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# JOURNEYS OF DISCOVERY IN VOLUNTEER TOURISM

International Case Study  
Perspectives

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## Contents

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Contributors	vii
Preface	xiii
Acknowledgements	xv
<b>Part I Journeys Beyond Otherness: Communities, Culture and Power</b>	
1 Volunteer Tourism as Alternative Tourism: Journeys Beyond Otherness <i>K.D. Lyons and S. Wearing</i>	3
2 'Pettin' the Critters': Exploring the Complex Relationship Between Volunteers and the Volun-toured in McDowell County, West Virginia, USA, and Tijuana, Mexico <i>N.G. McGehee and K. Andereck</i>	12
3 Volunteering Tourism Knowledge: a Case from the United Nations World Tourism Organization <i>L. Ruhanen, C. Cooper and E. Fayos-Solá</i>	25
4 Lessons from Cuba: a Volunteer Army of Ambassadors <i>R. Spencer</i>	36
5 'Make a Difference!': the Role of Sending Organizations in Volunteer Tourism <i>E. Raymond</i>	48

# 4

## Lessons from Cuba: a Volunteer Army of Ambassadors

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Cuba is a country of beguiling beauty which attracts many tourists. It is also a poor country suffering the combined effects of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the constraints of the US embargo. However, the only crises most tourists will confront are a barman who runs out of the *hierba buena* variety of mint that makes for a perfect mojito; or a driver whose 1950s Chevrolet *maquina* (taxi) chugs and bounces along Havana's heavily potholed roads. There is, however, a kind of tourist who visits Cuba expressly to learn about the development challenges and accomplishments of its tenacious communist revolution. Study tours operated by non-government organizations (NGOs) comprise small groups of people travelling through the provinces once or twice a month. These tours include seminars on development issues in association with visits to community projects. In providing participants with an insight into daily life in Cuba, they aim to show the positive sustainable development initiatives being undertaken by ordinary people. These NGO study tours, thus, inspire participants to become more socially and environmentally active in regards to Cuba and/or international development on their return to their own countries. Focusing on development, these tours discuss the merits, failures and challenges of Cuban socialism in this age of globalization and neo-liberalism, offering very particular insights into alternative models. By looking at the moral imperatives underpinning the conjunction between this particular form of tourism and development, I examine how an educational engagement that embodies a particularly powerful experience for tourists leads to a process whereby tourists become actual agents of development. Thus, NGO study tours in Cuba shed light on the instrumental outcomes of tourism as a tool for development. I theorize this encounter within the parameters of rights-based development and label it 'rights-based tourism'. As we face a changing world where almost everything has become more global and this 'world-in-motion' produces disjunctures, disconnections and exclusions (Appadurai, 1996), the convergence of particular styles of tourism and development might offer new ways towards social inclusion.

I lived in Cuba as an anthropologist in the early 2000s at the time when the country was emerging from a decade-long depression. Tourism was at the forefront of Cuba's development policy. For the Cuban government, it was a critical and vulnerable time balancing the introduction of some capitalist tools with long-term imbedded socialist ideologies. It provided an anthropologist with fertile ground to investigate convergences between tourism and development in the unique context that Cuba is. This chapter is based on my research during this period.

My research reflects what Marcus (1995, p. 95) referred to as multi-sited ethnography: 'an emergent methodological trend in anthropological research [where]... Ethnography moves from its conventional single-site location... to multiple sites of observation and participation that cross-cut dichotomies such as the "local" and the "global"'. I tracked the progress of NGO study tours and the meetings and projects they encountered by travelling with them as they moved from place to place. Throughout I adopted a qualitative approach in order to gain an in-depth insight into the experiences of the participants as they perceived them (Sarantakos, 1993). The research included seven study tours conducted by ancillary arms of an international development agency and a human rights organization. Approximately 100 people participated in the tours and 28 of those participated in interviews and follow-up questionnaires. The research involved the use of different methods by combining formal recorded interviews, direct participation and observation, literature and document analysis, qualitative follow-up e-mail questionnaires, informal conversations and introspection. My adoption of these methods reflects the particular empirical objective of the study to understand the experiences of learning about development in Cuba within a tourism context. The ethnographic data collected among NGO study tourists is not isolated from other information sources; rather it is linked with data collected from the grass-roots and development organizations and government agency authorities that we met with in Cuba.

### Moral Imperatives Within Tourism and Development

A culture of concern and the notion of 'moral responsibility' underpin new emerging trends of tourism and development. This is evidenced by NGO study tours and rights-based development, the latest manifestations of the moral imperative driving development and tourism practices. Based on their conjunction we can conceive of it as a rights-based tourism.

Rights-based development is the incorporation of human rights into development discourses and practices. It aims to ensure that people have moral and legal entitlements that pertain specifically to basic well-being and dignity (Ljungman, 2005). In the context of tourism, the notion of morals has emerged from changing attitudes in the West around notions of sustainability (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). In the case of NGO study tours in Cuba, tour participants take a stance on tourism issues, which rest on minimizing harm to culture and the environment, and incorporate an educational agenda to learn about development issues.

NGO study tours are a form of tourism that is based on a moral imperative to be contributing something 'good' to the communities visited. This imperative encompasses ethical considerations insofar as 'ethical' stresses idealistic standards of right and wrong, such as codes of conduct within tourism. I use the term 'moral' to envisage the underpinnings of the convergence between development and tourism because it includes notions of ethics, right, virtuous and good. Such ideas of improvement (or at least careful avoidance of harm) correlate with rights-based development. NGO study tours are positioned as morally better than mainstream tours because they engage with local culture through an explicit educational agenda and because part of the cost of their tours goes towards supporting aid projects. Through a programme of visits to community projects and meetings with local people to discuss the nuances of social development in Cuba, people can feel they are engaging in a more judicious form of tourism. Such development-oriented tours allow people to enact their moral choice as responsible alternative tourists.

I challenge Butcher's (2003) critique of the increasing 'moral proscription and critical self awareness' in tourism, where he argues the attempt to do something good in fact does the opposite as it creates new barriers between people and has a negative impact in the field of development. Butcher positions new moral tourism as 'a vessel into which we are encouraged to pour environmental angst and fears of globalization. New moral tourists travel with a sense of personal mission, as tourism is recast as philanthropy towards the hosts and a "unique experience" for the tourist' (2003, p. 139). I argue that moral intentions and critical self-awareness do not create barriers between people but facilitate and lead to the creation of global networks. Global Exchange's Reality Tours (GERT) and Oxfam's former Community Aid Abroad Tours (OCAAT) are examples of NGOs offering tours with a development focus. They demonstrate the values and characteristics associated with the moralization of tourism that Butcher (2003) critiques. Where he challenges the positive assumptions of moral tourism niches, I reveal its complexity as a culture of concern that promulgates connections between people; a social process akin to new social movements that has positive impacts in the field of development.

Although forms of 'new' tourism (Poon, 1989) are relatively minor when compared with all forms of holiday travel to developing countries, they are highly significant in terms of their presence as indications of contemporary change both in their mode of emergence and in their style of operation (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). They forecast an increasing connection between globalized social movements and consumer engagement in social change and endogenous development endeavours.

Attaching a universalistic moral framework to social practices as diverse as tourism is multifarious in nature. For example, how do we precisely assess what is good and what is bad or what is appropriate or inappropriate in a context of relative values and cultural norms? Nevertheless a moral framework is clearly a facet of this development-tourism convergence. To ignore it is to miss an important concern for subaltern rights. Arguably, people who travel with NGOs consider the capacity of tourism to impact on people's rights. It is this concern that underpins people's choices to embrace 'responsible' tourism and reproduces aspects of well-being and dignity in rights-based development.

Underpinning NGO study tours is a programme to learn about other cultures and their development issues. The development-focused meetings and project visits are the key point of difference from mainstream tourism because they provide opportunities to learn from grass-roots perspectives. While it is typical to accentuate positive experiences after a holiday, it is the underlying sensibility of education and interconnection expressed by NGO study tourists that offers key insights into the potential for agency and solidarity. Gertrude, an Oxfam participant, explained that 'these aspects were very important; I would not have had access to meetings with local people, which for me brought the trip alive'. Amelia from a GERT tour told me, 'without the visits and seminars it might otherwise have been just another holiday tour, but we connected with local people over really important issues'. Tour participants also experienced more impromptu encounters with local people, such as Oscar's spontaneous drumming lesson in the house of a local Cuban man in Santiago de Cuba:

The private drum lesson in a man's home was a real highlight. He solicited me on the street. I declined but we continued to talk. He asked again and I agreed. He is an unemployed percussion instructor and my connection with him was deep...

### External Participation in Global Social Movements

This form of tourism is a burgeoning niche that potentially has positive implications for the tourist, their home society and development generally. Opportunities to connect with local people and with other tour participants who share common interests resonates with social movement theory about the creation of network ties as an important indicator of new social movement participation.

As part of the mosaic of global new social movements, some NGOs utilize tourism as a means of educating tourists to become more active in campaigning on issues of international concern. Likewise, the Cuban government clearly views international tourists as political agents who can give 'first-hand' accounts of the country and its achievements. These tourists are considered valued friends who witness first-hand the positive achievements of Fidel Castro's revolution and who return home, as a volunteer army of ambassadors to spread the good word about how Cuba is forging a radical alternative to neo-liberalism and capitalism.

GERT and OCAAT are by virtue of their educational itineraries agents of network building. Their tours often serve as a catalyst for increased social movement participation. In this way, these NGOs hope to harness the power and influence of educational development-oriented tourism for its ability to facilitate motivation and mobilization efforts.

Such tours forecast an increasing interest between globalized social movements, tourist engagement in social change and endogenous development. Identifying these conjunctions entails exploring beyond the membership of new social movements because belonging to an organization can manifest in a manifold of distinctive ways (Barkan *et al.*, 1995).

In analysing social movements, Knoke (1988) tells us that it is necessary to include external and internal forms of participation. Typically studies of social

movement participation analyse internal forms such as membership, volunteering in the administrative procedures, voting or running in elections and the provision of resources. In the case of Cuba, external participation in social movements can have far-reaching effects in their mobilization against the US-dominated world system. External forms of participation include lobbying to politicians, writing letters to them, attending rallies, and I argue, participating in NGO study tours. These tours evidence a 'movement of movements' (Klein, 2004, p. 220) precisely because of their international reach, because the people who participate in them represent a mosaic of interests that concern new social movements, and because of the new networks created during these tours.

In discussing what she has mostly learnt about and felt impacted by, Henrietta, an elderly American woman on a Cuba at the Crossroads tour says:

I have a much more concrete sense now of how, and how much, the embargo hurts Cubans, the mechanics by which it does so, and what the Cuban government and people have done in response. I will be writing to my political reps about ending the embargo and I do hope to work something of the Cuban experience into my healthcare talks. Meanwhile I've been mainly talking to friends and even clients about the insanity and destructiveness of the embargo.

Her account of how her tour has impacted on her is a striking example of the power of this form of tourism to positively affect external participation in new social movements (Knoke, 1988). Not only is she intending to write to her politicians, but she intends to incorporate information about Cuba in a professional capacity and has already been sharing information within her social network. McGehee (2002) tells us individuals are likely to participate in social movements if their family, friends or colleagues support their goals. This reinforces the potential instrumental benefits of participating in an NGO study tour for development.

Typically, NGO tour participants demonstrate a strong involvement in new social movement participation prior to joining a tour. Their level of support in such movements through charities, development agencies or conservation groups indicates their commitment to and involvement with global development issues. One member may make regular financial contributions and receive a newsletter while another participates in activism and campaigning. Indeed my research indicates that many participants are motivated to join an NGO study tour as a means to financially support projects and facilitate connections with other like-minded people and local Cuban people.

The creation of networks is an important aspect of social movements and this is key to NGO study tours in Cuba. Following Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) description of new social movements as rhizomic, we see how NGO tours can establish unexpected connections thus assuming diverse forms, across various dimensions such as the family, the neighbourhood and different issues. Individuals and organizations that are linked together through one or more social relationships become networks, which are an important element of social movement participation and potentially reinforce activism support (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987; McAdam and Rucht, 1993; McGehee, 2002). For example, our ties to family and friends or work colleagues can influence our world view and our support for political and social issues. Informal

ties that form our social networks are important reference points that are vital to network development, participation and commitment to social movements (Pfaff, 1995; Lichterman, 1996). This is fundamental to the success of NGO study tours in mobilizing support because the people who participate in a tour each have their own social networks to which they disseminate information about their experiences in Cuba.

This style of tourism is of an active participatory and educational nature. It is these distinctive qualities that explain why participation in an NGO study tour can increase network ties. By interaction with fellow tour participants, local officials and local people, the establishment of network ties is facilitated. Despite the short immersion of only several weeks, my research indicates that the experience is educational and intense enough to have an impact on the tourists. The tours allow participants many opportunities to exchange information and to develop ties that might not occur otherwise. Tours of this kind would be expected to draw together like-minded people and it thus makes sense that tours enable the exchange of ideas and establishment of network ties between the tourists themselves. Many tour participants concede that NGO tours implicitly promote support for developing world development. Hence, by virtue of their intense social and learning experience, NGO tours lead to the creation of support networks for development in developing countries.

Development-oriented tours aim to move beyond typical touristic presentations of Cuba and counter the anti-Cuba rhetoric stemming from the US government and Cuban diasporas. Cuba is often represented by discourses that shift between diverse idealistic visionary representations of a bastion of socialism fighting against consumerism and capitalism to dystopic representations of a socialist victim of the cold war frozen in the 1950s. NGO study tours do more than feed into discourses of representation by providing Western tourists with opportunities to gain nuanced understandings of Cuban realities, both positive and negative. Often their experiences lead to a more informed understanding of Cuba and the role of development processes. This facilitates a transformation from tour participant to agent of development, which occurs both within their exchanges with local people and on their return home as they disseminate information about Cuba and its social development. This being the case, therefore requires unpacking the terms of transformation and the ways tourists acquire agency through experiential learning.

### Transformative Learning Through Tourism Experiences

The anthropology of tourism perspective has long addressed transformation from one state to another. However, in order to capture the complexity of transformation, I reframe it in terms of social and cultural change. Notions of personal transition within tourism are not straightforward shifts but are nuanced and complex. One important dimension is the way tourists and their engagement facilitate the networking of new social movements, as discussed above. Accordingly, education provides the platform for subsequent action where the notion of 'meaningful' experiences has instrumental outcomes. Exploring such experiences highlights that there is resonance beyond the tour itself. To understand this broader picture we need to consider levels of agency that go beyond self-interest.



The transformation that takes place is an increased commitment specifically to Cuban issues through solidarity efforts. NGO tour participants are typically politicized people, hence their existing interest in development and human rights issues. Many of them return home from tours and write letters to their politicians, write articles in their local newspapers and community newsletters, give presentations, talk to friends, family and colleagues disseminating what they have learnt about Cuba, often they even join their national Cuba Friendship Society. For example:

I believe the Cuba at the Crossroads tour introduced us to important movements in Cuban culture and politics. The tour made us aware of the difficulties facing the Cuban people and government and sent us home determined to help in their struggle. The Global Exchange tours are helping to educate Americans about Cuba.  
(Henrietta)

Many participants on NGO study tours comment about meeting local people and making deep connections, and importantly, the opportunities to undergo these experiences with like-minded travellers. 'The exchange of ideas and thoughts and friendships with local persons and with each other are extremely satisfying to the tourists and I think the local people' (Innes – Oxfam Tour). Thus, it is the combination of educational, intellectual and affective exchanges with other participants and local people that are significant aspects – a process analogous to normative *communitas* (Turner, 1977).

Exchanges that occur in a tourism development context, arguably improve the social and cultural environment for the local people because it empowers them to create global networks through these touristic exchanges that celebrate their cultural, agricultural and political diversity. Arguably, the impact of such experiences could be seen to transform tourists into nascent agents of rights-based development because of the overall sense of well-being for local people that such exchanges facilitate and the solidarity links it cultivates.

Notions of transformation are complex and cannot be understood merely as a direct transition from one state to another. While most NGO tour participants already contribute to development efforts through financial support, activism and fund-raising, greater commitments are made typically after participating in an NGO study tour.

Arguably, NGO tourists are not just interested in meeting the exotic 'Other' as objects to be viewed, but rather they are engaged in what they perceive to be meaningful contact with local people in order to exchange ideas and information about development issues. They can disseminate this information on their return home in an act of solidarity and contribute to the development efforts of the organizing NGO. Thus, NGO tours offer people enriched experiences of Cuba through a lens of development. For Ruby: '[M]y trip has affected me tremendously. I understand Cuba much better than I ever thought I would. I think the trip was so affective because I was not just a tourist in Cuba; I was being educated along the way'.

For participants in my research in Cuba, NGO tours provide educational and intellectual experiences that transform their prior perceptions of Cuba. Ruben exclaimed: '[I]t is such a great experience because it affects you and you

have to change'. Sebastian said to me, 'I want to be involved in development and community development issues and become more of an activist now' and for Wilhemena:

[T]he lasting effect for me is that I will be engaged in Cuban politics and human rights from now on. I think Cuba/US relations are a fascinating story and I think that from now on Cuba news/culture/politics will be a hobby of mine. The trip has inspired me to grow my own vegetables – this is certainly a lifestyle change. I am inspired to spread the word about urban agriculture in Cuba and to encourage people to visit. I recently held a slide show on Cuba and will present another one next month at the University of Michigan. I also hope to write an article to further disseminate information of Cuba's unique model of relieving food crises through urban agriculture.

As I mentioned earlier, many NGO tour participants are mostly already committed to supporting development aid efforts, which suggests that tourist experiences involve complex negotiations that cultivate cultural change rather than an utter transformation *per se*. This cultural change is most likely because they are already interested in interculturality, international issues and development.

Cultural change occurs then, in terms of transformative learning, horizons are extended for some tourists, the individual dignity of local Cuban people they met with is valued, and the trust and solidarity that the groups create through sharing histories, difficulties or goals *potentially* feeds into giving local Cuban people some degree of support in their attempts to reinvent themselves as more active subjects in their communities. For the tourists, the high levels of interaction with other tour participants, local officials and local residents facilitate the establishment of network ties that are so important to the success of new social movements (McGehee, 2002) and can lead to them becoming more active subjects in their own communities too.

For many participants their experiences in Cuba have reinforced their commitment to supporting causes both at home and abroad. For example, Ingaberg from a GERT sustainable agriculture tour has experienced 'an awakened interest in gardening and a reinforced notion that organic agriculture is something that the West could embrace more fully. As a whole the trip solidified ideas that were brewing in my head'. Likewise, Valmia says her Cuba at the Crossroads tour reinforced her 'will to continue supporting as many environmental, family planning, and civil rights organizations that I can afford. I've always been an activist and will now contribute and disseminate pertinent information and lobby congressional members about our foreign policy towards Cuba'. These statements highlight the politicized commitment of tour participants and the opportunities provided by the tours to exchange information about networks and to develop ties.

The experiences tourists have engage them at a particular level of action that enables them to feel they are doing something positive and there is a level of change in the participants' behaviour in the form of increased solidarity efforts on their return home. At the very least, new relationships are established that allow for the creation of networks between the tourists and local people they meet and also between the tourists themselves. Thus, this convergence of tourism and development aims to create new kinds of solidarity and transnational connections. It is a form of interaction that is moralistic, but

more importantly, didactic and provides experiences with local Cuban people that is productive because of the creation of networks. The dissemination of ideas and activities on a global scale occurs through such networks (McAdam and Rucht, 1993).

## Agency and Solidarity

Solidarity through tourism, in whatever form this emerges, can be considered an important tool for development agencies, social movements and NGOs in terms of new and explicit ways of promulgating issues of rights, social justice and good governance. Solidarity, thus, connects directly with rights-based development; it becomes important in the NGO tourism context because it is implicitly expressed as an objective of NGOs and explicitly expressed by tourists as a key outcome of participating in NGO study tours. Likewise it is clearly a political and developmental goal of the Cuban government. We can effectively envisage solidarity as a means for tourists to participate and act as agents of change in the development process. Indeed, it is a novel means through which Cuba has developed a way to partially transcend the economic and social constraints of the blockade. It acts as a new form of global coalition and interconnectedness that builds on previous alliances that have since dissolved, as was the case with the former Soviet Union where Cuba engaged in cultural exchanges with nations who were politically sympathetic.

The ethnographic material this chapter is based on suggests that participants are very keen to engage with Cuban people and learn about their development initiatives. This indicates a level of agency achieved through solidarity activities mentioned above. Post-tour actions illuminate individual tourist expressions of 'desire' (Kapoor, 2005) insofar as the tourists aim to be part of development activities and social movements. It could even be argued that tourists actively overcome entrenched Western 'complicity' (Kapoor, 2005) in developing world underdevelopment and poverty by participating in NGO study tours. In direct contrast to most Western touristic pursuits in the developing world, participation in an NGO study tour might be viewed as benevolent and leading to a more active form of solidarity with Cuba (post tour).

If it can be argued that this is a form of tourism that attempts to overcome Western complicity in developing world poverty through an educational tour programme and subsequent development of networks, then we can take this argument one step further; participants in development study tours are, through their solidarity efforts, agents of a rights-based form of development. The tours have the power to affect participants in positive ways that encourage them to be more active in a growing social movement of support for Cuba. Tourists become agents of development by supporting NGO development projects and participating in Cuban solidarity. Thus, both Cuban organizations and international NGOs are meeting their objectives in conducting these tours. What is produced here is rights-based tourism.

Rights-based tourism is not just about material and financial exchanges but also about intellectual and affective elements that are exchanged and developed.

This fits within a rights-based development framework where the notion of well-being is achieved by broadly conceived notions of political and moral support that is not just about money. Tours contribute (on different scales) to the development of dignity and well-being of local people through a sense of connection and the commitment to support development in Cuba. Local Cuban people and international NGO tourists play an important role in teaching the world about Cuban social development – triumphs and tribulations.

The sharing of ideas with local people, fellow tour members and with people back home can promote greater understanding of issues regarding systems of aid and thereby increase the contributions tourists make to development. It is this impact that leads to the 'transformation' from tourist to agent of development, because tour participants are engaged in more long-term intellectual and instrumental exchanges that transcend the tour itself. Notions of touristic transformation are multifaceted forms of identification, from refutation of mass tourism to refutation of neo-liberal globalization. NGO tourists demonstrate identification with certain interests (e.g. ecology and organic farming). It is often the 'peasant' who is valued within these tourist encounters as a way of learning from them. Transformation is qualified by the tourists' affirmation of values espoused in the West – such as social equity and collective community – but no longer considered valid with the collapse of the Soviet Empire. Cuba forms an example of a model that tourists are compelled to visit, study, support and promote.

What we can see taking place is a form of development that is more than just about structural adjustment leading to economic development that is so prevalent throughout Latin America. It is a form of rights-based tourism where local Cuban people who are actively engaged in the development process also create networks with international tourists through NGOs in an effort to foster solidarity. Creating solidarity through networks is linked to the capacity of tourism to bring about subjective changes in the conditions of Cuban people. Arguably, this form of tourism promotes increased self-respect and self-realization of local people and tourists alike through a programme of educational and affective exchanges that enhance notions of empowerment and independent agency.

## Conclusion

What is clear is that NGO tours offer people a set of experiences that lead to critical perspectives about development. NGO study tours, which orchestrate forms of social interaction through exchanges of ideas and knowledge, facilitate the establishment of new networks and international links that in turn assist Cuban solidarity. Arguably, they foster a nascent but discernable form of rights-based development.

It is a moral imperative that drives an increasing connection between globalized social movements, development and tourist concern with social change. The educational exchanges taking place on tours are helping Cuba to find a voice and in this sense retrieve some sort of agency within a global network. Such exchanges allow Cuban people to become more of a presence within a

wider geopolitical and social world in which they have been subject to a decade-long embargo excluding Cuba from world markets. The engagement of tourists and locals is an integral part of the development process as they share their knowledge and expertise with each other. Subjective micro-transformations of this kind lead to potential multiplier effects beyond the tours themselves in the form of new networks being built, role models being created and positive social change being promoted. Such experiences, combined with the goals of the NGOs and the intentions of the Cuban government, indicate several positive outcomes. First, aside from material support for local Cuban organizations, the positive outcomes consist of imparting knowledge about Cuban realities, thereby facilitating solidarity between countries and potentially empowering Cuban people. This can subsequently impact on future international relations for Cuba in potentially assisting in their future development (i.e. through tourists returning home to lobby their politicians about trade relations), which has been threatened by the US trade embargo. Second, for the NGOs who organize study tours to Cuba the positive outcomes consist of participants learning about development efforts and disseminating this knowledge on their return home and perhaps becoming more committed to supporting the NGO's development efforts. Third, for the participants the positive outcomes are partaking in a study tour that contributes money and possibly a sense of well-being to the local communities, gaining 'backstage' (McCannell, 1973) access not otherwise available to tourists, being educated while travelling and meeting like-minded people. But most importantly they become actively engaged in activities linked to social solidarity and change. While they are not new social movements per se, they lend themselves to particular outcomes associated with the power of new social movements. The level of impact on the tourists themselves through transformative learning leads to agency that in turn enhances social capital in Cuba.

This chapter provides a brief insight about the contributions of this form of tourism to a rights-based development. To what extent and how consistently such tours improve the social and cultural environment of local people by enhancing their sense of well-being and dignity remains unclear. However, the implication that international networks and solidarity are created through such tourism leads us to ask such questions. I have argued that development tours have the power to establish relationships that extend beyond the brief but intense tour experience itself. This chapter, more than anything else, demonstrates that if a development tour is found to encourage or intensify solidarity with Cuba or social movement participation in some form then the results could be used to promote rights-based tourism as a means of encouraging organized social action and rights-based development.

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