injustice. Social movements are often at the forefront of that struggle. Social activism is a civic virtue of the highest order, and its accompanying characteristics- acute political perception, sustained interest, astute moral judgement, and concerted action- furnish the explicit goals of democratic education for a healthy polity (Gross 1997:223).

Within any society “erudite citizens are charged with no less than safeguarding the integrity of the state and undertaking political action, not only when their own interest or the general welfare is threatened, but particularly when minority interests are imperiled” (Gross 1997:9). Tracing the idea of a strong political morality, which compels the noblest citizens to act on behalf of others and has demonstrable origins in Lockean philosophy, proves its tenacity and legitimacy. However, activism in contemporary society clearly is not held with the kind of regard Locke originally intended. This is evidenced by the comparatively low financial compensation and generally low status afforded to activist jobs and careers. An alternative identity associated with activist’s serves to make the endeavor appealing.

In the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's, activists generally targeted and amassed support for a specific topic. With the rise of globalization in the 1990's, several issues coalesced and a single identity was formed around them. Indigenous land rights, sweatshops, debt relief, fair trade and anti-corporatization all work to form the "anti-globalization" identity. Through target marketing to young adults, combating the forces of globalization is made to appear trendy and subversive to the dominant paradigm. This attracts young adults, who are prime candidates to become activists due to their enthusiasm, idealism and low financial needs. New social movement theory, which "raises the construction of collective identities, activist communities, and movement of cultures as central categories of analysis" (Ingalsbee 1996:272) incorporates the role of collective identity for the first time social theory. "Collective identities, and the cultural autonomy and social solidarity they represent, are considered to be key forms of resistance to technocracy" (Ingalsbee 1996:272). Activists must all share a sense of identity, and therefore a similar lifestyle, in order for their current strategies to be successful.

GLOBALIZATION THEORY

The concept of globalization has implications for this study in several contexts. Increased access to the global market is the motivation for many economically poor societies to pursue tourism. It is also the force that compels indigenous communities and many societies to alter, adapt or create their traditional culture to match world market demands. Ironically, by using the global market to organize and market their delegations, GX uses tourism and the Reality Tour participants to fight against corporate globalization.

Globalization as theory is descended from diffusionism, which is basically the movement of culture traits from one people to another. This is seen as a cause of cultural change throughout the world.

As a theme promoted by both evolutionist and postmodernist anthropology as well as a topic visible to anthropologists whenever they do fieldwork or even attend conferences, globalization is a popular and timely concern. The irony is that in theoretical terms it might as easily be seen as most akin to the least trendy of all theoretical perspectives, diffusionism (Bernard 2000:268).

Globalization is purposeful cultural change. The counter or contrasting idea is evolution (cultural and biological) and adaptive theory, which is more widely accepted among anthropologists. Diffusion within anthropology and diffusion research in general is no longer recognized as legitimate theory. However, some sort of diffusion of ideas (perhaps through tourism and globalization) is fundamental to political and cultural change.

The theory of political science and that of anthropology both contribute to our understanding of globalization. A broad understanding of globalization is that societies around the world are becoming increasingly interdependent--economically, socially and politically. As cultural preservationists argue, they are indistinguishable from one another, but globalization did not begin this trend. From the perspective of political science, globalization has several forerunners. Wallerstein's world systems theory establishes as a unit of analysis the capitalist world economy instead of individual nations. The inherent transnational economic connections in this theory necessitate a dualistic view of globalization. Separate political relations between the nations must be developed and preserved. Therefore, globalization is dependent upon hegemonic stability. This stability serves to help develop in each nation a unified culture, the consequences of which are uniquely understood by anthropologists.

The anthropological perspective of globalization sees the potential benefit of the exportation of cultures. If local struggles are placed on a global stage, the awareness can often bring change to both the community in which the struggle originates and those communities who witness it in worldwide media. However, the downside of globalization is the "culture of capitalism," which describes the important role of consumer goods in the lives of postmodern citizens. There is a

belief among cultures in the Global North that commodity consumption is indicative of well-being. Desires therefore become needs, serving to undermine the importance of the potentials of globalization and reinforce its drawbacks, heightening economic and material disparity.

Globalization, supported by the ever-expanding influence of the capitalist economic system, is the “accelerated flow of various commodities, people, capital, technologies, sound-bites, images and knowledge via heterogeneous networks that criss-cross national frontiers” (Long 2000:185). There has been much written about the homogenizing factor of globalization. However, Long (2000:185) points out that

the development of integrated international commodity markets have not destroyed cultural, ethnic, economic and political diversity. Indeed globalisation has generated a whole new diversified pattern of responses at national, regional and local levels.

Globalization theoretically has the ability to promote or discourage global homogenization.

Globalization as a concept refers to both the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole...both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century (Robertson 2000:8).

It is therefore not the idea or theory of globalization which serves to destroy culture, but how communities choose to apply it. Protests by activists during the World Bank meetings in Seattle in 2000 should have been focused on the outcomes of World Bank policies, not the idea of globalization itself. Globalization has not encouraged homogenization, it has merely facilitated in its display on the world stage. “The revolution in information and communication technologies has made the world look more uniform and interconnected” (Long 2000:185). The reaction against globalization, then, is perhaps a reaction against the potential and not the real. Rarely, if ever, have protests supporting globalization and its accompanying lifestyle benefits by traditional cultures been displayed on the world stage.

It is the awareness of both this potential and the actual diversity that currently exists that has resulted in “the questioning, in certain policy circles, of standardized solutions to problems of economic development, employment and welfare, in favour of what are described as more flexible, localised and ‘sustainable’ strategies” (Long 2000:185-6). It is the awareness that there is cultural, political, ethnic and social diversity and that there are myriad responses to top down “development” strategies that inspire activists in the industrialized nations. Other cultures have different methods of response or protest.

Latin America in particular has a long history of struggles by small producers and agricultural labourers against landlords and local political bosses who monopolise access to the most productive land and to crucial marketing and servicing channels (Long 2000:187).

But now (almost primarily due to the “globalization” by the internet) we have hundreds of activists groups working on issues in Central America from land to health care to coffee.

The question that remains, however, is whether they (activist groups) can push the good intentions of some development practice to their logical conclusion- a radical restructuring of the entire range of development practices, one that would resist the global imposition of a single, industrially and militarily controlled structure to the benefit of the many over the few and of the weak over the strong. To put it another way: will they be able to create a genuine self-sufficiency- a self-determination that does not rely on tutelary control but is genuinely participatory and open? (Herzfeld 2001:168).

It has been established that both theoretically and in practice that globalization is a concept that can have both positive and negative effects on economically poor countries. GX acknowledged this distinction in formulating a theory to support their organization and its activities. In order for the negative effects to be mitigated, GX maintains that economically poor countries must retain a degree of control over both the decision-making process and the construction of their identity on the world stage. This they term “grassroots globalization.” Social activists and cultural

conservationists also recognize that the current structure of globalization implemented by transnational economic organizations such as the IMF and WB are not currently beneficial on a global scale. The prominence of multinational corporations has led this paradigm of globalization to be called “corporate globalization.” This distinction is essential. It gives GX a clear worldview that serves to guide the organization, thereby transcending individual staff members. It also shows that instead of simply critiquing and protesting the current paradigm of global development, GX is designing and promoting an alternative system.

SYNTHESIS OF THEORY

The theory of advocacy travel is compiled from several disciplines, and niches within these. An established line of inquiry for anthropologists studying tourism is the interaction between the host and the guest. The various impacts of the guest on the social structure of the host community, most of which has been negative, are well documented. In discussing advocacy travel, following GX’s guide of analyzing both the positive and negative effects, it is necessary to further this idea. Exploring the potential effects of a guest population who is visiting out of an authentic desire to learn more from the hosts about their life and situation on a guest population that feels ignored on the world stage offers an alternative view of tourism in the age of “grassroots globalization.” This study will examine the host/guest debate from an innovative perspective, framing the tour itself as affecting the outcome of the host/guest interaction. According to the GX perspective, by encouraging the participants to work for social and political change on behalf of the guest community, advocacy travel (Reality Tours) removes the impact of tourism on the host community from the inanimate hands of the organized travel industry and places it in control of the guests.

So far, no universal definition can be used to determine whether or not a touristic activity is “alternative.” However, Lash and Urry (1994) provide a guideline that I use to frame advocacy travel. Using Waller and Lea’s (1999) concepts, I will address issues of authenticity, another topic of concern to those anthropologists who are studying tourism. I use qualitative data gathered during observation of a Reality Tour to Chiapas to determine the level of authenticity provided by a Reality Tour.

Describing tourism’s effect on politics is the domain of political scientists. Theory from this academic niche contributes the idea that tourism can serve to increase the dependency of peripheral states on those considered to be “core.” Infrastructure must be developed to support the industry and political stability is necessary to foster it. This is not always the case, though. This study proposes that tourism in Chiapas is helped by, if not dependent on, the political instability created by the Zapatista uprising in 1994.

Tourism can also be used as a form of political socialization. While not frequently discussed in academic research, an analysis of advocacy travel attempts to frame the tour as political socialization for both the participants and the organizers, as the latter group works to reinforce their political identity.

Corporate globalization is a paradigm that, when applied, works to the detriment of traditional cultures. GX operates Reality Tours to challenge the dominant corporate globalization paradigm. The anti-globalization (grassroots globalization) movement espoused and promoted by GX is the framework for the tours. This movement seeks to encourage the intimate grassroots, people-to-people interactions that GX believes are enhanced by travel. This study will examine the extent of the socialization of Reality Tours participants into the anti-corporate globalization, activist movement.

CHAPTER 5

CUBA

I chose to use GX's Cuba and Chiapas Reality Tours to investigate the applicability of advocacy travel in two separate political situations. Although GX's goals in each particular situation are different, on a broad scale, GX aims to facilitate change in the participants who take their trips. The two Reality Tours are both supported by a program area at GX, but the trips differ in size and frequency. Due to the differences of each destination, the participants attracted to each tour have varying degrees of political awareness concerning their destination choice. By utilizing a comparative methodology, I will determine whether the two tours affect their participants in the same way and to the same degree. First, it is essential to understand the political context and tourism industry in each destination. The politics and history of tourism of both Cuba (Chapter 5) and Chiapas (Chapter 6) are outlined below.

Examining Cuba's history from the point of European contact as well as all tourism activity on the island provides the necessary context for understanding the role advocacy travel can play on the island. As a GX intern, I read several books provided by the Cuba program in order to comprehend the political situation. The following background is synthesized from GX materials, in particular Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith's 1997 book *Modern Latin America*. It represents the accepted history of Cuba, and one that is taught on the Reality Tour.

POLITICAL HISTORY

To tourists from the United States, Cuba is an anomaly in the Caribbean politically and touristically. The landing of Christopher Columbus on the island during his first voyage of exploration and discovery in 1492 represents the commencement of political and economic domination of the indigenous Americas.

While technically Columbus did not practice advocacy travel, his travel was aimed at realizing political ends. The goal of Columbus's "Enterprise of the Indies" was to find a westward route to Asia, bringing economic benefits to his financial backers. Columbus himself, inspired by the writings of Marco Polo, had more political goals in mind. Although he had difficulty securing financial backing for his journey, he was relentless in his demands for political titles--admiral, which gave him the right to judge commercial disputes, viceroy, which would make him the personal representative of the Spanish monarchs and governor, enabling him to act as supreme civil and military authority in any new lands discovered. Columbus's journey espoused political goals.

The indigenous population of Cuba was fatally diminished by disease and conflict within the first century of Spanish occupation. The island languished as a neglected colony of Spain for centuries. With the beginning of the nineteenth century came the start of Cuba's agriculturally productive era, necessitating the importation of slaves from Africa, which diluted the indigenous population even further. Similar to the rest of Central America, the country was monocropped by slave labor, experiencing export booms in coffee, tobacco and sugar. It was the sugar industry that shaped the path of Cuba's social and economic history through to the present day.

Concomitant with the rise of the sugar industry came a persistent revolutionary sentiment. Compared with the rest of Central American, Cuba's first attempt to gain freedom came relatively late. The Ten Years War (1868-1878) resulted in Spain retaining control of the island, but it was in name only. By this time Cuba's economy was under nearly exclusive control of the United States, creating fertile ground for Cuba's nationalism movement to flourish. José Martí was the most well-known and influential revolutionary of the late nineteenth century. While exiled in New York, he cemented many anti-imperialist ideas into the philosophical fabric of Cuban society.

War broke out in again 1895, with the still-unsolved explosion and sinking of the *USS Maine* in Havana's harbor, which marked the official entry of the United States into the war. The high level of US involvement and domination of Cuba's economy assured involvement in and popular support for this "splendid little war," as it was termed by Teddy Roosevelt. Public support for the war in the United States was high and Spanish war technology painfully obsolete. Seven months after the entry of the US into the war, Spain was defeated and Cuba technically granted independence. In reality, Cuba was a protectorate of the US, a relationship legalized in 1901 with the adoption of the Platt Amendment by the US Congress. The amendment was also force into the Cuban constitution. Allegations of electoral and political fraud served as the excuse that led the US to intervene militarily in Cuba on several occasions, beginning at the start of the twentieth century.

There were several agricultural factors unique to the sugar crop that combined to make Cuba ripe for imperialist control from the US. An intensive, three-month harvest season followed by nine months of inactivity created a class of peasantry dependent on their plantation owners. Plantation managers, wanting their workers to remain near the mill, encouraged them to go into debt by being the sole provider of material goods and simultaneously creating working-class communities nearby. This also turned the Cuban lower class into "workers, not farmers, more concerned about wages and working conditions than the acquisition of land" (Skidmore and Smith 1997:267-8).

Investors introduced technology, specifically the railroad, into the sugar industry. This led to a reduction of the number of sugar mills as raw cane could be transported more easily. Investors who had sufficient capital were Americans who increasingly bought out the smaller independent farmers. Wanting to realize a positive return on their investment, these businessmen lobbied for the US to purchase sugar from Cuba. The United States became the major consumer of Cuban sugar, purchasing around 75-80% of the total production in the early twentieth century (Skidmore and Smith 1997:269). Several administrative reciprocal trade

agreements served to bring Cuba closer into the American sphere of influence in the 1910's and 1920's. Although the industry brought relative prosperity to the island, there were several negative effects that laid the groundwork for the revolution.

The wealth generated by the sugar industry created enormous inequality, manifested in both economic and social spheres. Sociologist Maurice Zeitlin claims the effect of the

large-scale enterprise in the countryside and the intermingling of industrial and agricultural workers in the sugar centrals permeated the country largely with capitalist, nationalistic, secular, anti-traditional values and norms of conduct. In this sense, the country was prepared for development- the only thing lacking being the revolution itself...(Zeitlin 1967:8).

The anti-American sentiment was strong within Cuba, but the catalyst for the Cuban revolution was an external force. The 1929 the economic collapse in the United States caused a Great Depression throughout the world. In the ensuing panic, American farmers persuaded the government to put restrictions on all food imports. The resulting of the collapse of the sugar export market rippled through several layers of Cuban society. The country was politically unstable and several groups vied for power. Crime levels soared. The United States again took an interest in the political situation when, in 1933, a group of young radicals and enlisted army soldiers seized the government, installed leftist Ramon Grau San Martín and proclaimed a socialist revolution.

Worried about this development just 90 miles away, the United States quickly stationed war ships and prepared for another occupation. Conveniently, an acceptable dictator who was much more amenable to US involvement easily ousted Grau and US hegemony was quickly restored. For the next 25 years, Fulgenio Batista either acted as President or ran a puppet government. Although the sugar trade with the US was restored and the island's middle class was comfortably well-off, Cuba never returned to pre-Depression prosperity. The lower class grew restless, but the many nationalist groups had disappeared.

Fidel Castro began his revolutionary activities in Cuba with the sole purpose of ending what he considered to be US imperialism in Cuba. A failed attempt at a government overthrow in 1953 resulted in Castro's capture and imprisonment. Batista granted him amnesty two years later, presumably in an attempt to bolster his international image, which was being questioned in the US press. Castro and his friend Ernesto "Che" Guevara orchestrated a maritime invasion in 1956. One of only a few survivors of the aquatic attack, Castro fled into the mountains, where the government, through the press, attempted to convince the Cuban population that he had died. While this was not true, his uprising was certainly stalled. The guerilla leader did little more than simply survive during his exile in the mountains.

The tide began to turn in favor of the revolution in 1958. Because Batista was unable to locate the guerillas in the mountains, his responses to Castro's small-scale, unplanned war were bombings, sabotage and harassment perpetrated on the innocent rural peasantry and student populations. This served to shift the tide of domestic and international public opinion. In that same year, the United States implemented its first embargo on the country, banning the sale of arms to the Cuban government. Sensing his power slipping away, Batista staged an "election", running a front man candidate in an attempt to remove himself from the international stage. The Cuban people thwarted this plan. Most of the voters abstained and Batista fled from office two months later.

Initially opposed by the Cuban Communist Party, Fidel Castro succeeded to power in the political vacuum created by Batista's departure. Cuba's protectorate status was overturned on January 1, 1959, following six years of failed attempts at revolution. Castro's cause was bolstered throughout the world by the erosion of international support for Batista. This was due to several dispatches from the jungle hideout of the rebels to the *New York Times* by veteran foreign correspondent Herbert Matthews. "Matthews' dramatic dispatches, which extolled the discipline, bravery, and commitment of the rebels, gave Fidel international status overnight" (Skidmore and Smith 1997:274). The international exposure attracted much needed

manpower support to the rebels, whose existence had previously been denied by the Batista regime.

Like most Latin American revolutions, “the Fidelista phenomenon was middle class in origin and leadership” (Skidmore and Smith 1997:274). The revolutionary movement in Cuba had begun in the classrooms and imaginations of the middle class and was based on historical study of Martí’s ideas, which had been incubating in the Cuban consciousness for almost seventy years. The peasantry had no use for the theoretical aspects of revolution, however, their participation and support was essential.

The rebels took a strong interest in these people’s fate because they needed peasant support to survive in the mountains. It was the first principle of the guerilla: retain the sympathy of the local residents, not only for supplies but also so they will not betray you to the authorities (Skidmore and Smith 1997:274).

Local residents of all social classes were initially overwhelmingly supportive of the Castro insurrection if for no other reason than he represented change. In his first few months as dictator, he took steps to limit the United States’ control of the Cuban economy that resulted in a permanent embargo on food and medicine by the US.

The first non-rhetorical, concrete action directed toward ending US imperialism was aimed at agrarian reform, universally deemed to be an urgent necessity in Cuba. The Agrarian Reform Act of May 17, 1959, resulted in the confiscation of approximately 2.5 million acres of US owned land, sugar and oil refineries worth over one billion dollars. This land was divided and redistributed to the rural poor. The US media began to portray Cuba’s power change as a shift toward the red, a serious accusation only a few years after McCarthy’s red scare. Universal support for the revolution in Cuba began to wane as the elite upper classes, threatened by Castro’s goal of bringing income and services to the rural poor, began to flee Cuba. The vast majority immigrated to Miami, Florida. Castro

discovered that he could buy Soviet oil more cheaply than Venezuelan, which resulted in President Dwight Eisenhower's suspension of the Cuban sugar quota in the US. Cuba was no longer guaranteed a market for their sugar crop and they responded by seizing of virtually all US owned property. This back and forth escalation took place against a backdrop of a nationalization campaign in Cuba, garnering the attention of the Soviet Union.

"The swing to the Soviet bloc was neither a cause nor an effect of the clash with the United States; it was part and parcel of the same process" (Skidmore and Smith 1997:279). As the US began to distance itself from Cuba, the USSR moved to fill in the economic void, signing a trade agreement concerning sugar and arms and granting \$100 million credit to purchase equipment. In light of this, the United States had no choice but to pursue a hard line against Castro. There were several attempts by the CIA to assassinate Castro, all of which failed. In July 1960, the CIA began training Cuban exiles, ostensibly for a secret invasion. In that same month the sugar war escalated and an embargo was put into effect.

Although the sugar embargo is still policy, the exile invasion did not fare as well. Diplomatic relations with the country were broken off by the United States in January 1961, and President John F. Kennedy reluctantly agreed to go ahead with the invasion in April. His reticence to involve US troops ultimately contributed to the failure of the mission. With no on-the-ground guidance or aircraft cover, the exiles, who were not soldiers, landed at the Bay of Pigs in confusion and were quickly captured. The event, an embarrassment for US foreign policy, was a watershed for US/Cuba relations. The United States was finally exposed in its desire to topple Castro and had few options remaining. The Soviet Union wasted no time in capitalizing on the mistakes of the United States.

The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 is acknowledged as the closest the world has come to nuclear war. The installation of intermediate-range missiles in Cuba by the Soviet Union and their subsequent withdrawal after a standoff with President John Kennedy served to further imbed Cuba's satellite state status in the eyes of the

world. Castro had not been consulted at any time during confrontation. Also, it is widely agreed by political scientists that the Soviets withdrew their missiles only after the US agreed not to invade Cuba. “This was the least noticed and least understood result of the missile crisis: the Soviets had forced the United States to allow the socialist experiment in Cuba to proceed” (Skidmore and Smith 1997:283). And although social indicators and popular sentiment had improved substantially in Cuba since the revolution, the fact remained that the economy had been still wholly dependent on sugar exports to the United States and could never recover.

Attempts to diversify and industrialize the economy largely failed. In the early 1970’s, after competing factions had stagnated Cuba’s economy for nearly a decade and US embargoes, including a 1964 travel restriction, were fully ensconced, Castro turned more fully to the Soviet Union, not just economically, but socially as well. “The inevitable logic of Cuba’s enormous economic and military dependence on the Soviets was being played out” (Skidmore and Smith 1997:287). Cuba’s great socialist experiment had created a model that closely resembled the Soviet Union.

By 1989, the United States estimated the Soviet Union’s annual economic assistance to Cuba was \$4.2 billion, about one quarter of Cuba’s gross national product. The revolution had succeeded in throwing off US imperialism, but had exchanged it for that of the Soviet Union, although with one significant difference. The Soviet Union had no direct ownership in Cuba. This did little to lessen Cuba’s economic dependence on the Soviets, however, demonstrated by Cuba’s economic, social and infrastructural downfall after the USSR’s 1990 collapse.

The abrupt end of Soviet economic aid resulted in immediate economic, food and oil shortages. Within a few years, there was a significant drop in the standard of living. Transportation, water and electricity were the three main systems most affected. The number of *balseros*, “raftmen,” Cuban émigrés fleeing to the United States by raft, hit an all-time high in the mid-1990’s. Castro proclaimed that Cuba was entering a “special period in peace time” concerned with the single goal of saving socialism in Cuba.

To realize the goal of the Special Period, Cuba needs hard currency. US economic sanctions make this all but impossible. In 1993, the US dollar was legalized, but, as Cuba is unable to trade with the United States, this action is only symbolic. Within the context of the beginning of the twenty-first century, the only viable option for Cuba to generate hard currency is to turn to one of the world's biggest industries--tourism.

TOURISM

It is impossible to separate the political situation from the tourism industry in Cuba. Because of Cuba's political persuasions and affiliation, the country is not a member of the Caribbean Tourism Research and Development Centre (CTRC). Additionally, research opportunities for international scholars are greatly limited compared with other Latin American and Caribbean nations. These two factors make references to Cuba and tourism difficult to find. However, the more open and encouraging attitude toward international tourism after the collapse of the Soviet Union has resulted in the industry becoming a priority in economic development plans and information is becoming more easily obtained.

Hinch (1990:215) has identified three main phases in modern Cuban tourism, which are obvious given the political history of the country. The pre-Revolutionary phase began during the 1920's, when Cuba was a very popular destination and ended with the coming of the Revolution. The post-World War I, emerging mass tourism industry worldwide was concentrated on luxury destinations and Cuba became a destination for the elite. Havana was the center of the tourism industry, which was essentially gambling and prostitution services flourishing with infrastructural support of local people who were used for cheap labor.

Frank (1993:156) claims that tourism at this time was a US Mafia-run enterprise, creating an imperialist activity mirroring that of the sugar industry. Most of the income generated left the country due to the foreign investment and

ownership of the industry. The demographics of tourist arrivals also placed Cuba in a dependent position to the United States. "In 1957, Cuba had a total of 272,000 foreign tourists, and 87% of those tourists were residents of the United States" (Turner 1997:15). Due to its proximity to the United States, tourism to Cuba was very popular during the 1930's. The traveling elite still maintained their wealth throughout the Great Depression and through World War II. There is no evidence to suggest that this trend would have been altered much if not for politics and the Revolution.

As it was, the 1959 Revolution put an end to an industry that had many negative aspects similar to those identified by tourism researchers within the past ten years. Cuba's tourism workers were being exploited tremendously by pre-Revolutionary tourism. They saw little economic, social or infrastructural benefits. The siphoning of income by the Mafia is today termed a "leakage," whether it is organized crime or legal businesses realizing the profits.

After the Revolution, the tourism that did exist in Cuba was, by necessity, of a domestic nature. According to Hinch (1990:216), this represents the second phase of tourism in Cuba. "From the very beginning, Castro recognized the importance of leisure as a social right" (Turner 1997:16-7). The one month each year that was allotted to workers was seen as further serving the socialist ideals of the government. The tourism industry, formerly concentrated in Havana, was decentralized. Residents converted private beaches, hotels and houses for use by vacationing Cubans.

The emphasis on domestic tourism was not all based on socialist ideals, however, but necessity. The unstable political situation was undoubtedly a cause of the decline in some international tourism, but as of 1963, the 87% of Cuba's visitors who were from the United States were no longer legally permitted to spend money in the country. The US Treasury Department's Trading With the Enemy Act does not expressly forbid US citizens from traveling to Cuba, only from spending any money once they arrive. "Figures from the 1960's show that tourism in the 1960's dropped

to 3,000-5,000 tourists a year, and that most of those tourists were foreigners invited by Cuban authorities on the basis of friendship or solidarity” (Turner 1997:16).

During this time, the idea of political tourism first developed, based specifically on showing support for the government of Castro. As mentioned previously, the term “political tourism” emerged in the 1960’s in Europe and referred to the visiting of Communist countries in a show of solidarity. Although the term was popularly understood to refer to travel to the Communist bloc countries of Eastern Europe, by definition this includes Cuba as well. It is likely that due to geography--Cuba is quite a distance from the western European homes of the many young, idealistic political tourists--that Cuba saw little international tourism based on politics during the 1960’s and early 1970’s. However, as noted by Turner, the political situation undoubtedly instigated the tourism that did occur.

The early 1970’s marked the transition into Hinch’s the third phase of tourism in Cuba, which consists of the return to international tourism. This phase began slowly, with an incipient organized tour industry begun by marketers and travel agents in Canada, whose citizens are not restricted the way those from the United States are. The gradual opening of the country to international tourism was due in part to the need for hard currency and the economic vacuum created by the decline of the sugar industry as the overwhelming economic income generator. However, a desire for international tourism on the part of the host country is not sufficient for an industry to arise. Presumably those guests who traveled to Cuba at this time on organized mass tours were not predominately inspired by the political situation, but nor were they oblivious. After over a decade of Castro dictatorship and undisputed improvement of social indicators, people began to realize the stability of the regime, and the destination became attractive for pleasure-seeking tourists.

Hinch’s article was published in 1990. The collapse of the Soviet Union has had tremendous impact on all facets of life in Cuba, and tourism is no exception. A fourth phase of tourism in Cuba can be said to have commenced with the

proclamation of Cuba's "Special Period." The termination of economic and structural support from the Soviet Union that created a need for Cuba to generate hard currency also resulted in a complete restructuring of sectoral priorities. "One of the most sought after forms of attracting foreign investments to ease the pain of its economic crisis has been through tourism investments" (Frank 1993:156). To that end, the Castro regime has actively pursued international tourism as an economic policy. To assist this, the previously outlawed US dollar was made legal in 1993, although US citizens are still barred from spending it in Cuba.

The priority given to international tourism in the "Special Period" represents a complete about face from Castro's previous policy. Construction of new hotels will triple the number of available rooms by 2005 (Grogg 1998). Golf courses are planned to specifically target international guests. Construction of docks suitable for cruise ships will exponentially increase the number of potential tourists to Cuba, as the Caribbean cruise ship industry caters to millions of passengers each year.

This construction, while speculative, will not be in vain. From 1990 to 1994, the number of tourists increased from about 340,000 to 619,000 (Ritter 1997:156). Nineteen ninety-six saw tourist levels hit the one million mark. Cuba's Ministry of Tourism reports that the highest number of visitors come from Canada, with Western Europe providing most of the remaining tourists. They predict that if the US blockade were lifted; 3.8 million total visitors would come each year to Cuba (Grogg 1998). These tourists would serve the purpose of generating hard currency. "Tourism is now Cuba's second leading sector in terms of growth, and generated gross revenues of approximately a billion dollars in 1995" (Font 1997:124). The industry also is responsible for creating a few thousand jobs each year. Many of these jobs represent nascent capitalism in Cuba. Those in the tourism industry are often self-employed or sell their goods or services in the marketplace. And just as the political context of Cuba's tourism is unique compared to the other developing countries, the impact of the industry is as well.

Although “Special Phase” tourism is relatively new, preliminary impacts to social and economic systems can be noted. As mentioned above, tourism appears to promote individual, as opposed to state sponsored, employment. The much-needed hard currency is from private employment and was accepted as adhering to socialist philosophical ideals, as no evidence was found of a crackdown on this type of employment. Additionally, impacts to systems identified by tourism researchers can be detected in Cuba. Although the industry generates significant income, “leakages” are a problem for Cuba as well as for other host countries. “In 1994 the island only retained \$250 million of the \$800 million in gross receipts, representing leakages of approximately 70%” (Font 1997:124). State development of tourism infrastructure could serve to eliminate this problem.

Tourism is recognized as creating jobs that are typically low paying with no chance for advancement. Jobs in restaurants, hotels and as taxi drivers are seen as steady jobs by workers in developing host countries and are highly sought after. But anthropologists and economists claim they are not as they offer little chance for advancement or income increases and have great potential for exploitation. Although these jobs are similar in Cuba to other developing host countries, because of Cuba’s socialism the outcome is substantially different. While they may not offer room for advancement, they are not low paying. In a society with an escalating need for hard currency, residents of Cuba have only two viable options. Cubans receive US dollars in the form of remittances from relatives in the United States or through tips from jobs in tourism.

In the traditional socialist economy and at the unofficial exchange rate, the official wage and salary structure ranges from about \$2.30 to \$14 per month (however) tips for a bartender or elevator operator in the tourist sector might average \$30 per month, and an engineer who drives a car as an unregistered taxi might earn \$50 to \$150 per month (Ritter 1997:156-7).

It would appear, then, contrary to the vast majority of previous social science and economic research, the tourism industry in Cuba creates virtually the highest paid jobs in the country.

In light of the emphasis on personal income inherent in the “Special Period” phase of Cuba’s tourism development, it remains to be seen how the Castro government can adhere to the ideals of the Revolution. Certainly developing the tourism sector is an important facet of Cuba’s solvency in the twenty-first century, but a socially conscious form must be pursued in order for the industry to be sustainable. According to Turner, whose thesis addressed this conflict, Cuba must “develop tourism types that encourage tourists to celebrate Cuba’s socialist or revolutionary consciousness” (Turner 1997:26-7). By focusing on the ideals and attitude of the international tourist who is more than likely a guest from the Global North, Turner is promoting advocacy travel as a sustainable strategy for tourism in Cuba.

GX operates its Cuba Reality Tours on this principal. The tours promote Cuba’s socialist legacy to participants from the Global North, while incorporating sustainable strategies, such as staying in local hotels and utilizing local guides and drivers. Some of the Reality Tours are devoted specifically to the political situation. Participants are taught the political history of the island and shown that US interference has crippled the economy. Ideally, after seeing the situation firsthand, participants will be inspired to work to end the US embargo.

CHAPTER 6 CHIAPAS

POLITICAL HISTORY

GX's Reality Tours to Chiapas are part of their larger Mexico program. They have offices and staff in Mexico City and San Cristóbal de las Casas who conduct research, write articles and act as an international presence. While the Cuba program is based on motivating participants to help change US policy, the goal of the Mexico program is to encourage democracy in Mexico. Instead of focusing the trip on the negative results of the United States in the region, each Mexico trip centers on the mistreatment of the indigenous population at the hands of the Mexican government. GX's Reality Tours encourage participants to work for democratic change and indigenous rights in Mexico.

Although the state of Chiapas is located in Mexico today, it is more geologically and culturally comparable to Guatemala. Its peoples' quest for self-determination and autonomy is more complex than Cuba's and tourism has played a significantly larger role.

The mountainous jungle lowlands and the descendants of Mayan Indians who dominate the southern state of Chiapas were once part of Guatemala. As Spanish conquistadors struggled during the 1520's to bring the region, populated by several distinct native groups, with their own languages and culture, under control, administrators were able to exploit these divisions and use them to their advantage. The town of Ciudad Real was founded in the highlands in 1528. The highlands of Chiapas were much more suited to the Iberian crops and farming methods and these were pursued by the colonial administrators using forced indigenous slave labor.

These highland natives, living in the mountains north and west of Ciudad Real spoke languages of the Mayan family. Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Chol and Tojolabal are examples that have survived and are still in use today. Indigenous groups to the south and west occupied the lowlands of the Grijalva River Valley and spoke

Chiapanec. Due primarily to geography, the natives of the largely deforested, humid low-lying areas were particularly vulnerable to the Old World diseases brought by their conquerors, such as smallpox and measles, and the yellow fever and malaria brought by African slaves. The quickly declining labor pool in this area forced the conquistadors to suspend their activities in the lowlands and concentrate on the highlands. The colonialists succeeded in obliterating the indigenous agricultural and economic systems. In their place they created Indian townships divided by economic specialization--curing hides, making pottery, weaving cloth or growing tobacco. This created an organizational framework perfectly suited to the later monocropping of coffee and the extraction of timber. Coffee and wood were the two most valuable commodities of the region and the Mexican government exploited them after independence from Spain.

Chiapas was governed as part of the colonial administration of Guatemala under the Spanish crown until 1821, when both New Spain (Mexico) and Guatemala gained their independence. Chiapas then seceded from Guatemala, was an independent nation for three years and joined Mexico in 1824. The decision to join Mexico served to continue and even perpetuate discrimination and prejudice in the state due, primarily because of how Mexico gained her independence.

Mexico's independence movement, brewing for several years among all social classes and castes, was solidified in the early 1800's under Father Miguel Hidalgo, a well-educated, Enlightenment-influenced parish priest who felt that "the Church had a social mission to perform and a duty to improve the lot of the downtrodden Indians" (Burns 1990:81). Executed in 1811, his liberation theology torch was taken up by Father José Maria Morelos, whose espoused similar ideas and "called forth pride in the Mexican--not the Spanish--past" (Burns 1990:82). Morelos was executed in 1815 and Spanish royalists quickly assured loyalty to the crown. New Spain remained in the grip of colonialism for almost another decade.

When independence did come for New Spain, nearly 300 years after Spanish conquest, it was at the hands of the conservative elite. Fearing the liberalism

espoused by Spain in the 1820's, New Spain's elite combined with the power and prestige of the Church to gain control of the government. Advocating neither social nor economic changes, a creole elite replaced the Spanish king with an emperor of their own in 1821 in an effort to preserve and enhance their power. "The Mexican struggle for independence began as a major social, economic, and political revolution but ended as a conservative coup d'etat" (Burns 1990:83). Unfortunately for Chiapas, a state dominated by Indians and mestizos, the circumstances of Mexican independence would shape their struggle to the present day.

Although the current capital of the state, Tuxtla Gutierrez, is a modern city in architecture, business and dress, San Cristóbal de las Casas remains the cultural center of the region. The town is also the center of an international movement seeking indigenous rights and autonomy. Fomenting in the region for perhaps as much as two decades, the movement coalesced after the 1994 Zapatista uprising. After the uprising, Chiapas and its residents were seen as living in an internal colony of Mexico. San Cristóbal is also the center of tourism in the region.

After gaining independence from Spain in 1821, the Guatemalan city of Cuidad Real was renamed San Cristóbal de las Casas, honoring "Bartolome de las Casas, 'the Protector of Indians,' who, as Bishop of Chiapas in the sixteenth century, excoriated the conquistadors for their abuse of indigenous people" (Collier 1999:18). This move appeared to be prophetic as the Mexican Republic moved quickly to legally end the inferior status of the Indians, but de facto subordination continues to the present day. The elite classes running Mexico felt little historic or ethnic connection to their new state and quickly moved to cash in on the resource-rich region. European logging companies soon controlled much of the remaining ancient cedar and mahogany forests in the lowlands of Chiapas while the highlands were dominated by US and European coffee interests.

The Liberal-Conservative rivalry that raged in Mexico since independence shaped the allegiances of the indigenous people of Chiapas, but a full discussion is beyond the scope of this report. The most important political development of the

past century was the drafting and subsequent implementation over many decades of the 1917 Constitution. The Constitution and its provisions would form the basis of the Zapatistas protests against the Mexican government.

The Constitution, progressive for its time, called for fair elections, adequate wages for workers and land for peasants *as goals*. The Mexican government argues that the reforms were never intended to be guarantees, but merely ideals toward which the government should strive. For the indigenous farmers, “agrarian reform” was the most important provision--and the reason they fought the revolution--as they saw once again that farming their own land could be the first step towards self-sufficiency and autonomy. From the beginning, the more isolated, traditional villages in the lowlands had little chance of seeing reform since they labored outside the public eye and had few options for recourse. But for highlanders, whose plight was more visible, receiving a land grant was a more tangible possibility.

In order to secure and retain peasant loyalty in the highlands, the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) began promising agrarian reform in the 1930's. “By positioning itself, at least symbolically, as the champion of peasants and the poor, the government was able to inspire tremendous popular support for its programs” (Collier 1999:30). The promise and prospect of agrarian reform serves to explain several esoteric aspects of the Chiapas situation, including the fact that Chiapas remained relatively peaceful and the peasants supportive throughout the seven decades of PRI rule. The Zapatista movement, widely understood to represent all indigenous people of Chiapas, is actually opposed by several highland communities. Among certain highland villages, the Zapatistas are referred to as “trouble-makers” or “thieves” in their native Tzotzil.

Today, Chiapas, one of the Mexico's poorest states, has the highest indigenous population in the country, in both number and proportion. Household income, literacy, running water, malnutrition and education levels are far below the national average, and infant mortality is the highest of any state in the country. Chiapas contains approximately 3% of Mexico's population, but, in 1990, produced

13% of the country's corn, 54% of the hydroelectric power (while almost half of the state goes without electricity), 5% of timber, 4% of beans, 13% of gas and 4% of oil (Collier 1999:16-7). It is within this social, economic and political milieu that the Zapatista uprising occurred on January 1, 1994.

Zapatista Uprising

The rebellion had been fomenting in the jungles of lowland Chiapas for years. It is unknown where or when it began. It is known that several peasant groups were organizing and operating in the area through the 1980's with the help of extensive and competing Protestant and Catholic outreach programs and alliances with grassroots civil society throughout Chiapas. Civil society is "conceived as that part of society dominated by neither state nor market and often best represented by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), e.g., human rights, environmental, consumer, women's groups," which are in Chiapas to work to alleviate the poverty (Cleaver 1995:11). These groups have proven to be vital in organizing the indigenous and peasant movement.

It was an open secret among peasants in the area that they were being recruited and trained by "armed groups." There are several theories as to who initiated the training. Conservatives blame the Catholic Church's liberation philosophy and long history of social justice rallying in the region. The Mexican government blames foreigners--anyone from sympathetic Guatemalan peasants to European university students. Scholars generally cite the Zapatistas as a mutation of one of the numerous peasant groups in the area. "Sub-Comandante Marcos himself has hinted that the Zapatistas began ten years ago when a small group of urban intellectuals arrived in Chiapas with the specific goal of fomenting revolution" (Collier 1999:54). While the true origins are most likely a combination of all of the above factors, the sophisticated use of media and manipulation of public opinion utilized by the Zapatistas speaks to a premeditation that would render the latter hypothesis the most tenable.

The Zapatistas stormed into the City Halls of six Chiapan cities--Altamirano, Chanal, Huistán, Las Margaritas, Oxchuc, Ocosingo and San Cristóbal de las Casas--on January 1, 1994. Approximately 125 people died. Almost all were Zapatistas who had been sent into battle with rifles carved from wood. Twelve days after the uprising, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari declared a unilateral cease-fire. While tensions have flared sporadically since there has been no further violence on the part of the Zapatistas.

Despite this, their insurgency has been one of the most successful in Latin America and unique in the fact that it did not demand a transfer of power. This success can undoubtedly be attributed to the elevation of the local struggle to a global level by a sophisticated use of the media. Dynamic Zapatista spokesman, Subcomandante Marcos, orchestrated the media coverage. Marcos is not indigenous, but a mestizo former philosophy student named Rafael Santiago Guillén Vicente (Collier 1999:167). In order for the uprising to be viable and attractive on an international level, however, its motivations and demands must mutate to fit the global context.

The uprising occurred on January 1, 1994, *coincidentally* also the date for the implementation of the NAFTA agreement. As the Zapatista movement has altered to include a critique of globalization, most international solidarity groups assume that date was selected solely to protest the agreement. It was not. Marcos claimed that the date was selected based on logistical considerations, such as when the food reserves would be greatest and when the weather would be most favorable.

More specific aspects of the uprising have been altered, whether intentionally in the media by Marcos or more benignly by fulfilling predictions and expectations. "The movements from peasant to indigenous concerns, from class to identity, and from individual human rights to indigenous collective rights have all been apparent within the Zapatista movement itself" (Collier 1999:160-1). What was originally intended to be a movement to secure property and human rights for peasants is now an indigenous movement focused on asserting a subjugated Mayan identity.

The Zapatista demands were originally multifaceted, focusing on addressing several issues that, when combined, would alleviate poverty on several levels--land, work, housing, nutrition, health, education, liberty, democracy, peace and justice. However, after a November 1994 meeting with non-indigenous scholars and writers working as consultants that a December 1994 announcement of the establishment of 37 autonomous municipios within Chiapas was made. Autonomy was a concept previously unknown in Chiapas and it was not the priority focus of the Zapatistas. "Now, 'autonomy' has become *the* central demand of the Zapatista movement (and) was the central basis of the San Andres Accords on Indigenous Rights and Culture negotiated with the government" (emphasis in original, Collier 1999:162). It seems obvious, however, that the Mexican government, even if they agreed to honor the original demands had no intention of actually doing so. The indigenous and peasants of southern Mexico had been waiting since the 1930's for the promised land reform. Autonomy would confer more power onto the Zapatistas to control their own future.

As the movement reached the worldwide stage, indigenous activists and supporters around the globe supported and promoted the uprising. Although portrayed as a simple right/wrong issue on the world stage, in reality the conflict is much more complex. The Zapatista movement excluded and even contradicted the beliefs and convictions of many of the highland Maya who were fervent supporters of the ruling PRI and who condemned the actions of the "troublemakers" and "thieves."

Additionally, leftists from the industrialized world champion the rights for women that would come from the realization of the Zapatista demands. Traditional Mayan society, both highland and lowland, however, is not sexually egalitarian. In the past century, the male role has shifted from subsistence farming to wage labor, thereby granting them purchasing power. Women, however, remained responsible for all cooking, wood gathering and care-taking in the community and were forbidden from education, religious positions and public speaking. The Zapatistas

openly acknowledge their inclusion of women in positions of power and their promotion of women's rights, including education in Spanish. This stance was developed after interviews in several communities with hundreds of indigenous women (Collier 1999:60). Support for women's rights is in direct conflict with traditional Mayan society and could be seen as a concession to appease leftist female supporters and activists in Europe and the US. The interviews conducted with indigenous women suggest that the movement has been constructed from the bottom-up.

Despite, or more accurately, because of, the metamorphosis in its demands, the Zapatista struggle has appealed to activists on a global level. Although the Mexican government has not yet met the demands, it is the positioning of the struggle on the world stage, superseding the national government, which has played a role in ending PRI rule. The ascension of Vicente Fox's government to power has allowed a dialogue to begin. The Zapatista struggle has garnered world attention two ways--through the internet and through tourism.

Media and Internet

The most striking facet of the uprising is the speed at which news of the sequence of events and the Zapatista justification spread around the globe. The first paragraph of their initial communique states:

Hoy Decimos Basta! Today we say enough is enough! To the people of Mexico: Mexican brothers and sisters: We are a product of 500 years of struggle: first against slavery, then during the War of Independence against Spain led by insurgents, then to promulgate our constitution and expel the French empire from our soil, and later (when) the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz denied us the just application of the Reform laws and the people rebelled and leaders like Villa and Zapata emerged, poor men just like us. We have been denied the most elemental education so that others can use us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our country. They don't care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a roof over our heads, no land, no work, no health care, no food, and no education. Nor are we able freely and democratically to elect our political

representatives, nor is there independence from foreigners, nor is there peace nor justice for ourselves and our children (Collier 1999: 2)

This communiqué found its way onto the internet and into the hands of several civil and grassroots organizations in Europe and the United States within days.

This diffusion, which flashed into conferences and lists on networks such as Peacenet (e.g., carnet.mexnews), the Internet (e.g., Mexico-L, Native-L, Centam-L) and Usenet (e.g., soc.culture.Mexican, soc.culture.Latin-American), was then collected, sorted, compiled and sometimes synthesized and rediffused by particularly interested parties in the nets (Cleaver 1994:1).

It was only because of the pre-established networks of activists that the Zapatistas were successful. “The rapidity of this diffusion has been due, to a considerable degree, not only to the technical capacity of such networks but to their political responsiveness and militancy” (Cleaver 1994:2). The Zapatistas were able to exploit channels of communication that had been previously established—something that would have been impossible ten or even five years earlier.

After January 1, 1994 both pre-existing and newly created networks in cyberspace made possible a mobilization and coordination of solidarity that helped limit the Mexican government’s military offensive and made possible the opening of a political terrain where the Zapatistas soon out-classed the government and its apologists (Accion Zapatista de Austin 2001).

While the Zapatistas were not expressly anti-NAFTA, as discussed earlier, the situation of the peasants and indigenous of Chiapas was a concrete example of the abstraction anti-NAFTA community organizers were attempting to publicize. This “electronic fabric of struggle” has shown itself to be very effective (Cleaver 1995). No longer is it necessary to rely on traditional mass media, much of which (within Mexico) was suppressed in the days following the uprising. The Mexican government is consequently placed under an international lens, and is no longer solely accountable to its own people, but to the international community. Through

reposting, activists and civil society are also able to lend greater weight to information flowing from the Zapatistas.

The Zapatista movement marks one of the first times that the Internet has been used as a tool of revolution. It probably won't be the last. In a prophetic article published in 1993, John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt of the RAND Institute introduced two concepts pertaining to the information revolution and its alteration of the nature of conflict. "Cyberwar" describes a knowledge-related conflict at the military level. "Netwar" refers to conflict waged by terrorists, drug cartels, or black market proliferators of weapons of mass destruction. "Netwar" also "may be waged against the policies of specific governments by advocacy groups and movements, involving, for example, environmental, human-rights, or religious issues" (Arquilla and Ronfeldt 1993:5). A netwar focuses on public opinion over overt strength, something that the Zapatistas personify. With the exception of the initial uprising, the Zapatistas have fought a war of public opinion, exploiting pre-existing networks of activists through the Internet, and also through tourism.

TOURISM

Although Chiapas is one of the poorest and geographically isolated states in Mexico, it is no stranger to tourism. San Cristóbal has traditionally been the center of tourism in the region, attracting visitors with proximity to waterfalls and archaeological sites, colonial architecture and indigenous culture. The attraction before 1994 to the indigenous culture was not political, but instead a chance for those from the Global North to observe "traditional" life and culture. In 1988, Diane Rus found that "more than half (of village women in Chiapas) produced embroidered shirts, woven bracelets, or some other handicraft for the tourist trade" (Rus, in Collier 1999:113). Chiapas received 336,240 visitors in 1993; most bound for either San Cristóbal or Palenque. France, the United States and Germany were the most popular countries of origin (Kersten 1997:7-8).

Starting at the beginning of the 1990's, ecotourism has been promoted by the international tourism community, as well as the Mexican government, as a development strategy. It was seen as a sustainable way to preserve native land and culture. Other research promotes community-based ecotourism as a mechanism for community building and strengthening (Kersten 1997:2). This type of tourism is also viewed as having the potential to support and strengthen the indigenous movement internationally.

Immediately following the Zapatista uprising, tourism levels dropped off. It was not to be for long, however. Vendors quickly capitalized on the situation. A journalist, who traveled to San Cristóbal in June 1994, noted that "on the street, Indian women sell Zapatista dolls...there are also T-shirts and gym socks with the masked face of Subcommander Marcos" (Caragata 1994:28). It appears that almost all women who sell handmade crafts also sell small dolls dressed as Zapatistas.



FIGURE 1. DOLLS FOR SALE ON THE STREET. San Cristóbal de las Casas, January 2001, Jana Donckers.



FIGURE 2. T-SHIRTS AT A SOUVENIR SHOP, San Cristóbal de las Casas, January 2001, Jana Donckers

Entire souvenir shops are devoted to selling t-shirts with the image of Che Guevara on the front. During my visit in January 2001, I observed that as many postcards for sale depict armed Zapatista men and women in the jungle as mountain scenery or colonial churches of Chiapas.

Producing handicrafts to sell to tourists is a significant component of indigenous economy. In Chiapas, a significant part of items consumed by tourists are related to the Zapatista uprising. Selling these handicrafts to tourists is a competitive and vital industry, one that allows children to economically contribute to their families.



FIGURE 3. CHILDREN SELLING CRAFTS TO TOURISTS, San Cristóbal Zocalo, January 2001, Jana Donckers

Tourists have been slowly but steadily returning to Chiapas since the 1994 uprising, but the focus is different. Many visitors now are drawn to the area specifically due to the Zapatista movement. They visit in order to support, or encourage according to the Mexican government, the Zapatista movement. In 1998, the government coined the term “revolutionary tourism” when it chose to expel the 134 Italian tourists who had arrived on ten day visas to “observe” in communities near San Cristóbal. Wearing t-shirts proclaiming “We Are All Indians,” the group visited rebel-supporting villages contrary to what was allowed by their visas. Among the group were four left-wing members of the Italian parliament and the ensuing international attention as a result of the expulsion refocused the attention of activists in the region. Encouraging people to visit, especially those who were sympathetic to the Zapatista cause, was seen as a new strategy in the campaign for indigenous rights (Economist 1998:35).

CURRENT SITUATION

The Zapatista movement is widely regarded by human rights and indigenous rights activists as being one of the more successful indigenous movements. However, success is not defined as the government meeting the demands of the Zapatistas. In fact, since the uprising, there have been numerous random killings and massacres. The government has implemented dozens of roadblocks throughout Chiapas, expelled foreigners and imprisoned “organizers.” However, the Mexican government was not able to brutally suppress the rebellion as it had so many others. Recently, the Zapatistas have succeeded in securing negotiations with the new, post-PRI government, orchestrating an historic march from the lowlands of Chiapas to Mexico City, which captured the attention of the world. Several international tourists accompanied them on the march.

These recent events that have emerged from the Lacandon jungle and onto the worldwide stage, have served to further solidify the Zapatistas’ media savvy image. However, the march also worked to cast doubt upon the sincerity of their movement. The two-week trek by the Zapatistas from Chiapas to Mexico City, which came to be known as the “Zapatour,” played out in the international media as a battle for public opinion between Marcos and Fox, who thus far has proved to be equally media-savvy. The march, aimed at resurrecting the San Andres Accords, marked a resurgence of international interest, even trendiness, in a cause that had been silent for months.

The renewed interest in the Zapatistas can be credited, ironically, to Presidente Fox and his pre-election claim that he could end the Zapatista problem in fifteen minutes. This was obviously an exaggeration, but Fox did more to assuage the Zapatistas in his first 100 days in office than former President Ernesto Zedillo had done during his entire term. Fox immediately closed four of the seven major military checkpoints in Chiapas, began to release some of the 110 political prisoners following Zapatista demands and introduced the San Andres Accords to Congress

for ratification. The Zapatistas claimed they would not negotiate until all prisoners had been released, all checkpoints were closed and the Accords were ratified. They undertook the march ostensibly to rally for their passage.

The “March of Indian Dignity” left from San Cristóbal on February 25th, 2001, and faced a perilous two-week route through states whose governors fiercely opposed the “cowards” and “traitors” (Ross 2001). Requested accompaniment from the International Red Cross (IRC) was denied as the march was viewed as political and beyond the mandate of the IRC. GX similarly decided against officially encouraging employees in Mexico to accompany the march. But there was no shortage of international support throughout the march.

“The Zapatista caravan has drawn a surprisingly broad and varied crew of backers for the cause of a motley rebel band that has gained attention and supporters from near and far,” reported a New York Times journalist (Thompson 2001). In addition to the hundreds of young Americans and Europeans accompanying the march, more notable supporters from all over the world--Nobel laureate José Saramago, former French first lady Danielle Mitterand and US novelist Susan Sontag --also joined for part of the march. In the current atmosphere of political ambivalence pervading the United States and Europe, it is interesting that so many people are drawn to the atmosphere of political foment in Mexico.

Presidente Fox had taken away some of the resistance to the Zapatistas by providing federal escorts for the march to ensure the safety of the Zapatistas after they were persuaded to leave their arms at home. The Mexican government had been accommodating throughout the march. The New Statesman captured this irony eloquently.

Marcos emerged from his jungle hide-out sporting a ski mask, a cap kept in place by a set of headphones, camouflage trousers and a pipe; he boarded a bus--equipped with video screen and laptop computers and mobile phones--which took him, under police protection, to the Mexican capital. Here he proceeded, without hindrance of any sort, to address a rally outside the National Palace. Among the admiring throng were a host of international camp followers that included 200

Italian anarchists in white jump suits, gay and lesbian groups, and hundreds of US college students on spring break. Marvelous to behold was the complicity of the declared 'enemy' is all this. Rarely in the history of human conflict can a government have extended such largesse to a self-proclaimed 'insurgent' leader. And yet, there was Subcomandante Marcos in his address outside the National Palace declaring—whether unblushingly or not, we will never know—that he had stormed the capital 'to shout for democracy and liberty' (Carlin 2001:15).

The movement now exists on a worldwide scale, the message tailored to the desires of the consumers. It has been successfully marketed and sold around the globe. While it is impossible to determine whether the passage of the San Andres Accords, negotiated in 1994 before the full effects of NAFTA have been realized, will actually alleviate the intense poverty experienced daily by the peasants and indigenous residents of southern Mexico, it would appease the multiculturalist zeal espoused by so many of the supporters. However, it would undoubtedly do nothing to address the concerns of the 200 Italian anarchists or gay and lesbian groups who have adopted and promoted the cause of the Zapatistas. By elevating their cause to the global level, the Zapatistas have sacrificed focus on their specific cause to the label of "anti-globalization." It must now be determined whether that sacrifice, and international awareness of their cause and subsequent tourism, will prove to be beneficial.

CHAPTER 7 CHIAPAS REALITY TOUR, JANUARY 2001

The itinerary for the January 2001 Chiapas trip was finalized in the months preceding the trip. I had assisted in the final scheduling, met with the GX Mexico staff when they visited the San Francisco office and facilitated sustained contact with the participants prior to the trip. I also assisted with assembling the welcome back packets. Upon completing the internship, I clearly understood the preparation involved in organizing a Reality Tour (specifically assuring that the trip is socially responsible) and the outcomes desired upon the participants' return. However, in order to thoroughly understand the process and methods involved in eliciting these results and to evaluate the process juxtaposed with theoretical concerns, it is necessary to experience the Reality Tour as a participant. The description below is summarized from my field notes during the January 5-12, 2001, *Chiapas: Tierra y Libertad* Reality Tour.

My role on the Reality Tour to Chiapas was actually threefold. First, I was present in an intern capacity, to offer logistical support to the Mexico program staff in organizing our group of 15. This was one of the largest groups taken to Chiapas. I also went on the trip as an anthropologist, observing the methodology of motivating ordinary citizens to become activists and the subsequent impressions and reactions of the participants. Finally, I went on the trip as a participant, experiencing the trip as the other participants did to observe methods used to encourage activism in our group. I wondered if I would feel compelled to continue Chiapas work upon my return, clearly understanding that this was the objective of the Reality Tours organizers.

I had had contact with all of the 15 participants in the few months leading up to the trip. My duties included confirming their flight information, ensuring all medical forms were completely and correctly filled out before departure and

answering any last minute questions. I was therefore familiar to them as a GX intern. My thesis was mentioned only briefly on the trip.

Participants were given a general itinerary prior to arriving in Mexico. The template of the ten-day long trip, which takes place twice a year, has been similar for several years. Once in Mexico, the Mexico program staff leads the trip. At the time of the January 2001 trip the staff consisted of three people. One was a Mexican *director*, a graduate student who is well connected to various international non-profits and government agencies (and the Zapatista leadership, as we would discover later). A *coordinator* was from the United States and he focused on the research and writing of issues affecting the indigenous Maya from the armed forces in Mexico to biopiracy. Third was an English *intern* fluent in Spanish who acted as translator. Additionally, the newly hired Australian director of the GX-Mexico City office would be observing in preparation for possible Reality Tours to Mexico City in the future joined us. The general format is an initial introduction outlining the background of the issues in Chiapas, lectures from a various organizations working in San Cristóbal, and two overnight trips to displaced villages to meet with indigenous Maya and, at the end, the important debriefing, where all information is synthesized and participants are encouraged to bring what they've seen and learned home. The trip began in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico, on January 5.

January 5- Some of the participants begin arriving early in the morning. None of the GX staff had gone to the hotel to let the management know about our delegation, so they aren't allowed to check-in. When the pre-arranged van brings the participants from the group flight to the hotel from the airport in Tuxtla Gutierrez, the hotel found the group reservation and everyone was allowed to check in. While the participants are getting settled and walking around the town, the program staff has a meeting at the GX headquarters, which I also attend. Since all the staff speak Spanish, and it is Mexico after all, the meeting is conducted in a language in which I am not fluent. They do not offer to translate and I do not ask. I think I pick up on most of what is said. They discuss how best to activate the participants. It is

mentioned that they need a list of contact information-- support groups that take donations, addresses for Congressional Representatives, etc.-- from the very beginning and that subtle references should be made throughout the Tour to actions participants can take. This way, participants have a choice as to what action they can take, and they often feel as if their decision to act was an independent one. I find the calculated effort at subtlety an interesting, and probably effective, activist strategy.

The opening dinner is at a vegetarian restaurant with a live jazz band. It is owned by European ex-patriots, something that a 'socially responsible' trip should avoid, but it is acknowledged that in groups everyone has a different comfort level with regards to traveling, and it is just the first night. Of the 15 participants, only four are men. The participants range in age from 19 to 80, but seven are students and two more have recently graduated, so the average age is about 35. Although most are tired from traveling, there is an air of anticipation about the next ten days and everyone is eager to see a detailed itinerary, something that GX, as policy, does not distribute to Chiapas participants prior to the trip because of security concerns. I think that this is a valid reason, but it also adds an atmosphere of secrecy and importance to our 'mission,' which could make participants take the whole trip more seriously. None of the participants have been on a Reality Tour before, but most have some international travel experience, so that is a main discussion topic. Also, there are frequent references to supporting the Zapatistas and hoping to meet Subcomandante Marcos.

January 6- After breakfast, we all go to the GX headquarters for our introductory meeting. Everyone is eager, almost obsessed, with seeing the itinerary. This definitely isn't a group who is used to mass travel, where your schedule is wholly in the hands of professional planners. These participants are eager to know where they are going, with whom they're meeting and exactly when they are doing it.

The background lecture begins with January 1, 1994. There is a lot leading up to the uprising that we didn't learn about, but the lecture had to begin somewhere and that date is indeed *the* date when discussing Chiapas. We learn that four main

groups suffered from the government repression and reprisals following the uprising: civilian Zapatista communities, indigenous organizations, the diocese of San Cristóbal and international NGO's and their international civilian supporters. It is implied that there are communities that do not support the Zapatistas, but reasons for this are not given. The San Andres Accords are described as addressing the desire of the indigenous and peasants to have autonomy and receive economic benefits from the natural resources in the area, but those villages that do not support the Zapatistas, the "pristas" (indicating support for the PRI) are rarely mentioned.

Natural resource extraction is discussed and specific US companies are mentioned who operate in Chiapas. I saw this as a subtle way of encouraging corporate boycotts, a favored GX strategy. The participants ask several questions about the role and activities of the military and military police. Last month (December 2000) GX jointly published a book entitled *Always Near, Always Far: The Armed Forces in Mexico* with Centro de Investigaciones Económicas y Políticas de Acción Comunitaria AC (CIEPAC) and Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social (CENCOS). The book is brought up several times in response to almost all questions about the military, which could be seen as plugging GX material for financial gain, but in reality the contributors to the book are experts in the field, including two military generals, one a political prisoner, and the financial benefit even if all Reality Tour participants were to purchase the book, would be minimal.

They keep bringing up this book. Maybe (Director) is just excited because he wrote a chapter, although he hasn't really mentioned that at all. My guess is that they just want to make sure we know that GX's name has weight in the movement down here, that they are a legitimate force in shaping the direction of the human rights movement in Chiapas.

After lunch, we have two lectures at the GX headquarters. The first is from the director of CIEPAC, who is a military expert and has written two chapters in the book. The topic of his talk is, ironically, not about the military, but about the IMF and World Bank. He outlines the basic criticisms of neoliberalism--economic disparity, marginalization of minorities, homogenization--that compose the rhetoric

of the activist movement I have been learning about for the past four months. One participant tries nobly to balance the picture by stating that “*the IMF and World Bank were founded not to create economic disparity, but to prevent global depression*” and that they “*function to maintain global stability and prevent economic depression,*” but this point is quickly invalidated as the CIEPAC director claims that intention shouldn’t really matter, we should look at the outcome of their policies. The others definitely agree and look as if they would like to stage their own protest right now.

Our second lecture is from a woman with a master’s degree in psychology. She runs an organization that works to provide counseling and mental health support to communities in the highlands. This is a more interesting topic to me as it is something unfamiliar and not, overtly at least, political. International organizations and individuals working in the area of mental health have been the most persecuted by the military. The government maintains that practicing psychology is subversive. The Director interrupts sharply and warns us that the only way organizations such as this can continue is with complete anonymity. When this is translated, the group seems to collectively nod solemnly and sit a bit more attentively in their chairs, understanding the importance of their mission to learn all they can about the subtle nuances of the situation. I feel uncomfortable for a moment until I remember that earlier that morning I had received permission from this lecturer to tape her talk and even use her name in my thesis, if I want. But I don’t think I will.

Damage to mental health is the principal objective of low-intensity warfare. In addition to worrying about where their food will be coming from and what would happen if they got sick, displaced villagers are constantly anxious about losing their homes, about the army coming back, about planes flying overhead. Instilling unpredictability in the lives of the villagers is the main goal of the Mexican Army. We are told that most of the people in the displaced villages are living in a state of emotional paralysis. And with that, we prepare to visit one of the villages.

January 7- Today is our trip to Nuevo Yibeljoj, a displaced community in the highlands. We drive on top of green and brown-checked mountains with the blue sky so wide and clear and tiny white adobe churches dotting the hills. Barefoot women, bright ribbons winding through their thick, black braids, and children with dirt-streaked faces walk along the side of the highway, bundles of sticks carried on straps around their heads. Men are near the small thatched houses, sometimes working in the uneven plots, sometimes sitting in front of the house, talking, drinking, watching. We are a world away from the dusty borderlands of Tijuana and Matamoros that occupy most Americans' minds when they think about Mexico.

The community of Nuevo Yibeljoj is made up of residents from two or three small villages who have been displaced by the Mexican Army. They now live in relative safety. International observers live with them to ensure their protection and offer some reassurance, but we're told that their houses are temporary and the land is bad for farming. They didn't have time to plant anything last spring and now, with the rains, much of the dirt hillsides are running off into their houses. They are used to having international witnesses and are eager to share their story.

We arrive after about three hours and prepare for a half-mile hike. I am eager for the walk to stretch my legs, but the intern and I are assigned to stay with the slower members of the group. After about forty-five minutes we reach the village. We are prepared well; it looks exactly like we expected. The houses are one or two rooms and each of them has at least one wall made from a large sheet of black plastic--like a garbage bag. The hills are steep and I see no crops apart from small vegetable gardens, but they do have a river. There are some kids splashing around and a man standing in the middle of the river with his cow. I'm sure this is where they get their water, too. That can't be good. We are going to their main meeting house, the only building with four wooden walls, to put down our things and then attend an introduction and lecture from the council of elders. But this is not exactly what we expected.



FIGURE 4. WALKING INTO NUEVO YIBELJOJ, Chiapas Highlands, January 2002, Jana Donckers

We walk over the top of the hill toward the meeting house. We hadn't seen many people around the village and suddenly we saw why. Upon cresting the top of the hill we look down to see a small amphitheater with benches cut into the dirt wall. Hundreds of indigenous villagers are here, women and even some men dressed in traditional clothing. I was confused about why they were all gathered here until they began clapping, 200 sets of eyes directed at our group. Before we had arrived, the Coordinator stressed how important it was that we were visiting this community, how they wanted to tell us what has happened to them so we could go back to the United States and tell their story. Even though the whole thing felt staged to me, it was incredibly moving. Other participants felt the same way--*"honored", "responsible", "profoundly moved."*

We gather in the amphitheater, on the stage while a woman's group sings a welcome song to us. One of the elders begins telling us the story of how they ended up in this place that isn't their home; how they had everything taken from them that was important; how they can't grow corn anymore. At least we are told that's what he is saying. The introduction is being translated twice, from Maya to Spanish to English. My basic Spanish is enough to make me feel fairly confident that the Spanish to English is accurate, but no one in our group speaks more than a few words of Tzotzil, so I guess in theory, we could have been told by our Coordinator what he thinks will make us the most motivated.

The women and children sit on one side of the benches, the men on another. Most of them look bored. I feel uncomfortable as the center of attention, but remember in a staff meeting about the trip the night before. The Director told us that this group sees a lot of visitors and they are used to it. So maybe it is staged in a sense, but many of the younger members of our delegation seem excited to be playing such a perceived important role. The triple-translated introduction ends with this translation from our Spanish to English translator:

He wanted to sum up what he's saying. Before you, I solicit if you could, send letters to the new President, Vicente Fox, and the new governor of Chiapas, Paolo Salazar, to demand that they investigate or continue the investigation into the massacre of Acteal. Investigate the true people who are responsible for this massacre as well as solve the situation of 10,000 displaced or refugees here in the highlands or altos area alone. Demand the payment for their lost lands and the lost belongings and dialogue with the EZLN so that there might be an end to the war of low intensity so that there might be peace and tranquility and demand that the government does its job.

I thank you for all coming and listening to his word today. He said now you are all witnesses after having lived with them and shared with them for a little bit and so when you return to your communities, when you return to your countries, he said that he would like you to basically let everyone know, to denounce the suffering, the injustice that they are experiencing right here. They continue to be refugees, they continue to cry, and they continue to be without food and education, for example. They say they will not stop struggling for their demands to be met. They don't necessarily like to live dependent on other people because right now,

they're completely dependent on outside sources to live and they'd rather just live here within their communities sufficiently. They say they live through your solidarity and your support. They continue to struggle and they continue to live in hope. He is happy that you've been able to come and share with him today, but he is still sad. He thanks you for coming.

I don't know if anyone from the delegation would write a letter to President Fox. I did not hear anyone talking of doing this, nor were we provided with his address.

The rest of the afternoon we wander the village and play with the children. The adults are shy, or busy, or tired of visitors, but the children buzz around us, particularly enthralled by a member of our group who can stand on his head. They feed us a dinner of beans, rice and tortillas. The beans come from the Red Cross. Later in the evening, they have a dance supposedly in our honor, but again most of the adults appear bored or distracted, or perhaps the mental health worker was right and they are disillusioned and scared. Only the children dance.

The community members are not strangers to outside visitors. A group of three Red Cross workers have been there since the previous October. A nineteen-year-old Jesuit from New York has been in the village for seven months. GX sends some of their short term, level 2 volunteers to Nuevo Yibeljoj. Earlier in the afternoon, another group arrived-- seven students and their leader from Guadalajara. There is recognition within Mexico of the poverty and hunger in Chiapas and the young, the idealistic, are there to help.

January 8- We leave the village in the morning after breakfast of rice, beans, tortillas and coffee. The community, like most in the highlands, displaced or not, harvests coffee beans. I don't drink coffee, but others in our group say it was the worst they had ever had.

When we get back to GX headquarters in San Cristóbal, we're told by the Director that our next overnight trip will be to La Realidad, the headquarters of the EZLN located somewhere in the southeastern lowland jungle. Everyone, myself included, is very excited. We have a short discussion about the upcoming Zapatista march to Mexico City that will take place in February. We are told by the Director

that it is a very important delegation and marks the first time (to the knowledge of those involved in the movement) that Subcomandante Marcos and others in the Zapatista leadership have left Chiapas. This will mark a *"pacifistic attempt at dialogue with the government."* He informed the group that *"we are talking about this now because there is a small chance that a high commander will want to dialogue with us."* The discussion turns serious then as we are told about the discretion we must have. For the next two days, we are not to tell anyone where we will be going. We should not wear t-shirts that indicate support for the Zapatistas or Guevara. We are not to talk to any media who are in town to cover a march in a few days. Although these suggestions are practical in the context of the situation--government actions aimed at groups of sympathetic tourists in the past and the fact that GX wants to keep a low profile--the melodramatic tone seems over-the-top and comical, but exciting. I feel as if we are on a secret mission. The delegates, for the most part, seem very receptive, apprehensive and excited about the trip.

The meeting for this afternoon is cancelled. The Director tells the group it is because the topic was displaced people and our experience in Nuevo Yibelloj was more informative than any lecture. Most people are tired and they want to give us an afternoon off to rest and get mentally prepared for our trip to La Realidad. I find out later that the lecturer couldn't make it and that is why it was cancelled, but the Director did feel that everyone needed an afternoon off, which is why nothing was rescheduled in its place. Several of the participants have been feeling sick, and the staff wants to make sure everyone is healthy for our trip to the jungle.

This afternoon I stroll around San Cristóbal. I had been here once before in 1996 and the one major difference that I spot is the internet cafés. There are at least fifteen around the town. I don't know whether this indicates an increase in tourism, or just the technological revolution coming to southern Mexico. There are a few more language schools and a few places offering day trips to nearby villages or longer organized tours to Palenque. I don't think these were here in 1996, but I can't remember. There are still women selling small Zapatista dolls on the street, as they

had five years earlier. They are all the same, but after looking for a few hours I see one that is a woman with a baby on her back. I buy it for a dollar. When I ask the vendor why she made that one, she just shrugs her shoulders and looks away.

All the stores that sell Mexican souvenirs and handicrafts also sell political t-shirts. Most shirts are black, white or red with a picture of either a Zapatista or Che Guevara. Although I see no tourists in San Cristóbal wearing these shirts, storeowners tell me that they are very popular with tourists. Postcards are emblazoned with similar images. I buy several and send three to friends in the United States. All three are scenes of Zapatistas in the jungle, and none of them reach their destination. Unfortunately, I used a self-serve postage meter at the post office, so there is a chance there was insufficient postage, but I don't think this was the case. I won't even speculate about what happened to the vanished postcards.

January 9- There are two meetings scheduled for today. The first is with an organization called the Chiapas Media Project. They bring audio and visual technology to the communities, teach them to use it, and help them distribute their story to schools and public speaking events in the United States. They encourage the villagers to tape and narrate their own events such as meetings, religious ceremonies and celebrations. I notice on their brochure that they organize delegations from the United States to visit communities in Chiapas. The goal of these delegations is to *"let people know about the situation in the villages, give presentations like this one to their friends and families, and get the word out that there is documentation available."* The Director claims *"the delegations are vital to our success in documenting the situation in the villages in Chiapas and the forests in Guerrero."* International logging companies are destroying Chiapas forests at an alarming rate by international logging companies. They encourage students to come and offer scholarships to facilitate this. The methodology and goals are nearly identical to GX. This, too, is advocacy travel.

In the afternoon we meet with a Mexican NGO called *Enlace Civil*, which translates as "Civil Ties." They are responsible for placing international observers in

Zapatista communities who request them. As a result, *Enlace Civil* works the most closely with the Zapatistas and knows the exact whereabouts of the six autonomous municipalities that have illegally been established in southeastern Chiapas. In this meeting we discuss the role of the international observers. International presence is fundamental so that Zapatista villagers can carry on with their daily activities. The Zapatistas know their cause won't advance without international support.

In addition to the GX group, the meeting is attended by a couple from Portland and four people from Spain, all of whom are beginning their training to be observers. To me, this is the most interesting meeting we have had so far, as it is with people who are actually on the front line of the conflict. Also, it is a domestic organization instead of one falling into the general "international, anti-globalization NGO" category that fits all other groups with whom we have met. Unfortunately, several members of our group miss this meeting, as well as the one earlier in the morning.

A few people claimed to be sick this morning. This could be true. I feel a bit frustrated because I know the months of planning that went into arranging all our meetings and that meeting with our group takes time away from work that they could be doing, although meeting with groups like ours is a priority for many organizations, as they've told us repeatedly. And this is a vacation for the participants. Perhaps they are motivated by seeking leisure, at least partially. Maybe they should have the option of attending these meetings. Too much information can be overwhelming.

Also, today (Director) and (Coordinator) spent the day in the office and didn't come with (Intern) and I to any of the meetings. I think this gave the group the impression that this day wasn't very important. (Names of participants) seemed anxious when they told me (other participants) weren't coming, but when I told them that (Director) and (Coordinator) weren't coming, either, they seemed a little pissed that they had to go."

January 10- Driving to La Realidad takes about 6 hours, 2 on the paved highway and 4 on dirt backroads. I spend most of the time hoping no one gets carsick. We skim

along the border with Guatemala and when we finally see the village, nestled in an emerald green valley, it seems a million miles away from the isolating mountains and cold of the highlands. The air is sweet and heavy. We are all slightly disoriented from the long ride in the van and the whole 21 hours we would spend in the village would seem both surreal and serene. The first thing I notice was how established and permanent the houses look. With crushed rock roads laid out in a grid pattern and green grass growing in the front yards, it could have been a typical suburb in the United States.

The second thing I notice as we walk to the *Aguascaliente*, the central arena, are the murals. All the buildings, the school, the library, the medical clinic, have elaborately painted murals depicting scenes from the struggle. We are allowed to take photographs as long as no people are included, but the picture here doesn't do justice to the power of these murals.



FIGURE 5. ZAPATISTA MURAL, La Realidad, January 2001, Jana Donckers

The role of our delegation, as explained previously by the Director, is to simply be a presence. We have no lectures, no meetings, and no one seems very interested in the fact that we are there, in such contrast to Nuevo Yibeljoj. The Director gives us a tour of the main areas, the ones we are allowed to see. We visit the library, shelves stocked with books in English, Spanish, German and Italian about the dangers of globalization and biographies of Che. We visit the school with a brand new tin roof, which, reflecting the noonday sun, shines like a beacon. We are told that a few years ago the Army, attempting to intimidate the Zapatistas, flew a helicopter too close to the school, blowing off the wooden roof. A piece struck a child in the head, killing him instantly. The village demanded an apology, which was never received. Until then, they will keep the temporary tin roof on the school to honor the boy who died for the struggle. I have no idea whether this story is true or not, but it definitely served its purpose, bringing some of the tour participants to tears. Later, in the course of my research, I would learn that it was a helicopter from TV *Azteca*, the main news channel in Mexico, that blew off the roof and that the Army wasn't involved.

Late in the afternoon we are served a dinner of beans, rice, tortillas, and two of the hottest peppers I have ever tasted, in a restaurant-type area by a group of four or five Zapatista supporters who are living in the village. One of the women, a statuesque, dark-skinned Mexican woman with waist-length wavy black hair and camouflage pants appears to fit perfectly the part of "revolutionary" cast by a Hollywood film agent. Indeed, the whole place seems like movie set.

Throughout the day, indigenous Zapatista supporters have been arriving in convoys preparing for a meeting. They will discuss the march to San Cristóbal in a few days that will be a precursor to the big delegation to take place in March. We go back to the *Aguascaliente* where groups of people from different villages are having picnics in the grass and talking with friends. I am worried that without an itinerary or any planned activities, the group will be anxious or restless, but the peace and

tranquility of La Realidad infects us. GX delegates wander around, the bilingual ones talking to everyone they could. I am amazed at how well all the delegates integrate themselves. That evening all the action is centered on our group. Some of them are playing games with the children. Some are telling stories to groups of men. One is explaining her tongue piercing.

The staff is concerned about this conversation. Like most people in “developing” countries engaging in conversations with residents of the United States, the talk turns to money. Is it ok for our delegates to mention things like a tongue piercing cost \$40, how student loans were going to bankrupt them, how they had to work 50 hours a week just to pay rent and car insurance in San Francisco? The staff asks me, as an anthropologist, what to do. I have no idea. Maybe hearing how much money we make in the United States will create feelings of envy or frustration. I feel the same way talking to my computer programmer friend. But I am in no position to dictate which topics the Mexicans can hear. It is not up to me. I decide to let the conversations continue. There are amazing interactions taking place, ones that our delegates will remember for the rest of their lives. We are not visiting villagers who have never seen people from the United States. They are active in a movement that has mastered the use of the Internet as a publicity tool, and understand international rhetoric like “globalization” and “solidarity.”

January 11- The next morning we awake to the excited rumor rolling through the village that Subcomandante Tacho and Mayor Moises have arrived to conduct the planning meeting for the upcoming march. We sit expectantly waiting to see if we will get a meeting. We are asked to leave the area for about an hour while they conducted their planning meeting. When we return after swimming with horses and laundry in a nearby river, Subcomandante Tacho exchanges a few words with the Director and then comes to speak with us. He thanks us for coming. We are able to ask a few questions, he tells us again how important it is that we are there, and he leaves. One of the group members says *“it means so much to them that we are here, and we haven’t really done anything yet. Wait until we get home.”*

I am feeling profoundly optimistic about how effective this tour, especially this trip to La Realidad, is on the participants. While we are getting into the vans for our trip home, a participant wanders over to a building where a few food items are being sold to see if there is anything to drink. It is discovered that they sell bandanas with the print that all the Zapatistas have and posters with an image of all sorts of animals surrounding a tree with a Zapatista sitting in it. We all have to have both items and it is another twenty minutes before we leave. We are back to being tourists. I am part of the “we” in this exchange. On top of my computer sits the bandana and the Zapatista poster is pinned to the wall over my desk. I can’t really explain why I had to have these, even after all the reading I’ve done about tourism and the meaning of souvenirs. I think that the whole experience in La Realidad was so surreal I wanted to take something tangible home with me.

We drive away, most of the delegates knowing this is the last time they would see La Realidad. We talk about how peaceful it is, and how beautiful. One delegate remarks, “*The beauty is in the struggle.*” I have thought about these words everyday since the trip.

January 12- On this, the final day of the trip, we have one meeting in the afternoon with an organization working to preserve plants used for traditional medicine and afterwards the debriefing session from the staff and the closing discussion. This is also the day that the Zapatistas will march into San Cristóbal to generate attention for the March march. Most of the delegates, on an emotional high from the once-in-a-lifetime visit to La Realidad, could care less about the meetings and want to observe the march.

Early in the afternoon, we walk to the office of the medicinal NGO. We are given a tour of their museum and a quick lecture. As we prepare to tour the garden, all the young students of the group, anxious from the start, rebel and ask to be allowed to go back to town. The Coordinator allows them to go. I was very interested and wanted to see the march, but feel obliged to stay. Later, on the way back into town, I observe the group members who had left early following the march

wearing, although they had been told not to, their bandanas bought at La Realidad and Che t-shirts.

The staff and I watch the villagers march into town from the balcony of the GX office. Later, I walk down among the marchers. Looking into the eyes, the only part of their faces uncovered, of the hundreds of men, women and children, brings the struggle out of an abstract realm, away from the NGO's and villages saturated with an international presence, and into a reality on a personal level. Occasionally as the baklava-clad faces walk down the street they glance up and catch my eye. In the second our eyes are locked, I feel a connection, I guess a solidarity, which transcends the army, the politics, and their handicrafts I like to buy, and connects us as humans. Their struggle for simple dignity and self-sufficiency is beautiful.



FIGURE 6. A GRINGO TOURIST AT THE ZAPATISTA RALLY, San Cristóbal, January 2001, Jana Donckers

All participants on the tour leave with a feeling of deeper connection to the people living in Chiapas, both indigenous and international. The first part of our

debriefing session late that afternoon consists of the staff encouraging, almost imploring, participants to “use what they have learned.” We are told about other ongoing campaigns GX has and different ways we can help. We are told about books for sale, ways to make donations, an upcoming speaking tour in the United States the Director was undertaking, and how participants can host their own speakers. The impending formation of a GX Human Rights Department is discussed and participants are told that they are now on the inside, they know firsthand about human rights issues in southern Mexico, and they are now a valuable resource for GX. The role of corporations in Chiapas is discussed and how participants can now assist with the GX Corporate Accountability campaign. The staff encourages the participants to ask any questions they have, to clear up any doubts. We review all the meetings we had and summarize the salient points from each. The debriefing condenses the entire week into a few strong highlights in hopes of shaping the memory of the participants for decades.

Following the debriefing from the staff, participants are encouraged to offer their personal highlights and memories and offer any suggestions for the future. Every member of the trip feels compelled to speak. They each thank the staff for all their hard work and express how powerful the trip was and how connected they feel to Chiapas. Several participants offer suggestions for topics they feel were left out, among these are women’s organizations, sustainable agriculture in the communities, decision making in the communities and fair trade. A few of the younger participants feel that the hotel and restaurants used in San Cristóbal are unnecessarily luxurious, especially compared with our food and accommodations in the villages. This is a common problem on most all group tours, though. All ages and backgrounds must be considered.

The conclusion GX found most useful, one that is echoed by all participants, is that everyone feels a responsibility to action when they return home. In both villages they told us their story (albeit through translators) in the hopes that we can take it home to our friends and families. The NGO’s we visited emphasized that

outreach to groups such as ours was a part of their mission and that education of people from the United States was vital in order for them to reach their goals. The group seemed to recognize that they were now endowed with this responsibility and described the trip as “*powerful*,” “*motivating*” and “*emotional*.”

However, although there was so much enthusiasm and passion generated by the staff and the experiences during the Reality Tour, the focal issue for this case study is whether a ten-day long trip can be translated into action at home. Is this Reality Tour an effective strategy in GX’s Mexico campaign?

CHAPTER 8 SURVEY OF PAST PARTICIPANTS

METHODOLOGY

I established the historical and theoretical context for advocacy travel discussed the methodology of the trip. I will now evaluate the effectiveness of advocacy travel by comparing results of questionnaires distributed to Reality Tour participants on several trips to two GX destinations, Chiapas and Cuba.

The Cuba Campaign was one of the original fulcrums upon which GX has built its activism and outreach and the Reality Tours to Cuba are established and stable. In order to facilitate an equitable comparison, I selected the most politically oriented Reality Tour to Cuba for comparison to the politically focused Chiapas trip. The trip entitled “Cuba: Following Che’s Footsteps” implores participants to “become acquainted with the history of the Revolution and its most famous revolutionary first hand.” The tour takes place once a year in March (http://www.globalexchange.org/tours/auto/2002-03-09_FollowingChesFootsteps.html). Participants selected had taken this trip between 1997 and 2001. These five delegations yielded 105 subjects.

Chiapas is not as popular a destination as Cuba for Reality Tours. An employee who oversees all Reality Tours to Latin America also coordinates the trips to Mexico. There are fewer trips and fewer delegates. In the past, trips have not occurred on a regular schedule, but organized according to when staff feels demand or the current political situation warrants a trip. There have also been periodic customized trips, which are organized at the request of individuals or school groups. In order to approximate political situational continuity, I did not include any trips that visited the region prior to the Zapatista uprising in January 1994. Customized trips, most made up of high school or university classes, were also excluded. A customized trip organized by a university for example would consist of all students and distort the demographic data.

I assumed that all trips to Chiapas were political in nature. Unlike those to Cuba, their titles varied. Tours selected for inclusion in my study were titled “Chiapas: The Next Step,” “Chiapas: Peace in Action,” “Chiapas: Liberty with Justice” and “Chiapas: Tierra y Libertad.” I also included a trip that was jointly sponsored by GX and the Mexican Solidarity Network. The Chiapas tours I used occurred between February 1994 and January 2001. In all, ten trips were studied, yielding 111 total delegates.

Because I was an intern, I was able to access GX’s Reality Tours database to obtain contact information for the participants. In the Reality Tours follow-up survey given to all returned participants, approximately 13 people (nine from the Cuba trip, four from Mexico) had indicated that they did not wish to be contacted by journalists or receive follow-up or campaign information from GX. I excluded these participants from the study. I also excluded anyone affiliated with GX, such as interns, employees from other departments, or those employed by other activist NGO’s in the Bay Area.

I sent the surveys in April 2001 with a cover letter that served as a consent form (Appendices A, B and C). The letter explained my role as both a graduate student and GX intern and explained the study and how I would use the results of their participation. Other than by destination (Cuba or Chiapas), subject’s responses were anonymous. Forty-eight survey questionnaires were returned undelivered to the GX office. One hundred and twenty-one surveys were returned.

The questionnaire has three objectives. First, I want to establish social and economic demographics of those who choose to participate on a Reality Tour. This information serves to confirm or disprove several hypotheses of GX staff who work in the Reality Tours division. The first is that most participants are economically upper class and ethnically white. This objective is accomplished in Section I of the questionnaire. Participants are asked their sex, age, highest level of education, occupation and annual income. They are also asked to describe their ethnicity. Asking this question in a more open-ended style allows for greater individual

expression and eliminates the feeling of compartmentalization that accompanies single response questions. Also, as with all questions that were uncomfortable, participants were informed that they had the option of not answering. For the purposes of this study, each subject's ethnicity was simply divided into two categories: white and non-white.

Establishing in which state the subject lived at the time of their tour will address another hypothesis or assumption held by GX staff. This is the belief that their outreach efforts are only reaching an audience within California. I use the results from this section of the questionnaire to determine whether regionally diverse outreach is needed. To achieve this objective, I divide the United States into four regional groups--*Northeast* (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Washington DC, Maryland) *South* (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico), *Midwest* (West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado) and *West* (Utah, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, Hawaii and California). According to the United States Census Bureau information from the 2000 census, dividing the country in this way results in 21% of the population residing in the Northeast, 32% in the South, 27% in the Midwest and 20% living in the West (www.census.gov/population.cen2000/tab02.pdf). In the analysis, I compare these percentages with the geographic origins of Reality Tour participants. My hypothesis, based on interviews with GX Reality Tours staff, is that most participants on GX Reality Tours are from the West and the Northeast. Most activist organizations are located in these regions and, therefore, most outreach is conducted toward residents in these areas. The South and the Midwest will attract fewer participants.

Section II establishes the travel patterns of the participant and determines his motivations for participating on the Reality Tour. This information will address my

second objective, which is to determine if the effects of the Reality Tour are sustainable over time. Establishing past travel patterns--both location and frequency--will serve to determine whether participants are traveling with GX as an addition to their characteristic travel behavior or have selected the Reality Tour as their one trip abroad. Establishing their motivations for choosing the destination will establish their pre-trip political interest in visiting the region.

The third section of the survey questionnaire establishes both the level of political activity and the types of actions taken by returned Reality Tour participants. This information is the basis of my study--whether advocacy travel can be a catalyst in increasing political awareness and activity in ordinary citizens. Subjects are asked if their participation on the Reality Tour changed their political views and/or encouraged them to be more politically active. They also are instructed to indicate which activities they undertook upon returning from their tour. The list of selected activities is composed of actions GX encourages their participants to pursue. I also gave the subjects the option of elaborating on any "other" activity that they might have done after their trip that they feel is directly related to their participation on the Reality Tour. I will use this information to determine if any activities are commonly undertaken that are not routinely encouraged by GX. If there are, these could be suggested to GX as activities they could encourage, thus creating a feedback loop that incorporates bottom-up suggestions to the managers of Reality Tours.

In order to provide context, these three sets of data from each of the two groups, Cuba and Chiapas, will be compared to each other. I include a question-by-question breakdown of the responses in Appendix D.

The surveys will constitute an initial analysis of the viability and effectiveness of advocacy travel. However, there are several threats to validity identified throughout the field research process that need to be addressed. The most obvious is that during the course of the internship, employees of GX were aware of the topic of my research. Consequently, in my casual inquiries concerning anecdotal evidence of the effects of Reality Tours on the participants there could have been an incentive

for exaggeration or embellishment. To mitigate this, I used no stories from Reality Tours staff members in the analysis; they were only used as fodder for developing the concept of advocacy travel.

During the course of the three ethnographic interviews conducted with senior GX staff, it became apparent that there was initial conflict and misunderstandings in applying the template of Reality Tours (as it was used in Cuba) to trips to Chiapas. Chiapas was a much more sensitive political situation at the time the trips were instituted. The Mexico Program Director was reluctant to discuss the specifics of what he perceived to be the negative impacts of conducting Reality Tours on the potential success of the campaign in southern Mexico. He is convinced that these problems no longer exist and the Reality Tours are now an overall benefit to the Mexico campaign. Knowing what the problems were would have illuminated potential pitfalls of advocacy travel, but it does not in any way affect the conclusions reached by the survey questionnaires.

Participation on and observation of the Reality Tour in Chiapas presented an opportunity for bias. The GX Mexico staff was aware of the topic of the research. The primary opportunity they had to encourage participants to take action came at the end of the trip during the closing discussion, which I observed and also taped. It is possible that they could have more strongly encouraged participants to take action when they returned home in order to produce a more favorable result. Alternatively, they could have moderated their pleas for advocacy in order to appear more objective. If this bias was introduced, a 100% response rate from this trip would only make up 28% of total Chiapas subjects who returned their survey questionnaires. Based on the date of the trip indicated by subjects, only 8 of participants on this trip returned their questionnaires. This represents only 15% of total Chiapas subjects. While the above two scenarios are technically plausible, my assessment is that both are unlikely and I did not factor them into the results of the study.

The self-reporting questionnaire provides an opportunity for participants on the trip to report undertaking more political action than they actually did. However, as the questionnaires were mailed after the trip and were completely anonymous, there is no basis to assume these participants were more motivated to exaggerate than any others. Although exaggeration on the surveys is a possibility, there is no reason to assume my attendance on this particular Reality Tour was a factor. Mailed questionnaires are thought by some social science researchers to be more accurate than face-to-face interviews.

The survey questionnaires themselves offer several threats to the validity of the study. First, the GX database that contains the names and contact information for Reality Tours participants was not instituted until after several of the trips to Chiapas that are included in the study were completed. Regressively entering the names creates an opportunity for some names to be left out. GX staff, especially those in the Latin America program, have so many duties that entering contact information into the database is a low priority. This could also create a scenario wherein not all participants are accounted for.

Data entry is also a concern regarding the database. The slightest error when entering information in the fields of when and where the trip was taken would result in a participant not being found during a search. The probability that the mistake would be found by the person entering the information is low and the entries are rarely double-checked. Similarly, an error in the address of a participant would result in their not being included in the study, as a mailed survey would not reach them. However, database concerns are mitigated by the fact that this is the only way information on past participants can be accumulated. Reality Tour applications are not kept long after the trip has commenced. All information is stored in the database for future outreach and fundraising purposes. Although some participants may have not been included in the study due to internal database errors, I assume that this number is relatively low and therefore would not affect the outcome of the study.

Another major threat to the validity concerns survey questionnaires returned to the GX office as undeliverable. I expected a considerable number of addresses in the database to be invalid, especially due to the fact that a significant number of participants are students, who have a tendency to move from year to year. Unfortunately, there was no mechanism for precisely enumerating the surveys that were returned to the GX office due to address problems. The surveys were mailed in generic GX envelopes that are used by all programs throughout the organization. My internship had ended before the questionnaires were mailed. GX has two permanent, part-time receptionists. Both were apprised of the situation, but they were not always responsible for sorting the mail. Some undeliverable questionnaires may have been discarded. However, forty-eight surveys that were returned were kept. In subsequent conversations with staff members, it is possible that there could have been up to an additional ten surveys returned which were not kept. There is no way to know the exact number that were returned; it could have been anywhere from at least forty-eight to fifty-eight. A cautious estimate of the response rate requires that we assume the lowest number is correct. A conservative estimate for the number of undeliverable surveys serves to eliminate as much as possible the threat to the validity of the research. Although estimating the response rate could be conceived as a threat to the overall validity, there is no reason to assume that questionnaires to participants either more or less politically active after the tour were more likely to be undeliverable than others.

The tables I present are only suggestive of relationships. Because of the small sample size, multivariate analysis to analyze patterns in these data is not feasible. My own statistical limitations did not allow for using non-parametric statistics like crosstabulations, chi-square tests or contingency coefficients. The results presented are exploratory.

The most serious threat to the validity of the research concerns the survey questionnaires themselves. The fact that the information is self-reported is a major concern. Respondents are asked to independently report, for example, how often

they volunteer. Undoubtedly some subjects may have an inclination toward exaggeration. Subjects also must report which activities they have undertaken upon returning from their trip. Many of their options are activities precisely encouraged by GX. In an effort to appear more concerned or affected by the tour, subjects may embellish what they have done. However, if there is a propensity to overstate their political activity on a questionnaire, it can be assumed that this propensity would translate equally into any form of data gathering such as phone interviews or person-to-person interviews as well as the mailed questionnaires. I hope that with the anonymity assured by the mailed questionnaire, any positive effects on ego or self-image will be annulled.

This study provides no mechanism for objectively quantifying political activity. Subjects were asked whether they were more politically active than before their Reality Tour. "Political activity" is operationalized as any volunteer work or attendance at politically-themed events or rallies that advocate either a change in public policy or support for a specific political candidate. Although the Reality Tours director stated that their goal was to make participants active in their homes, families, churches or schools, the aim of this study is to assess the effects of a particular type of tourism on the political activism of ordinary citizens and whether tourism endowed with a specific function is viable.

RESULTS

As mentioned above, a total of 216 survey questionnaires were sent out. One hundred and eleven were sent to Chiapas participants and 105 to those who went to Cuba. Forty-eight were returned as undeliverable. Of these, 31 were intended for Chiapas participants and 17 were intended for Cuba participants. The disparity in undeliverable survey questionnaires between the two destinations is most likely related to the fact that four of the ten Chiapas trips took place in 1994 whereas none of the Cuba trips selected for this study occurred before 1997. The more time

that has passed, the more likely it is that subjects have moved. However, the response rate for both groups of subjects is very high. Fifty-three surveys were returned from Chiapas participants, yielding a response rate of 66%. Cuba subjects returned 68 survey questionnaires for a response rate of 77%. The overall response rate for the study is 72%.

In terms of demographics, the age of the participant and his/her occupation are two variables that should influence their degree of political activity. The Reality Tours division targets students and young adults because of their hypothesis that people in this age group are more affected by first-hand experiences and have more time to become involved in the activist movement. This in accordance with the theory of experiential education outlined earlier. My hypothesis regarding this is that younger participants will become more politically active upon returning. A component of the Reality Tour outreach strategy (one which I personally pursued) is targeting those involved in education—whether they are professors, teachers or students. It is thought that those involved in educating the public have more of an opportunity for sharing the information they acquired on their Reality Tour, and can thus be classified as undertaking more “activity” upon returning home.

Because of differences in the political situation between Cuba and Chiapas, the program methods and goals pursued by the GX Cuba program and Mexico program are unique to each location. Therefore, I expect that there will be differences in motivations of the participants on both trips. Motivation for undertaking the trip is one factor that should predict, independent of persuasive information or experiences encountered on the trip, how politically active a person becomes upon returning. If the trip was taken for leisure, such as, in the case of Cuba, seeing the beach or historic Havana, I believe that a participant will be less likely to undertake political activity than a person who indicates he travels to Chiapas in order to express solidarity with the Zapatista movement.

Regarding the sustainability of advocacy travel, I hypothesize that the amount of time that has passed between when the tour was taken and when the

questionnaire was completed has an effect on political activity. I believe that participants who have taken their tour recently (in 2001) are more likely to be active. Those who participated on a Reality Tour earlier (1997 and 1998 in the case of Cuba and anywhere from 1994 to 1998 for Chiapas) are likely to have forgotten the urgency under which their trip was taken or had the “reality” to which they were exposed fade from their memories. I assume that there is a time factor for applying the passion and commitment encouraged by the Reality Tour.

There will be variation in the level of political awareness of participants and types of activities they have undertaken as well. It is beyond the scope of this study to quantify the level of political awareness of the subjects before and after their trip. Participants are asked whether they feel that they are more politically aware following the trip. Although the same self-reporting method is used in quantifying political activity, subjects were asked to indicate activities that they had pursued after completing their trip. I hypothesize that the more low-effort activities, such as telling friends about the trip or sharing photographs, will be undertaken more frequently than more time consuming activities, such as writing letters to Congressional Representatives or sending donations or supplies to the country of their trip. I hypothesize that several variables will effect levels of political awareness and activity, both demographic (age, occupation) and those related to travel (motivation, number of times to destination).

Quantifying the results of the Cuba and Chiapas questionnaires by comparing these results to each other will allow for a more accurate picture to emerge of the effects of participating on an advocacy tour. I assume that those who take the Chiapas trip are doing so because they are aware of the Zapatista struggle and want to learn more about it firsthand. Since the Chiapas trips occur only twice each year, participants must schedule their vacation around the established date of the trip. In contrast, Cuba participants whose trips occur at least twice a month are able to pick a trip that coincides with their vacation time. It is also reasonable to assume that Cuba participants have a higher income. The trip is more than twice as

expensive and traveling to Cuba has, over the past decade, become chic in some social circles. However, if the motivation is to learn more about socialism or express support for Castro, I hypothesize that the average income would be less as lower to middle income persons are more likely to be attracted to socialism than those in the upper class who may view it as a threat.

The mechanisms for follow-up discussed previously may have an impact on the actions undertaken when a participant returns. Being that there are fewer trips to Chiapas, with significantly less participants, Reality Tours staff has more time to conduct individual assessment and follow-up with phone calls. The scale and volume of the Cuba trips precludes this. If participants are made to feel that their individual actions can make a difference, they will be more likely to undertake actions suggested by GX. It is hypothesized, therefore, that due to these factors, participants on the Chiapas trip will be more politically active than those on the Cuba trip.

From this analysis, a definition, parameters and mechanisms for the application of advocacy travel will be established. Recommendations will be made to GX and other activist organizations concerning the demographic data and motivational factors that constitute the most active returned participant and the type of political activity that can be expected of returned travelers.

In order to place the Cuba and Chiapas data into a meaningful context and obtain significant results, the two subject populations will be compared against one another. This will allow patterns to emerge, distinguishing the two groups.

I hypothesize that for the reasons stated above, Chiapas participants will be more responsive to the GX mission, and will become more politically aware and active following the trip. There could be several reasons for this, but demographic and personal data will be analyzed to determine any patterns of which GX should be aware.

Demography

Demographic variables solicited by the questionnaire are sex, age, level of education, income, ethnicity and residence. Affiliation with education is also a variable that is hypothesized to encourage political activity. This variable is operationalized as those participants who are current university students, or employed as a professor, teacher or school administrator. The two study populations (Cuba and Chiapas) are similar in educational affiliation, ethnic makeup, education level and average age. The populations diverged in sex ratios, income levels and area of residence (see Table 1; Appendix D). Fifty-seven percent of participants on the Cuba trip were male, compared with only 40% male on the Chiapas trip. The subject's area of residence offers implications for GX's outreach strategies and activities. The patterns of sex, educational affiliation and level of education serve to better define and comprehend the nature of advocacy travel. Table 1 compares the residence of Reality Tours participants with the general US population.

TABLE 1. REALITY TOUR PARTICIPANT'S GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF RESIDENCE COMPARED WITH THE GENERAL US POPULATION. This table shows that more of the Reality Tours participants originate in the Western region of the United States. A significant number also comes from the Northeast.

	Cuba	Chiapas	Total US Population
Northeast	31%	25%	21%
South	19%	8%	32%
Midwest	4%	19%	27%
West	45%	49%	20%
Total Number of Subjects	67	53	281,421,906

Most of the participants on Reality Tours to both Cuba and Chiapas come from either the Northeast or the West (76% vs. 74%, respectively). This is compared with 41% of the US population who reside in the same area. GX's outreach reaches those in the West, close to the San Francisco headquarters, disproportionately.

Examining the sex of the participants reveals an interesting pattern. On the Cuba trips, only 43% of the total participants were female, whereas on the Chiapas trips 60% were female. There are several theories that could explain this pattern. In general, women, especially if they're travelling alone, participate on organized trips more often. Visiting a country where *machismo* is a social given may lead women to seek accompaniment for their trip. Men may feel comfortable visiting Chiapas on their own, but visiting Cuba legally requires participation with an organized group. The theme of the Chiapas trip is more overtly oriented toward human rights and social issues. "Following in Che's Footsteps" is a clearly political tour, although social issues are covered in the trip tangentially. Women may be more interested in social issues, while men can tend to favor political or military history.

Exactly half of the Chiapas travelers were involved in education. Results were similar in Cuba with slightly less than half, 44%, involved in education. This is most likely a result of the fact that universities are specific targets for solicitation of participants for the Chiapas trip. Participants who wish to go to Cuba tend to seek out the Reality Tour. Both populations, however, contain a much higher percentage of subjects affiliated with education than can be assumed in the general public. This is most likely a function of the outreach that GX undertakes, as well as highly educated people being more likely to want to have an educational vacation. A preliminary hypothesis for future research is whether outreach and recruitment for Reality Tours is successful in attracting its target audience.

Both the Cuba and the Chiapas participants have, in general, much more formal education than the general US public (Figure 8 and 9). The Cuba subjects are more likely to possess a graduate degree--37% compared to 29% with Chiapas.

Almost the same percentage of subjects had graduate school/some graduate education as had a college degree/had taken some college. Few participants possessed only a high school diploma. GX trips clearly appeal to those with higher education. Promotional material and information about Reality Tours is routinely sent to universities. The activist network, where others hear about the GX and the trips, generally consists of those with at least a college degree or are involved with educating the public in some manner. Being much more educated than the general public implies that participants on Reality Tours are more aware of the situation to which they are choosing to travel. They may have a preexisting sympathy for the residents of their destination, resulting in a propensity to engage in activism upon returning home.

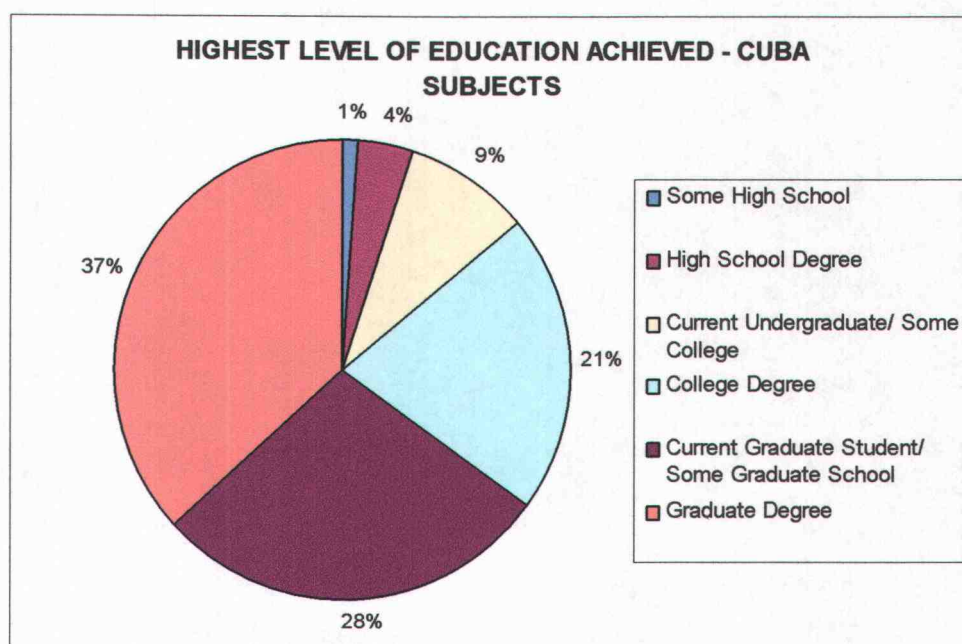


FIGURE 7. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CUBA SUBJECTS. In the US population as a whole, 25% of those over 25 have college degrees.

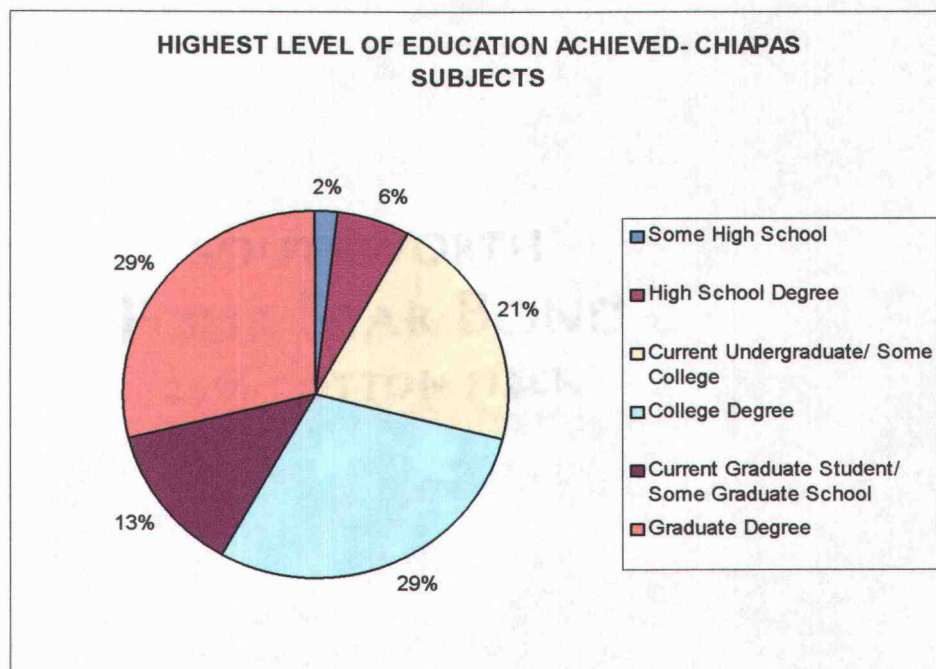


FIGURE 8. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CHIAPAS SUBJECTS. In the US population as a whole, 25% of the people have only a high school diploma.

The educational level of Reality Tour participants serves to differentiate them from the general U.S. population. Eighty-six percent of Cuba participants and 71% of Chiapas participants reported having received at least a college degree. This can be compared with the US Census Bureau's (2000) estimate of those at least 25 years old with a college degree. This estimate is 25%. Reality Tour participants also had a much higher percentage of graduate degrees--37% for Cuba and 29% for Chiapas compared with 9% of the general US population (<http://factfinder.census.gov/home/en/c2ss.html>).

A similarly pronounced statistic of the study concerns the rate of voter participation of both study populations. Both groups reported significantly higher voting rates for the 2000 presidential election than the estimated 50% ascribed to the general population. Ninety-eight percent of the Cuba group voted in the last

presidential election. Ninety-six percent of Chiapas subjects did. GX's advocacy tours attract participants who embark on the trip at a significantly more politically aware and active plane than the average US citizen.

Travel Patterns

Reality Tours participants travel internationally frequently, more than the average US citizen is assumed to. Cuba subjects reported that 52% of them travel abroad at least once each year, while 20% of Chiapas subjects do. For the purposes of this study, however, it is necessary to determine *why* subjects chose to undertake the Reality Tour and analyze whether this motivation affects the rate of political awareness and activity inspired in the participant. Two additional variables are thought to affect the political activity of the participant--the length of time since the trip and, especially in the case of Cuba, the income level of the participant. I hypothesize that those with a lower income will be more likely to favor socialism and thus will be more engaged in supporting Cuba. Comparison with Chiapas subjects will clarify this theory. Contingency tables are used to determine the effect variables related to travel have upon the rate of political awareness and activity.

On the questionnaire, subjects are able to choose from nine motivating factors for undertaking their trip. Subjects are allowed to check all choices that apply. There is also a category entitled "other." Subjects are not required to indicate what other reasons they may have had for going on the trip. While not exactly the same, Cuba and Chiapas questionnaires contain parallel motivating factors. For example, "Personal Research" can apply to both trips. "To See Historic Havana" applies only to Cuba but finds its Chiapas parallel in the choice "To See Colonial San Cristóbal." Responses from both sets of subjects are illustrated in Figure 10.

For the purpose of the analysis, the motivating factors were divided into two groups: political and non-political. The political factors are "Interested in Socialism/

Indigenous Rights” and “To Express Support for Castro/ Zapatistas.” These apply to Cuba and Chiapas respectively. Non-political motivating factors consist of “To Visit Caribbean Beaches/ Jungle and Rainforest,” “To See Historic Havana/Colonial San Cristóbal,” “Exclusiveness of Visiting Cuba/ Chiapas,” “Personal Research,” “Recommended by Friend,” “Date and Time of Trip were Convenient” and “To Learn More About the Topic.” Any subject who indicated at least one political motivating factor was included in the political group. I classified subjects who indicated both political and non-political motivating factors to be motivated by political reasons. The majority of participant on both trips indicated their desire “To Learn More About the Topic” as one of their primary reason for taking the trip-- 69% of Cuba subjects and 72% of Chiapas subjects. However, the most Chiapas subjects (79%) selected “Interested in Indigenous Rights” as one of their reasons for going. The geographic features of each destination was the least chosen factor for both groups, with 9% of Cuba participants selecting “To Visit Caribbean Beaches” as a reason for travel compared with 13% of Chiapas subjects selecting “To Visit Jungle/Rainforest.”

Subjects also indicated in a “yes or no” question whether they were more politically aware after their trip and whether they were more politically active upon returning home. The results of tourist motivation on political awareness and activity can be seen in Table 2.

FIGURE 9. AN ANALYSIS OF MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS FOR PARTICIPATION ON REALITY TOURS

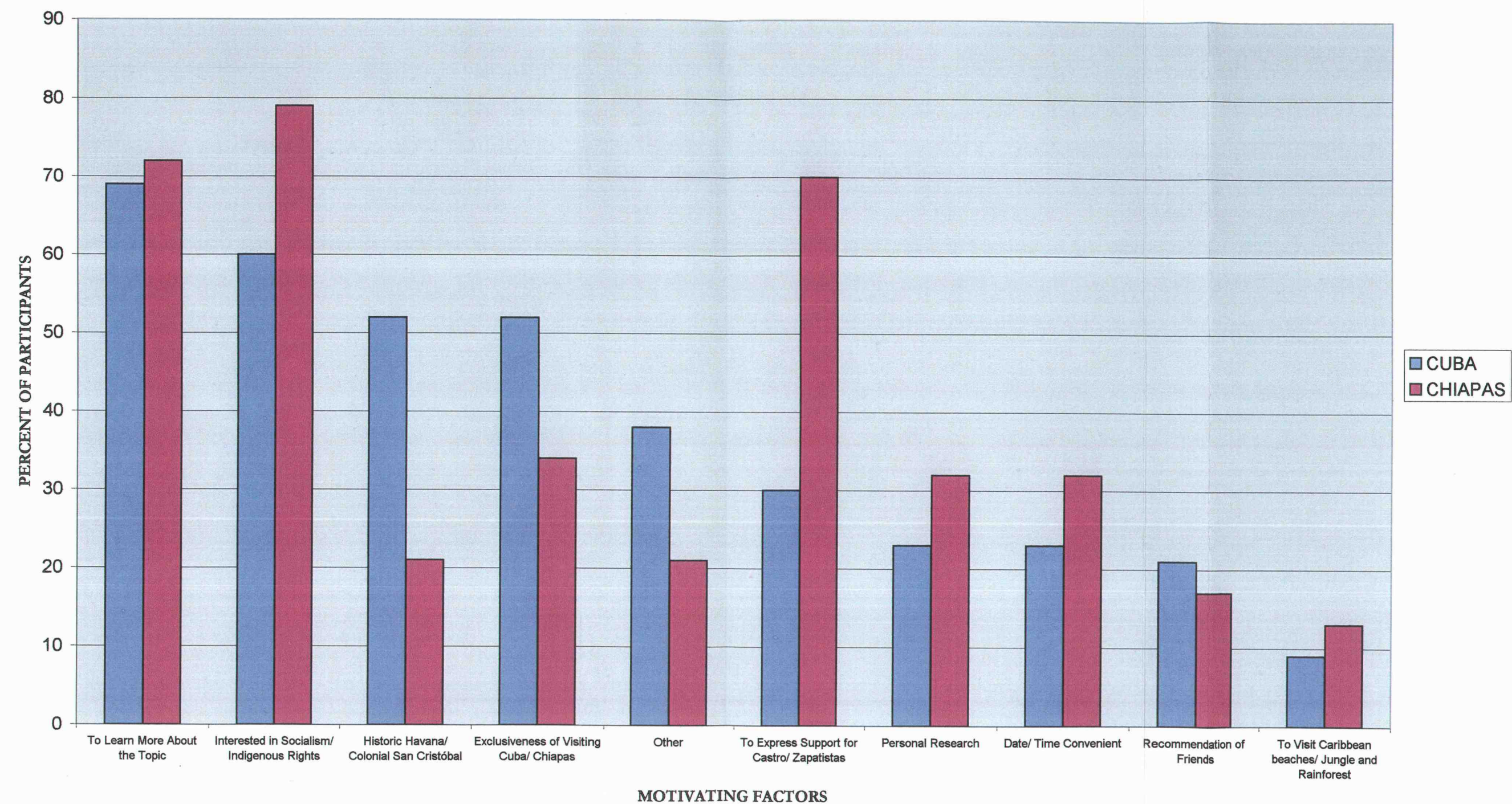


TABLE 2. THE POLITICAL VS. NON-POLITICAL MOTIVATING FACTORS FOR PARTICIPATION ON REALITY TOURS. This table shows that more Chiapas participants than Cuba participants are interested in the political situation of their destination. The political situation still plays a role in motivating Cuba subjects to visit the island, however.

	Cuba	Chiapas
Political Motivation	62%	87%
Total Number	42	46
Non-Political Motivation	38%	13%
Total Number	26	7

Those who are classified as being motivated by political factors may also have other reasons for participating on the tour. However, any indication that the subject was aware and motivated by the political situation of their destination to undertake the Reality Tour indicates that their subsequent political awareness and activity may be enhanced. It is necessary to juxtapose the motivating factor with the outcome of the trip on the participants. Tables 3 and 4 demonstrate the effect of the political motivation to take the trip on the subjects' political activity and awareness.

Table 2 shows that 42 Cuban subjects and 46 Chiapas subjects indicated that they were politically motivated to take their trip. Table 3 shows that number of these who returned more politically active and aware. More Chiapas participants reported being both more aware (78% vs. 67%) and more active (54% vs. 43%).

TABLE 3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL MOTIVATION AND POST-TRIP POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ACTIVITY. This table shows that of those participants who were motivated to travel by the political situation of their destination country, a significant percentage returned home more politically aware and active.

	Cuba (n=42)	Chiapas (n=46)
More Politically Aware	67%	78%
More Politically Active	43%	54%

TABLE 4. THE ROLE OF NON-POLITICAL MOTIVATION ON POST-TRIP POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ACTIVITY. Participants who were not motivated by politics were less likely to be activated by their Reality Tour. The advocacy travel still made them more aware and active, however.

	Cuba (n=26)	Chiapas (n=7)
More Politically Aware	46%	71%
More Politically Active	15%	71%

Table 4 analyses the effect of the Reality Tour on those participants who are not motivated by politics. Less political awareness and activity was reported by the group who returned from Cuba compared with those returned participants who were motivated by the political situation. This supports my hypothesis. However, the Reality Tour still had success with the non-politically motivated group of participants. Forty-six percent became more aware and 15% indicated that they were more active after the trip. The results for the Cuba participants clearly show that those who are motivated by political reasons to take the Reality Tour are much more likely to return home more politically aware and active. Those not motivated by political reasons are not as likely to have their political awareness raised by the trip and even less likely to become active.

Results for the Chiapas participants do not fit this pattern, however. While political motivation was a factor in increasing the political awareness of the participants, those who were not motivated by politics were made more politically active by their Reality Tour. Seventy-one percent of the non-politically motivated delegates reported being both more aware and more active. Caution must be used when interpreting these data, however, due to the fact that only seven subjects indicated that they did not take the trip for political reasons. This is telling in itself. Travelers to Chiapas are much more motivated by the political situation than those to Cuba, but, at least in terms of increased political activity, this is not an advantage.

I also hypothesize that the more time that has passed following the Reality Tour, the less politically aware and active a participant is. My experience observing the Chiapas Reality Tour demonstrated that trip leaders and the overall experience can be very persuasive, but it is thought that the emotion and passion elicited by the trip can fade with time. Tables 5 and 6 demonstrate the level of political awareness and activity for each of the trips, broken down by date.

TABLE 5. THE EFFECT OF TIME SINCE TRIP ON PARTICIPANT POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ACTIVITY IN CUBA. The longer ago the trip was, the less likely it is that participants responded to the questionnaire.

	March 1997	March 1998	March 1999	March 2000	March 2001
More Politically Aware	89%	38%	73%	53%	52%
More Politically Active	33%	38%	36%	24%	35%
Total Number of Subjects	9	8	11	17	23

More responses were received from those participants who took the trip more recently. Overall, the level of political awareness shown in Table 5 declines as the length of time since the trip increases. The one exception is the relatively low percentage (38%) who indicated they were more politically aware after their trip. The political effects of the Reality Tour on the Cuba participants are sustainable. In fact, the effects are realized in greater numbers the longer it has been since the trip. Perhaps with low response rates, only politically aware and active people respond to the questionnaire.

The levels of political activity demonstrate a different pattern that is unchanged by the length of the time since the trip. Between 24% and 38% of

participants on the Cuba trip are made more politically active by their trip. Levels of activity and awareness are not related.

TABLE 6. THE EFFECT OF TIME SINCE TRIP ON PARTICIPANT POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ACTIVITY IN CHIAPAS. Response rates and results of the Chiapas Reality Tours are varied. No discernable pattern is evident.

	1994 (Feb, Apr, June, Nov)	1997 (Jan, June)	1998 (July)	1999 (March, August)	2001 (Jan)
More Politically Aware	69%	100%	74%	67%	100%
More Politically Active	54%	75%	63%	44%	38%
Total Number of Subjects	13	4	19	9	8

Table 6 reveals no pattern that can be used to determine whether the length of the time since the trip plays a role in predicting participant's levels of political awareness or activity. A majority of Chiapas delegates were made more aware of politics--anywhere from 67% to 100%, which is greater than Cuba delegates. A wider range was made more politically active by their trip--from only 38% to 75%. Sustainability of the influence of the Reality Tour is impossible to determine in comparison to more recent trips, but over half of the participants remained politically aware and active more than six years after their trip. Again, as with the Cuba trip, political awareness and activity are unrelated to each other.

The finding that the length of time since the trip is not a factor is reasonable considering motivation is a clear indicator of post-trip political awareness and activity. If a subject is sufficiently informed and interested in the topic, the amount of time that passes following the advocacy tour has no effect on the subjects' level of awareness and activity. Also, past participants who are politically engaged would be more likely to return the questionnaire, as they have positive feedback to report.

Recent returnees would be more likely to return the surveys regardless of their activity status.

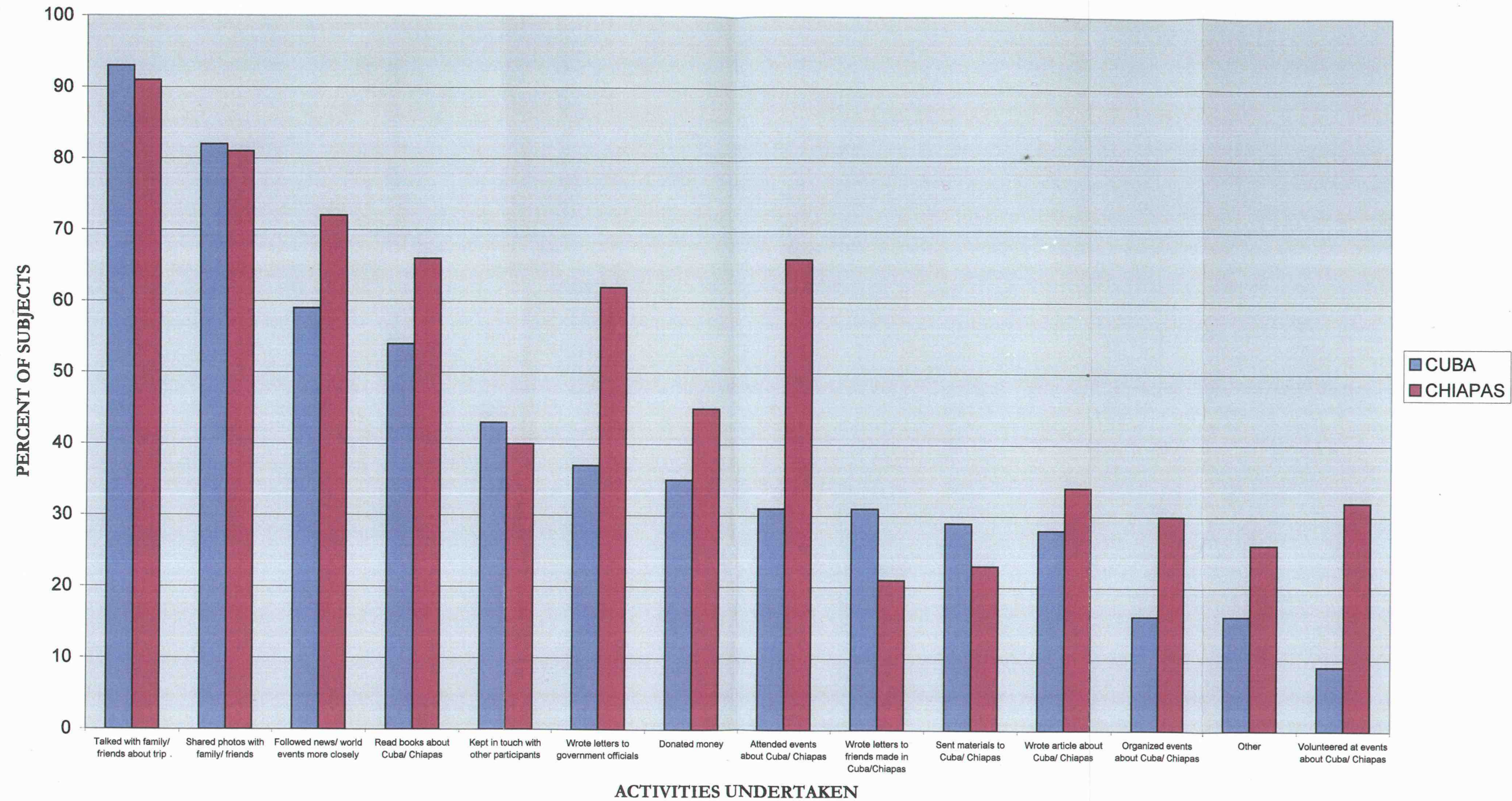
Frequency of travel could also be a factor in encouraging the participants to action. Several subjects indicated that they had visited their Reality Tour destination prior to the Reality Tour analyzed by this study. These subjects would therefore have greater knowledge concerning their destination and would be more likely to become active after their Reality Tour. Those who visit Cuba or Chiapas for the first time on their Reality Tour may not know much about the situation and may not have as high a success rate concerning the goals of GX.

TABLE 7. THE IMPACT OF PREVIOUS TRAVEL TO DESTINATION ON POST-TRIP POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ACTIVITY. Previous travel to Reality Tour destinations does not have an effect on the trip's influence on the participants.

	C U	B A	C H I A	P A S
	First Time to Cuba	Not First Time To Cuba	First Time to Chiapas	Not First Time To Chiapas
More Politically Aware	52%	73%	83%	72%
Total Number	24	16	20	21
More Politically Active	33%	32%	67%	48%
Total Number	15	7	16	14

Previous travel to the Reality Tours destination is also shown to have no effect on determining whether a participant will become more active or aware. Participants who have made the trip previously may consider themselves already politically aware and active and could be undertaking the trip to confirm already held

FIGURE 10. AN ANALYSIS OF ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN BY RETURNED REALITY TOURS PARTICIPANTS



beliefs. In this case, there would be no room to increase political factors as participants could be already politically socialized.

One factor to note is that Cuba participants were significantly less likely to respond to this question. This could be related to the Cuban travel ban. Participants who have visited Cuba before may not want to reveal this information, even on an anonymous survey. There is no way I can verify this hypothesis.

Political Activity

Although the long-term goal of Reality Tours is to introduce the participants into the world of activism and encourage them to apply it throughout their lives, the short-term goal is activism centered on the political situation of each particular destination. GX staff encourages several activities. Figure 11 on the preceding page shows the frequency of each activity undertaken by both Cuba and Chiapas participants. Almost all participants talk and share pictures with family and friends following their trip (93% Cuba vs. 91% Chiapas). Chiapas subjects are more than twice as likely to attend events about their topic (66%) than Cuba subjects (31%). Chiapas participants are also slightly more likely to follow the news and world events more closely after their trip, with 72% reporting they did compared with 69% of Cuba subjects. It is important to determine whether the pre-established variables are a factor in which participants become more politically aware and active.

A few key variables are assumed by GX Reality Tours staff to be vital in predicting the political activity of a returned participant. Outreach and scholarship activities in the Reality Tours Department are undertaken with the assumption that students, those affiliated with education and those with lower incomes are more likely to support the activist movement. Again, the use of contingency tables will allow juxtaposition of the aforementioned variables with the political awareness and activity reported by the subjects. Table 8 examines the effect a participant's

affiliation with the education (as either a student or professor) on their resultant political awareness and activity level.

TABLE 8. THE EFFECT OF EDUCATIONAL AFFILIATION ON POST-TRIP POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ACTIVITY. Significant percentages of participants who are students or professors reported an increase in political awareness and activity after their trip.

	C U	B A	C H I A	P A S
	More Politically Aware	More Politically Active	More Politically Aware	More Politically Active
Affiliated with Education	55%	38%	85%	65%
Number	16	11	22	17

The pattern of results shows that education is a variable that affects levels of political awareness and activity. Among the Chiapas subjects, being affiliated with education produces a more politically aware and active participant. There is no obvious explanation for this finding.

Table 9 compares the income level of the Reality Tour participants with their political awareness and activity. Results from this comparison are similarly inconclusive.

TABLE 9. A COMPARISON OF THE EFFECT OF INCOME ON POST-TRIP POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ACTIVITY. Income level of the participants is not a good indicator of outcomes of the trip.

	C U	B A	C H I A	P A S
	More Politically Aware	More Politically Active	More Politically Aware	More Politically Active
Less than \$29,999/yr.	53%	22%	88%	72%
Number	9	4	24	20
\$30,000-\$99,999/yr.	71%	40%	54%	32%
Number	27	16	12	7
More than \$100,000/yr.	39%	31%	100%	100%
Number	4	3	1	1

In the case of Cuba, it appears that those with incomes between \$30,000 and \$99,999 are the most likely to become both more politically aware and politically active. This pattern appears to be fairly strong. In the case of Chiapas, the pattern is less clear. However, discarding the category of 'Income Greater than \$100,000', which consists of only one person, establishes a result that is inverse of the pattern identified in the Cuba subjects. Those Chiapas subjects with a greater income are less likely to become more politically aware and active. The hypothesis that those with a lower income would be more sympathetic to the ideals espoused by Castro's socialist policies in Cuba is disproved.

The final variable used to analyze political awareness and activity is age. The results of this analysis, presented in Table 10, reveal a conclusive pattern.

TABLE 10. A COMPARISON OF PARTICIPANT AGE ON POST-TRIP POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ACTIVITY. Advocacy travel is more successful with participants who are outside the traditional working age range.

	C U	B A	C H I A	P A S
	More Politically Aware	More Politically Active	More Politically Aware	More Politically Active
29 Years Old or less	58%	42%	83%	75%
Number	11	8	10	9
30-64 Years Old	40%	24%	37%	33%
Number	15	8	11	10
65 Years Old or More	40%	30%	88%	38%
Number	4	3	7	3

This comparison suggests the hypothesis that younger participants are more likely to become politically aware and active is correct. This is true for both the Cuba and Chiapas groups. Participants under 29 years old are only superceded in one category, by those Chiapas participants over 65 years old who became more politically active-- 83% vs. 88%. This finding confirms the GX outreach methodology, which targets students. Subjects aged between 30 and 64 years old are the least likely to become aware and active for both destinations. Those above age 65, presumably retired, are much more likely to be made more aware by their tour, but only slightly more likely to become more politically active. However, this requires a comment on American life. Undoubtedly the constraints of marriage, family and employment are greatest on those between the ages of 30-64. These constraints impact free time, reducing time for both taking a trip and pursuing activist causes. Also, the economic constraints of raising children may preclude international travel.

Discussion

A typical Reality Tour participant does not resemble an average US citizen. GX's idea (used to define the concept of advocacy travel) that Reality Tours is a mechanism by which *a typical citizen* from the United States can become politicized in accordance with GX ideology and subsequently become an activist is not supported by this study. Although the latter half of the mission seems tenable, Reality Tours participants are not representative of an average person in the United States. GX delegates are much more highly educated and vote at a significantly higher rate than average. The majority live in the Northeast or West of the United States. A significant number are involved in education. Most participants are motivated by political reasons to undertake the trip and these people are more likely to become politically aware and active following their trip.

In terms of outreach and recruitment of participants for Reality Tours and advocacy travel in general, data from the Cuba group and the Chiapas groups differed significantly. With the goal of increasing political awareness and activity, those Cuba participants who are not involved in education do more, while Chiapas organizers have had more success with those who are involved in education.

The income variable also revealed implications for an advocacy travel outreach strategy. The Cuba trip was most successful with those subjects who had a mid-range income, \$30,000 to \$99,999, while the Chiapas trip had positive outcomes with low income, below \$29,999 per year, participants. This disproves the hypothesis that those with a lower income would be more receptive and supportive of the mission of the Cuba Reality Tour, which emphasizes socialism. Participants with a higher income may not support socialism or advocate instituting socialism in the United States, but they do emerge from their trip more aware and active than those with lower incomes, which is an aim of the Reality Tour.

The age of the participants affected their capacity to become more politically aware and active similar to GX's working hypothesis. Students and those under 29

years of age are more likely to respond to the Reality Tour, whether it is to Cuba or Chiapas. However, for increasing political awareness, those over age 64 should be targeted as well. It can be assumed that there is a significant portion of this population who would benefit from scholarships to assist travel.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The objective of advocacy travel, and more specifically the intent of GX, is to use tourism as experiential education in order to encourage participants to work for political and social activism centered on a particular issue. The purpose of this study was twofold. First, I examined the theoretical basis for the application of tourism from anthropological and political science perspectives. Second, I investigated whether desired results are obtainable. Can tourism be applied as a mechanism for promoting social change?

Regarding the tenability of applying tourism, it appears that GX has had moderate success. This success is more pronounced with participants on the Chiapas trip. As the Program Director stated, most of the participants on the trip “have a fairly high level of awareness coming in.” This appears to be a significant factor for both Reality Tours I examined. Participants are much more highly educated than the average US population. The Cuba participants, as a whole, have a higher average income. The Chiapas group contained more students, and thus a lower average income. This difference shows that income level may not be a significant variable in the outcome of an advocacy trip. Most significantly, almost all of the participants are voters. Reality Tours attracts participants who are politically aware, if not already highly politicized themselves. Therefore, participants are people who most likely have strong opinions about the situation before their trip, and seek out the Reality Tour in order to learn more about something that they are passionate about. Organizations wishing to employ tourism as a methodology to achieve their goals should seek out supporters sympathetic to their cause.

Although participants are urged to write letters to politicians, attend rallies and send supplies back to the country of their trip (emphasized more heavily with regards to Cuba), the activity undertaken most often by both groups was “talked with family and friends about trip.” Many people residing in the Midwest and South claimed that attending rallies was impossible. Although simply talking to friends may

fall short of the idealistic vision of Reality Tour staff to create activists out of ordinary citizens, it serves to add legitimacy to the movement on a personal level. It also accomplishes GX's more practical aim of making more people simply aware and active in their own personal lives. Just as the co-founder of GX claimed that having a returned Reality Tour participant speak at one of their rallies or protests serves to portray the whole organization as more legitimate, a participant explaining to family and friends the reason why he supports the Zapatista demands and the San Andres Accords for example, will carry more weight if the argument is enhanced with statements like, "In the refugee community of Nuevo Yibelloj..." and "As subcomandante Tacho told us..."

Despite the fact that GX specifically "outreaches" to professors and students and there is evidence that this group of people is more likely to become politically active (although not overwhelmingly so), the most important aspect of recruiting this group of people is that they have the opportunity to use their experience to educate others. Subjects had the option of writing about any additional action they had taken since returning from their trip, in addition to the preselected options. Of the Chiapas returnees, one professor had written and published a book of poetry about the people of southern Mexico, which he uses in his classes. Another professor organized a study abroad semester to Oaxaca with a side trip to Chiapas, something she felt was too dangerous until she actually visited the region. A graduate student guest-lectured in a class about her experience, as did I. The focus of one undergraduate's senior project was the Zapatista rebellion. It was broadcast on the campus television channel.

Among the Cuba travelers, one professor organized a photo exhibit about Cuba that was displayed in the university library. One undergraduate spoke on a panel about her trip at her school. Although the ultimate goal of the GX Cuba Program, for example, is suspension of the embargo against that country, it does not matter if even all returned participants become politically active around the issue, it will not succeed unless there is widespread public support. And this support is based

on knowledge of local situations (achieved through education) on an international level.

However, sometimes politics can get in the way of education. Admittedly, GX, like all other “anti-globalization” organizations, has a more left agenda. Among the Chiapas travelers, who were found to be, as a whole, more aware of their topic than those to Cuba, there were only positive reactions from the trip. Despite the well-publicized political reputation of GX, a few Cuba travelers reacted negatively to the aim of the trip. One participant indicated that upon her return, she “told everyone what a communist group of people Global Exchange really are.” One student indicated that he “think(s) that Global Exchange is being paid by Fidel to propagandize. It (the trip) was like one long commercial.” Another participant claimed, “my trip with Global Exchange was the most terrible experience. All they want to do is make money off us.”

If three subjects felt this strongly, it can be assumed that there are more who feel similarly, perhaps so strongly that they neglected to return their survey questionnaires, as the questionnaires mention my affiliation with GX. The political views of GX are not mainstream. While the trips are meant to educate the mainstream, average US citizen, it is likely that they would not have success in doing so. In fact, when confronted with such a strong politicized agenda, it is conceivable that a participant who is not indoctrinated into the activist agenda of the left will react against it by trying to justify the actions of the “other”—either the Mexican government in the case of Chiapas, or the US government and our Cuban sanctions. GX will have much more success with a person already somewhat informed about the topic with a strong political opinion who wants to learn more.

Advocacy travel seeks to affect change in the participants, the effect of which will be a change in international policy. To establish the viability of this method, advocacy travel must also be examined through the theoretical lenses of anthropology and political science.

The Reality Tour is not considered to be “play” by organizers or participants, with the possible exception of a few travelers who use it as a vehicle to get into Cuba. Therefore, from an anthropological perspective, the Reality Tour participant can be classified as “pilgrim.” The meaning of the tour, or pilgrimage, for the participant and its underlying symbolic meaning must be examined and understood. The tour is still viewed as a time out (liminality) from ordinary life (normality), but its reward for the tourist must be examined. There may be a positive benefit for those who visited in Cuba and Chiapas, as Subcomandante Tacho conveyed during the January 2001 Chiapas trip, but participants must also experience a benefit. It is, after all, tourism--a profoundly self-serving activity in the twenty-first century. It serves as a mechanism for the maintenance of an identity for the participant. The obvious payoff is a sense of altruism, a genuine feeling among participants that they care enough about people they have never met before, to go visit them and learn about their struggle. Participants don’t even have to take up the gauntlet offered by GX, simply being there as a witness is enough--or so participants are told as they visit communities in Chiapas, and comments from participants on the Cuba trips indicate this is true for them also.

The authenticity of what is displayed for the tourist, especially by an indigenous culture, is an overarching and contentious theme that pervades the anthropological study of tourism. Although moving and emotional, the display put on for our group in the refugee community of Nuevo Yibejoj was certainly not authentic. The welcoming discussion, singing and music were produced *for us*--a result of our presence. The simple fact that we were in the community altered their normal activities.

There must be a motivating factor for the community to offer this “phony-folk-culture” for touristic consumption. They were making no money from us, save for some food donations. They are not tourism-dependent. We had no expectations of what we would see or do. And authenticity is truly in the eye of the beholder--if the experience matches the subject’s own concept of authenticity then it is authentic.

The fact that we slept on wooden planks in a barn and ate rice and beans was enough to ensure an authentic experience for most participants.

GX promotional material for the Chiapas trip advertises the opportunity to “dialogue with indigenous peasants who have been working for the right to own the land upon which they live and work, and govern their communities according to indigenous traditions and customs” (Reality Tour flyer, 10/00). Although the word “Zapatista” is never used, the trip is focused on them and their supporters. In informational meetings given by GX staff we were told of “PRIsta” indigenous and peasant villages that support the PRI, but we did not meet with them. And even though the Zapatista movement claims to support indigenous traditions and customs, they have made concessions to the world arena, such as promoting equality for women, which has definitely not been a Tzotzil tradition. The Chiapas Reality Tour is not an authentic look at indigenous culture.

However, it never claimed to be. The trip is promoted as a chance to “visit with diverse organizations and their representatives...religious and community leaders, non-government civic organizations, activists, educators...” (Reality Tour flyer 10/00). Participants are invited to “take advantage of this opportunity to meet people involved in grassroots movements and exchange ideas with them...” (Reality Tour flyer 10/00). And from this perspective, the Reality Tours are authentic. They offer a chance to meet people who live and work in the country or region, albeit pre-selected ones, and learn about their respective struggle for democracy. The Reality Tour is an authentic look at an activist organization in action. The participants are actively participating in a major activist activity--networking and meeting with other activists and learning the strategies undertaken to promote social change.

All forms of postmodern, alternative travel inherently strive to be socially responsible. The GX Reality Tours Director affirms that

part of our work is trying to be very, very cognitive of why we go to certain places, what are the long-term impacts and also trying to promote socially responsible tourism. Another thing that's really important to do is...make sure the majority of the money is staying

within the countries and the local communities that we're visiting (Everette de la Campa 12/10/00).

From my observation of the Chiapas tour, leakages are contained and coordinators are very conscious of the services used. Hotels and restaurants were locally owned. Local drivers were used. Aside from the fact that we drove there, our forays into the highlands and jungle were minimally intrusive to the environment. However, I cannot say with assurance whether the same policy holds true for Cuba, where groups are typically four times the size of those to Chiapas. Knowing that there are no US chain hotels or restaurants on the island and taking into consideration the acknowledgement by the Reality Tours Director of the damaging nature of mass tourism and the political mandate of non-exploitation of the organization itself, GX tries to operate socially responsible tours.

From the perspective of political science, travel, no matter how socially responsible, will affect the host country. Simply visiting a place encourages and necessitates market reorientation. Travelers need, minimally, food, shelter and transportation. Host communities must construct the necessary infrastructure to accommodate a tourist trade. Often, construction, permit and zoning issues are the domain of local government, who shifts from other concerns or income generating activities to support the tourism industry. Sociologists and anthropologists best address the result of this market reorientation on the citizens.

The Reality Tour did not seem to be an effective agent of political socialization for the participants. Those most affected were already socialized to their particular topic. However, advocacy travel does seem to be a vehicle for forming an activist identity for both the tour organizers and the participants. In choosing to organize or participate on a Reality Tour, each individual is making a choice that will serve to identify him or her on the "left" of a continuum of political identity.

Another concern for political science is the political shift that is encouraged by GX. Is it socially responsible to encourage political change in another sovereign

nation? While the political goals for each program area are different, the intent of advocacy travel is both to encourage policy change at a national level and promote reorientation of individual politics in the participant. It is essential to note where the policy change is aimed, however. In the case of Cuba, changing US policy toward that country is the objective of the GX's Cuba program. Participants are shown that individuals in Cuba are not a threat to the United States and that our sanctions are unduly restrictive and inhumane. By encouraging participants to create change at home, in the United States, GX is avoiding contentious issues such as the feeling of "neocolonialism" that could accompany the idea of advocacy travel.

Advocacy travel must expand upon previously established forms of alternative travel in order to reach its goals. Anthropological theory warns against attempts to change or alter another culture--the impact is amplified when there is economic disparity present. The most effective way for tourism to work for ideological change within the boundaries of anthropological concerns is to facilitate change in the participants.

Political science warns against creating dependent periphery states. While GX has the goal of reducing the control of the center over the periphery, the organization must work to incorporate the decisions of those countries with whom they are working to create a balanced model of cultural and political transmission.

It is necessary to incorporate ideas of globalization into this study, as this provides a context for GX's ideology. Although Reality Tours have specific destinations, returned participants are encouraged to take action on several issues, all topics upon which GX centers a program.

Tours to Chiapas have a different political goal, one that may conflict with theory. The Reality Tour is used to support the indigenous movement *against* the Mexican government. Participants are encouraged to share what they have learned at home, back in the United States, but the tour is really seen as the first step in a ladder of increasing political involvement and even interference. Participants are told to keep a low profile and not to wear Zapatista t-shirts as they may attract unwanted

government attention, further tarnishing the already suspect reputation of GX in Mexico. Affecting political change in other countries is a staple of the activist movement, however, doing so inside that country is unique to advocacy travel. Justification for this idea is difficult as supporting an armed uprising in a foreign country against a popularly elected government is commonly grounds for deportation, at the very least. However, the essential key to the Reality Tour, which must be extended to all advocacy travel, is the intent to affect change *in the participant*, so that she can in turn take the action that she feels is justified.

Encouraging political awareness is considered by political scientists to be a mechanism for political socialization. An activist organization, in combination with the media, acts as an agent of socialization for the Reality Tours participant. Within the paradigm of advocacy travel, tourism itself acts as a mechanism for political socialization and serves to reinforce political identification.

The effect of each Reality Tour on its respective destination is not known. Following the Zapatista march to Mexico City in February and March, 2001, the Mexican Congress rejected ratification of the San Andres Accords. Since then little has been heard in the international press from Fox on the issue of the Zapatistas and even less from the Zapatistas themselves. As long as Subcomandante Marcos maintains there will be no negotiations until the Accords are passed and conservative members of Congress assure the public that the Accords won't be passed, the situation appears to be at a stalemate.

GX continues to run Reality Tours to Chiapas. The September 3, 2001 issue of Time magazine featured a report on the trip, called as an "activist tour," and conclusions about the outcome on participants was mixed. It appears that the most significant changes that occur in Chiapas are in the participants.

The United States has made no effort to end the sanctions in effect on Cuba, or even to allow medicines to be sent under what must be incredible pressure from the pharmaceutical lobby. In fact, CNN reported on August 23, 2001, that, under direct orders from President Bush, the US Treasury Department had begun tracking

down citizens who had visited Cuba and fining them as much as \$50,000. This does not affect the Reality Tours, and in fact may serve to make them more popular, but signals a tightening of the United States' anti-Cuba campaign.

The conclusion of this study is that advocacy travel is a growing subfield in the tourism industry-- one that seeks to capitalize on the immense potential that *could* be realized by applying tourism. Advocacy travel works best though, if participants are already politically active and aware. The advocacy travel serves to reinforce already held beliefs and although the tours may not affect their host destinations, they do inspire long-term change within the participants.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Oregon State University Department of Anthropology

Dear Reality Tours participant-

Hello. My name is Jana Donckers. After completing an internship with Global Exchange in San Francisco last fall, I decided to further investigate the success of GX by conducting research for my thesis using GX as a model. My master's degree, from the Anthropology Department at Oregon State University, will assess the results of educational/ political travel on Reality Tour participants. This research will document the effectiveness of tourism as an activist strategy and afford recognition to GX in the academic arena. A final copy of the thesis will be given to Global Exchange, who will be able to use the conclusions for outreach and scholarship purposes as they see fit. Your assistance in completing and returning the enclosed anonymous questionnaire is very valuable and greatly appreciated.

The first section of the questionnaire is for demographic purposes. If you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions for whatever reason, please feel free not to respond. However, all responses are anonymous, as names are not attached to the questionnaire at any time.

The next two sections consist of both multiple choice and open-ended questions. The open-ended questions allow for more personal expression and elaboration than multiple-choice questions. Please answer all questions completely and as honestly as possible.

You can opt out of answering either of the two sections. However, completing the entire questionnaire will greatly benefit Global Exchange in determining the rate of success for various Reality Tours. All responses will remain anonymous and confidential, as names are not attached to the questionnaire.

This research was carefully designed by me with input from Global Exchange and my major professor, Dr. Court Smith, and approved by the Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects at Oregon State University. **Your individual response is necessary and essential for this statistical evaluation to be successful.** By completing and returning this questionnaire, you are indicating your informed consent to participate in the study. Thanks again for your help. Please feel free to contact me at any time with questions. For any questions about your rights as a research subject, contact the OSU IRB Coordinator at 541-737-3437.

Thanks,

Jana Donckers
238 Waldo Hall
Corvallis, OR 97330
donckers@mailbox.orst.edu
(831) 646-0675

Dr. Court Smith
238 Waldo Hall
Corvallis, OR 97330
csmith@orst.edu
(541) 737-4515

APPENDIX B
Reality Tours Questionnaire

Cuba

I. Personal

Age at the time of trip: _____

Sex: ____M ____F

Ethnicity: *Please describe*

In which state or country did you live at the time of your trip?: _____

Highest Level of Education Attained:

_____ Some High School	_____ College Degree
_____ High School Degree	_____ Some postgrad/ Current Grad Student
_____ Some College/Current Undergrad	_____ Graduate Degree

Occupation: *Please list job title:*

_____ Retired: Please list former career:
_____ Student: Please list major:

Annual Income: *Estimate your gross household income for 2000*

_____ \$0-19,999	_____ \$90,000-149,999
_____ \$20,000-49,999	_____ \$150,000-199,999
_____ \$50,000-89,999	_____ \$200,000- +

II. Travel Experience

What was the approximate date of your trip to Cuba:

How many times (including your Reality Tour) have you visited Cuba?

How often do you travel abroad for pleasure?

_____ Very Frequently (3+ times per year)	_____ Infrequently (Once every 3 to 5 years)
_____ Frequently (1-3 times per year)	_____ Seldom (A few times total)
_____ Regularly (Once every year or two)	_____ This was my first trip abroad

Why did you choose to visit Cuba on the Reality Tour? *check all that apply:*

_____ Caribbean Beaches	_____ Date/Time of trip was convenient
_____ Historic Havana	_____ Interested in Socialism
_____ Exclusiveness of visiting Cuba	_____ To express support for Castro
_____ Personal Research	_____ To learn more about the topic

_____ Recommendation of friend _____ Other _____
Have you/ do you plan to participate on another Reality Tour to any destination?
yes no

On how many organized trips have you been a participant (*including your Cuba Reality Tour*):

Briefly describe the most memorable experience of your trip to Cuba:

III. Political Experience

Did you vote in the most recent U.S. presidential election? yes no NA

Are you an active member of any political organization? yes no

Do you consider yourself more politically aware after your Reality Tour? yes no

Have your political views changed in any way as a result of your Reality Tour? _____yes
no

Are you more politically active after your Reality Tour? yes no

Approximately how many hours per month did you volunteer in any form of public service during the year 2000?

Is this more than before your Reality Tour? yes no

What actions have you taken after your return home? *check all that apply:*

- ☐ None
☐ Talked with family, friends about trip
☐ Followed news/ world events more closely
☐ Sent medical supplies, books to Cuba
☐ Wrote letters, e-mails to government officials concerning Cuban embargo
☐ Donated money to organization for Cuba support
☐ Shared photos of trip with family, friends
☐ Organized event about Cuba
☐ Sent letters to friends made in Cuba
☐ Wrote article for magazine, newspaper or website
☐ Kept in touch with other participants on my trip
☐ Read books about Cuba
☐ Attended events, rallies concerned with Cuba
☐ Volunteered at a Cuba event or organization that works for Cuba
☐ Other:

Thank You!

APPENDIX C
Reality Tours Questionnaire

Chiapas

I. Personal

Age at the time of trip: _____

Sex: ____M ____F

Ethnicity: Please describe

In which state or country did you live at the time of the trip?: _____

Highest Level of Education Attained:

_____ Some High School	_____ College Degree
_____ High School Degree	_____ Some postgrad/ Current Grad Student
_____ Some College/ Current Undergrad	_____ Graduate Degree

Occupation: Please list job title: _____

_____ Retired- former career: _____

_____ Student-major: _____

II. Travel Experience

What was the approximate date of your trip to Chiapas: _____

How many times (including your Reality Tour) have you visited Chiapas?

How often do you travel abroad for pleasure?

_____ Very Frequently (3+ times per year)	_____ Infrequently (Once every 3 to 5 years)
_____ Frequently (1-3 times per year)	_____ Seldom (A few times total)
_____ Regularly (Once every year or two)	_____ This was my first trip abroad

Why did you choose to visit Chiapas on the Reality Tour? *check all that apply:*

_____ Jungle/ Rainforest	_____ Date/Time of trip was convenient
_____ Colonial San Cristóbal	_____ Interested in Indigenous Rights
_____ Exclusiveness of visiting Chiapas	_____ To express support for Zapatistas
_____ Personal Research	_____ To learn more about topic
_____ Recommendation of friends	Other: _____

Have you/ do you plan to participate on another Reality Tour to any destination?

On how many organized trips have you been a participant (*including your Chiapas Reality Tour*):

Briefly describe the most memorable experience of your trip to Chiapas:

III. Political Experience

Did you vote in the most recent U.S. presidential election? ____yes ____no ____NA

Are you an active member of any political organization? ____yes ____no

Are you are more politically aware after your Reality Tour? ____yes ____no

Are you more politically active after your Reality Tour? ____yes ____no

Approximately how many hours per month did you volunteer in any form of public service in the past year? _____

Is this more than before your Reality Tour? ____yes ____no

What actions have you taken after your return home? *check all that apply*:

- _____ None
- _____ Talked with family, friends about trip
- _____ Sent medical supplies, books to Chiapas
- _____ Wrote letters, e-mails to government officials concerning Chiapas
- _____ Donated money to organization for indigenous/ Zapatista support
- _____ Shared photos of trip with family, friends
- _____ Organized event about Chiapas
- _____ Sent letters to friends made in Chiapas
- _____ Wrote article for magazine, newspaper or website
- _____ Kept in touch with other participants on my trip
- _____ Read books about Mexico, Chiapas
- _____ Attended events, rallies concerned with Chiapas
- _____ Volunteered at a Mexico/ Chiapas event or organization that works for Chiapas
- _____ Other: _____

Thank You!!

APPENDIX D
STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF SURVEY RESPONSE BY QUESTION

	<u>Cuba</u>	<u>Chiapas</u>
I. Personal		
a. <u>Average Age</u>	44.2	44.6
Did Not Answer	2	4
b. <u>Sex</u>		
Male	39	21
Female	29	32
c. <u>Ethnicity</u>		
White	53	37
Non-White	9	8
Did Not Answer	6	8
d. <u>Income</u>		
\$200,000+	6	0
\$150,000-199,999	5	1
\$90,000-149,999	9	5
\$50,000-89,999	20	10
\$20,000-49,999	19	24
\$0-19,999	8	12
Did Not Answer	1	1
II. Travel		
a. <u>Frequency</u>		
Very Frequently	5	3
Frequently	30	9
Regularly	16	23
Infrequently	13	5
Seldom	3	10
This was First Trip Abroad	0	3
b. <u>Desire to Participate on</u> <u>Another Reality Tour</u>		
Yes	28	23
No	24	12
Maybe	14	14
Did Not Answer	2	4

c. Number of PreviousOrganized Trips

5+	12	10
2-4	25	16
1	28	23
Did Not Answer	3	4

III. Political Experience

a. Active Member of a
Political Organization

Yes	28	27
No	39	25
Did Not Answer	1	1

b. Hours Per Month of
Volunteer Activity

16+	14	14
11-15	3	7
6-10	10	9
1-5	15	11
None	18	9
Did Not Answer	8	3