

# Transmodernity and Activism in Tourism

The case of El Palmar (Cádiz, Spain)



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# **Transmodernity and Activism in Tourism:**

## **The case of El Palmar (Cádiz, Spain)**

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## Abstract

This Master Science thesis tries to contribute to the debate on transmodernity and activism in tourism. A case study has been selected in the South of Spain where a huge mass tourism project has been approved by the local government in El Palmar, Cadiz. Tourists, locals, environmental organizations and other associations that believe in another kind of development are combining their efforts to stop the project. The final objective of this study is to explore the characteristics of this social movement, mainly made up of tourists, to see if it presents evidence of the paradigm shift toward the so-called new transmodern world. The results of the qualitative research reveal the potential role of this tourist as an active agent of the social, cultural and economic change, and identify numerous similarities in lifestyles, values and worldviews as of the Cultural Creative, who are claimed to form the emerging subculture. At the same time, contradictions and differences are found that show the paradox and complexity of this movement and the need of further research on this topic. More cases of protest actions related to tourism activities in various destinations, not just in Europe but all around the world, should be analyzed. Together with tourists, the local communities and other groups of interest, such as local and international environmental NGOs, should also be considered.

Key Words: transmodernity; activism; Cultural Creatives; life style and values; tourism development



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## 1 Transmodernity and Activism in Tourism

### 1.1 Background and Introduction

*"We are living through one of the most fundamental shifts in history: a change in the actual belief structure of Western Society. No economics, political or military power can compare with the power of a change of mind. By deliberately changing their images of reality, people are changing the world."* (Harman cited in Ateljevic, 2008:14).

It is claimed that humanity is undergoing an important paradigm shift and we are all part of it. The current myriad crises—environmental, social, political, economic, cultural—have pushed modernity as the dominant paradigm into a critical situation. During the period of modernity many achievements have been made, apart from improvement in living conditions, liberation from political and religion control, and more freedom in general (Ray and Anderson, 2000). Although it is clear that modernity has been an important era of our human civilization, now it has reached its peak, and seems no longer an appropriate response to the nature and complexity of today's world-system. Modernity solved many old problems, but not all, and at the same time it has contributed to new ills in need of a corresponding paradigm shift to find new solutions. Postmodernists such as MacCanell reacted in the nineties with critiques and deconstructions of modernity, stating that the new era appeared to be "disorganized fragments, alienation, wasteful, violent, superficial, unplanned and unstable and unauthentic" (MacCanell, 1976:8). At the same time many authors have a critical attitude toward postmodernity; for them it does not come with new solutions; moreover it continues to be dominated by the Western point of view. Ghisi, Dussel, Grosfoguel and Ateljevic are some of the authors that believe in the need for a more positive and constructive paradigm. Transmodernity appears to provide some new ways of seeing and moving forward.

The literature on transmodernity backs up the evidence of all these changes. Many scholars speak about a new generation of people, what Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson call the "cultural creatives" (Ray, 1998; Ray & Anderson, 2000). They are part of the "silent revolution" (Ghisi, 2008; Inglehart, 1977), and in the same vein Paul Hawken in his bestseller *Blessed Unrest* (2007) speaks about the biggest social movement ever created, a movement that, through small environmental and social organizations, is building the base for a new era. Irena Ateljevic (2008) outlines the work of others authors and their different ways to explain the named shift: the reflective/living-systems paradigm -Elgin-; the partnership model of caring economics -Eisler-; the relational global consciousness of

biosphere politics -Rifkin-; love ethics -Hooks-; the circularity paradigm of interdependence -Steinem- and the transmodern philosophy of political liberation -Dussel-.

Difficulties in fitting the movement into previously established concepts make it difficult to visualize, and what cannot be visualized is difficult to name. In other words: “In business, what is not measured is not managed; in the media what is not visualized is not reported” (Hawken, 2007: 15). The absence of a unifying and concrete name is another reason why we still don’t hear much about it (Eisler, 2002). It makes the emergence of a group consciousness which could strengthen the new movement even more complicated.

The same ideas and concepts are used to describe this new world even if there still isn’t a consensus about the names and terms to use. “Inclusivity, diversity, partnership, sacredness and quality of life, deep play, sustainability, universal human rights, the rights of nature and peace” (Ateljevic, 2008: 17) could define the paradigm shift that, following authors such as Rodriguez, Dussel, Ghisi, and Ateljevic, is labeled transmodernity. This term can be applied to different realities: politics, human rights, arts and tourism. Tourism has been always a perfect reflection of society, a metaphor for the social world (Dann, 2002) well-equipped to frame and analyze the shift. In spite of this, the relation between transmodernity and tourism is a quite new topic for scholars and there have not been many studies done about it. Motivated and guided mainly by Irena Ateljevic, a group of thinkers have currently be working along this theme: Esther Groenendal (2009) researching transmodern tourism entrepreneurship in France, Ellen Ruiter (2010) writing about transmodern and responsible tourism in Vietnam; Saskia Leenders (2010) exploring transformative tour guiding techniques, and Rita Duarte (2011) looking at favela tourism in Brazil through a transmodern lens. In this thesis I similarly use transmodern perspective to connect social activism and tourism development project.

The cultural centers and peripheral regions of Europe have for decades been the objects of mass tourism. At the beginning these tourist masses were more than welcomed and they were considered guests and providers of wealth. The number of tourists has not stopped increasing. The results, however, are not just economic development, employment opportunities and better infrastructure—tourism affects local communities, cultures and environments. Tourism is not seen as an innocent pleasure or simple economic development tool. There is a growing awareness of the way tourism affects the environment, societies and cultures so as each new day passes, is increasingly common to

find cases of people starting to react against tourism-related projects and activities (Boissevain, 1996; Butcher, 2003; Kousis, 2000, 2004).

The principal objective of this thesis is to relate tourism to a possible paradigm shift, analyzing social movements originated to promote more sustainable tourism practices. In the last years this social activism, normally represented by Non-Governmental Organizations and especially environmental NGOs, has played an important role in influencing sustainable tourism development. A case study has been selected in the South of Spain where a huge tourism project has been approved by the local government in El Palmar (Cadiz). It is considered to be one of the last “virgin” beaches on the overtly built-up Spanish coast and a traditional destination for those trying to escape from the famous mass tourism enclaves. Tourists, locals, environmental organizations and other associations that believe in another kind of development are combining their efforts to stop the project.

The future project in El Palmar includes two big hotels that will increase the tourism capacity of the destination by more than 1.300 people. The local and regional government, villagers, entrepreneurs in the tourism sector, building contractors and other project promoters believe that it would be a boon to the area. For them this project means the creation of approximately 300 new jobs, improvement of basic services in the community, and entry into a higher level of tourism market that will jumpstart the region.

By using this case study my thesis will explore the complexity and paradoxes of what could potentially be described as transmodern efforts to produce social and economic changes.

## **1.2 Empirical Context:**

The beach of El Palmar belongs to the municipality of Vejer de la Frontera and is part of the Costa de la Luz, a neighbor to the well-known Costa del Sol, in the south of Spain. Vejer is located in Cadiz, one of the eight provinces of Andalusia. El Palmar has 8 km of white sand and clear water surrounded by dunes and an enchanting natural landscape. It also has one of the most famous waves in Spain for surfing. In this remote corner in the south of Europe you can find not just surfers from all around the world, but nature lovers, nudists, politicians, celebrities, captains of industry, families, and other old and young

tourists looking for an alternative to traditional mass tourism offered all along the Spanish coast.

**Figure 1.1: El Palmar Location Maps**



These visitors together with locals and the support of other associations such as Ecologistas en Acción, Greenpeace or Clean Ocean Project are part of a social movement emerging against the large tourism project planned for the area. The project, which has the support of local and regional governments, plans on building a new tourism resort in a 270.000 square meter spot that have been rezoned/reclassified, close to the beach. It will have the capacity to house more than 1.300 people. Authorities and promoters believe the project will improve infrastructures and create somewhere around 300 new jobs in El Palmar, arguments that have convinced a significant portion of the local community to support the project.

The activist movement against the project has been spearheaded by two organizations: “Plataforma Salvar el Palmar PELP!” (Save El Palmar Platform) and SALVAR EL PALMAR: Paisaje Protegido (*Save El Palmar: Protected area*). In their opinion, the project will mean the destruction of one of the last virgin beaches in Spain and they are calling for “another form of tourism, truly sustainable, ecological and local”. This movement, which officially started in November 2009 as group on Facebook, today has more than 100.000 supporters and is still growing. They have already organized diverse activities such as meeting with neighbors, workshops and signature collections. For example, in April 2010 a gathering/demonstration against the project, organized over the internet, was held on El Palmar beach. Mainly tourists and visitors of the area attended but also representatives from different environmental and social organizations. In contrast with what local authorities said, the promoters of the act considered it a success. For them, it caught the media attention not just because some famous Spanish actors and singers took part in the

protests, but because tourists themselves are mobilizing and calling on politicians to stop building and demanding a more sustainable paradigm of development.

The controversy that has come to the quiet beach of El Palmar embodies a complex predicament: what is a threat for one group means future and development to another.

### 1.3 Problem statement

A new tourist project has been planned in El Palmar. As already mentioned, the project includes a resort with capacity for more than 1.300 people. What for some means economic development with new employment possibilities, the infrastructure improvement and much more money coming from the tourism industry, for others means something quite different, a step back, to fall again into same old unsustainable model of development which has already devastated many Spanish beaches. For them, the project means the destruction of one of the last virgin places left on the whole Andalusia coastline.

Local and regional government and a significant part of the local community are in favor of the project while the rest of the residents, environmental and other non-governmental organizations, as well as regular visitors to El Palmar are strongly against the plan. A stakeholder analysis is needed to understand what is truly going on there. The different interests and motivations of the different groups and the conflicts between them should be exposed.

### 1.4 Research Objective and Research Questions

This research will focus on the social movement which has emerged against the mass tourism development project. The movement is represented by two organizations with similar characteristics and objectives: “Plataforma Salvar el Palmar PELP!” (Save El Palmar Platform) and SALVAR EL PALMAR: Paisaje Protegido (*Save El Palmar: Protected area*). The purpose of this thesis is analyze the characteristics of the people who are involved, their ideas and motivations, the ways they organize the movement and to achieve their objectives, and the relation they have with the local community, government and other stakeholders.



The final objective is to explore if the characteristics of this movement present more evidences of the paradigm shift toward the so-called new transmodern world.

### **Research questions**

- How did the social movement coalesce in El Palmar?
- What are the characteristics of the platforms and their members?
- What are their interest and motivations?
- How does the movement match up with transmodernity and cultural creatives?
- What are the forms of the platform's actions?
- How are these actions seen by locals?

### **1.5 Type of Study**

This is an exploratory study guided and structured from inside an interpretative paradigm. Mixed qualitative methods and techniques are used to collect and analyze data. The research is based mainly on a case study approach. Semi-structured face to face interviews, interviews by email and participant observation have been used to collect information from the field. The literature review made in the theoretical section of this study helps not just to frame the data collection but to analyze the obtained data. In the third chapter methodological issues will be addressed in depth.

### **1.6 Relevance of the Study**

Transmodernity is a new concept about which few empirical studies have been carried out. More empirical analysis is still needed, especially in the field of tourism. Tourism studies have been always dominated by business administration schools and the research has traditionally been framed in terms of Management and Marketing. In line with others scholars represented in what is called "the critical turn in tourism studies" (Ateljevic et al., 2007), this thesis seeks to locate itself in critical social science and thus influence future

policy decisions in tourism development. The aim is to analyze tourism and tourists as key agents for social change, relating them to critical socio-political concerns such as transmodernity, governance, nature conservation, etc.(Ateljevic 2008; Ateljevic, Hollinshead and Ali, 2009).

The literature on tourism, environment and the role of non-governmental organizations and activists groups will hopefully be enriched by this study. It is only very recently that researchers have begun to write about tourism-related conflict and the relationship between activism, environmental organizations and tourism policies, planning, and development (Kousis, 2000; Tyler and Dinan, 2001)

In this context, then, this thesis aims to conduct research in the same vein as the current critical trend in tourism studies and at the same time seeks to explore political, economic, social and environmental issues in conflicts related to tourism projects.

## 1.7 Outline

This thesis is organized in six chapters. After this introduction, in the second chapter a theoretical framework will be established. The literature will discuss concepts such as transmodernity, Cultural Creatives and their relationship with tourism and the environment, and conflicts and activism in tourism. Chapter 3 contains a description of the methods and techniques used during this research. Chapter 4 consists of the empirical context; tourism development in Spain and Andalusia and the specific case of El Palmar will be described. In the Chapter 5 the results of the qualitative data and the links with the most important theoretical concepts will be discussed. In the final chapter, the conclusion of this research and recommendations for further research will be presented.

**Figure 1-1: Drawing of El Palmar beach**



Source: PELP

## 2 Transmodernity and Social Movements in Tourism: Literature review

This chapter provides a literature review that helps build the theoretical pillar that will sustain the findings of this study. It is an overview of the theory and relevant concepts, grounded by several scholars with different visions. First of all I will introduce transmodernity as a merging paradigm, then I will describe current social movements such as the Cultural Creatives, along with their worldviews, characteristics, lifestyles and other features. Third, under the transmodern umbrella, tourism and its relationship with the environment will be discussed. The last section sheds a light on different cases of conflicts and activism related to tourism.

### 2.1 Transmodern process

*“Every few hundred years in Western History there occurs a sharp transformation. Within a few short decades, society rearranges itself: its worldview (paradigm), its basic values, its social and political structures, its arts, its key institutions. Fifty years later there is a new world” (Drucker, 1993:1)*

The beginning of the twentieth century in Europe heralded a period of crisis in the “flagship” of modernity on the continent, later intensified by the onset of World War II. In 1916, the Spanish philosopher, Ortega y Gasset, said that he felt “nothing modern but very XX century” pre-visualizing that it will be different. Less than two decades later, in 1933, Ortega concluded: “modernity is over” (Abellán, 2006). By the midpoint of the century, the era and all the changes it had wrought over the previous fifty years began to be discussed in academia. It was clear that something new was coming, but what? With the obsession for naming so characteristic of philosophers and historians, they started to call it “post-modernity”. Even the people who were using this term were not totally convinced by it. Everyone knew that the modern era had been a critical period for humanity and that it was impossible to disregard this.

It was in 1987 when Rosa Maria Rodriguez Magda, another Spanish philosopher interviewed Jean Baudrillard. In the conversation with the French philosopher, who had already used terms such as “TRANSexuel” and “TRANSpolitique”, coined the idea of TRANSmodernity. Rodriguez Magda explained it for the first time in her book *La sonrisa de Saturno: Hacia una teoría transmoderna* (1989). She further elaborated the concept in *El Modelo Frankenstein: De la diferencia a la cultura post* (1997) and most recently in her book *Transmodernidad* (2004). In my analysis, I begin first with discussion of her

philosophical explanations, to be followed by a review of the writings of Enrique Dussel and Ramón Grosfoguel, two Latin American writers who approach the concept as a political liberation project of subaltern studies. Finally, it is necessary to include Irena Ateljevic's studies of transmodernity and tourism.

Beforehand, however, a brief historical background will be advantageous. Keeping in mind that a quick overview of the historical arc from modernity to transmodernity will unavoidably tend toward the simplistic, it is nevertheless important to undertake the take in order to contextualize the concept. As such, I will proceed with descriptions which frame transmodernity more as a socio-cultural shift. In doing so, the Belgian Dr. Marc Luyckx Ghisi's work (1999, 2001, 2007) will play an especially prominent role, yet it is worth noting that his work comes from an exclusively Eurocentric perspective of modernity.

### **2.1.1 Historical Process**

In her study about "Transformative Tour Guiding" (2010), Saskia Janet Leenders offers an interesting overview of the transition from Pre-Modernity to Transmodernity, discussing authors such as Ghisi, Ray and Anderson, and Fromm, and paying special attention to the deconstruction of Modernity. The origins of Modernity are normally framed in terms of the Industrial Revolution. The previous era, known as Traditional or Pre-Modern, was characterized for its overwhelmingly rural and agrarian qualities. Poverty, hunger and/or malnutrition, frequent illness, short life expectancy, and illiteracy were common problems. Freedom was limited in the predestined and stable nature of people's lives and any change was seen as undesirable (Ghisi, 2007). This was even more pronounced for women and children placed at the bottom of the hierarchical pyramid. At the top, with access to ultimate truth was a God. Between God and the people was the arbiter of the church with the clergy and aristocratic holding the power in the feudal economic system.

Modernity arrived as a reaction to this state of affairs, bringing needed progress and desired freedoms. Fromm defines this era as "the great promise of unlimited progress: The promise of domination of nature, of material abundance, of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and unimpeded personal freedom" (Fromm, 1976:1). With modernity everything seemed possible. Developments in science and technology ushered in rapid

changes that broke the traditional structures of society. The Modern era was characterized by rationality. What was possible to prove by scientific methods was considered the Truth, altering society's relationship with god. In this period societal structures were based on the deconstruction concept which led to the separation of the serious-rational-masculine-economic-scientific pole and the religion-intuition-aesthetic-feminine pole. Scientists replaced clergy on the top of the pyramid, but women still continued at the bottom. As a consequence of this, progress is still measured by wealth and comfort. Today, rationality, money and technology remaining as the principal barometers of advancement (Ateljevic, 2009).

During the period of modernity many achievements have been made, apart from improvement in living conditions, liberation from political and religion control, and in general more freedom. Ray and Anderson point out that it brought the "shift from local to global, from rural to urban, from peasantry to industry, from medieval guilds to large-scale corporations and it has created opportunities to come to terms with increasing social complexity"(2000:71). Although it is clear that it has been a critical part of our human civilization, and a dominant paradigm, modernity has now reached its peak, and seems no longer an appropriate response to the nature and complexity of today's world-system. Modernity solved many old problems, but not all, and at the same time it has contributed to new ills in need of a new paradigm shift to find solutions.

Crises of all sorts—environmental, social, political, economic, cultural—have pushed modernity into post-modernity. Something is wrong with the idea of unlimited progress, many believe, and as well as material wealth and comfort as generators of wellbeing. Postmodernists such as MacCanel reacted in the nineties with critiques and deconstructions of modernity, stating that the new era appeared to be "disorganized fragments, alienation, wasteful, violent, superficial, unplanned and unstable and unauthentic" (MacCanell, 1976:8). Postmodernism does not believe in all the great ideas that configured society before, such as tradition, religion or reason. There is no such thing as absolute truth and everyone or everything that claims to have it is a farce. Amidst the alienations of postmodernity, there is a nostalgia and desire to go back to traditional ways of living. Postmodernity is very critical with modernity but at the same it is claimed that does not give new solutions and that other more positivistic paradigm is needed.

Authors such as Ghisi (2001) consider postmodernity a continuation of modern power structures, the difference being skepticism, which is also critically analyzed by Rifkin. For him, "If post-modernist razed the ideological walls of modernity and freed the prisoners,

they left them with no particular place to go. We became existential nomads, wandering through a boundaryless world full of inchoate longings in a desperate search for something to be attached to and believe in. While the human spirit was freed up from old categories of thought, we are each forced to find our own paths in a chaotic and fragmented world that is even more dangerous than the all encompassing one we left behind" (2005: 5). Ateljevic (2009) also argues that after modernity a paradigm shift is needed, but for her postmodernity is a pessimist reaction and does not provide more universal solutions of hope and reconstructed visions. Modernity was a grand narrative for humanity that cannot be forgotten. Moreover, postmodernity, as it was the previous era, is dominated by the Western discourse. Authors as Dussel and Grosfoguel suggest then a process of decolonization and propose transmodernity as the possible solution.

While some people continue to believe in the project of modernity, many are the thinkers who frame their philosophical arguments in terms of postmodernity. And further down the evolution of these concepts, there are many who see transmodernity as the new merging paradigm. I will discuss their work in the following section.

### 2.1.2 TRANSModernity

Rodriguez Magda explains that the prefix "TRANS-" is better than "post-" to describe the situation because it shows the current way to TRANScend the limits of Modernity. The world is under a continuous TRANSformation, it is characterized by the fast TRANSmision of the information, the TRANSnational and TRANScultural phenomena, and artistic innovation is referred to as TRANsvanguardism. TRANSModernity is not an end but the description of the current situation, a new paradigm that tries to help us better understand today's political, economic and socio-cultural context. TRANSModernity attempts to take the best from the traditional, modern and post-modern reality. Using the Hegelian dialectic triad Magda refers to modernity, postmodernity and TRANSModernity as a process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. In her own words: "the third tends to preserve the defining impetus of the first yet is devoid of its underlying base: by integrating its negation the third moment reaches a type of specular closure" (Rodriguez, 2007:13). For Rifkin (2005) it is a return to some form of absolute logic that goes beyond Western ideology and tries to connect the human race to a new shared story which can be called a global consciousness (in Ateljevic, 2009).

Modernity saw itself as in conflict with traditional cultures whereas in postmodernity there is a desire and search for the traditional that continue in TRANSmernity. The transmodern future could be defined as “a synthesis between life enhancing tradition - that is amenable to change and transition - and a new form of modernity that respects the values and lifestyles of traditional cultures” In this sense traditional communities are now no longer pre- so much as *transmodern* (Sardar, 2003: 1).

According to Rodriguez Magda (2004) each paradigm is associated with a type of culture. The modernity model is linked with modern culture and post-industrial society is related with post-modern culture. For the TRANSmern model, then, a global society is associated. Globalization is not just cultural and economical, but political, social and ecological. We are in a global world where everything is interconnected, diffused, massive and totalized and at the same time more transparent and controlled. Rodriguez Magda (2004) also uses the term “glocalization” to express the needed equilibrium between local and global interests. In this global world, cultural identities (national, ethnic, regional...) are very important in the political and social spheres and in many cases the cause of violent conflicts. At the same time, if for each paradigm we have a new culture, as is usually the case in history, mental changes translate into technological changes. Modernity is impossible to understand without the consolidation of an industrial society; the same occurs with postmodernity and the increase of services and the tertiary sector. Today “simulation” and “hipereality” are the main scenarios of our life, leading us into a new era of the humanity. Rodriguez Magda as well as others scholars, intellectuals and researchers share the same vision and point out evidence of this paradigm in different fields, calling it TRANSmernity.

TRANSmernity is also the utopic project of Dussel (1995, 1996, 2001, 2002, 2006), the Latin-American philosopher of the liberation to TRANScend the Eurocentric version of modernity. Dussel gives multiple critical de-colonizer answers from the different cultures and proposes to acknowledge, examine and empower the elements of these great cultures (China, India, Southeast Asia, Africa or Latin America) that were not dominated by modernity but excluded *as being of no value*. His idea of Transmodernity includes an intercultural dialogue in what he calls a “pluriverse” that surpasses the limits of modernity itself. It is also what Mignolo (2000) refers to as “diversity as a universal project.” There are many authors such as Dussel that base their critiques of postmodernity on it being an analysis dominated by the West.



Ramón Grosfoguel, another Latin American philosopher following Dussel's critical neocolonial approach, characterizes the last 500 years of modernity this way: "During the last 510 years of the European/Euro-American capitalist/patriarchal modern/colonial world-system we processed from the 16th Century 'Christianize or we'll shoot you,' to the 19th Century 'civilize or we'll shoot you,' to 20th Century 'develop or we'll shoot you,' to the late 20th Century 'neoliberalize or we'll shoot you,' to the early 21st century 'democratize or we'll shoot you'. For Grosfoguel, all non-European and non-North American forms of democracy are rejected and Euro-American terms of liberal democracy are imposed "in the name of civilization and progress" (2009:28). He considers that in order to promote this intercultural dialogue a real decolonization of power relations in the modern world is needed. Democracy should be also re-conceptualized: "western women cannot impose their notion of liberation on Islamic women. Western men cannot impose their notion of democracy on non-Western peoples" (2008:17). Invoking Mignolo (2000) again and his concepts of Critical Border Thinking, he remarks that it has nothing to do with nationalism or an anti-modern-European fundamentalism. It is the decolonial transmodern response of the subaltern to Eurocentric modernity, a redefinition/subsumption of citizenship, democracy, human rights, humanity, and economic relations beyond the narrow definitions imposed by European modernity.

Ghisi (2006, 2007, and 2008) on the other hand does not engage as much with political debates but rather looks at the new forms of economy society and culture. He describes TRANSmernity as the planetary vision in which humans are beginning to realize that we are all (including plants and animals) connected to one system which makes us all interdependent, vulnerable and responsible for the Earth as an indivisible living community. It means that this paradigm is actively tolerant and genuinely democratic by definition, as the awareness of mutual interdependency grows and the hierarchies between different cultures, races and gender, dismantle. There is global consciousness and a joined effort to reject values of control, domination for a better future. And it is key to reject any form of fundamentalism. For Ghisi, TRANSmernity "is open to the TRANScendental while resisting any authoritarian imposition of religious certainty. In doing so, it aims to rediscover the sacred as a dimension of life and of our societies" (in Ateljevic, 2009:284).

Not just Ghisi but others authors such as Ateljevic try to show what for them are more evidences of the paradigm shift, referring to others studies such as *The Silent Revolution* by Arnold Toynbee (in Ateljevic, 2009) and *The Cultural Creatives* (Ray & Anderson, 2000).



Both, together with the *Blessed Unrest*, by Paul Hawken, are described in depth in the following section in order to analyze new lifestyles, values, and emerging worldview that can be seen as part of the global change.

## 2.2 Silent Social Movement and Cultural Creatives

There are new ways of perceiving reality that begin to be conceptualized in the literature. As already said, it is claimed that a new socio cultural movement is awakening and different authors are using different names to describe it. In the following some of their works are summarized.

In his book *Blessed Unrest* (2007), the writer and environmentalist Paul Hawken describes what for him has become the largest social movement in history. He estimates that is composed of more than two million organizations worldwide “dedicated to creating the conditions for life, conditions that include livelihood, food, security, peace, a stable environment and freedom from external tyranny” (2007: 68). (These organizations are listed in the 100 pages Annex of his book.)

Hawken explains how the movement has been brewing, placing the movement’s roots in abolitionism in 19th-century in England where for the first time a group of people organized themselves to help other people without any direct or indirect benefit. In the beginning they were ridiculed by the authorities as “liberals, progressives, do-gooders, meddlers, and activists” who would ruin the economy and drive England to a huge crisis. At that time “three out of four people in the world were enslaved” (2007: 23-24). Today, slavery is considered illegal worldwide. Like the abolitionists, millions of people are organized in non-profits associations, schools, and non-governmental organizations, among others, defending the rights of humans, animals and plants, and therefore the environment. According to Hawken's theory, this movement resembles biological organism that is made of a collection of small parts, united, that form, dissipate and come back together. It is united by ideas, not ideologies, and may seem scattered or ambitious but has influenced the fall of governments, businesses and local leaders. The new technology of internet media is one of the main avenues for the movement to strengthen its power that multiplies every day, extending beyond cultural, sector and geographical borders.

In contrast to modern society which is considered to has difficulties finding responses to global or local problems, transmodernity appears more based on collective responsibility and civil society involvement. Activists, pacifists, ecologists and creatives are just some of

the words that different authors use to describe the generation of people that is leading this silent social revolution, the protagonists that could be building what authors such as Ateljevic (2009) refers to as a new transmodern world. In the following part of this chapter, more evidence of the social change and the people who are taking part in it are described by different writers.

Arnold Toynbee, a British historian who analyzed the rise and fall of 26 civilization, was one of the first to introduce the silent revolution concept. He says that that when a cultural shift occurs, usually 5% of what he calls “cultural marginals” are preparing the shift in silence (in Ateljevic, 2009). Sociologist Paul Ray and psychologist Sherry Anderson take this concept to describe this silent revolution lead by the Cultural Creatives of today. The Cultural Creatives are described as people who care deeply about ecology and saving the planet, about relationships, peace, social justice, and about self-actualization, spirituality and self-expression. They are both inner-directed and socially concerned; they are activists, volunteers and contributors to good causes. After 30 years researching social values in the U.S., Ray and Anderson have found the existence of this subculture. This work is published in “The Cultural Creatives, How 50 Million People are Changing the World” (2000). They use engaging examples and personal stories for a better understanding of the values and lifestyles of the cultural creatives. Later, more characteristics that make the new subculture distinctive are analyzed.

The Cultural Creatives have not been only identified in the United States, where 24% of the populations was considered to be part of this new subculture. The European Union decided to launch a similar study in 1997 and found that there was the same percentage of Cultural Creatives in European society as in the US (Ghisi, 2001). One of the main limitations for a stronger and faster evolution of the movement is the little awareness of each other. For new concepts old labels are still used. It is argued that we need to renew our vision and discover new emerging possibilities. Usually any different or “alternative” view is included in the same box and the general term used is “anti-globalization movements” or “anti-system,” which reduce the importance of the movement.

Ray and Anderson also belong to a group of scholars, mentioned before, who find that each day more people are departing from traditional or modern cultures to weave new ways of life. They claim that there is a sense of disorientation and even intentional isolation in different areas: social, intellectual and ideological. Sometimes, you feel more interconnected with people hundreds of miles away than with neighbors or family. There

is a “synchronicity phenomenon” (Jarowsky 1996 in Ateljevic 2009) among them; they are engaged in parallel intellectual universes, share same ideas but sometimes using different terms. The advances in the new technologies of information and communication are helping to reduce the distance between the people, enabling them to spread their ideas and make the new movement stronger.

The “absence” in the streets is compensated with frenetic activity in Internet, resulting in a parallel reality based on blogs, webs, cyber forums or famous social networks platform such as Facebook or Twitter. It is important to mention the recent cases in the Arab world, with massive social protests in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya and Morocco, where the role of Internet has been crucial. Authorities’ attempts to control this new power have failed. The world is more interconnected than ever before, allowing every local problem become global at unthinkable speed. And then there are the examples of Haiti, Chile or Japan, where international aid was arriving just hours after the disasters struck.

The current destruction of the environment, the confrontation between human groups, and the global interconnectedness has created the perfect conditions for Cultural Creatives to grow, not just in numbers but in importance. But there are also barriers for the development of this movement. As already mentioned, the main obstacle is the absence of a group consciousness. At the same time, the ones who feel threatened by them promotes their lack of credibility in order to discredit them. Another danger is to avoid to be identified as a target group, as simple consumers. If the concept is commercialized it could become just a fashion and not go further; people will act induced but not with true awareness. As Ray and Anderson point out, Cultural Creatives should not be identified as a current famous movement such as “new age” or “spiritual materialism”. The former term is already undervalued, and the latter confuses base egocentricity on developing spiritually. Cultural Creatives are also idealists but the difference is that they focus on looking inside as well as on action outside themselves. For example, Ateljevic (2009: 286) states that for “tourism scholars this significant socio-cultural shift has been promptly recognized to feed the market of ‘NewAge tourists’ (Pernecky&Johnston, 2006) who consume spa, wellness and spirituality tourism (Smith&Kelly, 2006)”. Using the description that Ray and Anderson make in their web page (<http://www.culturalcreatives.org>), a summary with the main characteristics of the lifestyles and cultural values of the Cultural Creatives is made in the following paragraph.

Firstly, they are very **concerned** about global **environmental** problems: “*global warming, destruction of rain forests, destruction of species, loss of the ozone layer* the condition of the

global ecology and the well-being of the people” (2000:11). Secondly, they place the central underpinning of their lives in authenticity, which means that your actions are consistent with what you believe and say. Cultural Creatives try to always be **responsible** of their own thoughts, opinions and actions and have a desire for **authenticity in everything**. Authenticity in their home, the food they eat, the art they consume, the place they visit during vacancies or the information they receive. Due to over-biased opinions and with a devalued political and intellectual credibility, the Cultural Creatives are aware of the necessity to generate their **own opinions**. They are **careful** and **critical consumers** not just of information but any product or service they consume. They **engage with reality** in different ways such as reading product labels, different newspapers or alternating listening information from different media. They do not watch much television. In addition, they understand **learning as a creative act**. They want to **enjoy** what they do. The product is important but the **process** and **environment** much more. They do not want to be just simple reproducers or but also try to add **new ideas**. Many of them have chosen to be **self-employed**: designers, consultants, writers, journalists, artists. For them knowledge and information are the tools and creativity and **innovation** are the product. Most of Cultural creatives are involved in **volunteering**, they are **idealist** but also **activist**. They had grown with the consolidation of **social movements** and **social demands**. They are aware from their own experience that the only way change anything is through **personal involvement**.

Females are a majority within the Cultural Creatives and the **female role is very relevant in this movement**. They have greater participation than men; it is not a priority anymore to fight for their rights but for **social welfare and family**. They do not understand anymore their role at home as simple housewife but as the **family's backbone**. They are **disappointed** with many of the prevalent values in most developed capitalist societies: “materialism, greed, me-firstism, status display, glaring social inequalities of race and class, society's failure to care adequately for elders, women and children, and the hedonism and cynicism that pass for realism in modern society” (Ray and Anderson, 2000: 17). Cultural creatives are critical of large corporations and institutions, private and public. They are **discouraged** with politics and especially with politicians and authorities. For them, the reality is **not black or white, right or left, progressives or conservative**. People can take progressive *and* conservative positions (as they are currently understood) without falling into ambiguity or incoherence.

**Home is very important.** They prefer to buy a resale house and **redesign** it as they want than buy an expensive new house designed by others. They want **privacy** external and internal. In the surrounding areas they are looking for access to **nature**, **walking** and **biking** paths, ecological and historical **preservation** and a **community** sense in the neighborhood.

The motivations for travelling among Cultural Creatives are a mixture of **exploration**, **excitement**, **relaxation**, **learning**, **self-development**, **curiosity** and **novelty**. For that reason the **vacations** that they gravitate toward are **exotic**, **adventuresome** but not very risky; **educational**, authentic, **altruistic**, and **spiritual**. They like **ecotourism**, photo safari, **community based** tourism, **volunteering** tourism, etc. They do not go for package tours, big resorts, or cruises. Not just during their vacations but in their everyday life they are considered “**foodies**”. They like to cook, eat well, healthy, exotic and innovative. They enjoy talking about food and eating out in restaurants.

Juan Pastor Bustamante is a Spanish pedagogue and expert in creativity and innovation who also believes there are new ways of perceiving reality that have started to be conceptualized and that a cultural movement is merging in our planet. In his article “Los creativos culturales: El nacimiento de la conciencia creativa” (2004), along with describing the work of Ray and Anderson about the Cultural Creatives, he also mentions Richard Florida. In his best seller *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002), Florida claims that there is a social class booming in the US to which people who are paid to create belong. He adds that the “creatives” prefer to escape from the mega industrial, bureaucratic or financial cities. They are more identified with the urban cores that are attracting the cultural class, where the quality of environment is more important than the quality of life—in the US, in Austin, Albany, New York or Boston, and in Europe, Dublin, Berlin or Barcelona. Based on the work of the abovementioned authors and his experience in virtual social network dynamization, Bustamante argues that social changes are occurring on different level but all around the world. Yet he identified it more with a change in consciousness or a culture than with a new social class.

Ateljevic (2009) claims that this emerging consciousness of creating new values and new culture has been manifested particularly in various forms of tourism production and consumption that still seem to be going under the radar of many tourism analysts’ and practitioners alike. In the next section I will discuss how tourism, environment and transmodernity are connected.

### 2.3 Tourism, Environment and Transmodernity

It is widely recognized that the physical environment plays a significant role in shaping and being shaped by tourism (Jafari 1997; Parris 1997 in Kousis 2000). Tourism is one of the world's biggest industries and it is thought to still have an enormous potential for global economic growth. At the same time it is one of the main threats against the environment. Indigenous areas, coastal zones, and forests have been directly or indirectly affected by tourism.

Tourists as part of the new global consciousness are aware of the impact that they have on the environment. During the last decades new types of tourism that are considered to be more responsible with host communities, local culture and the environment are emerging as an alternative to the traditional forms of tourism. Volunteer tourism, pro-poor, backpacking, spiritual, educational, community-based or ecotourism are just some examples. Although they are still forms of tourism proportionately small in relation to others, they are significant not just in terms of the claims that are made about them but the rate at which they are growing (Salazar, 2004).

Ethical travel and alternative, or responsible, tourism are different terms used to refer to these new ways of understanding tourism but, sustainable tourism is the most popular term. Despite the sustainability discourse being so broad (and it will not be addressed here) a definition of Sustainable Tourism is needed. There are many ways to approach it and relatively little agreement about precisely what it is. The most widely accepted definition is the one from World Tourism Organization which defines sustainable tourism as "tourism which leads to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems." They also add that the development of sustainable tourism as a process which meets the needs of present tourists and host communities whilst protecting and enhancing needs in the future (World Tourism Organization, 1996; Earth Summit, 2002; Butcher, 2003).

The increasing importance of sustainable tourism and the development of the different types of tourism that have been mentioned before, resulting from the need to address problems that normally have been associated with mass tourism (Turner & Ash, 1975 in Salazar, 2004). Mass tourism is a product-led industry which subordinates environmental issues to the primary need to add new products whilst maintaining the existing ones

(Hunter, 1997). Traditional points for mass tourism as the Southern European coast have experienced drastic changes in the past few years due to tourism development and associated tourist activities (Kousis, 2004).

People around the world are becoming much more concerned with tourism development. The new tourists are considered to be more reflective about the effects of their activities upon the destination community (Cohen, 1995 in Salazar, 2004) and they are changing their preferences to alternative forms of tourism. However, often tourists are only mentioned in responsible tourism literature as the cause of the 'problem', in terms of the environmental, economic and social impacts of their activities (Swarbrooke, 1999).

Mowforth and Munt (2003) also make a critical analysis of these new tourists. For them tourism is not just something to be enjoyed but represents a strategy for building a reputation that can be converted into economic capital. They make a division between the "eco-tourist" and the "ego-tourist," normally terms overlapped and sometimes confused. The second one, also identified as the new petit bourgeoisie, is defined as people that are located firmly within the service sector with jobs involving finance, marketing and purchasing. They can afford more expensive holidays that are exclusive because of the price, the numbers of tourists permitted, or the remoteness. The first one, the "eco-tourist", traditionally identified for their interest in the 'environment' (eco-logy), also indicates their capacity to pay the high prices that today such holidays command (economy). For the authors these new tourists when traveling are definitely trying to also establish their social class identity, a competition for uniqueness. Mowforth and Munt described this new kind of tourism as less formalized forms of travel, such as backpacking, overland trucking or small group travel, which often involve longer holiday overseas, especially in "third world" regions. As individuals, they want to differentiate themselves from the rest, from masstourism-related activities, and function as critics of "traditional tourism".

Despite the importance of critical analysis as the one from Mowforth and Munt's, there is also a positive side of tourism. Scholars, government, civil society, consumers and producers will benefit from recognizing the new dimensions of tourism: where before you just saw recreation activity and business, now you can see also an indicator of the shift in human consciousness and a tool to remake our world (Ateljevic, 2009). The changes in the market or the new tendencies related to travel preferences reflects the shift. One of the "key-values of transmodernity is the sustainability and interconnectedness with nature and other cultures which has interesting bearings on sustainable tourism and nature-



based tourism” (Gelter, 2008: 2). Ateljevic (2009) shows not just how the global change in the consciousness is reflected in tourism and the indicator role that it plays, but the other way around—a how tourism can contribute more to the transformation towards a transmodern society. Tourism should not been seen anymore as just a leisure activity but another tool to reach economic development. In this sense, Luyckx Ghisi (2006) argues that tourism has to shift towards transmodernity and could thereby have an important impact in assisting societies and the citizens in the transition towards transmodernity.

In this light, the view of “tourists” as consumers also needs to be challenged as today they are also playing an important role in promoting more sustainable practices in tourism (Kousis, 2000). Residents and tourists alike, together with environmental and other kind of organizations, are fighting against tourism-related activities and projects that they consider threats their communities and/or the environment. The study of social and environmental conflicts related to tourist activities and management of natural resources are today even more important that in the past. This information is very important not just for researchers of the topic but for local communities, managers, authorities and activists. Unfortunately, not many studies have been carried out with this in mind (Kousis, 2004). In the next section some examples founded in the literature are described, although most offer only examples of local resistance and not “tourists” activism.

## **2.4 Social Conflicts and Activism in Tourism**

*“The essence of transmodernity means being for something – i.e. taking active action towards sustainability and interconnectedness” (Gelter, 2008:2).*

The study and analysis of social movement is very important for the social sciences. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find theories that give satisfactory answers to all the problems present. In this section a literature review of cases of social conflicts and activism related to tourism is made.

Kousis (2000:471) states that “references to social movements and collective acts of resistance related to tourism emerges late in the literature”. There are cases described where residents claims against other economic activities (such as energetic or transport sector) but in favor of tourism activities, (Boissevain 1979; Aguilar, Fidelis-Nogueira and Kousis 1995; Kousis 1993, 1997a) but lately is more common to find cases where locals



or/and environmental non-governmental organizations protest against tourists or tourism activities.

In his book *Coping with tourists. European Reactions to mass Tourism (1996)*, Boissevain explains how the relation between local community and the tourism industry has changed in the last years. The cultural centers and the coast of Europe, especially the Mediterranean coast, have for decades been the objects of mass tourism. Tourists and everything related to tourism were always more than welcomed in the past but it is no longer like this. "The inhabitants of tourist destinations are now more self-confident, affluent and often tourist themselves. There is growing awareness of the way tourism is affecting their physical environment and culture." (1996: 1)

The tourists that once were considered welcomed guests in some places are now seen as the "others" in a commercial relationship. The locals in some areas started to react in different ways against the tourist industry to protect community values, the environment, and their personal or collective rights that they considered under threat by tourists. There are examples of demonstrations, other kind of protests and even cases of aggression from natives found in the literature. Boissevain's book (1996) includes articles wherein these cases are described.) Odermant (1996), for example, explains how the local people from Sardinia (Italy) boycotted the national tower, one of the main monuments in the city and a community symbol. The reason was that the tower was not managed anymore by the locals but by the government. Black (1996) and Zarkia (1996) describe in their articles, the problems that concerned inhabitants found when not just "their" beach but their own sexual mores and sense of decency are assaulted by scantily clad and topless tourists.

Crain (1996) provides more examples. He writes about The Rocio Annual Romeria, which is considered the most famous pilgrimage in Spain and an important tourist attraction. It is mainly developed in the south of Spain, close to the Doñana National Park. Local people from Almonte, where the pilgrimage concludes, react against the tourism developers who, in their opinion, want to expropriate their beach and forest heritage. Inhabitants of Zahara de los Atunes, also in the south of Spain, were not all happy with the growing presence of tourist, as Nogués Pedregal (2008) explains. They blamed them of some of the problems that the village had, such as drought. They sat down in the road to protest for the rationed water supply. Tired also of surfers in the beach, locals decided to destroy the place the tourist had built to keep their surfboards and materials safe.

The ways of protesting are not always the same and sometimes they go further than boycotts. Boissevain (1996) claims natives can become very violent if they think their personal or collective rights have been violated. Villagers from San Juan Chamula in Chiapas (Mexico) did not like that a French tourist took pictures of their carnival and stoned him to death. A photo was also the inciting incident motive of another tourist-local conflict. A furious Navajo (American Indian from New Mexico) shot out the tires of the car of a tourist who took a picture of his family in his Hogan. The tourist justified himself saying that the taxes he paid supported the local community.

In Malta, locals together with the important help of environmental pressure groups (Mizzi in Bramwell, 2003) had been very active protesting specially against luxury hotels and golf courses (Boissevain and Theuma in Bramwell, 2003). After the 80s some Maltese' views about the tourism industry became more negative, as Bill Bramwell explains in his article "Maltese Response to Tourism" (2003). Despite Maltese people usually being very friendly to tourists, in this conflictive environment some cases of aggression are found. Boissevain (1996) recorded the case where a tourist who was complaining about the poor service in a bar was punched by the waiter's boyfriend. Tourists are also menaced by Maltese hunters and bird trappers who blame tourists for threatening "their hobby since foreigners are usually critical of the large-scale shooting and trapping of migrating birds"(2006:20).

In 1994, a tourism project in the untouched beach El Castell in the Costa Brava (Catalunya, Spain) resulted in a conflict between neighbors, environmental groups, private companies and the government. A neighborhood action committee called "Salvem Castell" (Save Castell) was created. The main idea was to protect the area from a project that "was supported by the state, regional, and local government and by private interests, would lead to negative aesthetic, cultural/historical, and ecosystem impacts on the coastal zone, including threatening its flora and fauna." Signature collections, public announcements, public protest assembly, and blockaded roads were some of the actions carried out. After 2 years of various actions, sentences and referendums, the project was paralyzed. (Kousis, 2004: 213-214)

Marie Kousis writes in her paper "Tourism and the Environment. A Social Movement Perspective" (2000:468-489): provides example of local environmental mobilizations against tourism activities in Greece, Spain, and Portugal from the early 70s to the mid 90s" (2000:468). She describes three major cases in these countries that are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Numerous and important locals and non-local environmental organizations, scientists, green parties, and even the church were during the 80s very active in Greece fighting against tourist development in coastal areas. The main reason fear over the oncoming wave of tourism's impact on the environment. In their opinion, bars, hotels, speedboats, marine installations, and so on were affecting the reproduction activities of a local ancient sea turtle and threatened its survival.

In the Dragonera Island (Balearic Islands, Spain) between 1977 and 1978, several environmental protest events—signatures, public letters, awareness raising campaigns, and debates followed environmental mobilization actions—took place. Neighbors, local and foreign organizations, as well as some political parties and trade unions, claimed that the project would lead to the destruction of the island. The protest actions had little impact and the state approved the plans.

During the early 90s, residents from Aldeia do Meco (Portugal) together with people from neighboring villages, along with lawyers and experts, organized different activities to cancel a government plan for an accommodation project. They used press, procedural complains to authorities, referendums and a signature collection to stop what for them meant the destruction of the local ecosystem. Even was even violence: “intended injuries did occur when the mobilized locals confronted local government representatives” (2000:475). Jobs and economic compensation for the locals were used by the government to reduce their claims. In the end the plans went through but included partial modifications.

One of the most famous cases in Spain is that of the Azata del Sol Hotel, in Carboneras, a small coastal village in the decertified south- easternmost province of Almería (Andalusia). “More than 20 floors and 411 rooms and a resort of seven more hotels, a 18-holes golf course and 1.500 condominiums was being built just 28 meters away from the shoreline in the beach of El Algarrobico within the limits of the Natural Park of Cabo de Gata-Níjar” (Nogues, 2008). Since the late eighties it had permission and support, of local regional and national Government. Construction of the hotel was finally commenced eight years ago in this UNESCO Biosphere Reserve—in the name of progress and economic development. Around four years later, and after environmental legal actions, public opinion campaigns and several protest, it was announced that the project had to be demolished. The Junta de Andalucía (regional government), changed its opinion and reassessed the area as “land protected from building” and urged the expropriation. The huge construction in the mountain just in front of the sea is considered by environmentalist as one of the biggest

impacts on the Spanish coast. It is also for them a critical example of the damage of the current model of development. At the same time, the case is also a symbol of the potential power of social movements. It is also an interesting case because it is one of the first examples where are mainly tourists the ones who said no to a tourism project. To date, the “hotel” is still there and the fight continues. The struggle is not just between environmentalist and authorities and the hotel owners, but also against many villagers that believe that this tourism project will bring them the employment and economic development that they need. Moreover there are many people who think that the solution could be worse than the problem, so they are also against the demolition.

Other recent example of conflict between environmental organizations and local community has happen in Spain. In the beginning of this year (2011), a regional coordinator of the NGO “Ecologistas en Acción” (Ecologist in Action) decided to leave her village in Caceres (Spain) due to the threats and attacks that she was allegedly suffering from her own neighbors. In 2004 she denounced the illegal construction of a large tourist resort in a protected area close to the village. The courts now says she was right and the resort must be demolished. This tourism project was for most of the 300 inhabitants of the village the hope for the economic development of the area (El Pais, 2011).

From the different studies about protests against tourism-related activities offered by a variety of authors, many conclusions can be extracted.

The activities or environmental damaging sources that normally are the origin of the claims are a bit different in rural or urban areas. Waste disposal, construction and extraction-related activities are the main reasons for protests in rural regions; land transport, traffic problems, and construction in urban areas. The urban activists are considered to be more numerous, less homogenous but with more structured, economic power and representation in formal organizations and the media than the rural ones (Kousis, 2004).

The claims that people make are mainly related to existing tourism activity or the sitting of planned tourism projects. Private producers and the State, followed by local and regional authorities are the ones challenged the most in local environmental conflicts. Host communities that feel threatened by tourism usually collaborate with other groups (such as: neighbor communities, other groups with similar interest but from different areas,

environmental or other kind of organizations) to strengthen their pressure potentials. Sometimes, conflicts help to create new networks and connect people and social groups that probably without them would never contact. The actions usually starts with complains to the authorities and if this does not work, they will higher stakes actions: use the media to protest, organize demonstrations, boycotts, threats, strikes, creation of actions groups, signature collections and sometimes also violence (Kousis, 2000; 2004).

The still limited numbers of protest demanding for environmental protection and the concentration of cases mainly in the Mediterranean coast is in part related to the high economic dependency on these tourism activities and the reduced financial and organizational resources to confront it. In line with that there are few cases where pressure groups gain the expected result from the tourism entrepreneurs or the authorities. They normally just modify their project if it will not have a considerable effect in the cost. State agencies appear to be more open to negotiate than entrepreneurs who react very aggressively when the cost implied is high (Kousis, 2000).

It is also interesting to see the new ways social movements organize themselves based on new information and communication technologies (ICT). The importance of the internet for activism and social change cannot be overstated. With this in mind, in *Blessed Unrest* Hawken writes, “the new technologies of internet media are one of the main allies for the movement, a power that multiplies every day and extends beyond cultural, sector and geographical borders” (Hawken, 2007:191). It is also the expression of what Rosa Maria Rodriguez Magda describes as a world in constant transformation based not just on the transnational phenomena but on the primacy of the capacity to transmit information in real time, a world where the universal truth is found in the Net. (1989; 1997;2004). Articulations in big scale or demonstrations with massive support such as ones related to World Bank, G7 or World Trade Organization meetings, or against the Iraq War, or the recent social revolutions mentioned before, in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia or Morocco could not have been possible to organize without these new social technologies. To face the big actors such as big hotel chain and/or authorities, social movements have as their main resource—and sometimes their only one—an information.

Activism through the Internet and platforms such as Facebook or Twitter is also known as Cyberactivism or Activism 2.0. With this new kind of activism, “the traditional relationship between political authority and popular will has been upended, making it easier for the powerless to collaborate, coordinate, and give voice to their concerns” (Gladwell Malcolm, 2010:2). It is claimed that if strategically spread and complemented with traditional

articulations as demonstrations or protest, information and knowledge can efficiently trigger social change (Silva Machado, 2004).

The groups named in this chapter—environmentalists, ecologists and other NGOs, political parties, neighbor organizations or even tourist—share a global consciousness. The interconnectness between them and the shared desire for social change could be contextualized and analyzed under the paradigm shift of transmodernity. Despite the diversity of cases reviewed, the different social groups and the people involved, it is interesting to note not just the differences but the similarities among them, and their relationship with the Cultural Creatives described by Ray and Anderson (2000) and their role in the silent revolution named of Arnold Toynbee (In Ateljevic, 2009)

### **3 Methodology**

This section of the thesis provides the reader with a clear and comprehensive understanding the methodological framework of this research project and the way in which it will be elaborated. In order to better understand the fieldwork experience, the research design and strategy, data analysis and data collection methods, the limitations and constraints of the research, and the positionality of the researcher will be described.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

For this thesis an exploratory case study with an interpretative approach is chosen. In the following paragraphs, the design of this research together with theoretical support related to research methods and techniques is provided.

##### **3.1.1 Interpretative Paradigm**

A paradigm can be defined as a basic set of beliefs that guide action (Guba, 1990). It is claimed that in social science research design one must select a paradigm that will guide the whole research process. For this study the interpretative approach was adopted. It is based on the work of Max Weber and his concept of 'verstehen', or empathic understanding. According to him, empathic understanding is attained when, through sympathetic participation, we adequately grasp the emotional context in which action took place. Interpretivism defends the view that there are multiple realities to explain a phenomenon, the research process should be subjective rather than objective, and preference is given to a qualitative methodological approach. Moreover, data should be collected based on the insider's view and in their natural environment (Jennings, 2001). This approach allows not just the subjects of the study but the researcher to give meaning to their situation. Reality can only be experienced personally through our perceptions, which are influenced by our preconceptions and beliefs; we are not neutral, disembodied observers (Walliman, 2006). For that reason and in order to establish trustworthiness and credibility, in the last part of this chapter my positionality as researcher will be elaborated.

After this description of the paradigm, and taking into account the nature of this study, it is clear that this choice is in harmony with the topic, data analysis and aim of this research.

##### **3.1.2 Research Methods and Techniques**

There are many different methods, techniques and practices that can be used to solve the research questions that define the path of this thesis (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001). In this

qualitative research the case study method was selected, plus other techniques such as literature review, semi-structured interviews and observation. The use of several methods, or triangulation methods, to gather relevant data is important to guarantee the reliability and validity of this research, to have a deeper understanding, and to avoid possible errors of misleading information—in other words, to increase the trustworthiness (Jennings, 2001).

### **3.1.3 Exploratory Case Study**

The research is approached as an exploratory case study with an in deep focus while the case is used to provide an insight into the particular situation in El Palmar and the conflict around the new tourism project. The term “case study” can be interpreted as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context. Specifically, it is an exploratory case because it explores a tourism phenomenon to discover its uniqueness or characteristics, since no such pre-existing data exists in the public domain (Yin, 1994;Jennings, 2001 ).

## **3.2 Data Collection and Data Analysis**

### **3.2.1 Data Collection Process**

The data collection for this research is organized in different phases in which different methods are used. The first phase is a background study and a literature review. Here not just an exploration of the theoretical concepts is offered but also a review of all the information about the specific case of El Palmar. Special attention is paid to the platform’s websites, blogs and Facebook pages. Local newspapers are also an important source of data. I will also provide information about my research population.

During the second phase, semi-structured guided qualitative interviews were used. By using open-ended questions, qualitative interviews provided the opportunity for interviewees to describe their experience in their own words (Patton, 1987). Semi-structured qualitative interviews are appropriate to gather the data regarding attitudes, opinions and values “as opposed to using scales that tend to reduce the interviewee’s experiences to numeric positions”. (Jennings , 2001:166). “Semi-structured guided” means that specific and not specific, planned and spontaneous questions are made, what could help to have more flexible, clarified and rich answers (Finn et al. 2000). Despite each



interview being different, I prepared a list of themes and questions to be covered. They were derived from the first phase, that is, from the literature review and from the general content of the platform websites, forums, blogs and newspaper. The main topics in which the interview were organized are: (a) relation with the area, (b) relation with the tourism project, (c) relation with the platforms against the project, (d) life style and values, (e) tourism preferences and (f) general profile (name, age...). In the Appendix A, the main questions are also included.

This kind of Semi-structured guided qualitative interviews is most commonly conducted by meeting your participant “face to face,” but due to problems of availability, this was not always possible. In this study 23 interviews have been conducted. Eight were done over email. Tatiana, one of the platforms leader and the person who started the actions over the Internet, did both kinds of interview. 19 of the participants are platforms members while the other 3 are part of the local community and representative of other two important stakeholders: the mayor and a staff member of the Neighbors Association. The main representatives of each stakeholder group were chosen based on their position. From the social movement against the project a heterogeneous group of tourists was selected randomly and with a snowball method. Selected platforms members that seems to be more active were chosen according to their participation in the different related WebPages. In the table below all the participants are briefly introduced.

The face to face interviews had duration of between 40 to 60 minutes. The place in which the interviews took place was different in every interview but most of them were conducted in the El Palmar area, either in the participants’ homes, local bars or on the beach. In three cases I had to meet with interviewees in their own cities, outside of El Palmar. The interview with the Major and the representative of the Neighbors Association were conducted in their office in the Vejer Municipality and the Neighbors Association headquarter. All the interviews were taped and transcribed with minimal editing only for clarity’s sake.

**Table 3-1: Research Participants**

Nº	Names	Gender	Age	I	Q	Relation with the area	I/Q Date
1	Guada	w	40-50	x		Local	19/08/10
2	Antonio	m	30-40	x		PlatformBoard/tourism entrepreneur/Resident	18/07/10
3	Jesús & Teresa	m/w	30-40	x		visitor/activists in political party	18/08/10
4	Iñaki & Alicia	m/w	50-60	x		visitor/2 <sup>nd</sup> home	28/07/10
5	Maria Jesús	w	50-60	x		Visitor	18/07/10
6	Carlos	m	40-50	x		visitor/expert in Rural Development	28/09/10
7	Mónica	w	30-40	x		Visitor	15/07/10
8	Alvaro & M.Victoria	m/w	40-50	x		Visitor	21/09/10
9	Tatiana	w	20-30	x	x	Platform Board	18/07 & 28/09/10
10	Lola V.	w	40-50	x		Visitor	15/09/10
11	Lola	w	50-60	x		activist ecologist/Resident	15/07/10
12	Santi & Olga	m/w	50-60	x		visitor/2 <sup>nd</sup> home	20/08/10
13	Antonio V.	m	30-40	x		Vejer Major	28/09/10
14	Cecilia	w	30-40	x		Visitor	23/09/10
15	Carmen & Manolo	w/m	50-60	x		Neighbour.Asociation board & local	27/09/10
16	José	m	40-50		x	local	05/09/10
17	Javi	m	20-30		x	Visitor	21/08/10
18	Pepe	m	20-30		x	Visitor	10/09/10
19	Inma	w	50-60		x	Visitor	01/09/10
20	Jose Luis	m	40-50		x	Visitor	10/09/10
21	Ivan	w	30-40		x	Visitor	15/08/10
22	Juán	m	30-40		x	Platform Board/activist ecologist/Resident	23/09/10
Notes: I:Interview ; Q:Questionnaire;							

In order to complete the data collected, participant observation was also used. This important technique in qualitative research requires intensive fieldwork in which the researcher is immersed in the culture of the object of study (Patton, 1990 in Jennings, 2001). This is what I tried to do, so from the end of June to the end of September I visited the El Palmar area many times. I stayed there for different periods of 7, 10 and 15 days, while also making several daytrips. In order to have a broad picture of the El Palmar as a tourism destination, the conflict over the tourism project, and integrate myself into not just the tourist but local community (gaining confidence to have a more insider point of

view), I decided to stay in different local hostels and also in a private house. I also went to the beach, local bars and shops, so observations were conducted constantly. The overall context could be experienced and taken in, helped always by a digital camera and note book.

### **3.2.2 Data analysis**

As mentioned before, the qualitative research will be used in this thesis as an analytical tool. In accordance with Walliman's (2006) approach, it is based on information expressed in words, such as descriptions, feelings and opinions. The transcriptions of each interview together with emails were analyzed and compared. Similarities and resemblances as well as contradictions and paradoxes related to certain topics appeared. In chapter 5, these topics and other interesting findings are discussed and framed within the theory of the thesis. Personal quotes from the participants will help illustrate the argument in this discussion.

### **3.3 Constraints and limitations**

During this research I faced certain challenges. First of all, the time restrictions. More time would help not just to have a larger sample but to better know the specific case of El Palmar and the different stakeholders' views.

Summer is high season for tourism in El Palmar, and for that reason I was expecting more "activity" related to the conflict, but in the end this was not the case. I greatly depended on cooperation from locals and platforms members but availability was sometimes a problem. I contacted numerous people and despite many being willing to collaborate, others never replied. It is a conflictive case, with many people involved, different interests confronting each other, accompanied by national and international media attention. The fear and *desconfianza*—Spanish for "lack of trust"—in terms of my motivations as researcher many have something to do with the challenges I faced in finding participants willing to talk to me.

### 3.4 Researcher Positionality

It is claimed (Ateljevic et al., 2005;2009) that tourism scholars need to be more transparent about their positioning reveal the geo-body-political location of the subject that speaks. As a qualitative researcher following Morrow (2005; 2007: 216), I will try to make public my social location (assumptions, biases, motivation states...) in order to gain credibility and transparency.

My life has always been linked with tourism--in fact, since the day I was born. My family owns a small hotel in Cordoba, in the heart of Andalusia, Spain. It is reasonable to say that I grew up in the hotel. As such, I know tourism from the inside, but not just because of my family's business. Cordoba is a very touristic city and it is impossible not to absorb a certain amount of knowledge about the tourism industry: its impacts (positive and negative) on the region, the consequences of the new technologies, the entry of large tour operators and hotel chains, and changes in demand over the years. If you keep your eyes open like I always tried to growing up, Andalusia is an object lesson in tourism. At the same time, I have experienced tourism on the other end, as a tourist. Since my birth, I have gone to the beach every summer and during Easter holidays (the Costa de la Luz, on the Atlantic coast of Andalusia, has normally been the destination). I have witnessed the rapid changes in the area during the last three decades not just as spectator but as an actor as well.

Furthermore, in the last year I have started to be motivated and attracted by alternative forms of tourism. Especially influential were two experiences: spending four months working in community-based rural tourism in Brazil, and the two month as backpacker traveling around South America. Additionally, my adventure as student of the MSc. in Leisure, Tourism and Environment in Wageningen University has been very important. Among other things, it has helped ground my knowledge of tourism with the relevant academic theory, inspiring a much more critical spirit not just in my studies but in my daily life. It was also here, from my professor and thesis supervisor, Irena Ateljevic, that I first heard the term Transmodernity, one of the fundamental concepts of this study.

It also is necessary to remark that the case of El Palmar has touched very close to me. As I used to visit these beaches during holidays, I have friends and relatives who are part of the platforms against the tourism project, and I have joined some activities organized by them. Last but not least, I know and understand Spanish culture and language in which the

empirical part of this research has been conducted. As Groenendal (2009:50) states, “when collecting narratives on personal motives, values, and worldviews, it requires interpersonal understanding and empathy. It is therefore an advantage to express oneself in the native language; speech as well as body language.”

## **4 Tourism in Spanish Economy and Society: The Case of El Palmar**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Spain is second in the ranking of countries by international tourism earnings and international tourism arrivals. Every year millions of people choose Spain for their holidays and it remains at the top tourism destination, together with USA and France. Tourism is considered the main motor of the Spanish economy (WTO, 2010). Andalusia is the most populous of the 17 Autonomous Communities of Spain, located in the southernmost area of the Iberian Peninsula. In terms of the Spanish tourism industry, Andalusia has traditionally been identified as one of the principal sun-and-beach tourist destinations of the country (Kousis 2001 in Boissevain and Selwyn , 2004: Urbano et al., 2010).

Although it is not the objective of this thesis to analyze the development of tourism in Spain and Andalusia, a summary is needed for a better understanding of the El Palmar case. In the last part of this chapter El Palmar will be explained with details related to local context, tourism projects, arguments and actions in favor and against the project. Before this, however, references to the evolution of Spanish and Andalusian tourism and a socio-political-economical context analysis, on a national and regional level, will be provided.

### **4.2 Spain and Tourism**

Spain has 8000 km of coastline, mainly divided in two sections: the Northern stretch washed by the Bay of Biscay and Atlantic waters and the more extensive Eastern Mediterranean Shores. To these must be added the two island archipelagoes: The Balearic and Canary Islands (Priestley and Llurdés, 2007).

**Figure 4-1: Spanish Coasts Map**



Source: Universo Marino, (2007)

The emergence of Spain as a destination for millions of tourists is a recent development, despite its now being the country that is perhaps associated most with international mass tourism. To quote Holden (2008: 18): “Spain was never an established part of the Gran Tour, its landscape and culture not being regarded as being particularly attractive, and its geographical position is fairly inaccessible”. By the end of the nineteenth century, with the beginning the romanticization of Spain, foreigners started visiting the country, attracted by its exotic image. This stemmed mainly from the wild landscape and the mixture of medieval and Moorish cultures. The harsh consequences of the Civil war of the 1930s and two world wars in the twentieth century also “helped” to maintain the country in a lower development stage in relation with other European neighbors. It was considered exotic and attractive for many visitors.

Several authors have analyzed in detail this evolution of tourism in Spain (see for instance: Bake et al., 1996; Pearce and Prietsley, 1998; Solsten and Meditz, 1998; Prietsley and Llundés, 2007 or Holden, 2008) and for statistics several sources can be consulted. To give some examples: the INE (National Statistics Institute), the most authoritative; the IET (Tourism Institute of Spain), the main producer of information related to tourism with respect to Inbound Tourism Statistics (Frontur); the Tourism Expenditure Survey (Egatur); and the Spanish Tourist Movements (Familitur), which produces data on arrivals of foreign visitors to the country, and their characteristics.

The Spanish tourism boom was beginning already during the Franco dictatorship in the mid-1950s with seaside Mediterranean resorts offering sun and sea packages to Northern Europeans. Since that time tourism figures have steadily risen, from fewer than 1 million tourists in 1950, to four million in 1959, 50.5 million in 1987, 56 million in 2005 and 52,7 million in 2010. As will be analyzed later, this rapid increase has not always been beneficial. Although there have been new employment opportunities and increased investment, tourism has also brought seasonal people fluctuations and a huge impact on the natural environment (Solsten and Meditz, 1998; IET- Frontur, 2010).

After 1945, when Franco's right-wing dictatorship faced international ostracism, foreign tourism became an important form of international relations. In the subsequent three decades, tourism arguably became the Franco regime's most important political and economic good until problems of overbuilding and corruption ended the euphoria of Spain's so-called 'tourist miracle' (Holden, 2008; Pack, 2008.) After the devastation caused by the Civil War (1936-1939), Spain was as it was just said, politically ostracized and economically de-structured and it was obvious to Franco's government that revenue was necessary for economic recovery. Rapid reindustrialization and urban expansion was needed. A number of national laws were passed during the fifties and sixties with rudimentary planning instruments, such as subordinating land planning to tourism activities and giving the responsibility for that planning to the municipality. At the end of the 1950s, a rise in Spain's standard of living brought an increase in the number of summer holidaymakers. Thanks to the aforementioned economic measures, the favorable convertibility of the peseta and some degree of relaxation of border controls, the growth of foreign tourism was fortified. This growth in demand led to speculation on and exploitation of land, with a consequent increase in the amount of construction and, therefore, the height of buildings. The limited restrictions for construction explains that much of the building done in those early years of the Spanish tourism boom were done without valid permits. That is what Priestley and Llurdés (2007) call " *a laissez – faire*" policy with regards to development.

A good critical representation of the tourism invasion of 1950-1960 period can be seen in the innovative approach of Luis García-Berlanga and other novel filmmakers. Key films such as *¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall!* (1952), *Los Jueves, Milagro* (1957), *Viva Los Novios, El Verdugo* (1963) and more recently *Atasco en la Nacional* (2007), directed by Josetxo San Mateo, show the crossing of sensitivities produced after this "silent invasion" of foreign tourists in Spain. Two of these films are used by Mestre-Pérez (2011) in her research on



the representation of Spanish tourists that go off to spend their summer holiday in national coast destinations: *Novio a la Vista* (1952), a story evoking the peculiarities of high class tourism in the early twentieth century, and *Atasco en la Nacional*, which recounts the efforts made by a lower middleclass family today, experienced survivors' in mass tourism.

Returning to the subject of the evolution of the sector, it is important to note that Spanish tourism growth in the 1980s, linked to the country's entrance into the European Union (1986), helped spur recovery from the second energy crisis in late 70s. Since then the growth has been mostly constant, boosted significantly by two mega world events: the Universal Exposition in Seville and the Olympic Games in Barcelona, both in 1992. During this period of growth in the last twenty years, the sector has been characterized by seasonalization and concentration in the Mediterranean coast and the islands, Canary and Balearic, (more than 80% of the demand). In other words, tourism development in Spain has demonstrated a strong dependence on the three S model: Sun, Sea and Sand (Expansion, 2006; Priestley and Lourdes, 2007).

Spain's historic leadership as a tourism destination and the fast development of the sector has had important socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts. "No significant conflicts arose any time" in terms of socio-cultural sustainability and in general tourism is seen as an "opportunity to widen horizons and achieve integration in European society"(Priestley and Llundés, 2007:99-100). For Cooper (2008:187), however, socio-cultural impacts on the visitor population are often overlooked by researchers, providing an interesting look into how tourists take their experiences abroad back to their home culture. He gives an example of "the growth of UK tourists visiting Spain throughout the 60's and 70's" and how this "resulted in culinary and beverage changes in the UK (paella and Rioja wine being two Spanish products that benefited from this exchange)". On the other hand, in Spain, the main economic benefits have been an increase in new employment opportunities mainly linked to construction and restoration, and thus a rise in standards of living. These benefits "have been mitigated by inflation and rising property values, but few people consider the balance anything but positive"(Priestley and Llundés, 2007:99-100)

Construction and tourism development in Spain have always gone together. Although a deeper analysis of the structure of urban policies, planning and finance in Spain is needed for a better understanding of both sector developments, two important fact should to be mentioned: (1) Town planning has always been the responsibility of municipal authorities; (2) Government finance was awarded on the basis of permanent resident

population (with no corrective coefficient to allow for seasonal influxes). This means that for revenues, municipalities depend largely on construction (land sales and building permits) and housing (rates and property taxes). These factors and the permissive attitude toward construction initiatives, especially during the early stage of tourism growth, go always in explaining the fast transformation of the Mediterranean coast. Well-known examples of this are the Costa del Sol and Costa Brava, where small, poor, traditionally fishery villages fast became the epitome of mass tourism destinations. This mass tourism market was based mainly on medium-sized, low-quality hotels (1 to 3 stars) and small apartments for rent. Later, larger and better hotels began to appear, adding prestige to the areas.

It is worth pointing out that the unstoppable trend of acquiring second homes not adopted not just by foreigners but also by Spaniards. This boom in seconds' homes for foreigners, however, started in 1970 thanks, among other things, to the favorable convertibility of the peseta, continued until very recently. In some cases this took the form of apartment blocks built onto resorts and ribbon development along virgin coastal zones, or low-density property developments known as "urbanizaciones" (Priestley and Llurdés, 2007: 92-94). In many cases these projects were built at the same time and around or very close to a golf course. Considering this, it is no surprise that an emphasis was placed on construction, to such an extent that in 2004 9,5% of GNP and 13,4 % of employment was generated by this sector, as compared with 12,1% and 10% respectively for tourism (Ministerio de Economía, 2004, cited by Priestsley and Llurdés, 2007). Today more than 75% of the land adjacent to the coast is urban or "urbanizable", or programmed for development (Greenpeace, 2010). Besides the environmental impact and the growth of speculation, the second home market jeopardizes the economic benefits from tourism in the long term. By in a sense "living" in Spain during their holidays, visitors reduce considerably their daily expenditures. In other words, they do not need hotels and frequent bars and restaurants less (Priestley and Llurdés, 2007: 95)

The environment has been always the first and main local resource be harmed by damaged tourism development. Among the well-recognized negative effects are endemic problems common to other coastal regions on the planet such as erosion, water pollution or flora and fauna damages. As costal tourism has become a significant contributor to national GDP, it has been extensively exploited by governments to stimulate economic growth and the creation of employment opportunities. Establishment of tourism business, infrastructure and facilities, however, brings with it pollution, deforestation or beach

erosion—in other words, with serious consequences for the natural environment (Tribe, 2004; Priestley and Llurdés, 2007; Greenpeace, 2010). No less important is the fact that capital investment and construction efforts dedicated to a sector subject to seasonal fluctuations, the whims of fashion, and worldwide economic conditions, moved the Spanish economy away from more stable economic activities (Solsten and Meditz, 1998).

The abovementioned “three S model” dependence is one of the main causes of the growth deceleration of the sector, saddling Spain with uncontrolled urban development, speculation, corruption, unfair competitions with illegal rental apartments, oversupply of hotel services alongside a scarcity of alternatives options, and coastal strip saturation. All together, these factors have had a baleful effect on the sector, causing it to gradually lose competitiveness, evidenced by lower occupation rates and a shortening of the season of high demand. Beaches where less than ten years ago it was difficult to book a room and very expensive to spend a night, today have empty hotels and apartments, some of them abandoned. The Greenpeace annual report on the status of the Spanish coast, “Destrucción a toda costa” (2010), reveals that in 2007 the tourism industry built up its sixth consecutive year of drop income. Yet in spite the of decreasing profitability, the number of hotels in the country continued to increase. The same year, the construction of over 202.500 new accommodations in hotels was planned, 126.750 in Andalusia alone. Changes in tourist motivations in line with postmodern trends are seen by Greenpeace as causes of the deceleration. The current economic slowdown has resulted in the disruption of much of the urbanization process on the coastal fringes.

As a response to the changes in tourism demand and the support from national and European authorities, “Cultural” and “Rural” tourism alternatives have seen promising developments, but still, in summer people prefer to go to the beach. “Cultural tourism, mainly in the form of short breaks to cities (notably Madrid and Barcelona), has increased significantly since 1990. Likewise, rural tourism has developed over the last 20 years, but to date (INE, 2005) represents only 1.9% of the total accommodation supply and 1.2% of demand, of which 84% is domestic. Nevertheless, sun/coast product is still a key element of the Spanish tourism, generating the bulk of demand” (Priestley and LLurdés, 2007: 95). Given the situation, during the last years new strategies for diversification have been developed. Golf and nautical tourism have contributed not just to reduce seasonalization but to increase revenue streams. Tourist who choose this kind of tourism normally spend four times as much per day. At the same time, these tourist segments have a multiplier effect, providing additional income related to property development. Nevertheless, these

tourists are criticized for the environmental negative impact they produce and, once again, because of the property speculation they incite.

Last but not least, it is important to discuss the boom of low-cost airlines. This phenomenon has contributed to the democratization of tourism. Today more people can travel the world than in other time in human history. This means more tourism arrivals, but at the same time, competitions has increased. With facilities for travelling abroad even to remotes places, and the strengthening of countries that in the recent past had housed an unstable political environment, Spain has lost its monopoly. The tourism sector in Spain is under threat from strong international competition, especially in the Mediterranean and the Caribbean, where there is good weather, similar quality destinations, and an ability to maintain low prices during longer periods. At the same time, helped foreigner as British (mainly Costa Blanca) or Germans (mainly in Mallorca) to see Spain as a place for second homes but not as tourism destination. It has important consequences for the image of the sector (Prietsley and Llurdés, 2007; Lucas, 2009).

Planning instruments and the concept of sustainability vis-à-vis tourism have arrived very late in Spain. Today not just public administration but the private sector recognize that they need to apply more sustainable criteria and good management practice, as well as change attitudes toward the law (Malvaréz et al., 2002, Prietsley and Llurdés, 2007; Greenpeace, 2010). The Ley del Suelo y Ordenacion Urbana (Land and Urban Planning Act), launched in 1956 and reformed in 1975, and the Ley de Costas (Shore Acts), which appeared in 1969 and was reviewed in 1988, are two of the main laws that have brought a modicum of order to development on the coast (Malvárez et al., 2002).

Among other things, the first law, the Land and Urban Planning Act, establishes three broad land-planning categories of urban, *urbanizable* (programmed for development) and non-urban. The two main goals of the second, the Shore Acts, are “to guarantee that the coast remained public property and to ensure the preservation of natural features, e.g. dune systems, wetlands and important vegetation complexes”. The Shores Act had a direct effect over urban development, establishing severe restrictions for use of the public domain zone (in-shore, territorial waters, shore and beach), and a protection zone or buffer zone, from 100 to 200m (Carrero, et al., 2009). Despite recent achievements in beach management and changing attitudes, however, both laws have been subject to economic interests (Malvarés et al., 2003:204-211). Carrero et al (2009:1120-1124) analyze the impact of abandoned buildings through a collection of cases study from the

70s and the present, in conjunction with a study on the evolution of the legal framework surrounding land policies in Spain from the 1940s. The authors identified two kind of impact, that of a socio-economic character (i.e. loss of jobs, loss of value of the area, marginalisation of population and transfer of costs between private and public sector), and those of an environmental character (i.e. visual impact of landscape modification, erosion, loss of biodiversity and pollution). Carrero et al., (2009), concluded that, “Spanish Law has evolved positively in terms of social responsibility; nevertheless, environmental responsibility does not yet cover these cases satisfactorily”.

**Figure 4-2: Evolution of the Spanish Coast: La Manga and Marbella**



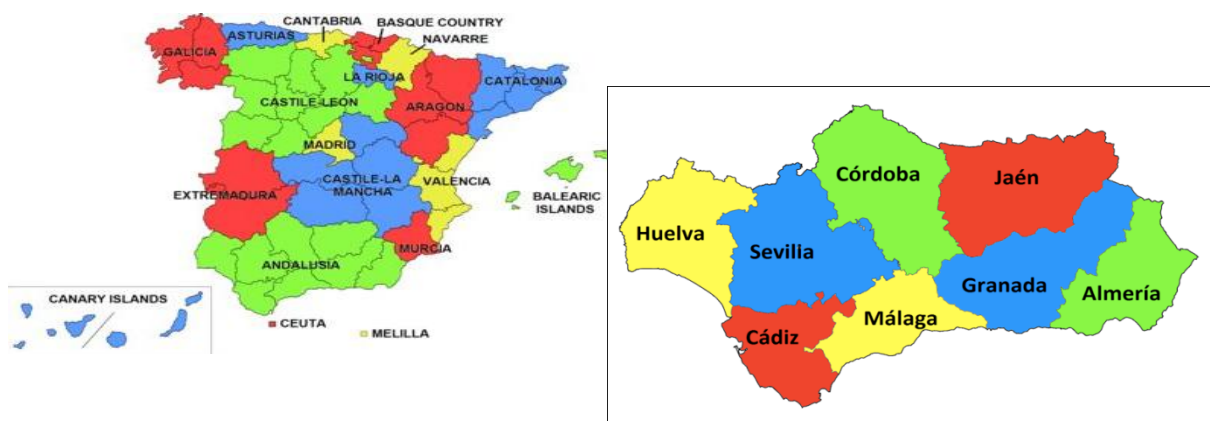
Source: Greenpeace

However, the type of development has not been totally uniform along the Spanish coast. If there is one region that reflects very well the various evolutions in tourism just explained, it is Andalusia, where El Palmar is located.

### 4.3 Andalusia

Andalusia is one of the 17 autonomous communities of Spain. It is situated in the southernmost part of the Iberian Peninsula. Its geographical situation allows it to be the direct link between Europe and Africa. The region borders Extremadura, Murcia and Castilla La Mancha to the north, and Portugal to the west. The region is comprised of eight provinces that include: Almería, Cádiz, Huelva, Málaga, Granada, Córdoba, Jaén and Seville. The last three are inland provinces and the rest have access to the coast. With a population of 8,370,975 inhabitants, according to data released by the National Statistics Institute (INE), on 1 January 2010, it is Spain's most populous region. It is also the second largest in terms of land area, with 87,268 km<sup>2</sup> total, an expanse greater than countries such as Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Austria, and Switzerland. The region has a population density of some 95 inhabitants per square kilometer, with citizens concentrated in the eight provincial capitals and the coast. In spite of its size, location, and dense population, Andalusia has one of the lowest incomes per capita: 17,485 Euros in 2009 compared to 18,359 Euros in 2008, resulting in a historic decrease. The unemployment rate is 28,35%, higher than the national average of 20,33%.

**Figure 4-3: Maps of Spain and Andalusia**



Source: Andalucíao.org

Andalusia is dominated by a Mediterranean climate. The region is considered the sunniest and warmest in Europe, with hot, dry summers and mild winters. That, together with its impressive historical heritage and mixed European and African cultures, its beautiful and rugged landscapes—ranging from extensive semi-desert areas to the highest peak in



Spain, Mulhacen covered with snow year round—its unique traditions, lively urban areas and people, and its world-famous gastronomy has the region one of Spain's main tourist destinations, both historically and today. The Costa de la Luz, where the Palmar is located, has been an object of desire for millennia, coveted by the Tartessians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Visigoths and Moors. ([www.andalucia.org](http://www.andalucia.org)) It has one of the largest coastal regions in the European Union. It is spectacularly shaped and contains a huge variety of ecosystems, including the last great European wetlands reserve of Doñana (province of Huelva). Despite its cultural richness and cities, Andalusia is best-known around the world for its beaches and resorts such as Costa del Sol and Costa de la Luz, which have turned the region into a prime seaside tourist destination. (INE, 2009; Urbano et al, 2010).

Andalusia received 22 million tourists in 2009, with revenues estimated at 15,442 million Euros. The represents a fall of 12.1% of the former and 10.7% of the latter compared to 2008. Tourist stays on average were 8.8 nights in Andalusia, 67% of them in hotels. The rest of the stays were either in free accommodations or hired houses, a high percentage in comparison to other regions. In line with Spanish typically seasonal tourism, the percentage of tourists arriving during the third term (summer) of 2009 reached 37.3%, according to data from the Annual Report of the Andalusian Department of Tourism, Trade and Sport (Consejeria Comercio, Turismo y Deporte, 2009).

For Andalusia—as for the rest of the country—tourism is very important, during the last five decades helping the economy to develop as already explained. Improvement of infrastructures and creating new jobs are two of the main positive effects. At the same time, tourism has negative impacts mainly in the environment. The pressures for economic development and mass tourism have led to conflicts over the protection of the surface area of Andalusia's rich natural heritage (Kousis, 2001). Andalusia is for Greenpeace (2010) one of the regions whose coast has been most damaged. Fifty-nine percent of the littoral is already built. Authorities and promoters have designed urban plans with critical deficiencies related to the quality of life and the care of the cultural, social and natural patrimony.

There is the famous case of the Costa del Sol, for many years one of the main high class tourism destinations in Europe and today pointed at as a bad example of mass tourism. A broad offer of Golf courses, huge resorts, residential area, shopping malls and marinas exceeds the current tourist demand. Moreover, the legality of many of these projects has been questioned, and during the last years illegal activities have been uncovered. Mainly authorities, and entrepreneurs but also some famous Spanish singers and other TV personalities, have been implicated in corruption scandals. These cases are mainly related

to the construction sector, with violations related to land sales, building permits and property taxes found not just in Andalusia but all around the country. *EL Mundo* (cited by Greenpeace 2010) claims that 100 million Euros have been used in misappropriations and embezzlement, and 25 million in Marbella alone (Costa del Sol). Combined with the global economic crisis, the change of values and lifestyle is greatly affecting costal tourism in Spain and Andalusia.

In the meantime, Rural Tourism has gained considerable currency among tourists. Many tourists wish to enjoy complementary activities such as cultural and gastronomical visits, sightseeing of natural settings, horse riding and farming. Andalusia has been a leading region in Spain for the European Union LEADER program, which provides for bottom-up capacity building in rural areas and rural accommodations. Since the 1990s, the support of and encouragement for entrepreneurs and SMEs involved in rural tourism has not stopped rising. In particular, the support mechanisms for sustainable tourism businesses located in Natural Sites, Parks, and Reserves. The majority of support mechanisms are oriented towards removing barriers for the creation of businesses within the rural tourism sector, as well as towards offering financial support and advice to SMEs in order to make the economic development of these areas compatible with the protection of its natural resources. It is clear that this sector has undergone a spectacular increase in the past two decades. However, authorities, policy makers, and entrepreneurship in the rural and tourism worlds have not yet exploited the potential provided by opportunities for joint actions and policies (FAO, Urbano et al, 2010; ).

As the reference point for Andalusian tourism products, beaches are a key pillar of the regional economy. As mentioned before, new projects and policies are trying to remedy this situation. For example, the care, provision of facilities and general improvement of the quality of the beaches is a priority for the General Plan for Sustainable Tourism in Andalusia, 2008-2011, which allocated over 272 million Euros to the adequacy of the tourism space and the strengthening of businesses on the coast. This plan places special emphasis on sustainability, quality and commitment to differentiation.

The Mediterranean meets the Atlantic on the coast of Cadiz, specifically in the Strait of Gibraltar, around 50km to where El Palmar is located, making it vulnerable to extreme weather conditions such as the easterly “Levante” wind. The “Levante” is notoriously strong when it blows and, as legend has it, is capable of making people go insane ([www.cortijo-andalucia.com/cadiz.html](http://www.cortijo-andalucia.com/cadiz.html)). These weather conditions make the area one of



the most popular spots in Europe to practice sports such as windsurfing, kitesurfing, bodyboarding and surfing. Famous worldwide is Tarifa, a village located a few kilometers from El Palmar. The Levante attracts scores of people but at the same time has helped to regulate tourism, since many people prefer other parts of the coast such as Malaga, where the weather is traditionally considered better and the wind not so strong.

Now that the summary of the evolution of Spanish and Andalusian tourism accompanied by a brief synthesis of their socio-political-economical context has been concluded, the specific case of El Palmar will now be analyzed. With this aim, in the remaining part of this chapter, information from newspapers and other media, and data obtained during field work, is going to be used. But first a fast tour around the area along with some important information about El Palmar will help the reader to grasp the context. Finally, the conflict surrounding tourism development will be explained.

#### 4.3.1 El Palmar

El Palmar (see Figure 1.1), is a small village located in Vejer de la Frontera, in the province of Cádiz. It has one of the few virgin landscape on the Spanish coast, although is on the margins of the major touristic zones of the Costa del Sol and the Bay of Cádiz. El Palmar is a settlement that has emerged around a small village whose main activity has historically been agriculture and farming but today is known for its wonderful beaches. Approximately seven hundred people live there during the year while this number triples during summer (<http://www.pueblos-espana.org/andalucia/cadiz/el+palmar/>).

Although there are different ways to get to the town, it is not easy to find your way there if you do not know the area. You will not find any traffic signals on the road toward El Palmar until you are very close to it. People say that the lack of markers and information is helping to keep El Palmar's beach "secret." If you are coming from Cádiz, the capital, on the Costa de la Luz A-48 motorway, once you have passed San Fernando and Chiclana on the way to the most northern part of the region, on the right, you will find the exit to Conil-El Palmar.

Once you arrived in Conil, the altitude offers a majestic view of the expansive plain where El Palmar is located. It begins in the Conilete stream (which borders Conil) and ends in the S.Ambrosio stream (which borders Barbate) close to the Zahora's grove, in the Trafalgar Cape. The frontier in the east is the primary road (Conil- Barbate). The length of coastline is 4,5 km, a surface of 850 Ha in total and a width of about 1.5 km (PELP,2010)

From Conil, if you continue driving through the primary road (1-2 in the Figure 4.4) that runs almost parallel to the coast, on the left you will find perpendicular tracks, many of them unpaved. On the way to El Palmar you will pass by field plots delimited by these parallels and perpendicular paths. Usually they are small farms or family orchards. They were the first constructions in the area and have there for many years. Some of them are not used anymore while others have been adapted to be rented by tourists, used as hostels, or as second homes. Continuing on the same road with El Palmar on the right, you will come to a roundabout (2 in the Figure 4.4) where you will find the official welcome to Vejer Coast and the El Palmar beach. On the right there is the road (2-3 in the Figure 4.4) identified as the main entrance, where you can find public buildings such as the Neighborhood Association, the school, the District Center Office, the Urban Planning Office, and the Tourism Office.

Figure 4-4: El Palmar Area Adapted Google Map Satellite Image



**Figure 4-5: Entrance Roundabout, Family farms, The school and District Center Office**



Source: Google Maps, J. Fabra

At the end of this road you have the “main street,” identified as the Beach Road (4-4 in the Figure 4.4). Excluding the lighthouse tower and the adjacent restaurant, it is the border between the beach and construction projects. During the summer this two-way road, which offers no space reserved for pedestrians, is busy with tourists crossing and walking around, and cars stopped everywhere.

**Figure 4-6: The beach road and the lighthouse tower from the beach**



Source: J. Fabra



After the Beach road, there is a barrier of natural dunes protected by low wood fences and access gateways. Then you will find a white sand and clear water beach. It is El Palmar's beach: 8 km in length and 60 meters in width (on average), depending of the tide. It connects Conil's and Barbate's beaches. In this part of the Atlantic Ocean you can find clean cold blue water, a rich marine ecosystem, a diversity of boats from recreational to fisheries, and closer to the coast surfers that come searching for the best waves in Andalusia (PELP, 2010). On the sand, spread along the beach, you'll find a classic beach tableau: families joined for a typical picnic under their umbrellas, couples walking close to the shore, naked bodies enjoying the sun and freedom, fisherman, artisans selling handicrafts in improvised stands, and group of friends playing music and clapping their hands, all of this later set against a magnificent sunset and the arrival of the night in El Palmar. Depending on factors as season, time and weather, the density of beachgoers can vary, but is still far less than other beaches in the region.

**Figure 4-7: Protected dunes in El Palmar's beach and young surfers**



**Source: J. Fabra**

Coming back to the dunes, crossing them and the Beach road, in the front line of construction you'll find different local business: hostels, bars, restaurants, surf school and few shops with clothes, newspapers, and food. There are also private houses sometimes rented by tourists, or functioning as hostels. The tourism sector has definitively replaced agriculture as the main source of income in the area. Old and young tourists, surfers, nature lovers, nudists, politicians, celebrities, captains of industry, and families visit El Palmar to savor its laid back vibe and status as of one of the last unspoiled coastlines left in Spain. In this "hippie" beach town there are neither hotel resorts nor huge apartment building, neither golf course nor shopping malls; just small family hostels, restaurants, and houses for rent. This model of tourism is helping to develop the sector without breaking the harmony with the environment (PELP, 2010).

#### 4.3.1.1 Conflict in El Palmar

**Figure 4-8: "Battle of Trafalgar (1805)"**



*On 21st October 1805, the British Royal Navy clashed with the Combined French and Spanish fleet at Cape Trafalgar, off the south-west coast of Spain. The battle, called "The Trafalgar Battle," had massive repercussions for Napoleon's France and the future of the British Empire. Today, more than 200 years later, a new "battle" is taking place in El Palmar, very close to this same cape.*

Author: Louis Philippe Crepin

##### *a) The tourism project*

The controversy has arrived to the area due to a macro tourist project—in this thesis referred to, simply, as "the project"—supported by local and regional governments, which plans to build a new tourism resort for approximately 1300 people with 270.000 square meters that have been already reassessed from rural to urban use. What is considered a threat for some people means a future and development for others. This tourism plan was presented in 2002 for the first time with the approval of the Vejer's Government, alongside support not just from the main political party PSOE (Socialist Party) but the other two as well: PP (*People's Party, center right*) and IU (*United Left*)—a rare occurrence indeed, to have the three main political parties in Spain agree on something. The project was promoted by Riera Marsans, a company from Mallorca, but in 2007 due to financial problems they had to leave it. In 2009, Chival Promociones, an Andalusina company, took over the project. This enterprise is part of the Grupo Tarje, led by Juan Leocadio Muñoz, an entrepreneur already implicated in multiple urban corruption cases (PELP, 2010). The municipality gave its approval for the project along with the Junta de Andalucía (the regional government) after changes such as the elimination of a golf course from the initial plan were conceded.

Few specific details about the project have been made public but taking into account comments by Vejer's Mayor, others members of the local government and the last presentation made by the promoters during the last International Tourism Fair (FITUR) in January 2011 in Madrid, the plans seem to be very similar to the first set of ideas given by Riera Marsá. This means that the resort will have a maximum build ability of two plus one stores, 7,5 meters the maximum allowed by law. It will occupy between 270.000 and 290.000 square meters. The "buildability" of the plot is 0,15% and is placed 500 meters from the coast in the Malcucaña parcel (around the A area on the Figure 4-4). The exact concept for the resort is not clear yet, but the idea is to build hotels and aparthotels with approximately 650 rooms. In their presentation, officials unveiled a poster with a graphical representation (see picture in the Appendix C) of what they called "El Palmar Beach Eco-Resort". It was possible to see a portion of the hotels, a beach club, some restaurants and several green areas. (Diario de Cádiz, 2011)

**Figure 4-9: Area where is going to be placed the hotel project (A in Fig.4.4)**



**Source: La Voz Digital**

### ***b) The Platforms***

Local and regional authorities and an important part of the local society have joined in to promote the project, citing employment creation, the infrastructure improvement and reduction of seasonality as their main reasons. At the same time, there is also a large social movement against it. As previously mentioned, this movement is represented by two platforms (in this thesis referred as "the platforms") "Plataforma Salvar el Palmar PELP!" (Save El Palmar Platform) and "SALVAR EL PALMAR: Paisaje Protegido" (*Save El Palmar: Protected area*). The origin of both dates back to November 2009 when Tatiana, a young woman from Jerez (Cádiz) but living in Barcelona, read in the newspaper that the project had been taken up again. She decided to open a page in Facebook called: Plataforma contra el macroproyecto hotelero de El Palmar, PELP (Platform against the macro hotel project of

El Palmar, PELP). Not just Tatiana but no one could have imagined what happened. In one day more than 1.000 people joined the group, and to date more than 100.000 have signed against the project, uniting themselves with the initiative.

During the first months the group was working as just one organization. In June 2010, however, as explained in their webpage, they decided to separate in two in order to attack the problem in different ways. Both continue with the same target: to save El Palmar from any kind of urban speculation. The movement believes the project will mean the destruction of one of the last virgin beaches in Spain and they are calling for “another form of tourism, truly sustainable, ecological and local” (PELP, 2010). In their opinion, El Palmar should become an example of sustainable development offering an innovative rural and ecological tourism model close to the beach, a model based in small family businesses, local products, green area and bike paths, organic agriculture, permaculture, green energies, eco buildings, and active tourism.

Inside of this social movement there are people from all around the world, as well as many different kinds of organization (NGOs, neighbors associations, ecologist, political parties) all gathered together for a special and unique cause: their love for El Palmar. With their origins in Facebook, they organize their protests through different web pages, blogs, forums and other social networks. The following activities have already been carried out by the platforms: meetings with neighbors associations, information workshops, promotion of their objective through brochures and posters, gatherings/demonstrations on the beach, signature collections and articles in the press. Moreover, the platform has contacted others similar organization and neighbor municipalities that already have reported similar cases to the Spanish and European authorities, such as the ones that participated in El Algarrobas conflict.

#### ***a) Platforms' Actions***

The gathering/demonstration of April 3th close to Torre Nueva on the beach of El Palmar has been the platforms' most relevant and numerous even thus far, with the biggest coverage in the media. The call for action was made through the internet and according to press and the organizers it garnered more than 400 participants. Among them were locals, tourists and people from other organizations. Live music and the presence of well-known Spanish actors helped to attract more interest. The leaders of the movement presented the



intentions of the platforms, collected signatures against the project, and sold t-shirts supporting the cause.

**Figure 4-10: Platform's activists during the gathering/demonstration in El Palmar in April '10**



Source: PELP

Although some people from El Palmar or Vejer are also part of the platforms, an important percentage of the local population is in favor of the project. For that reason, one month before the demonstration, in March, the platforms decided to organize an informative workshop for the neighbors in El Palmar. (Authorities from the local and regional Government were also invited.) The organizers presented their ideas, and together with locals and authorities discussed the project.

**Figure 4-11: Informative meeting sessions in El Palmar**



Source: Cristobal, 2010

#### ***b) In favour of the tourism project...***

The promoters insist that the project is good for the area because it will bring investment and create 300 new jobs. They also claim that it will not have a large impact on the environment, with buildings limited to seven meters in height, large green areas planned,

and situated far from the coast and at right angles to the beach. Moreover, as previously mentioned, they wish to highlight their environmentally respectful intentions, starting with the name chosen for the project: Palmar Beach Eco-Resort. The economic argument, specifically the creation of jobs, is what the local residents value most. In Vejer alone there are more than 2.300 unemployed people, a figure in line with the whole province of Cadiz where in November 2010 over 30% of people were without work, almost the double of the EU average (10%) and the worst in the whole Eurozone. (Diagonal, 2010;The Telegraph, 2010;Dario de Cádiz, 2011).

Most of the houses in El Palmar were built long ago without specific permission, so their official legality and property rights have been always critical issues. Recently, laws such as the Shore Act and other policies about land uses—minimum of distance to the coast where building prohibited, and limits related to the altitude—are helping to re-organize this settlement. It has also influenced the development of the area, which has been characterized by the improvisation and creativity of the *Palmareños* (people from El Palmar). It is normal to find many wood-houses and other kinds of temporary constructions, as well as improvised parking for payment in empty parcels close to the beach, all of them public services with little pressure and control by the authorities. Despite many improvements, however, the infrastructure is still not adequate: the 600 inhabitants of El Palmar are not currently connected to the main water system, electricity is not arriving properly to all houses, there are no cable services nor subterranean telephone lines, and neither is there a fire extinguisher network nor a waste collection and treatment system. This urgent need for infrastructure is another benefit that has convinced locals to support the project. Authorities and promoters link the project with a process of legalization of houses and business in the area and an important part of the improvement of the community infrastructure.

For Carmen, representative of the neighbor association, “those who live here, we want the urbanization of El Palmar. We live from tourism and there are not enough infrastructures. Mainly we are asking for light, sanitation, sewers, light, and paved streets...The eco-tourist who came here want to live as it is now...but it is not the same when you just came in summer. Then everything is very beautiful. You have to experience more time to give your opinion”(Interview, September 2010). The position of the platform is considered romantic and unrealistic in the view of people in favor of the project. Locals such as Carmen believe that the people from the platforms don’t know enough about El Palmar and by not living there during the whole year don’t have the right to participate in the decision-making

process. Platforms members don't agree with this reasoning, saying that they are not defending the immobilism but promoting a new rural tourism model for the area. Moreover, as frequent visitors they think they should also have ownership in deciding about the future of what they also consider their beach. Carmen also remarks that many of the locals like her want the urbanization but it does not mean they want macro hotels. "We do not want macro-hotels," she says. "Regular hotels with just two floors, placed in the borders are not going to affect much..." (interview during field work, September, 2010). The position of Manolo, a man also from El Palmar and employed in the construction sector, is unequivocal: "I support the project because I think it is going to give me employment. I do not care if they are hotels or whatever. If they are not going to give me this opportunity I do not want the hotels" (interview during field work, September 2010).

### *c) Against...*

For the platforms, the arguments that authorities, promoters and some locals use to support the project are not valid. In their opinion, the creation of employment will never happen in the fashion that the residents of El Palmar expect it to. Experience with others similar projects shows that normally the employment goes away from the local community. The big construction companies work with their own employees and usually just hire a few extra people for low paid jobs; the same occurs with the companies in charge of running the hotels. The situation will likely be even worse if they decide to build an aparthotel and/or the "All Inclusive" concept for the hotels. Then the need for manual labor will be very low; only cleaners and waiters will have possibilities of work. Moreover, the impact on local businesses (restaurants, bar and shops) will be not very meaningful if the tourists have all the services included in the hotel where they are staying.

As for environmental impact, activists believe that a tourism project that is going to double the population of the village will never be sustainable. For them a low build ability, huge green spaces or adding Eco- in the name is not enough to define it as sustainable. Furthermore, the improvement of the basic infrastructures is a right and cannot be linked to the establishment of a private project.

The platforms have the support not just of residents and tourists but of many different organizations such as Greenpeace, Ecologistas en Acción and Clean Ocean Project. Some green and left wing parties have shown their support as well. An interesting development is what is happening with the third political party in Spain: Izquierda Unida. (United Left). While its leader in the state government has denounced the project, the representative in

the El Palmar municipality is positioned in favor of it with the rest of the parties—additional proof of the complexity of the situation.

The idea of authorities and promoters is to start as soon as possible. The current global economic situation and the difficulties to find a hotel company which will be part of the project could be the main obstacle together with the strong opposition from the platforms. They continue with their activities to denounce and stop the project, saying in the interviews for this thesis that they will not quit until they reach their objectives. In the next chapter a deeper analysis of those interviews is presented.

## 5 Results and Discussion

### 5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the lifestyle, values, consumer behavior, tourist preferences, and activism concepts from the perspective of the members of the platforms which have emerged to fight against a macro hotel complex in El Palmar beach.

The qualitative data analysis done in this chapter is derived from in-depth, semi-structured interviews and observation, along with interpretations by the author. The key themes which arose out of the interviews will be quoted, described and analyzed, offering a description and reflection of a social phenomenon led by the informants who are taking advantage of new information and communication. They are leading a social movement which can be studied from the perspective of transmodernity. At the same time, an analysis of similarities and differences will be used to identify whether and to what extent the characteristics of those interviewed, and the movement led by them, fit into the emerging group of Cultural Creatives. It should be noted that the questions used in the interviews (see Appendices A and B) were primarily chosen to gain deeper understanding of the actors of El Palmar social movement, or the platforms.

Around the world people are becoming increasingly concerned with tourism development. It has been argued that tourists nowadays are more reflective about the effects their activities have on the destination community (Cohen, 1995 in Salazar, 2004). They are changing their preferences to alternatives ways of tourism (ie. Eco- and sustainable tourism), in the hope of lessening the environmental and socio-cultural problems associated with traditional mass tourism (Sirakaya et al., 2001). However, often tourists are only mentioned in responsible tourism literature as the cause of the ‘problem’, in terms of the environmental, economic and social impact of their activities (Swarbrooke, 1999). In this study, tourists are analyzed not as the problem but as potentials agents for change to create a better world.

Furthermore, for a better understanding—and to make it easy for the reader—it has been decided to develop the data analysis together with a discussion of the results in this chapter. Different themes have emerged after a deep literature review and analysis of the views of respondents. For a better understanding, the themes have been organized into two main topics. The first one is LifeStyle and Values. Under this rubric platform members

are profiled and analyzed regarding different aspects such as: what they like to do in their free time, their preferences when consuming and travelling, and political motivations and involvement.

The second topic is Activism, in terms of the conflict in El Palmar, the platforms as a whole, and the different activities carried out by their members—not just on Internet but also in the field. The problems found during the process are described. The motivations to join the movement and locals opinions about the platforms are also included in this section.

These key themes have been chosen because, as mentioned before, the main idea of this thesis is to analyze critically the social movement in which the platform members are involved. Among the members it is possible to find people of diverse origins (i.e., professional status, education and age). There are not many locals in this movement; the members are mainly identified as tourists/visitors. The two selected themes will help to better analyze if there are common patterns among the protagonists of the platforms, such as their lifestyle and values, tourist preferences and socio-political activism, and if they could fit into the definitions of “Cultural Marginal” and “Cultural Creatives”—that is, if they are part of the so-called “silent revolution”. Finally, teasing out these themes will shed light on the conflicts and paradoxes related to social change what and critical socio-political concerns, such as transmodernity, governance, and nature conservation. (Ray and Anderson, 2000; Ateljevic 2007, 2008, 2009; Ateljevic, Hollinshead, K. and Ali, 2009).

## 5.2 Lifestyle and Values

Lifestyle and values have been selected as the first theme to study in this chapter in an attempt to understand the variability and similarities among the people who comprise the platforms. To know more about the protagonists' profiles of will help us understand their preferences for tourism, specifically for El Palmar beach, and finally to explain their activism as members of the platforms.

After the analysis of the ways in which those interviewed use their free time and the type of goods and services they consume, I was able to gain a closer and more veracious knowledge of the similarities of the participants in the platforms. Moreover, I can with confidence say that the habits and motivations for the use of their free time are in line with many of the features that thinkers attribute to the so-called Cultural Creatives(Ray and

Anderson 2000). At the same time, differences and contradictions are found among the participants, providing good examples of the complexity of human beings. Although there are many signs of positive changes of values and an emerging global consciousness, many participants' quotes reveal that these beliefs are not always reflected in reality.

### 5.2.1 Cultural and Social Capital Accumulation

Cultural Creatives are normally involved in cultural and artistic activities, and they like to consume culture. They consider the maintenance and development of personal relationship very important (Ray and Anderson, 2000).

The majority of respondents were actively employed (only one was unemployed). When they are asked about what they do in their free time, they complain they don't have enough of it. In general, they love nature, movies, music, reading, playing sports, but mainly spend their time go for walks and having drinks out with friends at bars and restaurants. None of the respondents paint or engage in others arts as a profession or primary hobby, though some have tried to start painting. Most like to attend to concerts, the theatre, conferences, the cinema, art exhibitions and photo events, or local handicraft markets. With these activities they accumulate cultural capital, not just enriching themselves as individual but arguably engaging in them to differentiate themselves from mass consumer. To consume this kind of culture, different for example from the pop culture offered on television, is for some people representative of exclusivity and a sign of status in contemporary society.

Juan says: *"I love everything. I have too many hobbies: walking, cinema, reading, biking, yoga, growing plants and animals....and now my main hobbies are the PELP (Platform) and La Laja- another NGO in which he is involved-"*(email communication, September 2010).

Javi answers: *"I like any art that disconcerts me. The art that is made with the stuff that the others throw away"* (email communication, September 2010).

Iñaki and Arantxa love music but affirm that in the past they used to attend more concerts and listen to much more live music. They say: *"Today, with advances in technology we have free access to all the music we want, therefore we do not attend music concerts as in the past"* (Interview, August 2010).



Lola dedicates her free time to trying to enrich herself learning other languages and watching films. She says: *"I spend part of my short free time learning English. Learning English for me has always been a frustration but now it becomes a new challenge. My daughter-in-law and my dear granddaughter are from New York and I need to be able to communicate with them! I use the rest of my free time to read cinema magazines and watch films at home. I also very much love to attend art expositions"* (Interview, September 2010).

The respondents do not spend much time watching TV. However, they do use the Internet extensively (several hours each day), mainly for work but also for leisure, including staying in touch with friends and relatives. As can be gathered from the interviews, they dedicate their time and efforts to the maintenance and development of personal relationships. They consider friends and family very important, but at the same time they love to get to know new and different people and cultures. This is what I mean by "social accumulation"; they engage in this practice not just in their daily life but when travelling and during leisure time as well.

Santi says: *"The Internet for me is not a pleasure. It's just a tool for working. I am very old for social networks like Facebook"* (Interview, August 2010).

Carlos responds: *"I use the Internet a lot but I am not addicted to social networks. I am only registered in a professional one. I like the Internet to look for information, and to write things"* (Interview, September 2010).

Maria Jesus admits: *"I expend many hours of my free time connected to Internet to be in contact with my friends. I consider it very useful for keeping in touch with them"* (Interview, September 2010).

Due to the stress produced during working hours and the busy lifestyle in today's cities, the respondents look for every opportunity to spend their free time resting or practicing relaxing activities like yoga or gardening. A common behavior among the respondent is their desire to manage work stress by spending time not just with family and friends, but also alone with themselves. Most of them believe that quality of life increases through enhancing levels of happiness and wellbeing.

For example, Mónica says: *"I enjoy doing anything in my free time. I love to have time just for giving myself space to think while cutting the grass"* (Interview, July 2010)



### 5.2.2 Responsible consumers?

Regarding lifestyles, information was also gathered on the way respondents characterize their own style of consuming. Cultural Creatives are careful and critical consumers not just of information but of the products and services they consume. For example, they read product labels, different newspapers, and/or alternate their sources of information from the media. (Ray and Anderson, 2000).

The majority of respondents do not consider themselves very consumerist, and they say that when they consume they always try to do so in a responsible way. Although they recognize that money is a big constraint in consuming as they would like, they also state that they are willing to pay slightly more for products that are judged to be more authentic and/or produced in a more responsible way, if the extra cost does not represent a great expense for their budgets.

In any case, a deeper study is needed to see how their intentions are translated into their everyday life decisions, and how far they are willing to go with their values when consuming whenever possible organic, local, natural and fair trade products (the preferred ones for most of the respondents). Authenticity is also an important requirement for some of them, although this concept is always nebulous and open to their own interpretation.

Jesus and Teresa are vegetarians and for ecological reasons always try to buy organic food. (Interview, August 2010)

Cecilia says: *"I love to buy in local fairs/markets. I used to buy goods from a group of consumers and producers of local products created in the University".* (Interview, September 2010)

Juan likes to be informed about products and the environmental impact of his purchases. For him authenticity is not an important requirement for him. *"I normally check the labels and if I consider it dangerous for the environment I will not buy. The price of course is the main restriction. Sometimes the less authentic is the best".* (Email communication, September 2010)

In contrast, Arantxa says: *"I just attend to my own preferences. If I like something I will buy it. I am not very into organic or ecological products but I always have authenticity as an important criteria for my choices".* Arantxa's answer shows a contradiction, as well as the diversity of the group. (Interview, August 2010)

The danger for Cultural Creatives as for any social group today is to be identified as just target group, as simple consumers. If the concept became just a fashion and did not go any further, people would with conscientiousness. The distrust of and lack of credibility in the providers of goods and services marketed as responsibly produced is also common among the most critical respondents.

Santi, an experienced professional and university teacher in Marketing, says that he is always very skeptical about the labels, and for him this justified not being especially careful consuming more responsible product and services. *“For me everything is a lie, I do not trust any label, stamp or accreditation..... If you like something just have it “ (Interview, August 2010).*

Lola answers in a similar way. She reinforces her lack of confidence in goods and services sold as authentic by using an anecdote from a shop in the small village where she was born. “I was trying to buy a traditional Iberian Pig sausage labeled as produced under a given Origen Denomination, and I clearly saw how the seller took away the label of one of the sausages she sells, opens a drawer, where she has printed labels from many producers, and just put the label on the sausage that Lola was asking for!” (Interview, September 2010).

These last two anecdotic examples could be seen as excuses from consumers or interesting critical analysis from a new and trendy responsible market. These quotes are in line with Ray and Anderson (2000). For them Cultural Creatives should not become just a fashion because then people will act with little conscience. They should not be identified with current famous movements such as the “new age,” which is already undervalued. Cultural Creatives are idealistic but the difference is that they are more focused on looking inside than outside. When consuming they try to be coherent with their own personal values and consciousness, in contrast with others that are more worried trying also to establish their social class identity and status.

### 5.2.3 Responsible tourists?

An analysis of tourism preferences helps to better understand the relationship of the participants with the environment and how responsible they are as tourists. One of the “key-values of transmodernity are the sustainability and interconnectedness with nature

and other cultures which has interesting bearings on sustainable tourism and nature-based tourism (Gelter, 2008: 2)".

Ray and Anderson (2000) describe the tourist preferences of the Cultural Creatives as: exotic vacations, adventuresome but not very risky, educational, authentic, altruistic, and spiritual. They like ecotourism, photo safaris, community-based tourism or volunteer tourism. They do not go for package tours, big resorts, or cruises. Not just during their holidays but in their everyday life they are considered "foodies". They like to cook and eat well—they seek cuisine which is healthy, exotic, and innovative—and talk about food and eat out a lot. The following answers about the tourist preferences of the participants could confirm the values that transmodernity has brought, also fitting in to some extent with the profile of the Cultural Creatives.

The individual responses to the questions related to tourist preferences and the reasons for choosing El Palmar as a tourism destination reveal a passionate commitment to keep El Palmar beach and its coastal waters clean. Some questions which arose at this stage were: Clean of what and clean for whom? Do they normally do the same in their home city or town? Are they also keeping it natural and clean?

Even if most of the platforms members are not El Palmar locals, a sense of ownership of the beach is deep-seated in all of the respondents. Of those interviewed only one was born in Vejer (Cádiz); the rest are from other Spanish cities (many of them are from Madrid). One of the participants is even from another country. They see themselves as regular visitors to the area and do not like to be identified as *tourists*, perhaps because of the negative connotations of the term "tourist" and the growing awareness of the way tourism affects the environment, societies and cultures (Boissevain, 1996; Butcher, 2003). They tend to visit the Palmar in summer, Easter and on random weekends. They admit that they do not have much interaction with the locals because, although the relations are cordial, they are not very close. In their opinion relationships with locals are more commercial than personal.

Santi says: *"I am not a 'tourist' or a 'visitor', but rather a resident. I do not believe I am a local, but I am concerned with the village. I am not a tourist who goes to El Palmar for holidays and they just want to enjoy, they do not care much more... I am worried about the sustainability of the beach, the local plans about traffic and parking, drainage, new building plan approvals, etc. I am also concerned with problems like the 'botellon' [the Spanish word for outdoor get-togethers with lots of people and drinks]. I have friends in El Palmar, but I am not local. I know some locals, from the shops, bars and restaurants. But yes, I definitively*

*think I am part of this community, as an occasional resident, and I care about the future of the area.” (Interview, August 2010)*

Respondents noted their preferences for eco-tourism, independent travel (no travel agencies and packages), natural beaches, rural lifestyles, non-traditional destinations, family vacations and the majority of respondents love going out with friends to look for places offering affordable and good quality food. Mowforth and Munt (2003) offer a critical analysis of this group. For them, tourism is not just something to be enjoyed but represents a strategy for building a reputation that can be converted into economic capital. They make a division between the “eco-tourist” and the “ego-tourist”, these two categories normally overlapping and sometimes, as in El Pamar case, becoming muddled up with one another. The second one, also identified as the new petit bourgeoisie, is defined as people that are located firmly within the service sector with jobs involving finance, marketing and purchasing. They can afford more expensive holidays that are exclusive because of the price, the numbers of tourists permitted, and/or remoteness. The first one, the “eco-tourist”, traditionally identified for their interest in the ‘environment’ (eco-logy), also indicates their capacity to pay the high prices that such holidays command today (eco-nomy). For the Mowforth and Munt, these new tourists, like most of the respondents, are trying also to establish their social class identity when travelling, engaging in a competition for uniqueness.

Jesus and Teresa like different kinds of tourism, which is in line again with the social and cultural capital accumulation mentioned before. They always try to learn more about the local people and socio- historical roots of the place they choose as a destination. For instance, their last trips had politics as the main motivation. They called it “political tourism.” They travelled to Venezuela during the last Chavez referendum, to Cuba to see the Castro regime firsthand, and to Greece during last civil protests related to the financial crisis (Interview, August 2010).

Lola travels often with her husband and sometimes more relatives and friends join them. She does not like “groups” or organized trips and always tries to avoid traditional mass tourism but this does not mean that she does not also like also go to typical tourist destinations. “We always like to investigate new place outside of traditional tourism places but we do not avoid them. We also visit them” (Interview, September 2010).

Lola is not the only one who travels with her family. Most of the participants share this sense of togetherness. It occurs not just for travelling but in their everyday life and they tended to use the word “we” in their responses. Maria Victoria and Alvaro usually travel with their children. If they decide to spend the holidays in a beach locale, they always chose El Palmar. They consider it their beach, but if they’re not headed to the beach, *“we choose a city, something more cultural. Now we are restricted a bit because of our kids, always searching for leisure activities for them. We like to walk around the city, take the touristic buses, etc.”*. (Interview, September 2010)

Carlos —another respondent—also admits that his children are who determine his travel plans. (Interview, September 2010)

Inma normally travels because of her job, but also to attend concerts or other cultural events. She likes rural tourism and cultural tourism. She always organizes the trips herself. She recognizes the importance of being aware of the consequences of her holidays and always tries to minimize this impact. Like Inma, most of the participants seem to be responsible tourists who are conscientious their travel choices. (Email communication, September 2010)

Javi likes to travel a great deal. *“Especially places where I will feel a bit out of the context, where people don’t understand me. Drink a beer in a crappy place, take pictures, enjoy it with my girlfriend...”* Money and time are always restrictions for him. He prefers cultural and “visual tourism”, which he defines as *“just sit and see people passing by”*. He always plans the trip at the last moment, without setting down any plan or previous booking. He admits to be worried about the impact his trip can have. *“For me I was always very embarrassed to feel like an invader. For that reason I always reject organized trips, cruises, etc...”* (Email communication, August 2010).

Ivan states: *“I always practice respectful tourism; my main motivations are to meet new cultures, gastronomies, and people. I always organize my trip by internet or through an agency when I decide to enjoy a longer journey. To surf and relax are also important motivations for me.”* (Email communication, August 2010).

*“I like travelling. Normally I look for cultural and rural places. I always escape from mass tourism’s spot and trendy destinations. Of course never resorts or the like...I am worried about the impact that my trips could have, for that reason if I go to a place that still is not well known by others I try to keep the secret and avoiding to talk to others about that place. Word of mouth works very well and often it is the main reason for the destruction of amazing*

*places without any other promotion tools.”* Juan seems to be responsible and conscious about the impact that his actions as a tourist have. It could be the reason for keeping the “secret”, but at the same time the exclusivity when consuming—tourism in this case—is sign of status in the current capitalist society. (Email communication, September 2010).

When asked about their motives for choosing El Palmar as a destination, as well as what makes the place different from other tourist destinations in Southern Spain, interesting answers are given. Their responses help to define the relation that the participant have with the area. These are the words that appear: *Fresh air/to lie down/relax/white sand/natural beauty/virginity/low density/ not mass tourism/authenticity.*

Informants agree that it is the nature, tranquility and incredible beauty of El Palmar’s beach and landscape that convinces people to choose it as their destination. Most of the respondents claim to be tired of beaches fully occupied by commercial buildings and apartments. They do not mention the environmental impact of this tourism model; however, they do remark upon the inconvenience it causes, such as the few free spaces available on the beach due to the uncontrolled advance of the “brick”—the word used to refer to the massive construction sector—which forces them to get up very early in order to find a place to spread down their beach towel to lie in the sun.

Pepe, who visited El Palmar for the first time not long ago, admits: *“I try to come back again every year to practice surf, my favorite sport. I also like to take walks along the beach, visiting neighboring places and above all spend time in “Chiringuitos.” (The Spanish word used to define a bar/restaurant located in the beach which serves both drinks and food)...I also very much enjoy El Palmar because of its virgin beaches, the quietness of the place and the nice people you can meet in a really fun and young environment”.* (Email communication, September 2010).

#### **5.2.4 Searching for Nature, Authenticity and the Traditional ...just in holidays?**

The importance the participants give to nature and space to relax may be in line with the transmodern theory and Culture Creatives’ behavior. Tourists go to El Palmar looking for the nature and space that they do not have in their everyday life in their cities. Moreover, they show a desire and search for traditional and old ways of living. The lack of basic services, equipment and facilities, instead of being seen as negative, in fact makes the place

more attractive for many visitors. It is paradoxical and sometimes contradictory in comparison with current daily life in cities, where most of these tourists come from. There, a small dip in the internet connection, a simple problem with the light provider, or a small hole in the pavement is enough to cause trouble and provoke complaints. This contradiction is difficult to understand for locals such as Carmen. A representative of the neighbor association, she states: *"People like me that live here the whole year, we want the urbanization of El Palmar. We live from tourism and there are not enough infrastructures, therefore we are demanding light, sanitation, sewers, paved street...The eco-tourists who come here want to live as it is now...but it is not the same when you just come in summer. Then everything is very beautiful. They should stay here for longer to give their opinion"* (Interview, September 2010) The position of the platform is considered romantic and unrealistic by those in favor of the project. Locals such as Carmen believe that the people from the platforms do not know enough about El Palmar and that they don't live there during the whole year and so don't have the right to participate in the decision-making process.

Cecilia, an Italian respondent, comments: *"I listened to a friend saying lovely things about The Palmar beach. I usually go to a neighboring beach, but one day on my trip to Tarifa, I stopped in El Palmar and I fell in love with the beach. I very much like beaches in this area of Spain because of the dunes and the white sand. Other Andalusian beaches like the ones existing in Fuengirola and Torremolinos (Costa del Sol) are crowded and when you are quietly resting under the sun on the beach and you turn around you just find towers and more towers of cement.... .. and I don't like it!"* (Interview, September 2010).

Carlos also talks about the differences at other coastal destinations, saying that, *"maybe El Palmar is less well-equipped in infrastructures and services than others Andalusian or Spanish beaches, but it's much quieter here, and The Palmar has a greater extension of clean beaches with fine sand and a lower density of people. In summer I go to one every two days. I live very close to El Palmar, so I go there to spend the day."* But not everything is positive for Carlos. He comment: *"In my opinion, during the last years the peaceful atmosphere of El Palmar beach is getting worse and worse, with the arrival of people that just come here to drink, playing percussion instruments very noisily. I very much like to spend time on the beach with my family and I do not like dogs close to me, nor music, nor people who are doing strange stuff when my family is around. These kinds of people have different ways to see life, and feel the beach, but they should learn to live in harmony with others and nature"* (Interview, September 2010).



Carlos reveals that people who visit El Palmar are diverse, with different profiles, motivations and ways to enjoy the beach. Multiple respondents made reference to the natural manners and simplicity of most of the people who visit El Palmar as one of its primary attractions. In their opinion this is reflected in the way they dress. It is more informal, young or “alternative”, and for many people identified as a “Hippie Style”. This may be understood again as a rejection of other destinations traditionally related to mass tourism, that is, the beaches with huge shopping malls and more consumerist visitors, for whom external appearance is very important—characteristics not associated with Cultural Creatives and transmodern tourist preferences. The preferences for the less formal form of tourism of El Palmar is, as Mowforth and Munt (2003) explain, a way for new tourists to differentiate themselves from tourists who prefer mass tourism-related activities, and the critics associated with the “traditional tourism”. At the same time, it is a destination that is not especially cheap when considering the available facilities the available facilities, so when choosing it they could also be trying to establish their social class identity. Many claims there is always a competition for exclusivity and uniqueness among this new breed of tourist.

When describing the El Palmar’s visitors Inma says: *“They are characterized by their ‘naturalness’ and simplicity in the way the dress”*. (Email communication, September 2010)

Lola V. comments anecdotally that, *“most of the visitors, including me, change the usual way of dressing when we arrive in the Palmar. We wear a head band and go topless to feel free...I think that sometimes we all look as if we were masked for a performance”*. (Interview, September 2010)

Lola Y. also reveals: *“I have heard from some visitors that the bad part of this beach is that there are no shops, and for me this is totally the opposite. It is like going back to the primitive era. You wake up, put on your beach wrap, flip-flops or without them. You don’t need anything more. There are people who are really looking for this. It is difficult to find in many places.”* (Interview, July 2010)

These quotes reveal once more the paradoxes, complexity and inconsistencies of human beings. Like many other visitors, Lola Y admits her temporary transformation when she is on holidays in El Palmar. Not just her way of dressing but her way of consuming and acting is different from her daily life. A rupture in routine, a desire for the forbidden, a conscience



cleaning, a personality conflict—all these factors could play a role in this brief change of self.

Several respondents say that they choose El Palmar because one of their expectations for their summer holidays is to have time to spend with family and relatives. They enjoy having a traditional Andalusian lunch with the family on the sand while surrounded by a very diverse range of people (foreigners, homosexuals, hippies, fishermen... ). In one manner or other they can be seen as protagonists of the transmodern future of Sardar (2003), a synthesis between a tradition that structures existence and yet susceptible to change and the transition toward a new form of modernity that respects traditional values and ways of life while at the same time embracing diversity.

#### 5.2.5 Political views

##### Signals of Hope...

The participants' answers to a question about how they see the current global crisis affecting the world and the future—environmentally, economically, and morally—reveals a moderate optimism, an attitude consistent with the Transmodern line of thought (Rodríguez, 1989). For example, Juan says: *"I am an optimist. I think we still have a chance for change. We will probably never again reach the height of wellness we reached in the past twenty years, but we do not need it! An economic model based on the construction industry has clearly demonstrated its instability, and in Spain and Andalucía that model has brought us to the present situation of social and economical crisis"*. Ivan is also positive: *"I am optimistic about the future. I think we still have many opportunities for change and to do things differently. The platforms are one of those opportunities. They are helping to produce a shift in consciousness and I could see a small change that will become bigger!"* (Email communication, August 2010)

Jesus and Teresa, both deeply involved in politics, go even further: *"People like us who believe in revolutions could not do it without believing in possibilities of change. The world is not unidirectional. It does not always move in the same direction. It jumps and goes in different directions. History is full of jumps and new ways of doing things"*. (Interview, August 2010)

### **...not in Politics**

Despite the general moderate optimism among the respondents, however, they are clearly disillusioned with politics, especially with politicians and authorities. For them as for most Cultural Creatives, reality is not just black or white anymore, nor right or left, nor progressive or conservative. People can take progressive *and* conservative positions, as they are currently understood, without falling into ambiguity or incoherence. (Ray and Anderson, 2000). At the same time, it is important to point out that despite their critical analysis and negative vision of politics, few of them show an interest in politics and activism like Jesus and Teresa, which for them is the only way to enact change.

The respondents' political activity and backgrounds were explored through several questions about their political preferences, involvement in politics and how they see the future. They try to keep abreast of politics, but do not care especially much about it. Most respondents say they always voted for left-wing parties out of conviction and tradition, but today they are disenchanted with politics, and particularly with politicians. The failure of the socialists (currently in power in the Spanish Government) to fulfill many of their hopes has brought a harvest of political cynicism. They represent a new society which does not see many differences between the current right and left. Traditionally, most of the participants have preferred the left parties but opinion today do not care if the government is run by one party—all are slaves of corporations and will just try to take advantages of their position.

Maria Jesus says: *"I always voted for the left, but I am really upset with the Socialist and Communist Parties. They are no longer what they were in the past. However, I cannot see any alternative party I can identify with. So, I am becoming more and more conformist"*(Interview, July 2010).

However, Javi still thinks that left-parties will always have higher levels of ecological consciousness, so for him they are the best political option (Email communication, September 2010).

Iñaki says: *"After many years of always being politically positioned to the left, at present I am upset with politics in general. I am now with whoever is the best manager, and makes me feel safe. Politic does not move us as it did in the past"*. Santi responds in the same vein: *"I am very upset with politics. When the economy is good, important social policies arrive, then you can really find differences between left and right. But when the crisis appears, everyone is the*

same. *I prefer the left, but I think the difference is more conceptual than real*" (Interview, August 2010).

Out of all the participants interviewed, Jesus and Teresa are the most involved in politics. They started when they were very young. They considered themselves leftist activists. They do not understand the world without trying to change it. They want to do it from a revolutionary point of view. They do not want to introduce changes in capitalism but to remove it. For them the crisis is being paid by the people who aren't responsible for it. It is the result of a model that they define with the Spanish proverb: "*Pan para hoy, hambre para mañana*" (Bread for today, hunger for tomorrow), meaning that a short term model does not take into account the future.

There are positive signs of movement and actions among the civil society but for Jesus: *"There are still important weaknesses in social and political movements...people prefer to be involved in small social projects rather than to actively participate in real politics"*. He also notes *"how difficult it was few years ago to talk to other people about anti-capitalism. Everybody had their second house and could even make profits renting it. Everybody wanted a piece of the cake that had limits but no one wanted to think about. In the current situation of economic crisis, people seem to be closer to reality. They now have more awareness and are more receptive to new ideas"*. Jesús continues to strike the same note: *"People are still not very motivated to be proactive and move to act...when we refer to politics we do not speak about management systems but how to change things, and people do not always understand this. Moreover, politicians have a very bad public image. There is an increasing lack of confidence and delegitimization of politicians. We are in a difficult situation, and for that reason we can't stop. We need to move into real politics and take an active position. In the current crisis situation there is a big space left for the "upsets" and it will be covered by the one (political party) which move faster. Look at what happened in The Netherlands with the ultra-right party ....we always need to be faster and arrive there before them!"* (Interview, August 2010).

### 5.3 Activism

The movement against the tourism project in El Palmar is represented by two organizations: "Plataforma Salvar el Palmar. PELP!" (Save El Palmar Platform. PELP!) and "Salvar El Palmar: Paisaje Protegido" (*Save El Palmar: Protected Area*). For simplicity's sake, both are identified as *the platforms* and analysed as just one *social movement*.

Everyone that is part of the groups on Facebook or have signed against the project, including online, is for the aim of this research an activist with the platforms. They are part of the social movement created in El Palmar.

The platforms of El Palmar could be part of what Paul Hawken identifies as “the movement”. They are two more to add to what he estimates at two millions of organizations from all around the world “dedicated to creating the conditions for life, conditions that include livelihood, food, security, peace, a stable environment and freedom from external tyranny” (Hawken, 2007: 68).

The members of the platforms interviewed are activists that voluntarily give their support to a cause. They think there are better alternatives for the development of the area than the tourism project that the authorities have planned. On some level they are aware that the only way to change anything is through personal involvement. For different reasons as, however—money limitations, time restrictions or just other priorities—this is not always translated into real movement. This fact shows again how the complexity of the current times makes it difficult to translate transmodern theories into practice, or good intentions into real actions. Notwithstanding, their profile could be still close to the paradigm of the Cultural Creatives (Ray and Anderson, 2000)

As described in the methodological chapter, during the semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted I asked questions about: the relation of the participants to the platforms and the project; their motivations for joining the movement; the activities in which they have participated; and their relationships with other members. The information from these interviews, plus what is extracted from other stakeholders and observations help to characterize the movement and the conflict in relation to previous studies about social movements and collective acts of resistance against tourism. The studies done by Kousis (2000 and 2004) are very useful to compare similarities and differences between the El Palmar’ case and the ones analyzed by the author.

### 5.3.1 These “crazy ecologists”...

Today any “alternative” view outside the mainstream tends to be grouped in one box and the general term used is “anti-globalization movements” or “anti-system”. Something similar is happening with the movement in El Palmar. The platforms against the project

are labeled by locals, authorities and media as environmental movements and their members as ecologists.

Environmental responsibility and ecological consciousnesses are the main motivations for most of the activists, but many of them just hope that the area continues to be an oasis of tranquility on the overdeveloped Spanish coastline, which in their opinion is its main attraction for tourists. This sums up the feelings of Iñiqui and Arantxa. They express their motivations for being part of the platform as their love for the beach and the desire to keep how it is, since will be more *"beautiful and nice"*. They explain that this is the reason why they choose El Palmar not just as a tourist destination but as a place for a second residence as well (*Interview, August*) 2010. These diverse but always strong personal values can be seen as one more piece of evidence of transmodernity.

Juan says that *"the motivations to join were my conscience, my own Dharma. As a Hindú would say, 'My responsibility to me, to the others and to the planet.'"*(Email communication, September 2010)

Ivan explains that in his opinion what the members have in common is something *"very beautiful: consciousness with the environment, and the motivation to fight against the 'brick' that is the cause of the destruction of our coast."* (Email communication, September 2010)

Lola: *"Preserve the nature how it is. I consider myself an ecological activist, naturalist and geographer. All my life I have taught environmental sciences. To work in ecological issues is a way of life. I cannot live without it"* (Interview, September 2010).

For Lola V. the motives are mainly personal and about feelings: *"I do not know too much about the project, but it make me sad that it [the beach] will be no longer be what it was in the past. For me this place means a lot...[starts to cry]...I just go walking along the seashore from El Pajaro Verde Hotel to Conil and I just feel happy. In a bad moment of my life it helped me a lot. I just relate it with happiness. As far as I know the project will be exactly in this area so it will never be the same".* (Interview, September 2010)

Jesus and Teresa have been regular visitors to El Palmar since they were very young, so their reasons for joining the platforms are first personal, but also social: they think the system has to be changed and you need to act to achieve this. *"There is a need for an ideological, political and social fight. They [the authorities] have sacrificed public space and patrimony to make rich just a few people. It is again to fail in the same point, to make the*

*same mistake, to believe again in the construction as the solution, but...definitively, it is an obsolete model" (Interview with Jesus, August 2010).*

Antonio, who is very involved in the platform, and from the beginning has been very active on the board of one of them, describes the conflict as *"a game, a fantasy, a challenge, because it is David against Goliaths. Could it be that this time the citizens beat the system?" (Interview, July 2010).*

### 5.3.2 Cyberactivism

When asking the participants about how they became acquainted with the platforms, all of them answered that it was either directly through Facebook or an email encouraging them to join the cause on the social network. This is just one more example of the new forms of organization of social movements grounded in new information and communication technologies (ICT), not to mention the importance of the internet for activism and social change. Paul Hawken refers to this in *Blessed Unrest*: "The new technologies of internet media are one of the main allies for the movement, a power that multiplies every day and extends beyond cultural, sector and geographical borders" (Hawken, 2007:191). It is also the expression of what Rosa Maria Rodriguez Magda describes as a world in constant transformation based not just on the transnational phenomena but on the primacy of the capacity to transmit information in real time—a world where universal truth is found on the Net. (1989; 1997;2004). Large scale demonstrations—against the World Bank, G7 or World Trade Organization meetings, for example, or the Iraq War, and of course the recent social revolutions in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia—would not have been possible to organize without these social movements and technologies, or at least would have been much more difficult without them. To face the big, corporate interests, the main and sometimes only resource for social movements is information. If it is spread strategically and complemented with traditional articulations such as demonstrations, information and knowledge can efficiently trigger social change processes (Silva Machado, 2004).

In the case of El Palmar, the movement was born on Facebook. Tatiana, the current president of PELP (one of the Platforms against the tourism project in El Palmar), tells how everything got started: *"I read the news [about the tourism project in El Palmar] in a local newspaper and I got really angry, so I decided to create a Facebook group about it.*

*Suddenly a lot of people started to contact me...the next day there were almost 2.000 people in the group". The group continued growing and in a few months more than 50.000 people had joined to the different virtual networks that have been created against the tourism project. To date there are already more than 100.000 people. It is difficult to say with one-hundred percent certainty, but it is likely that without Facebook the case of El Palmar would probably never have gained the attention that it has. Lola recognizes the important role of Internet but for her there are other reasons that explain this outpouring of support. "The global crisis is making people value more what we have," she says. "People are starting to be more active. It is true that before we had no media like Facebook, but nevertheless I do not think so many people will mobilize to protect an unknown little lost beach in the south". (Interview, July 2010)*

The number of members in the platforms is growing every day; the activity on their pages is constant. There is not a single day that they are not updated with news, discussions, comments, events, videos or photos. This dynamism would be difficult without internet. For Tatiana it is a daily routine: *"I am unemployed. I just do that when I wake up in the morning. The first thing I do is open my computer with something about the platform and the last think I do before going to bed is to close the computer with something about the platform on it". (Interview, September 2010).*

### **5.3.3 Activism more complex than just "clicking"**

Although the platform has carried out various important activities in the field, as I will explain in the following section, it is clear that not just the origin but the base of the movement is in the Internet, where the support is most visible. It is impossible to deny the importance of ICT in social movements. For example, today the Internet is spreading news at unreal speeds to every corner of the world, but still many claim that it is not enough to generate significant social changes. In other words, off-line activism is also critical and needed. To support a cause through the internet often you need only click with your mouse or leave a digital signature, and this can end up being very revolutionary and even produce an effect on real-world events. A real movement needs to do more than just declare its intentions; it must have organization, social mobilizations, dialogues with other stakeholders and activism in the field. If something moves people's "inside", it should also move their "outside". With true, well-informed activism people should defend nature,



animals, children and every cause that deserves a “click” with real-world engagement, and not just in the virtual realm (Cordova, 2010).

The Mayor of El Palmar, local representatives and others project promoters think that most of the platforms members who are giving their support on different webpages do not know enough about the town. They also believe that much of this support will just remain on the net and not translate into the reality. (Interview September 2010)

A diverse set of reasons could explain why the platforms are not more active in reality. Most of the participants are from outside EL Palmar, so time and logistics is a common theme in their explanations for low involvement in the platforms. Although they are willing to collaborate to defend El Palmar, work, family and other obligations are priorities for them. Only Tatiana, young unemployed, has fully dedicated herself to PELP.

#### **a) Fear, pessimism and different grades of personal involvement**

Informants also sight fear as one of the main reasons why the platforms doesn't have more support. This is seen especially with local people, in particular those who own properties or business there. The “difficult” situation of the area relative to documentation, permissions and legality causes concern among people who worry about the consequences that supporting the platforms could have for them.

Antonio is not from El Palmar but he runs a business there renting rural tourist apartments. *“I arrived here three years ago,”* he says. *“The first two years were very quiet, without any problems. Since I started my involvement with the platform, I have had the authorities here two times requesting every kind of documentation from me. They just want to intimidate and fight for something that we consider fair”* (Interview, July 2010).

A similar case occurred the day of a gathering-demonstration on the beach when a group of local people showed their support for the Platform. Monica recalls that *“there were some waiters from one of the bars in El Palmar that were wearing the platform's t-shirt [with the legend Save El Palmar on it], and suddenly they decided not to wear it anymore because the police came to their place asking for documentation of the business. This is what I call a coercion, and at the least seems ugly to me”* (Interview, July 2010).

On the internet matters are different. These obstacles and barriers do not exist. The anonymity the net allows facilitates a sense that everybody can feel free to express their opinion. For this reason Tatiana believes there are many locals who support the platform online. They give their signature against the project and with some of them she has even talked on the telephone. They know their first or nicknames but does that is all. They prefer not to give more personal information.

The Mayor of El Palmar, Antonio Verdú, sees things differently: *"They are cowards with Taliban attitudes and totalitarian. Even if you sit with them and explain to them everything with papers again and again, they do not want to see and understand anything. Even taking them by the hand, they do not care. They are like "donkeys", they do not see anything, but they like to hand out pamphlets where there are insults. Of course they do it anonymously because they are afraid if I decide report it to the police"* (Interview, September 2010).

Like the Mayor, others promoters of the project and some locals consider the platforms members outsiders unaware of local needs and problems, or romantics that with their immobilist ideas are hindering the development of the area. While we must keep in mind the unique aspects of each case and historical moment, we can find important similarities and the origin of this social movement of El Palmar more than two hundred years ago in England, when in one form or another 75% of the world population was enslaved. As Paul Hawken writes, "In 1787 a dozen people began meeting in a small print shop in London to abolish the lucrative slave trade. They were reviled and dismissed by businessmen and politicians. It was argued that their crackpot ideas would bring down the English economy, eliminate growth and jobs, cost too much money, and lower the standard of living. Critics also pointed out that abolition was being promoted by a small group of self-appointed troublemakers and extremists who had no expertise in trade or commerce." Today slavery is illegal worldwide. This was just the beginning of a movement that may seem scattered or overambitious but influenced the fall of governments, businesses and local leaders (Hawken, 2007: 24). Setting aside the big differences, interesting analogies could be found with that movement and the one in El Palmar.

The construction of the macro-hotel in El Palmar has yet to start and that the latest developments show the difficulties in finding more companies that want to participate in the project. Despite of that, most of the participants know that it is quite advanced and that it has the support of the Government, so some people believe the issue is a lost battle, allowing pessimism to flourish amongst the platform members. This could be the reason why they have decided not to participate more actively. This echoes Jesus's view. Speaking

from his involvement in previous similar cases, *"Maybe there is a defeatist feeling (among the platform members) and it is always an obstacle in order to articulate any kind of response"* (Interview, August 2010). On the other hand, there are also those that say that they will never stop, even if the construction starts, or even if the hotel finally is built. These hardliners always refer to El Algarrobico case. As mentioned before (see 2.4), in that case, the activists did not stop fighting even after the hotel was built and now the Court of Justice has ruled in favor of the activists and the hotel will not open.

*"We won't stop and we are ready to carry out any possible activities, such chaining ourselves to or standing in front of the construction tracks even though it can be paid for with a night in jail"* (Lola, interview July 2011).

*"I'll continue till I can't anymore. If I destroy my sandals I'll walk barefoot"* (Juan, email communication in August 2011).

Tatiana says: *"It is consuming money and time, but there has not been any moment when I have said it is not worth it. They will never make me bored. Some of my colleagues get angry, discourage. For me it's the opposite. When I see something in the news about the project or the platform it just motivates me more"* (interview, September 2011).

As is seen in this next batch of quotes (below), there are others unwilling to go so far. If before the reason was the fear of possible consequences for business or in one's personal life, now the causes are such issues as money and/or time restrictions, or just a matter of priorities. These people recognize the negative impact that the tourism project could have on the area and they are against it, they prefer other development options for El Palmar, but for most of them it is something that is not going to force a big change on their lives. Family, friends and money are their first priority. It is part of the humanity complexity, although there are many signs of positive new values emerging in society. Still a further motivation is needed for them to take part in transforming reality.

Alvaro, for example, says: *"We are a bit far from the problem. We don't want the changes but at the same time we are not really worried because we think it will not affect us, first because it will be placed far enough from where we are, and second because I think the real consequences will come only after 20 years, a long time, so we will continue enjoying it in the same way"* (Interview, September 2010). This answer is another sign of the complexity and multiple paradoxes of transmodernity. Looking at their lifestyle and values, and their consumer profile, people like Alvaro could be identified as Cultural Creatives, yet at the

same time they show signs of individualism, egoism or a myopic view. These tendencies present contradictions to other declared values.

Santi and Olga believe they are too old for activism. Moreover they think that the immobilism is not the best alternative and they do not understand exactly what the platforms suggest *"We want the El Palmar to stay like it is now but we know it is not possible and there are important necessities there. We joined them not just for curiosity but empathy because a friend of ours was really involved in it...Our relationship with the platform is totally passive"* (Interview, August 2010).

Pepe often visits the beach to engage in his favorite sports, surfing. When he is asked about his dedication to the platform, he admits that despite his following the case through internet, he would still like to be more active and helpful. He offers himself for *"everything he could help with. For example to spread the message and motivate more people to join"* (Email communication, September 2010).

Cecilia propose to organize informative sessions in adjacent provinces such as Córdoba or Jaen to help the people from outside get to know the case and the campaigns of the movement, and to facilitate their involvement (Interview, September 2010). Lola V., who, like many other platform members has the problem of living in another town, says, *"I love the place but my laziness is the main constraint to be more active and I feel ashamed of that"* (Interview, September 2010).

### **b) Limited experience**

To continue with a critique of the platforms, one could identify the limited experience of the participants as another weakness. Although motivation, conviction and willpower are very important and valuable in order to achieve the objectives of the movement, no less important are capacities for interpersonal relations, group management and leadership skills. Members such as Lola have a long and prominent history in the ecologist movement. Others such as Guada and Juan were are part of other social movements and have been involved in different protests before. Monica, Teresa y Jesus also have previous experience, though their involvement has been more centered in the political arena. For the rest it can be said that this is their "baptism" in the world of activism.

According to Jesus *“they [platforms members] are people with intuitive good ideas to protect the territory but no kind of previous militancy in similar cases of organizations”* (Interview, August 2010).

This is the case for Tatiana and Antonio but both are on the board of the platforms and form part of the most active group. These potential weaknesses are hoping to be countered with the support of other organizations such as Greenpeace, Ecologists in Action, Clean Ocean Project, as well as small political parties, neighborhood associations and other platforms with similar ideas and interests. The community-based character of the social movements in this kind of conflict helps to create a network between groups that had most likely never before contacted each other but and who together can collaborate to strengthen their respective potentials. As the platforms of El Palmar illustrate, support of this kind of causes comes primarily from environmental organizations (both national and local representation) (Kousis, 2000).

### **c) Platforms far from locals?**

Guada was born in Vejer and from a very young age has gone to El Palmar. She thinks that *“the main problem [of the platform] could be its intellectual character. In my opinion they need to be closer to the neighbors and organize more actions for/with them”* (Interview, August 2010).

This hits again on a characteristic already discussed: the majority of the people involved in the movements created against the tourism project are not from El Palmar, nor Vejer, and the few that are involved are not on the board or among the most active members. The residents believe that it is not possible to give an informed, valid opinion when you are not living in the town during the year to have a true understanding of the place and its situation.

For Carlos, who has signed against the project, the platform has not reached the local people because it is guided by outsiders: *“People do not perceive it as something close and familiar. It is very beautiful and easy to come and give your opinion about the others when you have a flat or house in Madrid or wherever. It is different when the others are the one who give their opinion about your stuff. As in everything there is a bit of the demagogic”* (Interview September, 2010)

The participants interviewed admit that the locals' voice has to be listened to first, but at the same time they believe that as regular visitors in love with the area, they also have the right to express their opinions. Moreover, they argue that if one takes into account the fact that the conflict is about tourism development, they as tourist are the main "consumers" and their wishes should play an important role in the future of the zone.

Jesus takes this view even further, claiming that the people from El Palmar believe they are the only ones that have rights to the beach: *"It is not true that just locals can decide. It is a discourse that came from the ecologist movement. Is Brazil the owner of The Amazon or does it belongs to human patrimony? The future generation, the ones who are going to suffer the consequences, does not play any role? But I understand is not that easy. Of course you have to decide in real time and with concrete administration"*. Locals and global interests should find equilibrium; this is what Rodriguez Magda in *Transmodernidad* (2004) calls "glocalization".

#### **d) Economic restrictions**

And lastly there are the economical problems. As already mentions, good intentions are not enough. The movement's economic situation is one of its main limitations to have a greater impact. *"Money is the main restriction. For everything you do you have to pay. The flag [the one made for the demonstration] was 50 Euros, then the sound system rental for the events, or the t-shirts (made for supporting the cause), which are not easy to sell. All the money came from us; the NGOs that are helping us are not doing it directly with money. For example, Greenpeace helps us to collect signatures, and Clean Ocean Project provisionally lent us their bank account till we can open one. We are now in the process of legalization as an association"* (Monica, interview July, 2010).

The Mayor thinks the activists are a minority group but recognizes that they have a strong influence on the internet, gaining economic support from somewhere. He says: *"There are just 3 or 4 people who have been using Facebook and emails to convince people...But maybe they are receiving money from someone because I cannot understand how they are launching these brochures with such high quality. That is impossible even for the city council because is very expensive. Behind it there are dark, strange things. But seriously, it is not worth it. I do not want to lose any more minutes of my time with it. I would like to attend to*

*what is truly important, the village, and forget about the people who do not care about what we doing or are going to do. What is important for them are their own interests, their own wellbeing, or their own way of thinking” (Interview-field work, September 2010).*

#### **5.3.4 Actions in the field**

Since the movement started in El Palmar in 2009, alongside their actions on the internet the platforms have carried out diverse activities. The most active members have organized meeting with different objectives: to meet each other, to plan future actions, collect signatures or hand out informative brochures (as they were doing last August in Conil when I was there doing field work).

Most of the members did not know each other before; their first encounters were over the internet. By the end of December they decided to have an informal meeting in El Palmar to meet each other personally and define the bases of the movement.

*“They call me, I was not really into Facebook. By the end of December we met in El Palmar. It was fantastic, and we started to work, especially those who are here. There was not connection before with any of them. Then I presented the platforms to Ecologist in Action and it was very good. We (Ecologist in Action) are in favor of taking part in social movements. We like to go in every puddle!” (Lola, interview July 2010).*

*“It was a meeting of the most active elements. There were around 9 of the most active people that did not know each other. We came here [to Antonio’s house] on December 30<sup>th</sup> to decide what to do. It took 8 hours! There was a very good energy there. We decided a bit how the communication campaign would be and come up with the idea of the demonstration on the beach. Since then we have had more meetings. I have made very good friends” (Antonio, interview July 2010).*

In the field, informative workshops were also carried out. The one they held in March for the residents was very important (explained in the last chapter). Representatives from the different administrations and authorities were also invited. It was organized by the platform board and the call was made on the internet (mainly Facebook and emails). The result was very positive for the platform due to Tatiana. It helped the local community get to know itself better: people’s claims, motivations, opinions and doubts. She was surprised



by the fact that locals were particularly worried about their own problems (such as: life conditions or public infrastructures and services) but did not seem to care much about the employment problems. In her opinion, they are confused because they think that the tourism project will bring improvements they are demanding for the area, when in reality these are rights they already have as citizens. The members of the platform interviewed believe that this is being used unfairly to blackmail El Palmar residents who, due to their difficult situation, will say yes to everything.

*"Most of the locals do not want the Hotel. They say yes when they are in public, but that day [of the workshop] after the Concejal [a representative from the local government] went away we were chatting with them and they told us that they do not want the Hotel. 'We are the 4<sup>th</sup> generation and we know it can destroy El Palmar, but it will be welcomed if is sure that is going to bring us light and water!'...I am personally with the Zero Growth but I understand that development is needed. The locals need the basic services and they are in the right to have it" (Tatiana, Interview September 2010).*

Jesus, drawing on his experience in political activism, says: *"There is no democratic decision when there is blackmail"* (Interview, August 2010) The use of jobs and economic compensation is not new in this kind of conflict (see Kousis, 2000).

Despite the locals from El Palmar not being involved in the platforms and not being the main target group of this research, it is still important to comment on how the origin of their claims are in line with the findings of Kousis (In Boissevain and Selwyn, 2004). In *Marine and Coastal Issues in Local Environment Conflict: Greece, Spain and Portugal*, she concludes that waste disposal, construction and extraction-related activities are the main reasons for protests in rural regions and are different from urban areas where the claims are about land transport, traffic problems, and construction. People just want an improvement of their life conditions. Again, these people together with the platforms members can be contextualized under the umbrella of transmodernity defined by Marc Ghisi (2001). They belong to the post-capitalist or what he calls "knowledge society." They go against the ongoing desire for economic development and material wealth, instead measuring progress by using quality of life as a barometer.

However, for participants like Pepe, the motivations that the "Palmareños" (locals from El Palmar) have for supporting the tourism project are more economic than anything else. In his opinion, for the locals the hotels means more tourists, which will be translated into employment and, most importantly, money. *"They are desperate because they are losing*

*their traditional sources of incomes, fishing and the agriculture, and they see tourism as the solution”.*

With regard to activities the platforms have organized, it is important to talk about the gathering of April on the beach of El Palmar (explained in the previous chapter). It is to date the most relevant event, with the highest number of participants, and with the biggest impact in the media. According to the media as well as the organizers, there were more than 400 people in attendance. The majority of the informants interviewed were there. *“We were in the gathering. I liked it very much. They installed a natural stage in the beach close to the tower. Different bands were playing. You could also find people there from the platform and some famous people!”* (M.Jesús, Interview July 2010).

The Mayor had a different recollection about this event when I interviewed him in September 2010: *“When they have done the protest, they build their circus there on the beach. Then there were not more than four people there. Moreover they went with their dogs, they made a barbeque, they have finished the event and have left all their garbage there, including the dogs’ excrement. How are we going to attend to the demands of these people when they are the first that are showing that they are irresponsible people?”*

The gathering is for many of the informants the only action “off-line” that they have participated in. For many of them, the activity of the platform this past summer were less than what they were expecting. For example, Santi thinks that they have lost a very good opportunity to spread the word and promote the cause. It is in summer when more tourists visit El Palmar and when the platform should be more active. Like him, many others think that more activities should be organized out in the field, and yet at the same time, and for different reasons, they do not take the step and act.

#### **e) Who carries the responsibility?**

Kousis has written that private companies and the State, followed by local and regional authorities, are the ones challenged most in local environmental conflicts (Kousis in Boissevain and Selwyn , 2004). In her study *Tourism and the Environment. A Social Movements Perspective* (2000), she also concludes that even though the left (usually communist- and socialist-oriented) and green (environment-focused) politicians participate in these mobilizations more often than right-oriented ones, it is the

combination of all political parties (from right to left inclusively) what appear the most, in the analyzed cases, as movement participants or supporters.

In El Palmar first the local Government and then the Junta de Andalucía (Andalusia Autonomous Government) are giving approval to continue with the project. As such, they are the ones that are challenged the most. In both governmental bodies, the PSOE (Socialist Party) has the majority but in Vejer the opposition forces are now targets of the protests as well, because both PP (People's Party, center right) and IU (United Left) are also supporting the project. It is important to note that Gaspar Llamazares, a leader of IU in the national Government, brought the case to the Spanish Parliament and Raul Romeva, a representative of the member of Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (Green Party from Catalonia), did the same but to the European Parliament. Although further research is needed to make conclusions relative to which parties do or don't support the protests, it seems that, at the very least, at a local level the political identity of the parties does not appear to play a significant role. In contrast, collaboration coming from outside of the Vejer's borders is always from lefties parties. A part of the support shown for the two leaders mentioned before we can chalk up to the compromise by the Ant capitalist Left Party from Cádiz, the party to which our informants Jesus and Teresa belong, and others such as the Green Party from Cádiz.

Tatiana says: *"In this conflict there are different parties responsible. First the local authorities, not just the current government but all the political parties. Thanks to them and their support the project is going on. The Junta of Andalusia is not able to have a long term visions. They are not just allowing this project but bigger ones. The construction companies are doing what they have to, that is, tring to make profits"* (Email Communication, July 2010).

Juan says: *"The Junta de Andalucía is allowing that (the tourism project). A Mayor can always suggest something crazy but the Junta de Andalucía should do its business and protect the last natural space that we have on our coast. They should take care of it, love it as the economic future of the region"* (Email Communication, September, 2010).

The need to stimulate the local economy of the Palmar beach was an issue identified by all the interviewees, but conflicts over strategies to reach goals arose between the Platform's members, the local government and locals. While authorities (represented by the Mayor in the survey done) clearly believe that the macro-hotel construction is the only way to bring job opportunities and the improvement in services and infrastructure needed by the local community, Platforms'members are firmly convinced that this is a strategically political

error, as it has been the case in many other beach locations in Southern Spain. Tatiana, Lola, Monica and Antonio, four of the most active members of the platforms, insist on the fact that EL Palmar is one of the last places left on the whole Andalusian coastline that isn't entirely built up. For them it is incredible to think—after what has been done everywhere else—that the same mistake will be made again. An interesting issue which also arises from the interviews and the data analysis it is that the Palmar has been selected by the activists because of its immediacy. They all recognize that there are similar problems elsewhere in the Andalusian Coast, but they started organizing once the Palmar project was announced by newspapers and other media. They stand firm in their dedication keep fighting against the project, even if the construction starts one day. Activists recognize that the value of the Internet and especially tools such as Facebook, but also realize that real actions in the street are still needed to fight against authorities and gain more the supporters among the local community.

## 6 Conclusion:

In this final chapter, a summary with the conclusion of this thesis and recommendations for further research will be presented.

### 6.1 Main conclusions

The final objective of the research conducted was to understand more about the conflict surrounding tourism development in El Palmar (Cádiz, Spain), especially having to do with the platforms created against a tourism project promoted by local authorities. This future project includes two large hotels which will increase the tourism capacity of the destination by more than 1.300 people. It will starkly transform what is considered to be one of the last unspoiled coastlines left in Spain. A special emphasis has been placed on investigation of the characteristics of this social movement and its origins, including the lifestyles, values, motivations and consumer/tourist preferences of its members. The general goal was to find more evidence of the paradigm shift toward transmodernity in order to locate the activists involved as key agents for the change in the so-called new, transmodern world.

For decades the Spanish coast has been the object of mass tourism. At the beginning, these tourist masses were always more than welcome and were considered guests and providers of wealth. The number of tourists, and tourism-related business, has not stopped increasing. As earlier explained, the results, however, are not just economic development, employment opportunities and better infrastructure—tourism affects local communities, cultures and environments. Tourism is no longer seen as just an innocent pleasure or simple economic development tool. There is a growing awareness of the way tourism affects the environment, societies and cultures, so as each new day passes it is increasingly common to find cases of people starting to react against tourism-related projects and activities.

One of the peculiarities that makes this case different and more interesting than many others is the fact that it is mainly tourists who are reacting against the project in El Palmar. As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, often tourists are framed in “responsible tourism” literature as the cause of the “problem,” in terms of the environmental, economic and social impact of their activities. In this study, the

tourists, who constitute the majority of the platforms, are analyzed not as the problem but as potentials agents for change toward a “better world”. After the analysis and discussion of the data collected during my field work, it is clear to me that the main protagonists of the current “battle” in El Palmar are a small group of people who don’t live in El Palmar or the surrounding area. They have a variety of personal motivations, including a being part of a growing global consciousness, for dedicating much of their time to protecting a remote beach in the south of Spain.

Diversity is one of the characteristic of this social movement, differences are also common among the platform members, the paradoxes found are many and the sample studied is limited. But despite of all that, it can be carefully concluded that as individuals, but also as a group, they can be contextualized as part of a new subculture and protagonists of the current social change that various authors claim to be happening nowadays. The results of this research show that there are common patterns among the protagonists of the platforms, such as their lifestyle and values, tourist preferences and socio-political involvement and activism. These patterns situate them neatly inside the definition of Cultural Creatives.

The participants interviewed have preferences for outdoorsy and cultural activities, and dedicate much of their time and energy to the maintenance and development of personal relationships. In general they are careful and critical consumers, not just of information but of the products and services they consume, including, of course, the touristic ones. The individual responses to the questions related to tourist preferences and the reasons for choosing El Palmar as a tourism destination reveal a passionate commitment to keep El Palmar beach and its coastal waters clean. They consider themselves responsible visitors when travelling, they like to escape from traditional mass tourism destinations, and they do not go for package tours, big resorts, or cruises. Not just during their holidays but in their everyday life participants are considered “foodies”, which is to say, they enjoy eating, cooking and talking about food.

A deeper study is needed to see how their preferences and intentions are translated into their everyday life decisions, and how far they are willing to go with their values when having the opportunity to consume organic, local, eco-, responsible, natural or fair trade products. Authenticity is also an important requirement for some of them, although this concept is always nebulous and open to their own interpretations.

When asked about how they faced the current global crisis, the participants replied with general, moderate optimism, an attitude consistent with the transmodern line of thought. Among the respondents, however, there was clearly disillusionment with politics, especially with politicians and authorities. For them, as for most Cultural Creatives, reality is not just black or white anymore, nor right or left, nor progressive or conservative. Traditionally, most of the participants have preferred the left parties but today do not care if the government is run by one party or another—all are slaves of corporations and will just try to take advantage of their position. People can take progressive and conservative positions, as they are currently understood, without falling into ambiguity or incoherence.

As discussed in Chapter 5, differences and contradictions are also found among the participants, providing evidence of the complexity of human beings. Although there are many similarities overlaps with Cultural Creatives and the transmodern line of thought, as well as signs of positive changes of values and an emerging global consciousness, many participants' quotes reveal that these beliefs are not always reflected in reality. Money, time and different priorities in life are some of the things that get in the way.

Taking this critical analysis further, it is important to emphasize that the interests of the respondents vis-à-vis cultural activities (concerts, cinema, expositions...), natural related activities and more responsible consumption (eco-, local, authentic...) do not always correspond with a high awareness and conscientiousness towards environmental protection and sustainability. When consuming—and travelling—respondents try to differentiate themselves from the “mass” and thus create status and reputation. A vast majority of those interviewed—as new tourists to El Palmar and other destinations—seem to be looking to establish their social class identity and engaging in a competition for uniqueness. The construction of a large resort such as the one planned, and the arrival of new tourists, could mean a threat to them and their socially constructed identities.

Furthermore, despite the lack of facilities and services, El Palmar beach is in general a more expensive destination as compared to other Spanish beaches. Most respondents find El Palmar very attractive because of the incredible natural beauty of the beach, together with its unspoiled rural landscape. They would like El Palmar to be preserved as it is now, providing them an opportunity to experience more primitive ways of living. Local people do not share that desire. The locals want better living conditions in



El Palmar and many of them support the municipal tourism project because they see it as a solution for development and growth. They consider the activists egoists concerned only with their own interests in summer pleasure. The locals insist they should stay for a full winter in the town in order to have a more informed opinion.

It is difficult to know the true, individual motives of each platform member. But it is clear to me that it is the existence of an increasing global consciousness among them that makes them believe in better alternatives for the development of the area than the mass tourism project planned by authorities—and they are ready to act on these beliefs. It could be argued that tourism is also shifting towards transmodernity and could thereby have an important impact in assisting societies and citizens in the transition towards this new paradigm. This sentiment echoes as Ghisi (2006), as well as Gelter, who writes: “The essence of transmodernity means being for something – i.e. taking active action towards sustainability and interconnectedness” (Gelter, 2008:2). This is precisely what the activist members of the platforms are trying to do. Those interviewed are activists voluntarily giving their support to a cause. On some level they are aware that the only way to change anything is through personal involvement. For reasons as different as money limitations, time restrictions, fear, limited experience, pessimism, or just other priorities, however, this is not always translated into real movement. This fact shows again how the complexity of the current times makes it difficult to translate transmodern theories into practice, or good intentions into real actions.

Public demonstrations and gatherings; workshops and meetings with neighbors and other stakeholders; signature collections and information campaigns—these are some of the activities that the platforms have carried out in El Palmar and the surrounding area. But is still on the Internet where they have not just their origins but also their strongest presence and dynamism. It is one more example of the new forms of organization of social movements grounded in new information and communication technologies (ICT). The importance of the internet is clear, not just in this case of activism and social change but in general. A quick scan of large-scale articulations and demonstrations which would not have been possible to organize without these new social technologies makes this point all too clear: World Bank, G7 or World Trade Organization meetings; against the Iraq War; the recent social revolutions in the “Arab world”; and the rapid, global reactions to disasters in Haiti and Japan.

In order to face powerful actors such as large hotel chain and/or authorities, social movements have as their main resource—and sometimes their only one—information. Today the Internet is spreading news at unreal speeds to every corner of the world, but still many claim that it is not enough to effect significant social changes. In other words, this new Cyberactivism or Activism 2.0 is very important, but the traditional “off-line” activism is also critical and necessary. To support a cause through the internet often you need only click with your mouse or leave a digital signature and this can end up being very revolutionary and even produce a real-life impact effect. A real movement needs to do more than just declare its intentions; it must have organization, social mobilizations, dialogues with other stakeholders and activism in the field.

The need to stimulate the local economy of the Palmar beach was an issue identified by all the interviewees, but conflicts over strategies to reach goals arose between the platforms members, the local government and locals. While authorities (represented by the Mayor in the survey done) clearly believe that the macro-hotel construction is the only way to bring job opportunities and the improvement in services and infrastructure needed by the local community, platforms members are firmly convinced that this is a grave error, as it has been the case in many other beach locations in Southern Spain. The most active members of the platforms insist on the fact that EL Palmar is one of the last places left on the whole Andalusian coastline that isn't entirely built up. For them it is unbelievable to think—after what has been done everywhere else—that the same mistake will be made again. They stand firm in their dedication to keep fighting against the project, even if the construction starts one day. For authorities, some locals and other project promoters, the platforms members are people from outside who do not know El Palmar and its development needs. They also resist importance of the platform's presence on the Internet because, in their opinion, it is exaggerated by the ease of “virtual enrolment” and cannot be translated into real activism and mobilization.

## 6.2 Scope for further research

Transmodernity is a relatively new concept in literature and few empirical studies have been done about it. Although lately some authors are working in this line of study, more empirical analysis is still needed, especially in the tourism field.

For future research about the specific case of El Palmar or similar ones, larger samples may help to build more evidence for the theory of the Cultural Creatives and the accompanying paradigm shift. In this vein, important to future research will be also to take further into consideration the local community members and other stakeholders.

The literature on tourism, environment and the role of non-governmental organizations and activist groups should be enriched with new research. It is important is to know more about similar cases of conflict in tourism, not just in Europe but all around the world. Details such as the conflict itself, motives, the groups involved, kinds of actions carried out and the tools and media used should also be examined in more depth.

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## *Appendices*

Appendix A: Interviews Questions Guideline

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Appendix C: Graphical Recreation of El Palmar Tourism Project -FITUR 2011-

## ***Appendix A: Interviews Questions Guideline***

### **EXAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR PLATFORM MEMBERS**

#### **Tourism preferences**

- do you like travelling? motivations?
- Where do you normally go for vacances? What do you like to do there?
- What is your idea about the perfect vacances?
- What are you looking for during your vacances?
- Criteria to choose a destination (cost, place, leisure options...)
- how do you do to plan your vacances?
- how/where do you spend your money during your vacances?
- Is the money a big restrction? How do you do to save money?
- Beach tourism? Rural tourism? Ecotourism? Community based tourism? Cultural tourism?Volunteer tourism?

#### **Relation with the area**

- How do you know El Palmar?
- have you been here before? how many times? For how long?
- where do you used to stay? Properties here?
- What do you do normally when you are in EL Palmar?
- In what do you usually spend your money in El Palmar?
- What do you know about the place and the sourronded area (environmental, socio-cultural, politic, economic context)?just a summary
- Do you know local people? How is your relation with them?

- Do you consider your self as a tourist here?
- what is the difference between “el Palmar” and other famous destination in the spanish Coast (Costa del Sol, Costa Brava, Mallorca...)? Why do you choose it as your destination?
- Do you feel different from the tourist that usally go there? In which sense?
- How do you define the people that usually visit el palmar? Are they similar to you? In which sense?

### **Relation with the tourism project**

- Do you know about the turist project in El Palmar? What do you know?
- What is your opinion about it?
- What did you do or what are you going to do to change it?
- What is your alternative development project?
- How would you like to see El Palmar in the future?
- Who is the main responsible for the current situation?
- In your opinion who should design the future of el Palmar?
- Could you understand people, specially local, supporting the project?

### **About the platform “Salvemos el Palmar”**

- what does the platform mean for you? What are they doing?
- What are the main motivations to be in? 3
- How did you meet them?
- Do you know who is in? Which kind of people? conection with other members?

Things in commun?

- Participation in activities organized by them? Your evaluation? ? What do you think is still needed to do?
- How do you think can you contribute more with them?

### **Lifestyle and values**

- How/where do you spend your free time and money?
- Do you like to listen radio/ watch tv/ internet? What do you do the most? What do you like to listen/watch or which kind of sites do you like to visit?
- Do you like to read? What?
- Do you like art? Which kind?
- As consumer (goods and services).. how much importance has the whole process (production? transport? Sustainability? Environmental friendly...?)
- would you pay more if you could know the money would go to clean up the environment/to stop global warming/ or child labour?
- Authenticity? What does it mean for you? How important is it for you when as consumer you make your choice?
- Are you involved in politics? What do you think about the government? Do you know who is in the local government? The regional?
- Do you like to travel abroad? Do you have foreign friends? Would you like to have more? Why?
- Do you think other party will do it better? Right? Left? Center or none?
- How much is affecting to you the recession? Do you usually have your finances under control and are not concerned about overspending?
- Optimist or pessimist when you talk about future? Possible to change it? How?

**Basic profile** (age,city, job/studies, occupation...)

## **EXAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR PROJECT DEVELOPERS**

### **(GOVERNMENT AND LOCALS)**

#### **Relation with the area**

- How do you know El Palmar?
- have you been here before? how many times? For how long?
- where do you use to stay? Properties here?
- What do you do normally when you are in EL Palmar?
- In what do you usually spend your money in El Palmar?
- What do you know about the place and the sourronded area (environmental, socio-cultural, politic, economic context)?
- Do you know local people? How is your relation with them?
- what is the difference between “el Palmar” and other famous destination in the Spanish Coast (Costa del Sol, Costa Brava, Mallorca...)?
- Why do you think people choose it as their destination?
- How do you define the people that usually visit el palmar?
- What is your opinion about the current situation of the tourism sector in El Palmar?

#### **About the macro tourism project**

- What do you know about the turism project in El Palmar?
- What is your opinion about it?
- Why do you think it is positive for the region?

- What are the main improvements that the project will bring to El Palmar?
- Who are going to be the main beneficiaries?
- Which is the difference between this tourism model and the mass tourism one offered along the Spanish coast?
- How sustainable is the project?
- How would you like to see El Palmar in the future?
- In your opinion who should design the future of El Palmar?

### **About the platforms**

- do you know the platforms?
- How did you meet them? Did you have a contact?
- what does the platform mean for you? What are they doing?
- What do you think are their main motivations?
- Do you know how many people are? Who are they?
- What is your opinion about this people? Where are they from? ideology?
- Do you know about the different activities organized by them?
- Do you think their opinion should be taken into account?
- Do you think they can change something?

### **Lifestyle and values**

- How/where do you spend your free time and money?
- Do you like to listen radio/ watch tv/ internet? What do you do the most? What do you like to listen/watch or which kind of sites do you like to visit?

- Do you like to read? What?
- Do you like art? Which kind?
- As consumer (goods and services).. how much importance has the whole process (production? transport? Sustainability? Environmental friendly...?)
- would you pay more if you could know the money would go to clean up the environment/to stop global warming/ or child labour?
- Authenticity? What does it mean for you? How important is it for you when as consumer you make your choice?
- Are you involved in politics? What do you think about the government? Do you know who is in the local government? The regional?
- Do you like to travel abroad? Do you have foreign friends? Would you like to have more? Why?
- Do you think other party will do it better? Right? Left? Center or none?
- How much is affecting to you the recession? Do you usually have your finances under control and are not concerned about overspending?
- Optimistic or pessimistic when you talk about future? Possible to change it? How?

**Basic profile** (age,city, job/studies, occupation...)



## **Appendix B: Questionnaire**

Transmodernidad y  
Activismo en Turismo  
*El Palmar (Vejér, Cádiz)*



**Picture: J. Fabra, 2010. Carretera del Palmar.  
Camaleón (*Chamaeleo chamaeleon*), una especie a extinguir.**

### **Cuestionario**

Jose Fabra-Garrido  
MSc Leisure, Tourism and Environment  
Wageningen University (Holland)  
Universidad de Wageningen (Holanda)

Estimad@s amig@s:

Soy José Fabra Garrido, de Córdoba y actualmente me encuentro finalizando un Máster sobre Turismo Sostenible en la Universidad de Wageningen (Holanda). El objetivo de mi tesis final es conocer más sobre los Movimientos Sociales en turismo. Para ello analizo el caso concreto de El Palmar. Con la idea de enriquecer este estudio os adjunto un cuestionario que os agradecería

completaseis ya que me será de gran ayuda para conocer más de cerca el caso y ampliar los conocimientos existentes sobre el tema.

Completar este cuestionario no os llevará mucho tiempo. Recuerda que tenéis total libertad a la hora de elaborar vuestras respuestas. La dimensión de los cuadros de texto indicados para responder es meramente orientativa, pudiendo ser adaptados (expandidos/acortados) según la necesidad. Cuanta mayor información incluyáis mejores resultados serán obtenidos del estudio.

La información cosechada en este cuestionario será tratada de forma totalmente anónima y el único objetivo es servir como fuente primaria de datos para la elaboración de esta tesis.

Agradezco enormemente vuestra colaboración y ruego una vez finalizado el cuestionario lo enviéis, antes del 15 de Septiembre, a la siguiente dirección de correo electrónico:

[jfabragarrido@gmail.com](mailto:jfabragarrido@gmail.com) No dudes en contactar conmigo para cualquier otra duda.

Muchas gracias.

Atentamente

José Fabra Garrido

MSc. Leisure, Tourism and Environment

Wageningen University

### **A: Relación con la zona**

1. **Describe brevemente tu relación con El Palmar y su entorno ¿Cuándo y cómo lo conociste? ¿Con qué frecuencia lo visitas? ...**
2. **¿Qué te gusta hacer en El Palmar?**
3. **¿Por qué la gente elige El Palmar? ¿Cuál es la diferencia respecto a otros destinos turísticos más conocidos?**
4. **¿Podrías describir a grandes rasgos a los visitantes que eligen la playa de El Palmar?**
5. **¿Crees que conoces bien El Palmar? ¿a sus vecinos? ¿el entorno (natural, económico, socio-cultural, político)? ¿te consideras un turista? ¿un local? ¿cuál es tu relación con unos y otros?**

### **B: El Proyecto Hotelero**

6. **¿Conoces bien el proyecto hotelero diseñado para El Palmar? ¿Cuál es tu opinión al respecto?**
7. **¿Qué consecuencias (positivas o negativas) puede suponer la materialización de este proyecto? Y ¿Qué alternativa propones?**
8. **¿Quién consideras el responsable del conflicto creado a raíz de este proyecto?**
9. **¿Quién crees que debe diseñar el futuro de El Palmar?**
10. **¿Cómo te gustaría ver El Palmar en el futuro?**

### **C: Plataformas ciudadanas para salvar El Palmar**

*(PELP y Salvar El Palmar: Paisaje Protegido)*

11. **¿Cuál es tu relación con estas Plataformas creadas para la defensa de El Palmar y en contra de la materialización del proyecto hotelero en la zona? ¿Cómo las conociste?**
12. **¿Cuáles son los motivos que te llevan a unirte (o no) a estas Plataformas? ¿De qué o quien hay que salvar El Palmar?**
13. **¿Has participado en alguna de las actividades organizadas hasta la fecha? ¿Qué más estarías dispuest@ hacer para alcanzar el objetivo que perseguís?**
14. **¿Conoces a más miembros de estas Plataformas? ¿Quiénes son? ¿Cómo los definirías? ¿Qué tienen en común?**

15. Su principal medio de acción es Internet pero ¿qué presencia real tiene? ¿Qué otras acciones propondrías por el bien de El Palmar?

#### **D: Sobre ti. Preferencias Turísticas**

16. ¿Te gusta viajar? ¿Dónde sueles ir? ¿Últimos destinos visitados?

17. ¿Cuáles son tus motivaciones principales para viajar? ¿y las restricciones?

18. ¿Qué te gusta más: Turismo de playa, turismo rural, ecoturismo, turismo activo, cultural...? ¿Qué sueles hacer allá donde vas?

19. ¿Cómo organizas tus viajes (*tú mismo, agencia, grupo...*)? ¿Tienes unos criterios o requisitos específicos a la hora de elegir un destino?

20. Define brevemente tus vacaciones perfectas ¿algún viaje soñado?

21. ¿Te preocupa el impacto que tu viaje puede tener tanto en el medio ambiente como en las comunidades locales que visitas? ¿Qué haces o harías por reducirlo?

#### **E: Sobre ti. Estilo de Vida**

22. ¿Qué te gusta hacer en tu tiempo libre?

23. ¿Radio? ¿Tv? ¿Internet?...

24. ¿Te gusta el arte? ¿Alguna preferencia?

25. Como consumidor/a ¿qué importancia le das al proceso completo que ha seguido el producto que eliges? ¿Sueles leer las etiquetas? ¿Estrías dispuest@ pagar más si sabes que lo que consumes es más respetuoso con el medio ambiente?

26. ¿Es la autenticidad otro de los requisitos en tu elección como consumidor?

27. ¿Estas envuelt@ en política? ¿Sabes quién gobierna Vejér? ¿Crees que otro partido lo haría mejor? Si te dan a elegir ¿Izquierda, Derecha, Centro o ninguno de los tres?

28. Ante la situación de CRISIS (social, económica, ecológica...) en la que nos encontramos, ¿crees que está todo perdido o aún podemos hacer algo por cambiar esto?

29. Perfil: Nombre/ Edad/ Procedencia/ Ocupación/Estado Civil

**Appendix C: Graphical Recreation of El Palmar Tourism Project-FITUR 2011-**



Source: J.Garret.

