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The Colonial Legacy in Tourism:

A post-colonial perspective on tourism in former island colonies

BY

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Doctor of Philosophy

THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY

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THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY

THE SCHOOL OF HOTEL AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT

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A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

September 2009

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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L'ESPOIR DECOSTA, JEAN-NOEL PATRICK

ABSTRACT

Abstract of thesis entitled:

The Colonial Legacy in Tourism: A post-colonial perspective on tourism in former island colonies

Submitted by L'Espoir Decosta, Jean-Noel Patrick

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Hotel and Tourism Management
at the Hong-Kong Polytechnic University, September 2009

This study takes a socio-historical approach to uncover the reasons behind the continuing links between colonialism and tourism flows. It is informed by a core examination of the ways in which colonialism affects tourism development. It investigates whether the legacy is a product of the tourism development process, the result of a deep and pervasive relationship between the colonies and colonisers, a strategic decision made during the decolonisation period, or a combination of the three. In that effort, three distinct and interconnected types of substantive inquiry recognised in the literature of history and colonialism as explanations of change are used to probe the patterns in tourism movements and development:

- The role of historical inertia;

- The lock-in effect from a colonial past that feeds on historical inertia; and

- The conscious decisions affecting tourism development that perpetuated economic colonialism and hegemony in the post-colonial period.

The study examines the core case of Mauritius, the candidate's country of origin. The study covers the time frame of 1940 to 1980, with some incursion into data from the more recent past.

The methodological approach is based primarily on the grounded theory method of research and analysis. Its operationalisation was accomplished through a historical method that employs archival research and a socio-historical study of Mauritius. Archival data related to development and the island tourism sector in

general were collected from major archival repositories in London and Mauritius in 2007 and 2008. The documents retrieved cover the period from 1940 to 1980. In-depth interviews with two major political figures in Mauritius who have been key players in political decisions since the late colonial period supplemented the data, with the goal of enriching the findings with an "indigenous" and life history perspective.

What emerged from the data for this study is a model of explanation that suggests the continued colonial legacy in tourism is an inevitable outcome of six historical processes that heavily influence tourism and actors in former island colonies to operate within predictable combinations or hybrids of inertia/lock-in effect and conscious decisions/colonial hegemony. The resulting dynamics become necessary precursors to developing a colonial legacy in tourism in the post-colonial era.

Colonial withdrawal as a major socio-political and historical process did not sever relationships of a colonial nature. Relationships continued by other means through supra-national structures and major processes, which were themselves of colonial origin. In that perspective, the political structure of the island and its underlying democratic ideals, together with fully functional state bureaucratic machinery superimposed upon a plural society created out of a colonial plantation economy, were vital to secure promises of development assistance from rich nations in the early days of independence.

There is also evidence that tourism as a means of economic diversification has evolved into an operational tool of unequal relationships between source markets and destinations. It has provided local economic elites with new opportunities to perpetuate their historical socio-economic advantages based on the plantation economic structure, with its inherent systems of inequality. It has also provided the pretext to maintain historical socio-cultural links with former colonial powers. Tourism has thus served to extend historical ties of dependency within a framework of economic internationalisation. Further explanation for the maintenance of these links also rests on the key role played by individual personalities within the political and socio-economic sphere, and the unconditional support and associational ties of local elites with an administrative bureaucracy, itself a potent legacy of colonial rule.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

September 22, 2009

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES IN ENDNOTES

LIST OF PICTURES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASA	AIR SERVICES AGREEMENT
BOAC	BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION *(now British Airways)*
CO	COLONIAL OFFICE
EEC	EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (changed to European Community, then European Union)
EPZ	EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (Mauritius)
FCO	FOREIGN COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
GATT	GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS & TRADE
GDP	GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT
GNP	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT
IBRD	INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT
IMF	INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
IOR	THE INDIAN OCEAN RIM
ODA	OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE
OECD	ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
MMM	MOUVEMENT MILITANT MAURICIEN (Mauritius)
RLAF	RELAIS DES LIGNES AERIENNES FRANCAISES
SAP	STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME (IMF)
SIDS	SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPMENT STATE
UNDP	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
UNEP	UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME

CHAPTER 1

1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

In the synopsis of "Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations," Hall & Tucker (2004) pose the following rhetorical question:

"Is tourism colonialism by another name?"

In an increasingly globalised world where political and social life superficially tends towards homogeneity (McGrew, 1992; p. 241), this question is relevant to contemporary tourism studies on a variety of levels. It suggests that colonialism is a potent determinative social factor in modern human history, and that the tourism industry perpetuates the persistent hegemony of former colonial powers. This indicates a continuing historical relationship between colonialism, tourism and the patterns of modern tourism development. Present-day tourism reflects the uneven relationships engendered by the priorities of powerful economic and geo-political forces (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001) reminiscent of past colonial powers. Tourism and its development could thus be viewed within the historical continuum of colonialism by assessing tourism at large in the post-colonial global context of a modern world.

The candidate analysed tourist flow patterns for 36 island jurisdictions in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and South Pacific for the year 2001 (see Table 1.1) as part of his Masters's research thesis. The study found a colonial legacy in tourist movements that was not explained fully by commonly accepted contemporary influences, such as language and common culture. Instead, the research argued that a close link existed between the colonial pasts of certain countries and the existing patterns of

tourist movements they experience. The findings highlighted the fact that former colonies tend to attract an overwhelming number of European tourists originating from their former colonial powers. As shown in Table 1.1, France and the United Kingdom consistently rank among the top five source market to islands that were their colonies, while former colonisers invariably rank as the single greatest source of European visitors in all instances. The question that arises then is:

- Why do the tourism flow patterns to these former colonies still reflect such strong ties to their colonial pasts?

TABLE 1.1
TOURIST ARRIVALS and MAJOR MARKETS
(Census year 2001 unless noted)

CARIBBEAN

Country/ Territory	Colonial Power	Total Arrivals	Total European Arrivals	#1 Market	#1 Share	#2 Market	#2 Share	#3 Market	#3 Share	#4 Market	#4 Share	#5 Market	#5 Share
Anguilla	Britain	47,965	8,027	USA	62.7	Caribbean	15.4	UK	5.8	Italy	5.7	Other Europe	4.1
Antigua & Barbuda	Britain	234,254[1]	88,082	USA	26.4	UK	26.1	Caribbean	18.1	Canada	6.7	Germany	3.3
Aruba	Netherlands	691,419	44,961	USA	64.9	S. America	21.4	Netherlands	4.1	Caribbean	3.6	Canada	2.7
Bahamas	Britain	1,537,777	94,897	USA	85.1	Canada	5.1	UK	3.2	Italy	0.6	Germany	0.6
Barbados	Britain	507,078	247,165	UK	42.9	USA	21.6	Caribbean	15.6	Canada	10.3	S. America	3.2
British Virgin Islands	Britain	295,625	33,616	USA	68.2	Caribbean	15.2	UK	5.7	Canada	2.5	France	1.6
Cayman Islands	Britain	334,071	21,665	USA	80.9	Caribbean	6.3	UK	4.7	Canada	4.1	S. America	0.6
Cuba	Spain	1,774,541	898,110	Canada	19.8	Germany	9.7	Caribbean	9.1	Italy	8.9	Spain	7.9
Dominica	Britain	68,372	12,109	Caribbean	27.9	USA	21.6	UK	8.8	France	4.0	Canada	2.8
Dominican Republic	Spain / (USA)	2,881,999	1,108,472	USA	23.1	Germany	11.6	Canada	9.8	France	6.7	S. America	6.1
Grenada	Britain	123,351	40,170	USA	26.1	UK	23.8	Caribbean	21.0	Canada	4.4	Germany	3.0
Guadeloupe	France	623,134[2]	495,385	France	70.7	USA	14.8	Canada	1.7	Switzerland	1.6	Caribbean	1.4
Jamaica	Britain	1,276,516	181,891	USA	71.8	UK	10.0	Canada	8.7	Germany	1.5	Italy	1.0
Martinique	France	460,382	403,316	France	83.5	Caribbean	7.6	Fr. Guyana	3.1	Benelux	1.2	Germany	0.8
Netherlands Antilles (Curacao)	Netherlands	204,603	66,082	Netherlands	27.6	S. America	16.1	USA	15.6	Caribbean	15.6	n/a	n/a
Puerto Rico[3]	USA / Spain	1,250,460	35,852	USA	85.3	Caribbean	3.5	S. America	1.6	Canada	1.2	Mexico	1.1
St. Kitts & Nevis	Britain	74,543	10,593	Caribbean	36.0	USA	35.0	UK	11.6	Canada	7.0	S. America	1.5
St. Lucia	Britain	250,132	82,672	USA	36.5	UK	26.8	Caribbean	23.4	Canada	4.9	France	2.0
St. Martin / St. Maarten	France/ Netherlands	402,649	97,449	USA	47.9	France	17.3	Caribbean	7.9	Canada	6.2	S. America	5.0
Trinidad & Tobago	Britain	383,101	89,002	USA	31.1	Caribbean	21.9	UK	12.7	Canada	11.3	Guyana	5.2
Turks & Caicos	Britain	165,341	11,086	USA	75.7	Canada	9.2	Caribbean	4.1	UK	3.9	Italy	1.1
US Virgin Islands	USA/ Denmark	608,684	8,827	USA	84.3	Caribbean	4.5	Canada	0.7	UK	0.5	Denmark	0.4

SOUTH PACIFIC

Country/ Territory	Colonial Power	Total Arrivals	Total European Arrivals	#1 Market	#1 Share	#2 Market	#2 Share	#3 Market	#3 Share	#4 Market	#4 Share	#5 Market	#5 Share
American Samoa	USA/Britain/ New Zealand	44,158[4]	887	Polynesia	64.6	**USA**	17.0	**New Zealand**	8.9	Australia	1.6	Fiji	1.6
Cook Islands	Britain / New Zealand	74,575	22,816	**New Zealand**	32.6	Australia	15.9	**UK**	17.0	USA	9.8	Canada	8.4
Fiji	Britain	348,014	51,425	Australia	28.2	New Zealand	19.1	USA	16.5	**UK**	8.8	Japan	5.9
French Polynesia	France	227,547	83,556	USA	41.0	**France**	22.2	Japan	8.4	Italy	4.1	UK	2.9
New Caledonia	France	100,515	43,069	**France**	39.0	Japan	27.8	Australia	16.6	New Zealand	7.5	UK	1.3
Papua New Guinea	UK / Australia / Germany	54,235	5,361	**Australia**	51.0	USA	9.8	Japan	5.0	Philippines	4.7	**UK**	3.9
Samoa	Britain / New Zealand	88,263	5,797	Polynesia	35.2	**New Zealand**	26.4	Australia	12.7	USA	9.6	Fiji	2.4
Tonga	Britain / New Zealand	32,386	4,601	**New Zealand**	34.1	USA	19.4	Australia	16.7	Melanesia	5.2	**UK**	4.3
Vanuatu	Britain / France	53,300	2,683	Australia	67.2	New Zealand	14.1	New Caledonia	7.6	Other Oceania	4.1	North America	2.7

INDIAN OCEAN

Country/ Territory	Colonial Power	Total Arrivals	Total European Arrivals	#1 Market	#1 Share	#2 Market	#2 Share	#3 Market	#3 Share	#4 Market	#4 Share	#5 Market	#5 Share
Comoros	France	23,893[2]	7,240	South Africa	38.3	**France**	24.4	Réunion	5.9	Madagascar	3.3	UK	3.0
Maldives	Britain	460,984	364,105	Italy	25.1	**UK**	16.7	Germany	14.4	Japan	9.1	France	6.6
Mauritius	France / Britain	660,318	437,615	**France**	29.9	Réunion	13.8	**UK**	11.8	Italy	5.7	India	2.9
Réunion	France	370,255[4]	325,045	**France**	83.3	Mauritius	8.0	Madagascar	1.8	Switzerland	1.0	Belgium	1.0
Seychelles	Britain / France	129,762	103,270	**France**	19.6	**UK**	13.2	Germany	13.0	USA	4.5	Switzerland	4.0

[1] 1998 Figures

[2] 2000 Figures

[3] Figures are based on commercial accommodation for 2001

More significantly, the study found a near universal preference for residents of source markets for destinations with a colonial connection as opposed to those with a colonial past connected to a different country. The findings demonstrated unequivocally that European tourists show an overwhelming preference for long-haul travel to their current and former island colonies. Table 1.2 and Figure 1.1 illustrate the degree to which residents of former colonial powers comprise a disproportionate share of arrivals to their current and former possessions. For instance, 75%, 86% and 99% of all visits by UK citizens in 2001 to the Caribbean, South Pacific and Indian Ocean regions respectively were made to current and former British colonies. Similarly, 76%, 97% and 94% of visits by French citizens in 2001 to the same regions were made to France's current and former colonies. Destination exclusivity and specificity as suggested by these figures conflict with the idea that tourism is essentially a democratic activity that is based on the philosophy of freedom to travel anywhere. On the contrary, they suggest tourism is a highly selective activity that is heavily influenced by colonial legacy.

In their expanded study of the lasting effects of colonial ties on tourist movements, McKercher & L'Espoir Decosta (2007) confirmed the existence of a similar pattern across 56 economies. Again, while the most proximate source markets produced the largest share of visitors (i.e., the US and Canada dominated arrivals to the Caribbean), current and former colonisers generated the largest share of long haul visitors from Europe. A similar degree of destination specificity and exclusivity was also observed. The authors argue that the colonial legacy has not been recognised before and suggested the inclusion of a separate "colonial" variable in tourist movement and forecasting models.

They further contend that this pattern of tourist flows is the end product of the tourism development process and that tourism development in these small islands is the end result of a colonial past. This idea has been implied in theoretical frameworks of the conflict theories of dependency and post-colonialism but has not been applied in a tourism context before. As such, they believe the colonial legacy in tourism flows is not coincidental,

but may in fact be a product of a number of factors, including the colonisation and decolonisation process that embeds a continuing historical relationship between colonialism and tourism.

This study seeks to explore this issue explicitly. It is informed by a core examination of the ways in which colonialism affects tourism and its development. Given the historical context of this study, an analysis of historical records provides the most logical means for uncovering possible explanations, since the majority of individuals with first-hand experience with the decolonisation process and the initial tourism development stage are either no longer living or are otherwise unavailable for comment.

FIGURE 1.1

Scatter Gravity Plot of former UK colonies and French colonies and their respective market shares in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and South Pacific (2001)
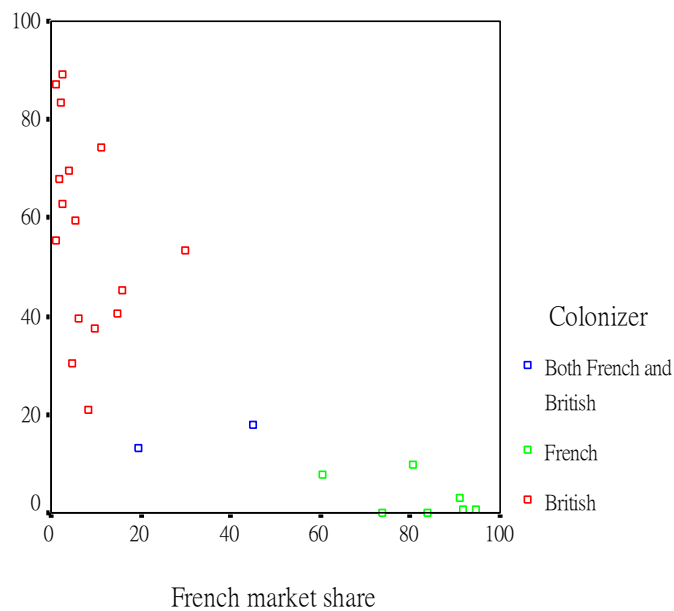
TABLE 1.2

Arrivals in Colonies
as % of Total Arrivals by Source (2001)

	UK arrivals to current and former UK possessions as % total of UK arrivals in region	French arrivals to current and former French possessions as % total of French arrivals in region	Dutch arrivals to current and former Dutch possessions as % total of Dutch arrivals in region
CARIBBEAN	75.1 %	76.3 %	52.3 %
SOUTH PACIFIC	85.6 %	97.2 %	NA
INDIAN OCEAN	99.6 %	94.2 %	NA

Table 1.3
International Tourist Arrivals at Frontiers by Country of Usual Residence (1978-1988)

	1978		1980		1982		1984		1986		1988	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Jamaica (Total)	**381,818**		**395,340**		**467,763**		**603,456**		**663,593**		**648,873**	
UK	11,560	3.03	12,119	3.07	17,967	3.84	20,155	3.34	30,047	4.53	44,416	6.85
France	1,016	0.27	NA	NA	NA	NA	978	0.16	972	0.15	1,182	0.18
Germany	13,329	3.49	NA	NA	NA	NA	4,954	0.82	4,636	0.70	12,278	1.89
Martinique (Total)	**147,799**		**157,162**		**178,175**		**183,789**		**183,264**		**280,372**	
UK	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
France	51,284	35.44	68,864	43.82	91,442	51.32	89,636	48.77	68,212	37.22	175,232	62.50
Mauritius (Total)	**108,322**		**115,080**		**127,760**		**151,880**		**165,310**		**239,300**	
UK	7,133	6.58	7,690	6.68	5,780	4.52	5,760	3.79	8,500	5.14	13,780	5.76
France	21,240	19.61	19,620	17.05	22,450	17.57	25,460	16.76	32,370	19.58	50,240	20.99
Italy/Germany	3,498	3.23	9,030	7.85	7,040	5.51	7,890	5.19	9,120	5.52	15,130	6.32

1.2   Small Islands and Tourism Development

The scope of this thesis is restricted to small island nations, through the case study of Mauritius. It is commonly accepted that an island is a land mass entirely surrounded by water. Such a deceptively simple definition, however, conceals the complexity of the island concept due to intervening complicating factors, such as natural conditions including small size, limited natural resource endowments (Gossling & Horstmeier, 2003), human construction (King, 1997), poverty and instability (Marshall, 1991), and it does not reflect the merit of using island nations as a platform for academic inquiry (Baldacchino, 2006). Based on attempts by Beller (1986), Dolman (1985) and Eriksen (1993) to ascribe thresholds in terms of area (and population), small islands refer to those covering an area of less than 20,000 square kilometres. They are usually agriculturally based economies and lack other natural resources on which to draw for economic development. For these tropical islands, their unique natural assets of sand, sun and sea, combined with their perceived cultural exoticism, meant that economic prosperity would ultimately be achieved through opportunities presented by the global spread of international tourism (McElroy, 2003). Furthermore, the lack of other options for economic development often resulted in conscious decisions for political leaders to pursue tourism development as a means of economic growth.

As an important developmental tool, tourism is a phenomenon that has brought about significant economic, social, political and environmental changes on a global scale, particularly for island countries striving to rise out of poverty in the wake of a history of colonial submission. These islands have been forced to restructure and gear their economies in the direction of economic growth and development.

1.3   Colonialism

Most policy-oriented tourism development research focuses on the economic perspectives of supply and demand (Pearce & Butler, 1999).

This type of research is necessarily limited in its scope, as it does not consider the broader issue of the very nature and origin of the necessity of development itself. To Brown (1981), the peculiar "enclave" tourism exhibited in independent developing countries is entirely at the discretion and service of developed countries [and their trans-national companies]. It is not a new phenomenon, and instead, represents an extension of traditional plantation and mining colonies.

On a theoretical level, tourism studies have not been intensively exposed to the scrutiny of extant theories related to colonialism and post-colonialism. The contemporary nature of tourism appears to have escaped the body of knowledge and theories of the "historical" nature of colonialism. It is in this theoretical discrepancy, highlighted by Hall and Tucker (2004), that the purpose and objectives of this research have been identified.

Modern European colonialism was a widespread socio-geopolitical phenomenon that covered 84.6% of the world's land surface by the 1930s (Loomba, 1998). Colonialism is recognised as a determining factor in the current geo-political and economic configuration of the globe (Maunier, 1998). It has also been used as a framework to describe most aspects of post-colonial social and economic development (Goldthorpe, 1996; Bernstein, 2000; Harrison, 2001).

Colonialism, or more specifically the political legacy of the colonial state, has often been invoked as one of the root causes of profound political, economic and social crises in post-colonial states (Alavi, 1972; Young, 1988). The power relationship engendered by colonialism encompasses not only political and economic control, but also enduring cultural, intellectual and moral subordination and deprivation (Fanon, 1966).

Colonialism has also been identified as a factor in the economic development of small islands (Bhatia, 1982; de Kadt, 1979; Wing, 1995a),

as well as contributing to their appeal as tourist destinations (Craik, 1994). This would help to reveal any intricate relationships that might exist between these two socio-geopolitical phenomena and would potentially contribute to understanding the post-colonial experience (Hall & Tucker, 2004).

1.4   Research Question, Purpose and Objectives

With due recognition to the fact that possible explanations for the colonial legacy in tourism movements may exist through shared language, history and culture, this study examines whether the ongoing colonial legacy in tourism flows can be attributed to a deeper legacy that has influenced tourism. Simply stated, has the process of decolonisation influenced tourism to such an extent that the specificity and exclusivity in European tourism flows discussed above is an inevitable result of this process? It is the aim of this study to assess the phenomenon of ongoing colonial influences in tourism in these islands.

The reasons for and root causes of this phenomenon have never been examined or explained in the tourism literature. There is no known research that has actually looked at the underlying patterns in tourism movements and their causes from a historical perspective. To fill this gap and to add a fresh perspective to the existing tourism literature, the following research question has been developed for this study:

"Why does the phenomenon of a continuing colonial legacy in tourism exist?"

The questions that emerged from earlier research to become the major impetus for this research include the reasons for the phenomenon of an ongoing linkage between a colonial past and destination specificity as expressed in the inbound tourist flows of former island colonies and why such particular links persist between these variables. The study also examines the process of tourism development and decolonisation, as it is

important to understand the process of tourism development within the context of decolonisation to thereafter examine the colonial legacy and tourist movements.

In extrapolation, these issues suggest another relevant and significant question:

- Why are the tourism sectors of small islands still intimately connected with their former colonisers?

These central questions inevitably led to the formulation of other pertinent sub-questions, because specific decisions and events were behind the achievement of each level of tourism development and the ensuing distinctive flow patterns to these islands over time. Such events and decisions initially triggered qualitative shifts that later found expression in quantitative changes. Thus, addressing the sub-questions relating to them was a prerequisite to understanding and developing answers to the central questions. Only then could the factors likely to have triggered the events and decisions be ultimately linked to the phenomenon of a continuing colonial legacy in tourism.

The literature on history and colonialism and the importance of change suggests that an ongoing legacy in the post-colonial era may be due to a combination of the three factors of inertia, conscious decision and an ongoing conspiracy. These three issues thus form the core as substantive areas of explanation applied to the primary questions relating to a colonial legacy in tourism. These questions include an examination of whether tourist movement patterns:

- reflected a lock-in-effect from colonial past;
- could be the consequence of conscious decisions related to development/marketing variables made by newly independent countries; and
- simply reflected inertia.

Specific attention is paid to the relationships between colonialism and associated macro-economic and socio-cultural changes in an island tourist destination that was once a colony. Furthermore, the underlying premise of tourism development in developing islands in this study views tourism as a neo-colonial deployment (Cell, 2005) within a core-periphery structure that exacerbates economic dependency and exploitative relationships (Britton, 1982; Akama, in Hall & Tucker, 2004).

In the light of the foregoing, the following are the goals of this study:

- Determine the extent to which patterns in tourism development are a direct function of a persistent colonial legacy on a destination-specific scale. To that end, an investigation of the tourism development process in the selected jurisdiction of Mauritius for periods prior to and since independence has been conducted. The case study employs macro-economic and socio-historical approaches to tourism development;

- Investigate the role and importance of colonialism in tourism development orientation and tourism management in colonies from a "post" perspective, with due consideration to the role of the decolonisation process and its consequences on the direction of tourism development and vice-versa, as well as to current international socio-economic realities of globalisation initiated by colonisation. These include broad governmental and private managerial decisions within the island tourism sector.

1.5 Overview of the Case: Mauritius

To achieve the above objectives, the particular historical case of Mauritius serves as the core platform of this study. Mauritius is not a common case; it is unusual in that it has a dual colonial heritage, also called sequential colonialism here, where the original colonisers (French) established the social and economic structure of the island, its language base and legal framework before the British took over in 1810. The British adopted a pragmatic approach to captured colonies, especially those formerly owned by the French by allowing existing structures to continue (such as in Quebec). Thus, Mauritius may have been British but it also has a very strong French colonial past. This is a unique situation in which its two colonisers represent the dominant markets and where the original coloniser represents the larger of the two markets. As a former colony of France and the UK respectively, Mauritius continues to target France as a source of tourism revenue, which represents its major tourist generating market.

A small tropical island situated in the Southwest of the Indian Ocean between Madagascar and Australia, Mauritius was founded by the Dutch in 1598 and then abandoned for the Cape of Good Hope, and was later settled by the French in 1721. After the Napoleonic War, the island was handed over to Britain in 1810. The first settlers remained on the island with the agreement that they would retain their culture, religion and economy. The island remained under British rule until 1968, when it achieved independence under the Commonwealth. Since the 1970s, the island has been pursuing a policy of gradual tourism development as a means of diversifying its economic base, which relies almost entirely on the mono crop sugar. The major long haul tourist generating markets for Mauritius are France and the UK, while South Africa and Reunion Island, a French "département," have dominated the short haul market.

1.6   Research Methodology

This study applies a combination of the grounded theory method and historical research, which will be explained in detail in Chapter 3. Grounded theory is used because its underlying systematic steps of research are appropriate where there is no extant theory but merely the prospects of emerging propositions from data. Grounded theory is particularly well suited to capture the stories told by the data. In practice, data were collected and managed through historical archival research, supplemented by in-depth interviews with two surviving socio-political figures in Mauritius, for the period between 1940 and 1980. The archival method was employed to construct a prima facie case of a colonial legacy in tourist movements, while the interviews of two major political figures in Mauritius who were personally involved in policies at the time of independence served to clarify information and provided confirmation of the validity of collected information. For this study, archival documents related to tourism, development in general and the economic history of Mauritius for the period between 1940 and 1980 were retrieved from various archives in the UK and Mauritius.

Implementation of the investigation primarily involved archival research and analysis of historical and contemporary documents, and focused on a detailed case study of Mauritius. This approach is supplemented by an unstructured method of primary data collection in the form of interviews, textual and verbal descriptions, and explanations. The multi- and cross-disciplinary character of both tourism and colonialism required that the study be grounded strongly within each respective literature. A thorough review of the literature provided a central framework for the study in the form of three substantive areas of explanation, including inertia, explicit tourism development decisions and ongoing colonial conspiracy. Historical comparative analysis (within the case) applied to extant theories further confirmed the pivotal role of these three areas in this study. The superposition of the grounded theory method

of analysis transformed these works into data and memos to be compared with emerging theories during the analysis phase (Glaser, 1978).

By including archival research in the design, the study also highlighted the historical dimensions of tourism within the social framework of colonialism. The depth and richness of documents in the form of colonial administrative and parliamentary notes and policies facilitated an "emic," or insider's perspective. It was a unique manner in which to apply a historical perspective to the socio-political aspects of tourism. The application of a formal method (social sciences) not only allowed a more satisfying explanation and interpretation of historical events on their own but also ensured that their relationship and relevance to the phenomenon of a colonial legacy were applied to the central questions of when, why and how.

1.7   Significance of the Thesis

There is a wide array of studies from the liberal arts that has investigated relationships between economic development, tourism and contemporary issues (Pearce and Butler, 1999). Some concentrated on technical matters, such as tourist flow predictions and the creation of practical models for small developing countries (Pearce, 1989; de Kadt, 1992); others are devoted to promoting the concept of sustainability (Turner & Ash, 1976; de Kadt, 1992), responsibility (Srisang, 1989), and cost benefit analyses (Bryden & Faber, 1971). Equally noteworthy are those like Fanon (1967), who see tourism development (through resorts) in the Third World as a corrupting agent that ultimately serves the purpose of imperialist re-establishment and growing dependency (Oglethorpe, 1984).

To date, no research has examined the role of the decolonisation process itself as an explicit historical factor influencing tourism development, although it is implicit in a number of studies (Sharpley &

Telfer, 2002). By building on a historical perspective to the economic, social and cultural dimensions of both colonialism and tourism development, this study investigates the relevance and significance of a colonial past in explaining contemporary tourism issues. The post-colonial theoretical and temporal contexts ensure that the focus remains on possible explanations for the tourism patterns observed. This is in sharp contrast to the majority of studies, which tend to focus on finding solutions to the detriment of identifying causes. Additionally, the macro-institutional approach to tourist flow patterns contrasts with the traditional consumer approach to explain destination choice.

By including the insights of political, economic and social decision makers of a former colony, this study also contributes to post-colonial academic discourse and social research at large. The latter is of particular significance, as it contributes a specialist (tourism) perspective to development studies. It also helps to understand the process of change and development in general (Booth, 1994) by integrating political, social and spatial/environmental dimensions.

This study draws on socio-political concepts to broaden the agenda of the historical dimensions inherent in the research question and explanations. It utilises a distinctive combination of methods (from history, political science and sociology) as a bridge between theories and historical facts. However, as explained earlier in section 1.6, despite the historical slant to this study, it was important that it reflected a social sciences approach and presentation. The arguments and methods cannot be fully understood in isolation and require the incorporation of the primary question raised by the study. The emergence of theoretical concepts as a result of the method used serves to illuminate historical events in an attempt to introduce historical variety and particularity into tourism theories.

This research provides an opportunity to present a novel approach to the post-colonial world, and to the particular history and current

situation of the candidate's country, Mauritius, in the international arena of tourism scholarship. Finally, the study demonstrates that world history is not defined solely by influential Western countries; it is the shared experience and interaction of all nations, whether large or small, wealthy or impoverished, powerful or exploited.

1.8   Research and Writing Challenges

Given the scope of this research in terms of the amount of data collected, the nature and depth of the topics involved and the iterative character of the grounded theory method of research and analysis adopted, the writing process started with a literature review, which constitutes an integral part of the overall research component. The challenge at that point was to initiate the compilation of a multi-disciplinary bibliographical work grounded in history, tourism, sociology and politics. The process shifted, however, when it had to be conducted concurrently with archival research. The archival records were either constantly changing as more documents became available or had to be cross-referenced for further analysis and comparison during later scrutiny of the collected documents. Memo writing was facilitated by the ATLAS software, which was employed to archive the codes and memos but not to generate the codes. This cache of archival memos, notes and conceptual sketches proved to be voluminous and served as a valuable tool during the writing process. The particular challenge at the level of interviews was the fact that the people who were personally involved in decision-making and/or administration before independence were either no longer living or were inaccessible for a variety of reasons.

One objective of this thesis is to advance the body of tourism knowledge and literature through an analysis of the relationship between past and present with a focus on tourism. It was therefore important that this objective be reflected in the writing style and manner in which the findings were presented. The challenge was not in the logistical and

operational aspects of the research but in envisaging the socio-political and historical processes involved that establish the connection between colonialism and tourism and to thereafter provide a plausible grounded explanation of their relationship. Furthermore, the relationships between the different areas of the theory had to be clearly delineated as a result of the need to clarify and elucidate any gaps in logic. Finding a writing style that could appropriately reflect this duality proved to be an immensely challenging process that consumed a significant amount of time in the paper's initial drafts.

The candidate also considered it important that the study reflects his academic background and training in the social sciences. The overall goal is to identify concepts and to eventually construct a conceptual model based on general but "detailed explanations of events and processes which can be used to explain the causes" (Lloyd, 1986; p. ix) of a continuing legacy in tourism. Given its qualitative approach, however, this study blends history and social science, present and past. It merely examines the ways in which colonialism affects tourism by identifying relevant processes that have existed over time, encompassing both past and present. It also acknowledges the pervasive role of theory in research without denying the latter's place in methodology.

The duality underlying a socio-historical approach to research presupposes a need for both sociological and historical knowledge. Whereas the latter involves particular events, the former uncovers "general laws governing events" (Abbott, 2001; p. 212). This dissertation essentially tells the story of an investigation based on a question that required bridging the present with the past. It was therefore necessary to merge historical arguments (i.e., narratives) with sociological theories based on formal analysis, with the goal of developing general principles that govern social processes. This had to be accomplished in synch with the documentary evidence. In that effort, social theory overlaps with history when events, problems and goals associated with the last gasps of colonialism provided the pretexts and conditions for social processes

(flows of actions, decisions and even emotions) that resulted in the persistence of colonial linkages in modern day tourism. Elucidating the reasons for these processes consequently necessitated narratives about the actual events and problems that triggered the processes, adopting an argumentative rhetoric when it came to sociological analysis.

1.9   Outline of the Thesis

This thesis presents a total of seven chapters. This introductory chapter lays out the research design. It articulates the purpose and main objectives of the dissertation and explains the rationale behind the research question based on the research gap as identified in the literature. It includes an overview of the methodology together with succinct narratives of the major concepts as derived from the subject of the study. Chapter 2 reviews related literature as an explanatory platform for the study, focusing on whether the concepts of a colonial legacy and colonialism in tourism have been previously discussed. This chapter reviews the historical approach, which explains the socio-geopolitical phenomenon of colonialism. A conceptual approach, together with a description of its various implications and legacies, forms the basis to explain related theoretical discourses. This is followed by a description of post-colonial theory, including its origin, the various perspectives it entails and its implications for this research. The development imperative as part of the late colonial history bridges with a historical approach to tourism development. This chapter also reviews the historical approach to tourism literature and introduces the "post" perspective to tourism. Examples are drawn from the three geographical regions of the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean and South Pacific.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed account of the qualitative methods of research and analysis, including the rationale behind method selection. The theoretical coding process involved in the grounded theory method and its outcome after comparative analysis are exemplified in this chapter

and serve as the basis to a thematic review (theoretical codes), which foreshadows the analysis and discussion. Chapter 4 opens with a general socio-political and economic profile of the case study of Mauritius, together with a succinct overview of the historical evolution of tourism as an economic sector.

The essence of the discussion for this thesis lies in Chapters 5 and 6, which build upon the theoretical codes and themes that emerged during the analysis phase. Though not explicitly identified in these chapters, the theoretical codes are embedded throughout the discussion to facilitate telling the (his)story as opposed to mere enumeration of sophisticated concepts. Chapter 5 analyses the six processes that are derived from the thematic codes that emerged during the coding process and explains each in terms of the context of pre-decolonisation, at independence and post-colonial. The chapter touches on the omnipotent deterministic role of sugar on colonial development and the plural society that emerged from the plantation. It also looks at how the colonial powers locked the development process of these islands, including tourism, to their historical past. The determining role of the political structure inherited from the colonial period is examined, with particular attention to the political environment before independence and during the early post-colonial period. The chapter also sets out to identify the emergence of tourism in the post-colonial era and the role of the decolonisation process on the particular directions taken by tourism development in Mauritius.

Chapter 6 discusses the findings and relates the colonial legacy to tourism by looking at the dynamics between the processes and the substantive areas of explanation. It draws upon the particular political environment that existed during the late colonial period and early post-colonial times to explain the colonial legacy in tourism through the argument of conscious decision-making and inertia. It also touches upon the associated power of politics and economics on tourism by highlighting the impact of political and socio-economic decision-making, as well as individual personalities, on tourism to these islands. The discussion

includes their ultimate impact on the growth of tourism and the particular relationship patterns they established in the tourism sector between former colonisers and colonies. The final chapter concludes with propositions that address the research question through the synergistic relationships between the three substantive areas of lock-in effect, conscious decision-making and conspiracy, and six historical processes that form the substance of the findings made explicit at the beginning of the chapter.

CHAPTER 2

2.   FROM COLONIALISM TO ISLAND TOURISM

2.1   Introduction

A major objective of this thesis is to investigate contemporary tourism within the historical dimensions of colonialism, with particular attention to the possible role of structures inherited from colonial times in island tourism development. Prior to discussing the relationship between colonialism and contemporary tourism, and specifically the post-colonial development of tourism in small islands, several theoretical explanations of these two terms will be presented from a historical and social science perspective. In so doing, the justification for a socio-historical approach will be elucidated.

It is widely accepted that colonialism is responsible for the plantation mono crop structures upon which most insular societies under colonial rule were based. The structures and the institutions colonialism has bequeathed to these societies have persisted to the present and have been at the centre of social and political change of one kind or another (Alladin, 1986). Their very nature is generally cited as the cause of enduring underdevelopment in plantation economies (Beckford, 1972). In the same vein, Telfer (1996) stipulates that development theory and tourism have evolved along similar lines. He considers an exploration of the evolution of development theory since the end of WW II as crucial in addressing the theoretical gap between development theory and the use of tourism as a development tool (Telfer, 2002; p. 35). Such an exploration inevitably involves a thorough examination of colonialism, which was a potent reality for many societies until the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, despite wide recognition of a colonial legacy that permeates these societies and their development processes (Chazan, Lewis, Mortimer, Rothchild & Stedman, 1999; Young, 1994), no study has

specifically addressed the question of why a relationship between colonialism, tourism and the patterns of modern island tourism development persists.

The legacy of colonialism has been addressed extensively by other disciplines, such as development in socio-political structures (Alavi, 1972; Mamdani, 1996; Mahoney, 2000; Migdal, 1988; Young, 1994), and a discussion of their approaches and findings can provide insight into the central question of this study. Therefore, this chapter begins with a historical analysis of colonialism and the different theoretical approaches to its manifestations. The legacies of colonialism in the post-colonial era are then examined from a theoretical perspective after a discussion of decolonisation as an expression of its demise. It is necessary to employ a variety of perspectives and theories to explain colonised societies and their economic development once they had gained independence (White, 1999). Economic development as a colonial imperative will be discussed from the rich theoretical platform of development theory, which was the focus of the governments of newly independent countries in the post-colonial period. Tourism development within the economic development paradigm will then be examined, with a focus on the past in order to illuminate the historical perspective on tourism development and island tourism development in particular. This will also help in understanding the role of colonialism as a potential historical factor when depicting the evolutionary context and process of tourism in former island colonies. According to Houbert (1981; p. 75), "the very economy, society, polity, the very flora and fauna of the island are all the direct result of its colonial history." Thus, a country's colonial past is a necessary consideration when discussing its subsequent tourism development.

The academic study of tourism is deeply rooted in the liberal arts and qualitative methods. It is enriched by the contributions of a number of philosophies and methodologies that characterise the social sciences (Jafari & Ritchie, 1981). Yet, a review of the tourism literature reveals no model sufficiently grounded in history to explain the ways in which

tourism, as a crucial tool for socio-economic growth, has developed. Indeed, the current theoretical body of knowledge on tourism lacks historical depth, especially relating to developing societies (Towner, 1988). This could explain the rather scant consideration of colonialism, which is a historical phenomenon, in the study of tourism history, although some discussions of the relationship between colonialism and tourism (Harrison, 2001) have led to a historical approach to tourism.

In view of the paucity of information regarding colonialism in the tourism literature, any investigation into the inextricable relationship between the history of tourism and the historical human experience of colonialism necessarily requires an understanding of the treatment of colonialism and its theoretical perspectives in the literature of history and other social sciences. This is an essential step towards appreciating not only the past and present roles played by colonialism and its remnants in the evolution of tourism patterns, trends and development over time, but also its wider historic and socio-economic implications. Several themes relating to the evolution of small island tourism development since its inception will be grounded in concrete past and present examples drawn mainly from Mauritius. This approach underscores the significant role of the various sectors involved in island tourism development, both historically and in the modern era.

History, with its central focus on transformations in societies through time, has dealt extensively with the issue of colonialism and its effect on societies. Therefore, it seems only logical that it should be given the same weight in tourism studies, both as a historical reality and as a contributing factor to the evolution of tourism. In fact, colonialism should present an appropriate subject for historical scrutiny by tourism academics, as it combines elements of change, events, and a concern for the particular. Historians dissect the past by analysing chains of events over time in order to produce dynamic conclusions. Change is examined through the transformation of people, places, institutions and ideas, all of which are heralded both in the study of colonialism and the discipline of

tourism. The literature reveals three substantive areas of explanation underlying change: inertia, conscious decision and conspiracy. Roberts (2002) recalls the importance of inertia in the modern world and claims that histories, even distant ones, are still at work in our lives. This situation has created tension between the historical forces of inertia and mankind's unique power to induce change. In the same way, conspiracy as theory emerges on the fringe to explain change and history from evoked surreptitious schemes concocted to ensure the outcome. Nothing is haphazard (Mintz, 1985), such that conspiracy becomes a social phenomenon (Popper, 1945, vol. 2). Finally, conscious decision as a factor of change relates to choice invoking judging options and selection (Roberts, 2002). These areas served in determining the evidentiary significance of the data collected and the intricate relationships among the different reasons identified during the research. Through concern for the particular, the facts and events are accepted as particular to themselves, though they may have similarities with other phenomena (Towner & Wall, 1991).

2.2   Colonisation

Colonisation is often treated in the literature as the first of the two distinct outcomes of imperialism, the other being colonialism. In the classical Greek era, colonisation implied the movement and permanent settlement of people from one country to another. In the modern era, colonisation by the Western Europeans assumed a different meaning in that the intention was to create permanent and distinctly European settlements in foreign lands. Settlements were established where the indigenous population was low or marginalised. The need for labour was met in the form of African slaves and indentured labour from Asian territories.

The importance of understanding colonisation lies in the historical connections it invokes as a triggering factor in the subsequent geo-

political configuration of the globe (Maunier, 1949, reprint 1998). Today, the complex pluri-cultural and ethnic composition (dilution and miscegenation), relationships and political arrangements in many countries such as Mauritius, South Africa, the Seychelles, Trinidad & Tobago and Jamaica should be interpreted within that paradigm. While the Anglo-Saxon view of colonisation insists on the creation of a distinctly European settlement on foreign soil, the French appeared more inclusive in their definition. Maunier (1998; p. 5) viewed colonisation as "a collective fact, a great mass phenomenon, an action which has brought entire peoples into contact...as the source of relationships between human groups." A fundamental aspect of colonisation is the exploitation of resources in foreign lands that are under-developed and/or under-populated (Lexilogos, 2006), with the goal of valorising the colonies (Le Petit Robert, French Dictionary, ed. 2006). This recent stance in the face of history has been hailed in France as part of the necessary demolition of a myth. French colonialist policies in the past were not entirely wrong; they have had some positive effects in terms of intellectual, economic and technological advances in the former colonies (L'Express, September 2006).

2.3   Colonialism: Problems of Definition

Colonialism as a theoretical construct has been applied to a broad range of situations, well beyond its original geographic dimension of settlement by the Greeks or of relocation of citizens and the assignment of lands by the Romans. Despite significant scholarly attention paid to colonialism, the concept has never been clearly defined. Strausz-Hupe and Hazard (1958) lamented the absence of a widely accepted definition of the term. Later, Hovarth (1972) saw no change, evidence of either a lack of interest (which seems unlikely given the magnitude of the phenomenon at the other end of the spectrum, decolonisation) or simply that colonialism is a concept taken for granted by scholars. In the aftermath of widespread decolonisation in the early 1970s, Hovarth (1972) observed that although

colonialism has preoccupied mankind for several centuries, it has never been adequately circumscribed by Western scholars. Since then, little scholarly research has been devoted to a definition. However, there are thorough explanations and descriptions of what colonialism entails and other historical concepts to which it is related.

The Western notion of the phenomenon of colonialism is defined by Emerson (1969) as the white domination of alien people on land separated by seas from the Imperial Centre. Curtin (1974; p. 23) defines colonialism as "domination of people of another culture." Fieldhouse (1983; p. 6) views colonialism as "a general description of the state of subjection - political, economic and intellectual - of a non-European society which was the product of imperialism." The term is often used in the literature interchangeably with imperialism, and virtually all scholars who write on the subject consider the two terms inexorably linked. Said (1993) stresses that colonialism reflects the consequences or practice of imperialism, which is the ideology that stems from an attitude of domination over the peripheries by the central metropolitan power. In his efforts to construct a theory of colonialism, Osterhammel (1997) insists that colonialism is the operational dimension of imperialism, a system of domination that serves the interests of empire. This dichotomy of dominance and subordination, which is intimately connected to the intricate relationship between economics and politics, is central to Marxist thought. Marxism views colonialism as a particular phase in the history of imperialism characterised by the conquest, rapid acquisition and direct control of other people's land by European nations. Such an approach again is quite similar to the definition of imperialism, which is often considered the policy of extending a nation's authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of economic and political hegemony over other nations (Hobson, 1902, in Horvath, 1972). It is an overarching term referring to systems, policies, practices and all types of relationships between a dominant and a subservient society. For Marxists, imperialism is an inevitable stage of capitalism gone global, as it is initially motivated by capital gain, and thereafter by political control, through the division of the world among

"finance capitalists." This division affords the imperial powers better control and the ability to safeguard their monopoly on markets and sources of raw materials (Fieldhouse, 1983).

Beyond the interchangeable use of colonialism and imperialism, the general tendency in Western thought to use binary logic or opposition such as North/South, developed/underdeveloped, rich/poor, European/others, to define the world (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998) has contributed little to developing a clear, precise and widely accepted definition of colonialism. Thus, in colonial discourse, the juxtaposition of binary constructs and distinctions between the structurally related concepts of coloniser and colonised produces an array of multidirectional structures central to the "binary logic" of colonialism. The consequence of such logic is that the binary structure of domination effortlessly extends into the ideological meaning of colonialism in order to both accommodate and legitimise the "impulses" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998; p. 25) of exploitation and control.

Horvath (1972) attempts to define colonialism by utilising what he called "definitional analysis:" the process of generating definitions that could be applied cross-culturally, historically and contemporarily. His definition highlighted "the relationship between phenomena and processes" (Horvath, 1972; p. 46) by implicitly selecting a few variables as "significant" and relevant to colonialism [and imperialism]. At the core of this model are the idea of domination and its concomitant concept of power. The variables derived were then manipulated and placed in a hierarchy. The end result was that definitions of colonialism, imperialism and logically related terms were generated at each level. Colonialism was ultimately defined as "that form of inter-group domination in which settlers in significant number migrate permanently to the colony from the colonising power" (Horvath, 1972; p. 50).

This simplification has triggered disapproval from other academic disciplines on several grounds. One major criticism is that no possible

definition of colonialism could be comprehensive enough to embrace the wide array of implications and emotions that the term arouses. The definition has therefore not escaped an inevitable theoretical bias, despite the addition and rearrangement of variables (Leons, 1971). The multi-disciplinary interest in colonialism and its implied perspectives means that one definition automatically excludes its applicability to the particular approaches of every discipline (Stefaniszyn, 1971). A definition that views colonialism as a particular event (much to the delight of historians, political scientists, economists and sociologists) is barely acceptable to anthropologists, who prefer to concentrate instead on the effects of cultural contact, especially the cultural changes triggered by colonialism.

In this study, the working definitional approach to colonialism is close to the operational [binary] dimension implied in the approach of Osterhammel (1997), as it not only allows for the possible consideration of socio-political dimensions but also of potential effects in the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. The related concept of decolonisation at the end of the spectrum of any study of colonialism, and which will be discussed in greater detail later, evokes structural implications that are deeply rooted in an understanding of the theoretical and practical essence of colonialism. They are of significant importance when dealing with explanations of the colonial legacy in tourism.

In general, related terms such as colonisation and neo-colonialism are all attempts to describe social and historical realities that reflect man's inherent desire to conquer, to dominate, and to control (Fieldhouse, 1983). This desire does not appear to have abated with time, nor has the increasing role of technology and science in everyday life and the growing human need for leisure and travel. The current ongoing and interrelated global socio-economic and geo-political tensions lend support to this premise. A clear understanding of these terms can therefore help to clarify the meanings and implications of colonialism.

2.3.1 Colonialism: Implications

It is generally accepted that colonialism imposes domination in the form of control over the territory and the behaviour of a group by other individuals or groups (Horvath, 1972). In Osterhammel's (1997; p.16) working definition that extrapolates Curtin's (1974) basic formula, "colonialism is a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders." Specifically, it refers to the condition of a subject people in "exclusively non-European societies when under the political control of a European state..." (Fieldhouse, 1983; p. 6). There is thus an implied power relationship inherent in colonialism that requires an analysis derived primarily from racial and political relationships. More significantly, the existence of a substantial power disparity between those who control and those who are subordinated by an alien government was a necessary condition for colonial power and rule to establish and maintain itself (Emerson, 1969).

The pervasiveness of colonialism in all aspects of human history has highlighted the need for studies and discourses that have caused a blurring of boundaries among various disciplines (Pels, 1997). The following is a brief multi-disciplinary depiction of the implications and meanings of colonialism and its related concepts, principally in terms of the political arrangements it entails. These will form the basis for a deeper analysis in the succeeding section on the theoretical perspectives of colonialism.

From the Roman Empire, which was the original model for Western political thought and civilisation, through the 19th century, when imperialism and colonialism were endorsed, up to the 1950s, when colonialism and the European overseas empires were dismantled, the meaning and implications of the word "colonialism" have undergone profound changes. After its demise through the process of decolonisation, colonialism was no longer used in a laudatory sense; it was instead interpreted as an evil act of abject domination of one race by another [white

over non-white]. This idea of domination is neither straightforward nor free from theoretical bias. Political science, for instance, emphasises political processes as the primary explanation for colonialism. Anthropology focuses on the dichotomous Western approach to colonial rule as the outcome of complex practical interactions of struggle and negotiations during contacts between peoples, while economics is concerned with economic processes.

2.3.1.1 Political Subordination

A distinctive feature of modern colonialism is the assumption by colonial powers of their full control over dependent societies within their empires. The implication in colonial and post-colonial discourse is a clear distinction between the settler colony and the colony of occupation. The latter is one in which indigenous people remain the majority but are subject to foreign administration (for example, Nigeria, India and Madagascar). Settler colonies refer to those in which Europeans have over time become the majority non-indigenous population after the displacement, marginalisation and in some cases annihilation of the indigenes (for example, Canada, Australia, Argentina and the United States).

On the other hand, several colonies present complex patterns of settlement and racial and cultural legacies that fall somewhere on the continuum between these two poles. Such is the case of some island countries in the Indian Ocean that had no original indigenous population; the majority of "settlers" were imported as African slaves or Indian indentured labour under the administration of a powerful group of white European planters. Other hybrid examples include:

- the unique case of Fiji, with its demographic shift initiated by the British when they imported Indian labourers (Chesterman, 2005; Howard, 1991; Lawson, 1991); and

- the Caribbean, where the indigenous populations of the "Caribs" and "Arawaks" were almost wiped out after the first wave of

[Spanish] colonisation (Levine, 2005) and were replaced by African slaves and Indian labourers when Britain, France and to a lesser extent the Netherlands appropriated the land.

With the exception of self-governing British Dominions, the populations of dependent countries were characterised by cultural disruption and dependence (Fanon, 1961; Lowenthal, 1972), a powerful sense of inadequacy (Fanon, 1961), crippled self-confidence (Williams, 1970), confused biological character (Fanon, 1961) and the loss of any collective identity they might have previously held (Fanon, 1961; Fieldhouse, 1983). This was also true for European settlers who, displaced from their own points of origin, suffered from identity confusion. The insistence by the colonial powers on a discourse characterised by difference and inferiority meant that as colonial subjects, the settlers also suffered discrimination (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998). They were forced to assume the role of agents of the colonial power, but simultaneously had to construct their own identity by concentrating on their differences from the indigenous population. In other cases, the colonial power would amalgamate previously distinct ethnic, religious and political groups for the sake of administrative convenience. South Africa, Ghana and Zaire are cases in point.

In the aftermath of World War I, mandated territories were placed under the trusteeship of the European victors, particularly Britain and France. The colonial administrations that ensued, and the significant disparity in power they conveyed, were based on an important bulwark of colonialism and legitimated in the Charter of the League of Nations. It justified the control and governance of alien lands and peoples based on the assumption that tutelage was necessary for peoples who could not assume self-governance in a modern world (Emerson, 1969). The implication was well within the Western notion of binary logic advanced earlier: the sacred trust of a civilised European administration over [and against] alien, simple, unsophisticated and traditional societies [savages]. These practices have to a significant extent altered the course of the entire world. They formed the

basis for the emergence of Western "governmentality," (Pels, 1997), and the contemporary extension of these practices can be observed in current events, such as September 11 and recent racial riots in France and England (Ferro, 2003).

Administratively, the colony formed an integral (though distant) element of the territorial possessions of the parent state. In terms of status, colonial people assumed the nationality of the parent state, although this did not confer the same rights held by the metropolitan population. There were varying levels of status for different people within the colonial territory. These were based on characteristics such as race, ethnicity and religion, and to some extent the degree of closeness to and acceptance of the colonial power. Internationally, the dependent territories had no status in major organisations such as the League of Nations (later the United Nations). In addition, they had no right of appeal directly to the International Court in The Hague. In fact, there was no limitation, in international law, on the sovereignty of a parent nation to exercise control over its colonial subjects (Fieldhouse, 1983).

2.3.1.2   Economic Exploitation: The Marxist Views

By restructuring the economies of vanquished countries, modern colonial powers created complex social and economic ties with the parent country to ensure a constant flow of human and natural resources between them. The political control that colonialism ensured meant that the management and economic well being of the dependency were also in the hands of the colonial power. The economic literature on colonialism is overwhelmingly dominated by Marxist writings that adhere to this position. Colonialism is depicted as having failed to develop the colonies and as having contributed to making them poorer, underdeveloped and dependent (Rodney, 1973). In the preface of *Colonialism 1870-1945: An Introduction,* Fieldhouse (1983) argues that Marxists view colonialism as the root cause of the "dependence" and poverty that currently exist in the "Third World."

To Marxists, colonialism is a tool for the global expansion of capitalism. A historical perspective on the economics of colonialism helps to situate the various economic development imperatives at different points in time.

Marxists view colonialism as both a historical product and a feature of capitalist imperialism: a particular phase in the history of imperialism. Marx considered colonial exploitation as a reaction to falling profits, which resulted in capitalist entities seeking surpluses "by incorporating new areas of the world economy into the system of accumulation" (Ingham & Simmons, 1987; p. 126). The Marxist perspective on colonialism emphasises the intimate connection between economics and politics. It explains colonialism in terms of the possession and control of capital, which produce inherently unequal class relationships and which result in cumulative alienation to ultimately generate a socialist revolution. Colonialism, and the international market that it helped create, are thus an inevitable conduit through which capitalism is spread across the globe (Meiksins-Wood, 1997).

Colonialism operates according to the logic of capitalism. It is essentially part of a broader capitalist agenda whereby the periphery becomes a source of raw materials for Western industries and a market for its products. In a famous dispatch in the New York Daily Tribune in 1853, Marx wrote that England's mission in India served dual purposes, "one destructive, the other generating…" (Fieldhouse, 1999; p. 45). Colonialism would eventually annihilate the Asian mode of production and lay the foundation for development, because only Western capitalism could build a society that is technically and socially advanced enough to create a divide between capitalists and workers. This was a prerequisite that would ultimately lead to socialism through a proletarian revolution. In broad Marxist economic and political determinism, colonialism is therefore an inevitable step toward socialism.

In the early writings of Marxists such as Luxemburg (2003, first published in 1913), Roy (1922) and later in those of Rodney (1973) and

Barratt-Brown (1974), the colonial economy existed to exploit and destroy the native viability of pre-capitalist societies and their ability to sustain development. The scenario of exploitation and extraction from colonies by colonial traders was rather simple. Indigenous labour was forced to produce, and there was therefore no need for substantial investment. The price they paid for the commodities was low and the price they charged to the consumer for these imported goods was high, as the colonial traders had a monopoly of trade. As a result, profits were significant.

The turning point for the colonies was the advent of export trade and their incorporation into the international division of labour (Reynolds, 1985). Colonies became plantation or mining enclaves for export production, and profits were sent from the colonies to the metropolis, primarily through investors and trading companies. Immigration was also encouraged to fill intermediate roles between colonial administrators and the indigenous workers, and gaps due to insufficient or inefficient indigenous workers. For instance, Indians were imported to many tropical colonies, thereby creating a three-tiered division of labour.

The Marxist perspectives on colonialism have never been as simplistic as the above explanation may suggest, as they were diverse and were plagued by in-house divergence. For example, many critics saw Marx's analysis of the effects of colonialism on Indian society as inherently contradictory, because colonial rule was seen as both beneficial and detrimental. Though it undermined the economy by the forcible destruction of the textile industry, it also introduced the economic structures necessary to revolutionise the system of production that would ultimately be beneficial to indigenous populations. To Luxemburg (2003, first published in 1913), colonial control was the only structure capable of undermining traditional economies and was in fact a last resort response to the failure of economic mechanisms such as trade and investment in restricting the reproduction of the natural economy. On the other hand, in "Finance Capital," which was first published in 1910, Hilferding saw colonialism as the outcome of the rise to dominance of financial capital in the growth of

industrial capitalist economies. To Hilferding (1910) and Lenin (1916), colonialism laid the groundwork for intensive capitalist development, leading to conflicts among the capitalist nations that ultimately resulted in a race for territorial annexation and consolidation of colonial areas. The theory that colonialism was a particular stage in the development of the capitalist economy [through finance capital], however, was not highly credible, as finance capital through the dominance of banking over industrial capital prevailed in only a few industrial capitalist states (Barratt-Brown, 1974; Warren, 1980). These debates on the forms of capitalist development that colonialism promoted and their effects on class and political structures germinated theories of underdevelopment and dependency, which were themselves later criticised within post-colonial and neo-colonial theories during the post-independence period. Economic development at that time became a critical issue for newly decolonised countries like Mauritius and Jamaica. A critical review of these development theories is addressed in a later section.

The rather straightforward approach to the Marxist perspective on colonialism employed in this study does not in any way diminish the importance of the intense debates within the Marxist perspectives and from other philosophical strands. However, that particular perspective on colonialism, as it was experienced in developing island economies, is perhaps the most appropriate to address the research question. The socio-political and economic experience of Mauritius in its early post-independence years, together with what was then considered a tangible Marxist threat from the political opposition, were all localised reflections of worldwide debates epitomised at that time by the Cold War.

2.3.1.3 Economic Exploitation: Neo-Liberal & Neo-Keynesian Views

According to Braudel (1973), European colonial control over peripheral countries is nothing less than a collision of civilisations with dramatic social and economic repercussions, including a shift in the global

economic structure. Colonies were net importers of capital from the metropolis, while unskilled labour was moved around the tropical world and agricultural and mineral products were exchanged for manufactured goods. This colonial economic system continues to have implications in the modern distribution of assets around the world, with Third World countries still trapped in the colonial economic cycle. These implications have been examined from a variety of theoretical perspectives, with particular emphasis on the consequences of the spread of colonialism on the development potential of the periphery.

Neo-liberals dispute the Marxist explanation of Western expansion based purely on economic forces (Hicks, 1969; in Ingham & Simmons, 1987). In the neo-liberal view, the colonial relationship is more likely to result in enhanced material progress, because liberal enterprise and the incorporation of previously closed and isolated economies into an international market allow for the acquisition of improved capital and human skills (Ingham & Simmons, 1987). In the same vein, Bauer (1959, in Bauer & Yamey, 1959), an ardent apologist for colonial rule, believed that economic improvement could only be achieved through external contacts. He believed that colonial rule promoted, rather than hindered, progress and was even a necessary prerequisite to advancement (Bauer, 1959, in Duignan & Gann, 1975). Modern colonial legacies exist in the form of technology, skills, capital and new commodities. On the whole, neo-liberals consider the disadvantages of colonialism modest, in terms of the hardship inflicted on the colonies, as compared to the conditions that were prevalent in pre-colonial [African] territories.

Neo-Keynesian theorists view colonisation as a component of national policy combining military and economic forces that interact with and reinforce each other in order to secure the advantages of capitalism. Colonialism is evaluated in terms of the struggle between mercantilist states for power through restrictions and protectionism (Barrett-Brown, 1974). The state of the national economy based on revenue, employment and public order, together with the policies of major trading rivals, dictated the

face of foreign expansion (Cain & Hopkins, 1980). Thus, the extent of Britain's overseas colonial initiatives reflected not only its ability to penetrate the markets of other major powers but also its "…failure to dominate her chief competitors, and especially to prevent their industrialisation" (Cain & Hopkins, 1980; p. 466).

2.3.2 Cultural and Intellectual Domination: The Effects of Colonial Contact on Culture

The experience of colonialism leads to cultural and intellectual domination as observed in expressions of colonial supremacy by empires (Bhabha, 1994; Blauner, 1969; Said, 1983, 1993). Colonialism connotes unequal relationships between the metropolitan centre of the empire and its colonies on the periphery.

The culture change process that arose from colonial contacts has been a major focus of anthropological research since the latter emerged as a separate discipline from historical inquiry. In fact, it "emerged from—if partly in opposition to—early twentieth century colonial circumstances" (Pels, 1997; p. 165). One of anthropology's views of colonialism involves the discipline's study of and interest [and participation] in the "unfinished business of struggle and negotiation" (Pels, 1997; p. 164), with a consistent focus on the "changing native" (Mair, 1938, in Pels, 1997).

Colonialism as domination and exploitation of subject people by a foreign society, and as part of "cultural imperialism," explicitly assumes attempts by the colonial power to destroy the subjected culture and replace it with its own (Fieldhouse, 1983). In that sense, it implies the need for dependent societies to conform to Western norms within relationships of subordination, as well as restrictions or deprivation of freedom and wealth. Subjected cultures were consequently left disoriented and intellectually and morally deprived, with a total loss of character (Fanon, 1967). They were in perpetual confrontation with the intrinsic arrogance of the colonial system (Emerson, 1969; p. 13, in Horvath, 1972). Such is

the subject matter of most essays on colonialism and imperialism: the subaltern histories (Gyan, 1995).

Colonial artefacts and structures in the form of bureaucracy, education, translation, missions and religious conversion were all active participants in the "negotiations and struggles" over identities on both sides of the colonial relationship. In the aftermath of decolonisation, post-colonial theories, driven principally by intellectuals in the former colonies, focused on identifying the processes involved in identity construction and its socio-psychological consequences and implications for post-colonial societies. The formation of identities within colonial settings can be traced back to the violent beginnings of colonial expeditions, wars and occupation. Factions in the "encounter" were amassing experiences toward application of the self/other dichotomy in future relationships. A result of that struggle is the binary logic of oriental/occidental identities, a concept central to post-colonialism as a theoretical concept dealing with colonialism and its aftermath effects in the post-colonial period. Post-colonialism is discussed in more detail in section 2.6, "Theoretical Perspectives and Colonialism."

2.4   Decolonisation: The History of Independence and Self-Determination

Decolonisation involved supplanting imperialism, which was viewed as immoral and unnatural, with self-governance, self-determination and independence, all of which were considered natural and moral (Martel, 2000). Self-determination as an underlying principle of decolonisation is also a core precept of the Charter drafted at the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 (Critescu, 1981, for the United Nations) as an essential element in the promotion of peace. According to Martel (2000), the failure of Britain and France in the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 signalled the beginning of the end of the colonial era. It also marked the decline of colonial Britain and France on the international scene. This was exacerbated by the withdrawal of American

support for European colonial policies and by their constant requests for Europe to pull out from the colonies. Britain had maintained the appearance of global power through its policies to exert continued control over its colonies. After 1956, however, Britain moved rapidly to grant independence to African colonies. 1957 saw the independence of Ghana and the Malay states in Asia, and over the following five years, fifteen French and British colonies gained independence. By the 1970s, colonialism was no longer part of the "realm of legitimate forms of political organisation" (Cooper, 2002; p. 47).

According to a hypothesis advanced by Flint (1983), decolonisation policies were entirely British in inspiration and dated back to before World War II. As the first industrial nation and the strongest of the European colonial powers, Britain was also the first to decolonise. Decolonisation policies were not the reaction of an exhausted imperial power realising its own weakness. They had been actively contemplated from the mid-1930s onwards as a means of strengthening Britain's economic and international influence in the changing face of the world economy. Decolonisation, according to Flint (1983), was a proactive, planned strategy and not merely a reaction to world events. The British Cohen-Caine plan, for instance, aimed at preparing tropical (West) Africa for self-rule within the political framework of nation-states, with political power transferred from tribal chiefs to Western-educated local elites.

Liberals and nationalists, on the other hand, saw decolonisation as the result of a protracted struggle between imperialist pressures and nationalist ideologies, with World War II finally ending an era of European economic and political domination. The triumph of nationalism was thus the inevitable result of weakened colonial authority in the face of rapidly developing nationalist aspirations. The political strategy of decolonisation required a concomitant and adequate policy of social and economic development. However, Britain's sluggish economic reality and demands for greater social expenditures at home combined to make one point very clear: the colonies were becoming a burden.

Dependency theorists believed that the purpose of decolonisation by the imperial powers was to foster the creation of a comprador (go-between) bourgeoisie that would perpetuate colonial relationships. Flint (1983) disagrees and contends that Britain had always been hostile to the emergence of a capitalist class in the [African] colonies and had no interest in establishing intermediaries or in transferring power to them. The nationalist parties in the colonies were in fact led by members of the newly educated elite, which was eager to demonstrate the level of national support it enjoyed. The emergence of nationalist political parties was the result of decisions to decolonise and is therefore "a creation of imperial policy" (Flint, 1983; p. 390). Martel (2000; p. 404) considers decolonisation "intrinsically dichotomous." Though it seems to be simply a response to demands from below, it is in fact a deliberate measure from above to continue exploiting opportunities outside of Europe.

The decolonisation of European overseas territories was an isolated political decision. The political environment at that time was utterly bipolar, with the U.S. and the Soviet Union scrambling for political and economic footholds around the world, while the Common Market as a tool for the unification of Europe was becoming a reality. With that in mind, the British were not keen on relinquishing control. They hoped to change the Americans' prejudicial view of their colonial policy by demonstrating that it would give rise to stable and self-reliant communities. Any premature withdrawal on their part "would endanger the free world" (Colonial Office brief, 1957, in Martel, 2000).[1] Meanwhile, the emergence of the Common Market not only contributed to the demise of the empire (Martel, 2000). It was also commonly seen as the genesis of the "turning inwards" policy of France and Britain, with a shift in focus to continental rather than colonial development. For France,

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[1] PRO CO 967/309: Colonial Office brief on "British Colonial Policy & United States Attitude," in Perth, to the Prime Minister, P.M. (57) (February 9, 1957).

however, this did not mean the abandonment of its overseas territories. Instead, it presented an opportunity to create a huge common market, "Eurafrica," with which its overseas territories would be associated (Jebb, 1957, in Martel, 2000).

The other contentious front that signalled the inevitable process of decolonisation was the development of the "Afro-Asian bloc." This was the nascent "Third World" as defined by Nehru, which emerged at the Bandung Conference in 1955 as an effective anti-colonial political force at the United Nations. To counter the anti-colonial moves of the "Afro-Asian bloc," colonial empires discreetly engaged in a series of "pre-Assembly" talks at the United Nations in preparation for the "battle of Africa" (Bandung Conference, 1957). They were certain of the support of the Americans who, they believed, were intent on preventing the advance of communism in Africa.

In spite of efforts by Britain and France, decolonisation was inevitable. Fifteen years after the Suez Canal crisis, which marked the end of the empire in Britain and France and the assertion of American political domination (Martel, 2000), Britain had relinquished most of its colonial holdings and had abandoned most power positions in Asia and Africa. The Royal Navy left Singapore in 1971 and Brunei in 1983. The last British "colony" in the Far East, Hong Kong, reverted to China in 1997. France's decolonisation was as rapid as Britain's. French West Africa was partitioned and granted independence in 1960, and in 1962 the French debacle in Algeria ended with independence being granted in the Treaty of Evian. The end of the Algerian war also signalled the end of the French empire (Blanchard, Bancel & Lemaire, 2005). France officially got rid of all its remaining "vieilles colonies" in the late 1940s through the process of "départmentalisation," which turned colonial remnants into DOMs (Département d'Outre-mer) and TOMs (Territoires d'Outre-mer) scattered across the Southern Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans.

2.5   Decolonisation: Legacies of Colonialism

Disestablishment of colonial rule presupposes a complete abolition of foreign domination. However, colonial situations were not so easily banished in the post-colonial era (Cooper, 2002). The legacies of colonialism are still firmly entrenched in various spheres of modern society in both the former colonies and their colonisers, and many independent regimes still maintain an intimate relationship with their former colonial powers. This section provides an overview of the legacies of colonialism, from early decolonisation to more recent events and issues. It briefly examines the influences of colonialism on socio-economic and political structures in former colonies in general and in the former empires of Britain and France in particular. Central to these explanations is a re-examination of the peculiarities of British and French colonial objectives as persistent legacies.

2.5.1   Political and Economic Legacies

According to Marxists, colonial states reflected the historical conditions of capitalism. As a consequence, the political and economic structures inherited by former colonies after independence, whether after negotiations or armed struggles, were necessarily colonial in nature (Bracking & Harrison, 2003). For instance, the political institutional structures of most former British colonies are variations on the Westminster parliamentary model. In fact, in preparation for the transfer of power in British colonies, the then Colonial Office drafted elaborate constitutions, often on the insistence of nationalists themselves (Flint, 1983). In many cases these constitutions had little connection to the realities of the societies concerned (Boyce, 1999; Flint, 1983). The colonial units that were to become nations and independent countries were artificial constructs resulting from the forced coalescence by the imperial powers of distinctly different social, tribal, ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious and political territories (Boyce, 1999; Fieldhouse, 1999, McIntyre, 1998). In many cases, the political leaders who assumed

control of the countries at or shortly after independence proclaimed themselves charismatic leaders around whom a "nation" was to be built. Several became autocratic figures, or were at least reticent to relinquish power (Nkrumah in Ghana, Nyerere in Tanzania, Kenyatta in Kenya, Kasavubu and later Sese Seko in Zaire, Idi Amin Dada in Uganda, and Sukarno in Indonesia). The appearance of ethnic, racial and religious harmony forced upon these units during colonial rule would disintegrate into tribal hostilities, as illustrated by the more than 65 attempted coups d'Etats in Africa by 1967.

The state of poverty and underdevelopment in many of the newly independent countries was attributed by the new leaders to past colonial exploitation. In the early post-decolonisation period, economic growth and development were not the priority of the new leaders. In the words of Nkrumah, "economic development will only come within political kingdom, not the way round" (Nkrumah at the Pan-African Congress, 1963). As far as international relations were concerned, the artificial boundaries drawn by the imperial powers were constantly contested through endless warfare. Examples date back as far as 1967, when Biafra attempted to secede from Nigeria, as well as the inter-ethnic wars involving Burundi, Rwanda and Central Africa, and the disputed borders of Eritrea and Ethiopia.

In many cases, the colonisers maintained close relationships with the newly independent countries. For Britain, these ties constituted a means of ensuring that they would be able to exert continued influence in the new global order. Hence, Britain continued to provide technical assistance to newly independent members of the Commonwealth through agencies such as the Board of Trade and the British Council. Martel (2000; p. 414) argues that relinquishing certain territories and commitments was in no way a "decision to get out of [empire] business altogether" by the British. It was part of a strategy that was the political equivalent of "restructuring" in the modern corporate world. For example, Britain negotiated their departure from the Anglo-Jordanian

treaty to maintain their fly-over rights. In all negotiations with the Turks and Greeks, it was a sine qua non that Britain would maintain a military base in Cyprus. Britain thus strategically preserved a network of military installations, not through the physical presence of its troops but by guaranteeing support to local rulers if necessary. The first Gulf War (1990-1991) was one such response by British troops as part of the NATO allied forces to counter Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait.

One unique socio-political dimension of the colonial legacy is "La Francophonie," which refers to both an area in which people spoke French after colonisation, as well as to the organisation created during decolonisation to promote the French language and culture. In "Post-Francophonie?" Milhaud (2006) attempts to determine the extent to which Francophonie transcends colonialism by studying history and politics to evaluate the French colonial legacy in the organisation. In his discussion on the foundation of the organisation, Milhaud argues that at first glance it would be unfair to reduce Francophonie to a mere colonial vestige, given the fact that it was founded outside of France by the presidents of three then newly independent countries and that France was initially reluctant to promote it. However, once France became involved at the first international summit in Paris in 1986, it has dominated the politics and economics of the organisation, primarily because it is too powerful a partner in relation to the other members (Jones, Miguet & Corcoran, 1996). France imposing its choice of secretary general against the wishes of the other members was seen as a sign of the continuing potency of the "old ways" (Ager, 1999; p. 189, in Milhaud, 2006). Another clear example of France's sustained "colonial" hegemony is a development scheme in which the North [the First World] is promoted as providing not only "the solutions to the problems of the countries of the South [but also]…as having managed to develop a more rational use of energy…while the South [the Third World] has not reacted at all in an appropriate way" (Agence de la Francophonie, 2002; p. 139, in Milhaud, 2006).

A major consequence of the economic legacy of colonialism, as predicted by Marx (1853, quoted in Bracking & Harrison, 2003), is that colonial states became the conduits through which imperial powers could draw other countries into the global system of capitalism. Grier's (1999) study of the connection between colonialism and economic growth highlights colonial mechanisms at work as explanations for differing economic performance between former French and British colonies. It could be argued that colonialism imposed a process of economic and political simplifications in these countries. Examples include the zoning of agricultural production in Africa and Asia, the establishment of a mono-crop culture in island economies, and the reduction of varied cultures of ownership to Chieftaincies in Africa. Resistance took a variety of forms, both active and passive, resulting in a mosaic of complex outcomes (Bracking & Harrison, 2003).

Exploitation during colonial periods was blamed for the extreme poverty in which these new countries found themselves after independence. Poor countries were at the mercy of the Western world's financial policing mechanism and became overwhelmingly indebted to the former imperial powers. Today, all former colonies are connected within the complex processes of the modern manifestation of colonial capitalism known as globalisation (Bracking & Harrison, 2003). The persistent dire economic straits of these countries, reminiscent of the colonial era of economic exploitation and subordination to the severe constraints of international capitalism, are at the core of the disillusionment felt by many former colonies. Their perceived escape from an oppressive colonial past proved illusory, as former colonies are now subjected to a form of neo-colonialism that replicates the social and economic dependence of colonial rule (Bracking & Harrison, 2003).

2.6   Theoretical Perspectives and Colonialism

A major theoretical perspective on the analysis of colonialism in its aftermath is post-colonialism. As a theoretical perspective it serves to highlight concepts for the interpretation and analysis of the collected data to tackle the research question in this study. It is not to be seen as a working theoretical framework per se but rather as a "substantive theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; p. 79) so as to provide areas from which to draw possible explanations for the continuing historical relationship between colonialism and tourism. This section provides an analysis of post-colonialism as a social theory, with an initial discussion of its origin and evolution. This is followed by a critique of the post-colonial discourse that borrows from other socio-economic theories that have impacted most social sciences disciplines. They assist in emphasising certain aspects and themes within the colonial relationship that are employed later in this thesis as a framework to explain the existence of a colonial legacy in tourism and tourism development in island countries. The objectives of this section include:

- to explain and discuss the contributions of colonial and post-colonial discourses to theorisation;

- to analyse and understand the context for the revived interest in colonial and post-colonial discourses as platforms of explanation for contemporary socio-political problems in both developed and developing countries, with particular attention to inherited or adopted socio-economic and political structures in former French and British island colonies; and

- to provide an overview of a post-colonial perspective on the study of tourism in the academic literature.

The surge of multi-disciplinary scholarly works on colonialism occurred when it was no longer the driving force behind international

socio-political relationships and mobilisation. It was only after the demise of the colonial empires that scholars and academics began to exhibit interest in the subject. The theoretical contribution to the study of colonialism therefore occurred within the context of the broader international political and intellectual turmoil that transpired in the wake of the dismantling of colonialism. There were various forms of pre-independence anti-colonial resistance (beginning with the condemnation of colonialism at the Bandung Conference among 29 Asian and African countries in 1955), overwhelmingly motivated by nationalist ideologies and affirmation of the central positive proposition that "all peoples have the right to self-determination." There were also wars for independence (Kenya, Algeria) and the termination of colonial rule with the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Resolution 1514, on December 14, 1960.

These endeavours and events took colonial studies out of the historical realm (Cooper, 2005) and paved the way for deeper inquiries into the reality of post-colonial societies. The initial optimism engendered by the new nations' full-fledged ability to embark on a course of modernisation and development turned quickly to pessimism in the face of real-world obstacles. There were potent indications that the former colonial powers had not relinquished their control and influence, as evidenced by continuing economical, political, military and ideological repercussions in the former colonies. These issues became subjects of interest to various academic disciplines, resulting in an array of theories, explanations and discourses spanning a range of perspectives, from the philosophical and social to the economic and political.

2.6.1 Colonial Discourse

Colonial discourse is an area of inquiry that was brought to currency by Edward Said (1978), who viewed the relationship between former colonisers and their colonies as being shaped by the legacy of colonialism as a result of the colonisers' political and economic dominance. This relationship also planted in the West's collective imagination the myths, fantasies and stereotypes about the "Orient." "Orientalism" expressed itself through the colonial discourse to reveal how the West produced and codified knowledge about the non-metropolitan cultures and how it ensured, through the deployment of various strategies, "a position of superiority for the Westerner vis-à-vis the Orient" (Williams & Chrisman, 1993; p. 4).

Colonial discourse generates information about the colonising power, the colonised people and the relationship between them. Thus, the dual implications of power and knowledge are implied in colonial discourse. With their power to interfere at will in the affairs of other countries, Western nations were able to acquire knowledge about other cultures that they could further deploy to legitimise their power over other countries (Williams & Chrisman, 1993).

Colonised people also produce knowledge in the space in which colonisation occurs. Homi Bhabha, another major colonial discourse theorist, argues that the clash between colonisers' and other knowledge in the consciousness of the colonised reveals the inherent contradictions within colonial relationships (Bhabha, 1994). Colonial discourse assumes the superiority of the colonisers' structures, such as race, language, culture and art. Only through colonial contacts will the colonised be able to "raise up" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998). Colonial discourse thus legitimises colonial ties based on the perceived inferiority of the other; their race is primitive and their society depraved and barbaric. It becomes the duty of the superior colonial power to bring civilisation to the colonised through the reproduction of the imperial civilisation within the colonised space. The

power of colonial discourse affects not only the colonised but the colonising subjects as well. It plays a significant role in their perceptions and identities, though they may not be "consciously aware of the duplicity of their position" (Aschcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998; p. 43). The outcome of colonial relationships based on assumptions of the superiority of the colonisers' culture will inevitably take the form of incapacitating social contradictions, which Bhabha identified as hybridity, ambivalence and mimicry (discussed in Section 2.6.2.3).

The ensuing areas of inquiry within colonial discourse were relatively post-colonial in origin. This explains the liberal cross-utilisation of both colonial and post-colonial materials that ultimately blurred the distinctions between the two (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998). Subsequently, issues and concepts such as race, identity and representation have become subjects for further scrutiny and theorisation, but within the confines of post-colonial discourse.

2.6.2   Post-Colonial Theory

Post-colonial, as described in its first entry in the Oxford English Dictionary of 1959 (December 12), is a compound term in which "post" as a prefix governs the element "colonial" (Mishra & Hodge, 1991) by ascribing to it a chronological subsequence that implies its replacement. Anything that happened after colonisation is post-colonial in the sense of post-independence, as in references to the post-colonial state (Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin, 1998). Though European colonial rule is apparently over, the persistence of unequal relations within the wider economic and political spheres between countries provides sufficient evidence that the "colonial" has not been fully transcended. This is the backbone of post-colonial discourse and will be the working definition for this thesis. An understanding of the conceptual pillars of post-colonial theory helps not only in the analysis for this study but also in contextualising its explanatory results. For example, the approach to tourism development in Mauritius is

essentially a post-decolonisation reality, but its origin, implementation and growth are revealed in this study to be much more complex, lying deep in socio-political and economic explanations within a colonial historical continuum.

2.6.2.1 Post-Colonial Theory: The Genesis

The genesis of post-colonial theory can be traced back to the Subaltern Studies Group and left-wing historians in India. Their goal was to produce a version of history that would restore the struggles of Indian independence to the actions of the masses, or "subaltern classes," and not to the doings of the nationalist ruling elites (Childs & Williams, 1997). They wanted to provide a view of world history not from above, but from below: a novel and insurgent perspective.

This new insurgent knowledge found special resonance with 29 newly independent countries of Asia and Africa at the Bandung conference of 1955. It initiated the new "Third World" perspective on political, economic and cultural global activities that would culminate in the creation of the non-aligned political movement. It was an affirmation of the existence of a third way in the international political arena, separate from the Western and Soviet blocs (Childs & Williams, 1997).

2.6.2.2 What is Post-Colonial Theory About?

Originally a literary theory, post-colonialism became a phenomenological discourse because it perceives truth as relevant to a certain reality. Post-colonial theory aspires to view the former colonies as having an individual sense of sovereignty, as opposed to the colonial sense of familiarity. It allows for a deconstruction of the Western representation of the non-Western world (Said, 1993; pp. xix-xxi) by altering the traditional methods of examining the relations between Western and non-Western peoples and cultures. It provides a new lens that allows Western

people to see "…how people outside the west actually feel and perceive themselves" (Young, 2003; p. 2). Whereas its central theme of critical analysis is the inherent superiority of the European peoples and cultures over the others stipulated in colonial discourse, it finds practical expression in cultural and social dependence (Said, 1993; Bhabha, 1994) and provides a promising understanding of the contemporary economic hybrid patterns [in Mauritius] resulting from the expansion of European modernity (Zein-Elabdin, 2004).

Apart from its concern for the identity construction of the colonised, the post-colonial approach also includes the study of colonial institutions, the resistance of the subjects, the various responses to colonial incursions, and examination of the impact and continuing legacies of Western European domination and colonisation of the non-Western peoples, lands and cultures. Post-colonial theory has thus evolved into a challenging and complex area of critical inquiry through its multi-disciplinary application to expose the various historical, economic, sociological and political analyses of the ramifications of European colonial systems.

A primary assertion of post-colonial theory is that post-colonial countries are still largely in a position of cultural subordination and economic inequality to the Western nations of Europe and North America. Post-colonial theory explains these unequal relationships derived from colonialism by articulating the major concepts of image or representation, identity and historical inertia. Major post-colonial thinkers on the subject and their respective conceptual themes include Said's Orientalism (discussed above), Bhabha's hybridity and mimicry, and Fanon's [black] identity and national culture.

2.6.2.3   Bhabha, Hybridity and Mimicry

Homi Bhabha was interested in the similarities between colonisers and the colonised. In his opinion, the coloniser's identity was no less

complex than that of the colonised. The colonial identity became a source of tension and anxiety in the relationship between the two, as it contained the conditions of fantasy, desire and violence. This friction severely impaired the ambitions of the colonial government to civilise the colonised.

In post-colonial theory, hybridity refers to trans-cultural arrangements that evolve during contacts between the colonisers and colonised. The relations created are interdependent and mutually influencing. Cultural identity emerges in what Bhabha calls a "Third Space of enunciation" (Bhabha, 1994; p. 37). This space is so intrinsically ambivalent and contradictory that it cannot sustain the highest forms of culture.

According to Bhabha (1994), one achieves identity only in relation to the "other," and identity must be viewed in terms of the desire or need to relate to the place of the other. Bhabha adds to Fanon's explanation of the consistent desire of the colonised to take the coloniser's place (in the construction and confirmation of their identity), claiming the colonised also look down on themselves from the colonisers' vantage point. There is an inherent conflict in the desire of the colonised to remain the same and simultaneously to emulate and remain close to the coloniser. Colonial identity consequently lies somewhere between the coloniser and the colonised (Childs and Williams, 1997). It is in this "in-between" space that culture is created in the form of hybridity, with all of its connotations and burdens (Aschroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998). Tourism and travel trade narratives, which quietly force classifications of these ambiguous post-colonial populations, can be quite tormenting and ultimately crippling (Hollinshead, 2004). The polarised explanations of post-colonial cultural difference in terms of West and other are, according to Bhabha, too narrow and cannot be used in bona fide cultural identification. Because tourism exhibits a force that universalises geography and showcases the invasive hegemony of Western values, it becomes difficult for the colonised and marginalised to speak and articulate their identities (Barringer and Flynn, 1998; Horne, 1992; Urry, 1990).

Mimicry is another form of identity created within the ambivalent colonial relationship. It is part of a wider strategy of colonial discourse, that of the desire for an acceptable and altered other. The colonised are encouraged to "mimic" the coloniser by adopting the latter's norms, values, institutions and assumptions. The ambivalence lies in the dual existence of similarity and dissimilarity, as the colonised is expected to become like the coloniser but always remain distinct, "almost the same but not quite" (Bhabha, 1994; p. 86). One example would be the anglicised Indian mediators and administrators in the British Raj. Although they were functionaries in the colonial administration, they also participated in the insurgency against British rule. After independence they would become the nationalist ruling elite.

Mimicry is cultivated by the coloniser and imposed upon the colonised. Similarly, colonial discourse is displaced as the coloniser sees traces of himself in the colonised. According to Bhabha, mimicry becomes a menace when the manipulated colonised people suddenly become aware of the "inauthenticity" of having been ideologically constructed. The menace is not concealment of the true identity behind the mask, but rather the double vision that reveals the ambivalence of colonial authority and which can ultimately become a disruptive element (Bhabha, 1994). Post-colonial writings reveal that the menace of mimicry lies not in its opposition to colonial discourse but rather in the disruption of authority it can create when mimicry crosses the line into mockery. The power of mimicry by the colonised to destabilise the colonial authority lies in its potential to identify areas of political and cultural uncertainty in the colonial structure of dominance (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998).

2.6.2.4   Fanon, Black Identity and Nationalism (National Culture)

Fanon's professional training as a psychiatrist and his Marxist tendencies have influenced his clinical study and analysis of the effects of

racism and colonial domination on the psyche (i.e., construction of self-identity) of the colonised, particularly within the economic and historical realities of colonialism. His works and analyses can be divided into three major sections (Wyrick, 1998):

1. The Search for Black (Self-) Identity

In "Black Skin, White Masks," Fanon argued that the conceptual foundation of white superiority over the natives upon which colonialism is based serves to divide and alienate the colonised. The coloniser has imposed the perceived superiority of its culture, history, language, customs and beliefs, thereby causing the colonised to deem themselves inferior. To compensate for this feeling of inferiority in their self-identity, the colonised are led into acceptance and assimilation. This results in the colonised having a divided sense of self characterised by feelings of trauma and inadequacy (Childs & Williams, 1997). The colonised consequently become further alienated from their own culture, as the adoption of the coloniser's culture helps to create stereotyped representations that further denigrate the indigenes. To Fanon, colonialist subjugation inevitably results in the self-alienation he has observed in black people. Applying Lacan's theory of identity formation, which stipulates that one achieves complete identity in the body of another person outside of one's self (mirror-image), Fanon argues that the self-identity of the colonised becomes the mirror-image of the coloniser.

2. Resistance (Struggle Against Colonialism)

The basis for Fanon's "anti-colonial theory" (Young, 1995; p. 161) lies in his concern for history. Fanon emphasised the importance of the colonised to transcend history as a way to claim back their own history and to escape the constraints of historical forces. In "The Wretched of the Earth," Fanon (1961) claims that colonialism turns against the history of the oppressed and destroys it. In order to preserve the national culture of the colonised, it becomes imperative to fight for liberation. Cultural resistance in a climate of colonial oppression, as expressed in violent insurrection, is sufficiently justified as the "indigenous population do no more than take up the violence of the colonialists" (Childs & Williams, 1997; p. 54). Since the

latter do not want to surrender power, "decolonisation is always a violent phenomenon" (Fanon, "Concerning Violence;" p. 140, in Childs and Williams, 1997; p. 54).

3. Liberation (Decolonisation)

The reclamation of culture (tradition) and clear images (representations) of the pre-colonial past is vital in the construction of new forms of social organisations and national identity in the modern post-colonial state. To Fanon (1961), it is imperative that the existing colonial institutions and the "colonial space" be eradicated in the post-colonial state to be radically rebuilt in ways that will be more democratic and will bolster indigenous rule. If adopted by indigenous people, colonial institutions will only serve to reproduce and construct the concepts and ideas of the colonisers. The same applies to the education of the indigenous middle class. It is important that after liberation the indigenous intelligentsia does not replicate the ideologies and beliefs of the colonisers. This particular approach of Fanon is of utmost importance when transposed onto the analysis of the explanation for the continuing colonial legacy in tourism in the case of Mauritius. A negotiated peaceful decolonisation process and the absence of a necessity to eradicate colonial structures at independence become post-colonial concepts of explanation as discussed in more details in later chapters on findings and discussion.

National independence does not necessarily signify the disappearance of the colonial. The pre-colonial past should be treated with respect, as it can empower a new nationalist elite behind the masks of the liberators. The new independent state must constantly resist the indicia of a neo-colonial society and the lingering grip of capitalism initiated by colonialism. These often take the form of socio-economic and political decisions reminiscent of and favouring past colonial power. The struggle is exacerbated by post-colonial problems of underdevelopment and poverty, and the solutions are often linked to the former colonising power (Childs & Williams, 1997) resulting in neo-colonial forms of unequal relationships.

2.6.3   Post-Colonial Discourse: The Metropolitan Perspective

It is generally accepted that because post-colonial theory originates in the former colonies, it would consequently apply to or reflect the realities of these countries only. However, with its objective of examining the various relationships that develop between the colonised and the coloniser within the colonial space, it was inevitable that the theory would eventually attract the attention of Western theorists. Metropolitan post-colonial theorists include both natives and "diasporics" from former colonies who approach the metropolitan history from a post-colonial perspective (Childs & Williams, 1997). The right of such intellectuals to call themselves post-colonial may be disputed on the grounds that they are located in the "metropoles."   They are nevertheless involved in analysing relationships that are not only situated in the post-colonial era but are also deeply rooted in colonial legacies. The historical event of colonisation and its material effects (on metropolitan shores) thus remain the primary focus of these Western theorists (Dirlik, 1994).

The recent social and cultural problems associated with immigrant urban populations in France, Britain, The Netherlands, Germany and Denmark have prompted many intellectuals, historians and politicians from these countries to deliberately or unconsciously embrace a post-colonial approach to explain the new realities of the post-colonial Western world. The history of and political responses to the so-called "immigrant problem" can often be traced back to struggles of colonial times (de la Forcade, 2006), and even further back to problems of identity construction that were triggered by earlier cultural confrontations. The spectre of the colonial experience is now looming over the former empires, suggesting that the aftermath of post-colonialism is vast.

Post-colonialism has also been used to interpret and understand the rise of an extreme right-wing ideology in countries like France and the Netherlands in the face of increasing internal problems with immigrant populations. Ironically, Said's Orientalism and Fanon's national culture

become increasingly relevant as the long-term consequences of colonisation and decolonisation develop into issues of concern and explanation for extreme right intellectuals (Flood & Frey, 1998). The failure of integration (in the UK and the Netherlands) and assimilation (in France) of immigrant populations is viewed as a direct result and continuation of policies developed by the empires during the colonial period. Post-war immigration and citizenship policies in the UK were initially developed to encourage close ties between the home country and its overseas territories (Bleich, 2005). In the case of post-war France, Algeria was an integral part of the nation, and as a result all Algerians had full French citizenship. Though Bleich (2005) questions the contention that British and French integration structures are legacies of their respective colonial pasts, his investigation of these relationships is undeniably post-colonial. This is particularly evident in his juxtaposition of the institutions of the colonial periods and national policies relating to the subjects of the former colonies:

- violence and juvenile delinquency in urban immigrant areas, identity crisis, and blurred location are all concepts from post-colonial discourse; and

- swamping by the "others" (e.g., ex-territorialising parts of the metropolitan countries and the creation of no-go areas for police) are reminiscent of colonial insurgencies.

Such a juxtaposition could also logically occur in the colonised setting. Structures inherited from the colonial period and their dismantling (or not) in the aftermath of decolonisation help to explain the socio-economic and political relationship patterns former colonies have developed with their former rulers. The pattern of tourism development in Mauritius, for example, reveals an intricate and complex relationship of continuity and renewal between the island and France. While such "lingering" relationships are often taken for granted, they suggest the existence of deep historical ties. As a former colonial power, France continues to reinforce the socio-cultural, political and economic structural foundations in Mauritius, which still maintain their predominantly French character,

despite the island having been British from 1810 until its independence in 1968.

2.6.4   Critique of Post-Colonial Discourse

Post-colonialism is an overarching theoretical concept that embraces a wide array of complex concepts (Slemon, 1988). This is understandable given the heterogeneous character of the colonial experience on both sides of the binary logic that underlies it.

As a multi-disciplinary discourse, post-colonialism has been adopted by such a multitude of disciplines and applied in so many different ways that it has become increasingly difficult to clearly delineate its intellectual history (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998). A major criticism of the theory is based not on its general ideas or assumptions, but rather in the pluralistic meaning of the term itself. Some academics have construed the term in the broadest possible sense, while others have attempted to limit its scope. McClintock (1992) has analysed the chronological definition of the term, debating its applicability at various points in time throughout modern world history. McClintock's assessment is not related to a particular stage in history, but rather to a series of stages along a linear development from the pre-colonial through the colonial and into the post-colonial eras. Post-colonialism is thus considered an unstable concept, doomed to be in perpetual conflict with the deterministic view of the linear development it purports to reflect (Griffith, Ashcroft & Tiffin, 1998).

A major argument against post-colonial discourse is the lack of rigor in its methods of investigation. According to Todorov (1993) and Hopkins (1997), post-colonial theorists are emotional, subjective and irrational, all of which present serious limitations to empirical study and the development of empirical social theories. The non-adherence of post-colonial critics to disciplinary and institutional norms leads to normative ambiguity. Ultimately, Spivak (1991) viewed Said's concept of "Orientalism," which

was considered a hallmark of post-colonialism, as nothing more than an examination of the construction of an object and not a study of marginality, even though it purported to create a space of discourse in which the marginalised found a voice.

This study purports to counter the argument that post-colonial discourse barely allows for interaction with economics (Zein-Elabdin, 2004) by addressing economic issues directly through a post-colonial theoretical analytical lens. The economic implications of tourism development are viewed within the cultural conflict that a past colonial system would have historically imposed. In the cases of most island nations, tourism has played a pivotal role in the development imperative that was initiated during the colonial period. An analysis of tourism through colonial discourse helps to explain that development imperative as an instrument of continuing unequal power relationship, the sources of which could be related to both structure and process.

2.6.5   Development Imperative: The Colonial Approach

With the colonial government being external to each colony, power to rule rested with the imperial "centres" of London, Paris, Brussels and The Hague. The colonial governments were aliens and authority devolved to them from the metropolis (Fieldhouse, 1999). In theory, the goal of imperial rule through colonial governments was successful growth in terms of economic and social development for the poor colonies that made up most of the Third World. In addition, the imperial states supposedly had a moral obligation to take care of their colonies and to ensure economic expansion and improvements in social conditions.

Before the 1930s, imperial governments were well aware of their colonies' need for development, yet the necessary funds to finance development were not made available. Lord Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary from 1895-1903, strongly encouraged colonial economic

improvement because "…it is the duty of a Landlord to develop his estate" (Garvin, 1934, in Havinden and Meredith, 1993; p. 81). It was also believed that development of the colonies would benefit the Imperial powers by:

- increasing the production of commodities that were needed in the metropolis;

- increasing the number of secure colonial markets for the empire's exports with the help of protectionist measures; and

- broadening the investment portfolios available to adventurous individual and corporate Europeans (Fieldhouse, 1999).

The British Colonial Development Act of 1929 marked a turning point by providing grants and low-cost loans to finance colonial development. However, reliance on colonial revenues to finance such loans was limited by the weak economic condition of the colonies. It also demonstrated that Britain did not have a sincere interest in developing its colonies. The same appeared to be true of France. Despite an increase in public investments in colonies in the 1930s, the amount invested by the state and the private sector in the "Fonds d'Investissement pour le Developpement Economique et Social" (FIDES) was minimal (Marseille, 1984). With a prevailing recession in the 1930s, the general attitude among the colonial empires was that devoting resources to tropical commodities was futile.

A genuine development imperative for the colonies was launched after World War II. When confronted with shortages in raw materials, the colonial powers turned to their colonies as vital sources. Additionally, the increasing poverty and social upheavals in the colonies highlighted the need to promote economic growth. Hence, the increase in imperial expenditures through the Colonial Development and Welfare (CD&W) Act of 1940 in Britain was aimed at assisting colonial governments in initiating

development schemes. This was the origin of "foreign aid," as it would later become known (Constantine, 1984).

At the international level, the negative attitude of the United States (a prominent partner of the UK) towards imperialism forced Britain to reconsider its own attitude regarding the future of its colonies. Economic development was essential if Britain wanted the U.S. to view the empire as synonymous with progress. Consequently, in the 1950s, there was increasing economic aid by Britain, France and Belgium to their colonies. By then, in the face of increasing nationalist movements for independence in the colonies, economic development through aid became a tool of persuasion against independence. The following sections look at changes in the meaning of development over time, with particular emphasis on meanings derived from the different paradigms that were popular during the late colonial period. The aim is not to develop a new definition of development but rather to highlight the broad scope of the term and its ultimate implications and application for island tourism development.

2.6.5.1   Theories of Development: Modernisation and Dependency

There was one significant common characteristic among the newly independent countries: poverty. Despite the elaboration of various plans to develop their economies, it was political ideology that dictated the type of development to be pursued. This was often directly related to the manner in which the country had achieved independence. Countries that had fought for independence would often choose a variant of development that was based on Soviet models, and those that had negotiated their independence were more likely to pursue a Western model. During that period of change, social scientists were intent on formulating a macro-theoretical framework that could explain the state of poverty and underdevelopment in the newly independent countries as part of the wider "development debate" on the nature and causes of economic development. This pursuit, together with debates within the Marxist school of thought on the forms of capitalist

development that colonial control promoted and their possible effects on socio-political structures of newly decolonised countries, laid the foundations for the emergence of theories on underdevelopment.

The first, modernisation theory, has its roots in a variety of perspectives applied by non-Marxists to developing countries in the 1950s and 1960s (Harrison, 1988). It placed newly independent countries and developed societies at opposite ends of a social continuum. According to Mazrui (1968), newly independent countries were underdeveloped because their values, institutions and behavioural patterns acted as impediments to the process of modernisation. Unequal relationships and development in the world are merely the result of potentially equal countries simply being at different stages of development. Thus, Western countries are seen as well developed because their developmental path has been highly successful and because there were no other practical alternatives. According to modernisation theorists, developing countries consciously and voluntarily seek cooperation with developed countries in order to close the gap between them. It is thus necessary for developing countries in the Third World to rely on the experience of Western countries (Scott, 1995) to achieve economic, social and cultural prosperity.

Modernisation theory was criticised for its apparent "ethnocentric" view of the world (Said, 1978), its unidirectional path of development, high levels of abstraction (So, 1990) and the assumption that traditional values are not compatible with modernity (So, 1990). Western institutions and values were regarded as the appropriate standard by which the development of all countries should be measured. Furthermore, critics contend that the theory ignores the existence of a pre-colonial historical past for undeveloped countries, while attributing one to developed nations (Wallerstein, 1974; Rostow, 1960). Modernisation theory was also criticised by dependency theorists for being an ideology used to justify Western involvement and domination of the developing world (Sharma, 2004).

Dependency theory was developed in the 1950s as a critical reaction to the conventional post-World War II economic development theories and the failure of certain United Nations development programmes in Latin America. Schuurman (1993) considers it one of the best neo-Marxist development theories. It views underdevelopment as the primary cause of the poverty, particularly in newly independent countries. The economies of poor nations, or the "agrarian periphery," are largely dependent on their trading relationships with developed nations, or the "industrial centre," which almost always favour the latter to the detriment of the former. This is primarily due to the nature and structure of the economic relations between these two groups.

Dependency theory views the states of development and underdevelopment as integral parts of the "world economy" (Wallerstein, 1974), linked through functional relationships for their mutual benefit and maintenance. Three concentric circles that represent a "core" of Western countries, a semi-periphery and a periphery illustrate this system, which reflects an international division of labour and the process of transferring surplus from the periphery to the core (Wallerstein, 1974; Valenzuela & Valenzuela, 1978). The external and internal political, institutional and economic structures of developing countries thus keep them dependent on developed countries (Todaro, 1997). Dependency theorists believe that poverty and social degradation in the Third World, as well as the industrial growth and enrichment of Western countries, were not coincidental. In the words of Andre Gunder Frank (1972; p. 3) "…contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole."

These conditions necessitated the subjugation and conditioning of underdeveloped countries as part of their incorporation into the capitalist world economy. In fact, by being the first to industrialise, core countries

could command advantages over the rest of the world. The peripheries serve the needs of the core and are deliberately prevented from acquiring or developing more sophisticated skills. European colonialism thus laid the foundation for generating the mechanisms of the new world economy (Asad, 1973). Put another way, the existence of the poverty-stricken "periphery" was viewed as a necessary consequence of the evolution of capitalism (Portes, 1976) and metropolitan domination. To Peet (1999; p. 107), European domination was made possible through the "external destruction: brutal conquest, colonial control and the stripping of non-Western societies of their peoples, resources and surpluses." The maintenance and perpetuation of such domination was not only a reflection of the power of the dominant states but was also a consequence of the power of local elites in the dependent states. To dependency theorists, the private interests of local elites coincide with those of the core, as the elites are trained in the centre, share similar values and culture with those in the dominant states, and believe that economic development in the dependent state is only possible through the application of liberal economic doctrine.

Dependency theory became popular not only because it offered an explanation for the ebbs and flows and various forms of economic modernisation since the industrial revolution in Britain, but also because it prescribed solutions to problems of sustained intensive growth in the world in general (Davies, 2006). An early proponent of the application of economics within development theory was the Argentinean Raul Prebisch, who together with his colleagues at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America were puzzled by the fact that economic growth in developed industrialised nations did not necessarily lead to growth in poorer countries and in fact often resulted in serious economic problems. Based on a detailed study of the Terms of Trade between developed and less developed nations, Prebisch (1970) believed that this was because the periphery has little or no control over the demand for and supply of its exports, which are almost exclusively primary products. In order to counteract the deteriorating trade terms for less developed countries, Prebisch recommended that they engage in import substitution

manufacturing rather than continuing their dependence on industrial nations for these manufactured goods (Torres, 1993). Many underdeveloped countries, a number of them newly independent, attempted but failed to modernise by employing Prebisch's prescription of state-led autarkic industrialisation. Economic development and growth were increasingly related to interlinked processes, which operated on a global scale in the form of increasing labour mobility, heightened economic integration and specialisation, and rapid technological innovation and diffusion. By the late 1980s, when China and India witnessed a sharp decline in absolute poverty through a slow move away from economic nationalism by integrating the process of globalisation, it was a sign that the path to development had changed (Davies, 2006). This was a discredit to the dependency school.

2.6.5.2 Development: The Globalisation Approach

Since the 1980s, theoretical approaches to development have moved away from economic growth perspectives to embrace a broader concept of development indicators that transcend economic statistics. In Goulet's (1992) view, development encompasses at least five dimensions, including economic (wealth creation and the fair distribution of wealth), social (access to health, housing education and employment), political (an appropriate political structure and system and respect for human rights), cultural (respect, protection and affirmation of cultural identity, diversity and self-esteem), and the full-life paradigm (upholding of society's symbols, beliefs and meaning systems). In addition to such varied dimensions, development is now concerned with transformations from the individual to the global level (Elliott, 1999) and encompasses sustainable development as a fundamental parameter of a contemporary approach to development (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008), strengthening of institutional, industrial and human capacities, trade support and promotion, international co-operation and trade and investment flows (Dohlman &Halvorson-Quevedo, 1997). All of these processes have considerable potential for expansion across the developing

world and are essential for stimulating the growth necessary to absorb burgeoning labour forces.

The process of globalisation thus assumes that all nations will increasingly depend on the worldwide conditions of communication, trade and international finance, thereby integrating countries across the globe in international economic transactions (Scholte, 2000). Within the development perspective, the theory of globalisation is primarily concerned with the structure of the global economic system and how this structure has changed at both the international and domestic levels. Globalisation rests on the premise that changes occur due to an increasing degree of integration among societies, causing greater economic, social and cultural interdependence among countries and among regions. The mechanisms of a growing global communications network that spreads to less developed countries allow a higher degree of interaction through technology, not only at the governmental and corporate levels but also at the individual level, thereby creating a "global village." International integration of economies and regions ultimately impacts economic growth and other social indicators, including international travel (Kaplan, 1993).

2.7   Economic Development and Tourism: A Historical Perspective

The concept of economic development as a worthwhile goal that should be promoted is a relatively new phenomenon and is often historically associated with the emergence of capitalism (Larain, 1994). The need for increased productivity and progress is thus rooted in the classical political economy, as proposed by Adam Smith and Ricardo (Hollander, 1979), who believed that international trade would impact on capital accumulation. In that perspective, colonialism can be seen as having laid the foundation for an enlargement of markets that would allow not only the selling of surplus production abroad but also the lowering of labour costs and increasing profits.

In development studies, the strongest link between tourism and economic development appears to be based on economic growth (Krapf, 1961). In fact, in the 1950s and 1960s, the terms "development" and "economic growth" were often used interchangeably (Mabogunje, 1980). However, in the literature on both development and tourism, there is no clear definition of development.

It is natural that economists would differ in their definitions of economic development given the value judgments underlying the discipline. Since particular emphasis was placed on industrialisation as a key to economic development in President Truman's Act for International Development of 1950 (Torres, 1993), a definition of economic development includes the full realisation of human potential (Sears, 1972, as quoted in Opubor, 1985), a discernible rise in total and per capita income (Higgins, 1980), a self-sustaining increase in real per capita income and more equitable distribution of income (Torres, 1993), and even as the outcome of a state of mind or culture (Harrison, 2000).   The implications of development are thus far-reaching and include the improvement of welfare, productivity and distribution (Uphoff & Ilchman, 1972). In a more general neo-classical economist's view it would also encompass a higher standard of material wealth and the concomitant reduction of poverty with the spatial globalisation of the economy (Gossling, 2003). Economic development has been interpreted in a number of ways, including "economic growth, structural change, autonomous industrialisation, capitalism or socialism, self actualisation, and individual, national, regional and cultural self-reliance" (Harrison, 1988; p. 154).

To Gayle and Goodrich (1993), the problem in delineating the meaning of development lies in distinguishing between economic growth and development. Generally, economic growth means a constant increase in the value of goods and services produced by an economy, and is usually measured by the increase in the level of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, according to Handelman (1996) economic growth is not the same as development. Development is more of a multi-dimensional process of

advancement that requires the socio-economic and political system to re-orient itself (Todaro, 2000). In development studies, dependency theorists explain underdevelopment or the inability to experience economic growth as the outcome of unequal relationships within a world system (Wallerstein, 1974) between the developed nations, or "centres," and the less developed nations, or "peripheries" (Prebisch, 1970), in an interlocked system of global production (Harrison, 1988).

In the development literature, the relationships between development and tourism are mainly depicted, though not exclusively, in terms of the economic impacts of tourism (Pearce, 1989). According to Telfer (2002), development theory and tourism have evolved similarly, with both failing to achieve consensus on theorisation and modelling despite a growing body of knowledge, which in the case of tourism was due to its importance in modern society. Though development theories, processes and outcomes have had a strong impact on research regarding a tourism development model, attempts to link the domains of tourism and development are limited (Dann, 1996). This dichotomous existence can be explained in part by a lack of individual ideological neutrality between tourism and development (Dann, 1996) and the risk of their becoming more value-laden and less ideologically neutral (Wall, 1997). In addition, the constant growth of tourism due to process changes ranging from socio-economic fluctuations to technological advances has made it even more imperative to establish comprehensive theoretical development models capable of capturing relations between tourism and development. Jafari's tourism evolution theory is the classic example of a chronological contextualisation of the influences of development theories in tourism.

The advocacy platform identified in Jafari's (2001) tourism evolution theory was dominant in the 1950s and 1960s and reflective of the influence and association of tourism with modernisation theory (Weaver, 2004). Likewise, the rise of dependency theory as a critical response to modernisation theory saw a concurrent emphasis on the harmful aspects of tourism development (de Kadt, 1979; Turner and Ash, 1975), especially in

the peripheries. Anti-modernisation critics viewed tourism in terms of its global level of organisation and the magnitude of its impacts as a neo-colonial phenomenon that perpetuates dominance by the developed cores and the underdevelopment of the Third World (Muller, 1979; Britton, 1982). Jafari (2001) labelled this phase in tourism knowledge, triggered by the influence of dependency theory, the cautionary platform. The introduction of Butler's (1980) destination life-cycle model of explanation to the evolution of tourism development, which Jafari (2001) called the adaptancy platform, coincided with the consideration of the environment as central to any international development discussions. By the 1990s, a better understanding of governments' and institutions' adherence to neo-liberal economic practices through competitive exports and the recognition of the market as an efficient means of resource allocation, combined with the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the IMF (Dieke, 1995), bolstered the knowledge-based platform in tourism, which Jafari (2001) sees as evidence that the academic research community is embracing a more engaging and holistic treatment of tourism. This coincided with the recognition by governments in many developing countries of the role of a private sector-oriented tourism development policy and the importance of sustainable development strategies spearheaded by tourism (Dieke, 1995).

2.8   Island Tourism Development and the Colonial Economy

The following sections situate small island tourism development within the historical legacy of the colonial past of small islands in the three oceanic basins of the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Oceania, with reference to some specific island cases. The aim is to reveal the various patterns, directions and outcomes of tourism development in relation to the islands' colonial histories and particular former colonial rulers. This will provide the basis for a comparative perspective to tourism development through an array of specific examples from islands across the three oceans mentioned. However, the underlying historical approach to this perspective initially involves an examination of tourism in history and vice versa, and also how

tourism has treated the historical process of colonialism. This is followed by a brief discussion of the evolution of tourism development in small islands as seen in tourism literature.

2.8.1 Tourism: A Historical Perspective

A historical approach to the study of processes and events typically highlights the significance of the periods they represent and places in which they occur. A historical focus on tourism considers mainly travel and leisure in ancient and medieval worlds, the Grand Tour era, spas and seaside resorts through a comparative analysis of European and North American leisure histories. Towner (1988, 1995) and Towner & Wall (1991) point to the lack of historical contributions in tourism research, which Towner (1988) attributes to the overwhelming involvement of the social sciences and the multidisciplinary interests in the tourism field. Similarly, tourism academics have recognised that tourism research has a present-minded focus and that historians have largely neglected tourism as an area of research (Morgan, 2001). Nonetheless, there has been some academic interest in applying historical methods to tourism study. John Walton (1983, 1998, 2000), a leading social historian of the British seaside, proposed to use history to address weighty tourism issues, such as the tourist gaze, staged authenticity, "orientalism" and the resort lifecycle (Morgan, 2001). On the other hand, it is worth noting that in their 1981 version of the "Framework for Tourism Education," based on the 1977 framework by Jafari, Jafari & Ritchie (1981; p. 31) did not mention history as a contributing discipline to the establishment of tourism studies as a "rigorous, legitimate field of academic endeavour." Similarly, Tribe's (1997; p. 638) observation that the inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary nature of tourism makes its analysis "conscious of its youthfulness," but in no way precludes an awareness of its history.

A simple historical perspective to tourism can take the form of a chronological survey of tourism forms and practices (Towner & Wall, 1991) identified by the evolution of influencing factors such as the image of

wealth, social class, education, and geo-politics. Such a chronology is designed to fix the present to the past (Stanford, 1994). Among the various recognisable markers in the historical chronology of Western international tourism is the Grand Tour. Similarly, within what can be seen as a historical process of development in less-developed countries (LDCs), Harrison (2001; p. 23) suggested that [international] tourism should be viewed "…as part of a process of mass movement that was already established by the middle of the 19th century."

A historical approach to study and research also involves the incorporation or application of both the philosophy and methodology of the discipline of history. They bring the central historical concepts, theories and methods, as well as the problems, controversies and major debates, to which the discipline has been subjected. The past as history was certainly different, and its significance lies in this difference (Stanford, 1994). The multi-faceted nature and perspective of history, whether seen as action or as narrative, illuminate the need to be aware of and understand the wide variety of theoretical perspectives and schools of thought with which the discipline is fraught (Stanford, 1994). The emphasis of history on time, according to Barraclough (1979), ensures that the study of a society is dynamic and in a continuous process of change.

According to Elton (1969), history focuses on the elements of events, change and a concern for the particular. However, it is change that becomes the object of analysis and description, as it embodies not only the temporal transformation of people, society and ideas but also the transformation of their state. The Annales School of French historians, for instance, insists on "rhythms" of history as an explanation of historical continuity. History is constructed through the interplay between geographical time (slow, long-term continuities of structural realities), social time (the shorter and more rapid time frames—decades and centuries—of economic, demographic and cultural systems, also called "conjunctures"), and individual time (shorter individual life cycles or surface disturbances, also called "évènements"- events) (Stanford, 1994).

73

Whatever the approach to history, it is the discipline's central concern of understanding change through time that underlies history's possible contribution to the study of tourism (Towner & Wall, 1991).

While historical research concerned with temporal perspectives on tourism development takes into account the relationship between tourism and history (Towner and Wall, 1991), social science research focuses on changes within destination areas. These include fluctuations in the number and characteristics of visitors, adjustments in resident attitudes towards tourism, and changes in sources of investment and the degree of local control. It can therefore be said that a description of the evolution of tourism in space and time (spatio/temporal models) reflects aspects of both social science (geography) and the history of tourism.

In adopting a historical perspective to visitor destination areas, it is logically necessary to consider variations in the external conditions they present when compared to generating areas. The problem, however, is a lack of information regarding past host societies. This is a reflection of the bias in travel and leisure accounts, which tend to favour the wealthy and educated. As a result, historical accounts from the host area perspective are virtually non-existent (Towner, 1996). It can be assumed that dynamic socio-economic, cultural and topographical alterations have occurred in destination areas, driven by the creation of consumption centres to address generating areas' needs for recreation and tourism (Borsay, 1990). There is, however, scant research from a historical context to support such assertions.

Another expression of the relationship between history and tourism lies in considering the structures of the past (physical and social) in the development of "cultural tourism" (Kostiainen, 1997). Though researchers are increasingly attracted to explaining the use of colonial artefacts in cultural and heritage tourism (Marling, 1989; Herbert, 1995; Conforti, 1996; McKercher & du Cros, 2004), they have not focused on establishing possible links of explanation within colonial history. The historical past (heritage) possesses certain historical values and is thus an integral

component of present day tourism. Various aspects of a destination's historical past are thus placed at the service of tourism. To Herbert (1995), however, the relationship between history and tourism is probably better characterised by the threat the latter poses to the preservation of the former through the commercialisation of heritage, which often involves an inversion of history. This presents a strong case for an inter-disciplinary discourse on the implications for historical science, the primary purpose of which is to determine elements of the past (uncover the truth) to the greatest extent possible, and how tourism treats these same elements.

2.8.2   Tourism and Colonialism

Fieldhouse (1983; p. 164) argued that colonialism can be described as the "process of creating an integrated world economy and the development of an international division of labour." To some neo-Marxists, colonialism has enabled capitalist states to exploit their dependencies, leaving them marginalised on the periphery of the capitalist world (Rodney, 1973). With regard to the type of development imposed on French colonies in West Africa, Amin (1971) criticised the colonial policy of concentration on commodities for export as a dead end because mono-crop culture only results in the extension of land use with no technological improvements. Such a colony becomes vulnerable to market fluctuations and deteriorating terms of trade. In "Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850-1960," Havinden and Meredith (1993) attribute the economic failure of these colonies to the structural imbalance created by their excessive dependence on the export of a few unprocessed primary commodities. In the case of these tropical island colonies, it was mainly sugar.

The fall in the price of sugar on the world market after World War II left a gaping hole in the economy of island colonies. Many islands sought new ways to diversify their economies in other activities that could generate foreign exchange earnings. Harrigan (1974) believed that after the decline

of sugar as the major revenue, islands in the Caribbean all "jumped on the bandwagon. If we were not growing sugar we were growing nothing. So let it be with tourism" (Harrigan, 1974; p. 20).

The concept of tourism, as a mass phenomenon, has been systematically studied as a post-war industry offering the promise of unabated growth. According to Hughes (1991), tourism emerged as a definable industry-based sector as a result of economic imperatives to become a major economic activity generating significant income to the host economy (de Kadt, 1979). To Travis (1982), the multidisciplinary character of tourism means that any related research should be firmly grounded in the social science disciplines. However, only superficial references to periods of colonisation can be found in anthropological perspectives of tourism in the post-modern world (Errington & Gewertz, 2004), or they are treated as mere background information in articles on island tourism development (Wing, 1995a, 1995b; de Kadt, 1992). Colonialism is nonetheless at the root of the *occupation* or *acquisition* of exotic overseas lands (Maunier, 1998), which in the post-colonial era have become or are in the process of becoming tourist destinations (Craik, 1994). The most evident linkage is found in the treatment of tourism within the post-colonialism theoretical construction.

The notion that colonialism could form part of the history of tourism is virtually absent in major tourism textbooks. Any reference to the origins of tourism invariably relates to the evolving eras from prehistoric or ancient times, through the "Grand Tour" and "Transition" eras, to the modern and post-WWII periods (Hudman & Hawkins, 1989; pp. 8-14; Lickorish & Jenkins, 1997; p. 11). In "Tourism Principles, Practices, Philosophies," Goeldner and Ritchie (2003) scarcely mention colonialism as a major relevant historical event. This suggests that academics tend to either take colonialism for granted or minimise its importance as a causal factor in formulating their approach to the subject. This omission is all the more striking given that a typical foray into history in tourism literature "deals with travel and tourism as it relates to Western civilisation" (Hudman &

Hawkins, 1989; p. 9). Modern Western civilisation acknowledges the existence of colonialism as an integral part of recent human history, as evidenced by the vilification of colonial rule in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the United Nations in 1960 (Springhall, 2001; p. 11). Though colonialism and decolonisation figure prominently in general history books, they have little mention in tourism studies, and there are only sporadic references to them in the treatment of tourism history.

Yet, as Harrison (2001; p. 29) pointed out, there is little "…doubt that prior colonial association and exposure to capitalism, as well as geographical propinquity are important features of tourism to many LDCs." Harrison (2001) further argues that Marxists view such a historical relationship as having conditioned, through a process of historical commoditisation of culture, the particular growth and direction of tourism in these countries. The concept of colonialism has also been widely used to explain tourism from a Marxist and post-modernist perspective as a form of power relationship and tool of oppression. Matthews, (1978a, Cited in Hall & Tucker, 2004; p. 4) views tourism as "potentially being a new plantation economy." Others have characterised tourism as a force that perpetuates historic anomalies within the world economy (Wallerstein, 1974), keeping countries in economically and socially submissive positions (Britton, 1982; Burns, 2004) through the expansion of the capitalist mode of production (Wallerstein, 1979). Studies of the Bahamas (Palmer, 1994), Polynesia (Connell, 2003), and Ethiopia (Abbink, 2000) reflect this type of research. Pritchard and Morgan (2000) liken tourism to other forms of oppression and privilege by a white, male, bourgeois, heterosexual master. Likewise, a substantial body of literature exists explaining how national identity and destination image perpetuate the master-servant relationship evident during the colonial period (Matthews, 1978b; James-Bryan, 1986).

2.8.3   Tourism and Post-Colonialism

The early stage of prolific academic interest in tourism has coincided with global changes in the relationships between the colonisers and the colonised, with the consequence that there are few (often implicit) post-colonial perspectives in treatises on tourism. Works included those by Davis (1979) and Britton (1980, 1982) on tourism and western hegemony, dependency by Wallerstein (1979), post-colonial identity by Palmer (1994), tourism as plantation economy (Beckford, 1972, Hall, 1994), tourism as enclave development (Freitag, 1994), and developing countries as subsystems (Hills and Lundgren, 1977). More recent studies tend to concentrate on the implications of cultural (Duval, 2004; Henderson, 2004; Du Cros, 2004), economic (Jaakson, 2004) and political events and encounters (Akama, 1996) that are implicit in the tourism experience (Hall & Tucker, 2004).

There is no simple explanation for why colonialism and post-colonialism have been overlooked in much of the study of tourism, even in post-colonial societies themselves (Hall & Tucker, 2004). The term "post-colonialism" is a potentially sensitive, problematic and contested perspective (Bahri, 1995, 1996) in discourses at the centre and in the periphery. It implies at least some measure of temporal cross-cultural criticism (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989), an area of contestation and confusion (Hall & Tucker, 2004) that could account for the reluctance to address this subject. Tourism and its development in former colonies is nonetheless one reality of post-colonialism.

A seminal work that draws together theoretical and applied research to shed light on the links between tourism, colonialism and post-colonialism is by Hall & Tucker (2004): "*Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations.*"   In this book, the authors examine post-colonialism in relation to one of its "realities"—tourism—by collecting a variety of contributions on the subject from tourism scholars (Hall & Tucker, 2004). Their analyses of tourism from a post-colonial

perspective are especially constructive as they recognise the importance of a colonial past in addressing tourism in developing countries from perspectives that include core issues of heritage, representation, identity, conflict, myth creation and image.

As a theoretical framework that provides powerful explanations in the development of cultural theories, post-colonialism presents significant potential for tourism studies of the less developed world. Tourism encounters as part of the tourism experience involve multiple negotiations on both the temporal and spatial levels. Identity concerns, for example, constitute a major aspect of postcolonial thought that has influenced tourism studies with its emphasis on the construction of knowledge and power through the duality of the coloniser and the colonised (d'Hauteserre, 2004). It is in the landscapes of exoticism and tourist narratives that post-colonial theory and tourism relate through the creation of myths. The tourism experience is sanitised through the domestication of the exotic made familiar by a system of reference that is resolutely western and perpetuated through the consumption of the geopolitical space as pleasure periphery by the metropolitan centre (d'Hauteserre, 2004; Hall & Tucker, 2004).

Concepts that are drawn from wider post-colonial literature are used to circumscribe tourism, not only as a post-colonial cultural feature but also as an international industry, which by its very nature is based on past and present day colonial structural relationships. One important initial arrangement of Hall & Tucker's (2004) work is its Foucauldian post-modern grounding that underscores the relationship between tourism source markets and postcolonial destinations: a fundamental power relationship inherent in the social structure of Western societies, which reproduce themselves by insidiously working on the [colonised] human subject. Urry (1990) goes further to explain the contiguity between Western knowledge of tourism and colonial power by highlighting the dominant psychological features and invasive hegemony of Western values that are carried by Western tourists and which are also evident in the routine activities of companies and corporations in the travel trade (Hollinshead, 1999). Tourist

destinations thus become the reflective production of the interests of the centre. Tourist destination marketing fully utilises the tools provided by the post-colonial framework to construct a sanctioned image of the destination that ultimately directs the nature of tourism development in the periphery. The diverse contemporary constructions of such images are legitimated and communicated through a system of codes at the periphery (Buck, 1993; p. 180, in Hollinshead, 2004; p. 26). The complexity of the post-colonial is therefore real, just like the consequences of contact Diasporas have with their homelands: the lack and/or loss of freedom of action and control (Said, 1993) and consumption in the liminal.

Another concept that is colonial in nature but fundamentally capitalist in origin is sexual expressiveness as source of power struggle, fascination, attraction, fear or repulsion, charactised by the obsessive desire of a civilised white European society to defeat the "feminine" islands, where not only storms and death loomed as threatening forces, but also women (Peron, 2004). A social nostalgia that draws tourists to such idealised islands has turned them into passive receptacles of sexual imperialism. The tourist becomes a colonising instrument of the destination as part of a fascination for the sexually feminised object of desire available in the island paradise. Over the centuries, the development of a succession of images and their superimposition upon each other has served to complement and reinforce these images of idealised "feminine" islands on the periphery of the mainland. The distant destination, according to Hegel (1975; p. 174, in d'Hauteserre, 2004), becomes the "dark mantle of European night," the imagined feminised realm of paradise, where idyllic and riskless ephemeral encounters beyond fantasies are possible.

Neo-colonialism, which is the economic exploitation by economically stronger countries of weaker ones, particularly after the political independence of the latter, has also received scant attention in the wider tourism literature. Most explanations of visitors' travel from core markets to peripheral destinations are based on the notion that it is the image of tranquillity at the peripheries that generates demand from the

metropolitan markets. This is exemplified in the hegemonic hold over the tourism industry of post-colonial territories (Urry, 1990, Hollinshead, 1999), often termed in tourism literature as "less developed" countries (Harrison, 2001), by multi-national corporations and foreign airlines (Hollinshead, 1999).

The issue of "coloniality" is therefore still relevant in [post] modern tourism in analysing the continuing influences of many former colonial powers on post-colonial states. The debate on the [unequal] economic and political relationships between the core and the periphery has been ongoing and has logically spilled into tourism studies. Tourism relationships have come to be evaluated as inherently unequal, as expressed in the polar opposites of core versus periphery, and developed versus less-developed countries. When viewed in terms of these dichotomies, tourism development in island nations becomes a production base for foreign interests, owned and controlled by external sources in the centre (Girvan, 1973). To Nash (1989), this control by the metropolitan centre over tourism development makes it imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism. To Crick (1989), the inherent condition of dependency that arises from the post-colonial core-periphery relationship in tourism is a form of "leisure imperialism" and the "hedonistic face of neo-colonialism" (Crick, 1989; p. 322). This points to a potent colonial legacy that still exists in tourism development. It continues to dominate the political, economic and social fabric of the relationship between former colonisers and colonies (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

2.8.4   Island Tourism Development: A Historical Perspective

This section takes a historical perspective to island tourism development. The emphasis of history on time and the study of society as a "… dynamic constellation of forces manifesting itself in continuous and constant change" (Barraclough, 1979) help to appreciate the mechanisms of change and evolution in island tourism development. The latter is a modern

phenomenon that has altered the natural, social and economic environments of various populations. These changes are without exception products of decisions, actions and policies at the international, national and individual levels. They also stem from extraneous historical events and factors that ultimately create the conditions that characterise the state of island tourism. Put another way, island tourism development, however recent it may be, has become heritage as derived from the past. History for these islands is continuously being written and tourism is one of its most significant influences.

As far back as the Sumerians, the earliest known civilisation of the ancient near east from the middle of the 4th millennium B.C. (Ascalone, 2007), trade and commerce provided the impetus for travel to distant points, including islands in the far seas. This continued through the rise and fall of various civilisations. In the first millennium, the Phoenicians dominated trade as a result of their maritime supremacy. It is believed they were the first to discover the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean (Wing, 1995a). Famous world travellers throughout history include the Chinese traveller Zheng He (15th Century A.D.), the explorer Marco Polo (13th Century A.D.), the navigators Vasco de Gama, Christopher Columbus and Velasquez (16th Century A.D.) and author/travel diarist Mark Twain (19th Century). In fact, travel gained more importance with European expansion and the ensuing race across the seas to open up and ensure trade routes to Asia. In essence, it was the backbone for the creation of European empires that would encompass settlements in the New World and economic exploitation of new territories. Many of these were islands with indigenous populations and unique flora and fauna.

Today, many islands around the world share a common history of having been colonised politically, economically, culturally and intellectually by people of other identities. The form of domination has evolved over time with the changes in international relations and politics brought about by the major event of decolonisation. Domination itself,

however, has not disappeared (Mason, 1997). Several decades later, small island nations with a colonial past present a dichotomous image as remnants of a colonial system of exploitation, with economic characteristics that overwhelmingly reflect the structure and organisation of the mono-crop industry (Mather & Todd, 1993; as cited in Apostolopoulos & Gayle, 2002; p. 97).

The scarcity of natural resources on the small islands offered few viable development alternatives for economic and social betterment (Apostolopoulos & Gayle, 2002). After decolonisation in the late 1950s, many island economies had to restructure their economic base and diversify away from the colonial mono-crop export, usually sugar (copra in some cases, bananas in others). The objective was economic prosperity as a guarantor of socio-political stability. For those islands with unique natural and cultural assets (Connell, 1988), their economic growth would ultimately be achieved through the opportunities presented by the worldwide spread of international tourism (McElroy, 2003). As a general rule, however, less developed countries (Harrison, 1992; 2001), including many small island economies (Apostopoulos & Gayle, 2002), could not derive the capital necessary for the financing of tourism development and management from indigenous sources (Harrison, 1992; 2001) and instead had to seek foreign investment and the ensuing foreign ownership (Hall, 1997) that created a tourism landscape with little local involvement or control.

Indubitably, a historian's perspective on decisions, actions, policies and events illuminates the historical factors at a given time in these island societies that may have played a decisive role in the development of their tourism industries (Towner, 1988). For example, the particular direction and challenges to tourism development in the Maldives today should be analysed not only in terms of the constraints presented by the country's geographically scattered atolls, but also within the historical dimension of the entrepreneurial flair of the Italian travel enthusiast Gorbin, who put the Maldives on the international tourism circuit in 1972 (Niyaz, 2002). Similarly, the historical

role of the private sector in initiating tourism development in Mauritius should be acknowledged before attempting to understand the overwhelming ownership of resorts by a local private business sector dominated by the minority white population of French descent. Likewise, the present ethnic composition at the different levels of employment in the tourism and hospitality industry in Mauritius should be viewed with reference to the political history of the former colonial governments and to the subsequent ethnic and religious arrangements of post-independence national governments.

Obviously, these are over-simplifications of the historical dimensions affecting island tourism development. These factors can be exogenous and endogenous, varied and complex. They can be broadly categorised as social, economic, environmental and technological (Butler & Wall, 1985; Towner, 1984), as well as physical, cultural, political (Leiper, 1979) and institutional (de Albuquerque & McElroy, 1995). Harrison (2001) explains that if one accepts the Marxist perspective that tourism takes place within the growth of the capitalist system, it becomes easier to view its potential impact as a feature of capitalism and to understand how tourism has helped incorporate less developed countries [including islands and micro states] into the global capitalist system. To Conlin and Baum (1995), less developed countries were eager to embark on a restructuring of their economies away from their inherited colonial mono-crop by adopting tourism as means of generating more revenue, employment and foreign exchange. Lea (1980), however, considers tourism a development strategy of last resort, to be pursued only when an island nation's development alternatives are scarce. Tourism was nonetheless embraced by many struggling island economies, despite negative socio-cultural impacts and the fear of foreign corporation and ownership (Connell, 1988; Hall & Page, 1996; Milne, 1992). A deeper historical analysis will reveal the layers of complexity inherent in the issues that shape island tourism development.

Just as it is not clear why tourists choose islands as holiday destinations (Harrison, 2001), determining precisely when these tropical

islands were discovered as "tourist" destinations would also be a difficult task. Historical perspectives of studies on island tourism development have been comprehensive for some islands and cursory for others. This is to be expected as such scholarly historical studies would depend on the extent and quality of archives related to the subject. Thus, while King's (1997) account of initial tourism development in the Mamanucas in Fiji dates as far back as 1914, Friedman (1983) concedes to finding only indirect archival evidence of early tourists to the island of St. Lucia in the West Indies. However disparate the archival information for the different islands may be, they all shared at some point a colonial past with a related status, such as protectorate, dependency, overseas territory, colony, or autonomous territory.

In their explanation for the extremely small indigenous capital base of the South Pacific Island nations as a major reason for their reliance on foreign capital for economic development, Hall and Page (1996) highlight their small size, long distance from major generating markets and their colonial history. To Harrison (2001), the post-colonial form of tourism development is much more complex and demands a more than holistic approach to colonial rule when comparing tourism development in the two regions of the Caribbean and South Pacific. Thus, the longer period of colonial subjugation of the Caribbean has meant that these islands were not only well-established within the global capitalist market system when international tourism commenced, but also that land for development was available for potential developers. Similarly, their colonial history of more than five centuries, which radically altered the social configuration of the region, has resulted in an unequal system in the post-colonial era "…strongly correlated with racial difference" (Harrison, 2001; p. 30). On the other hand, the shorter colonial exposure of the South Pacific islands has ensured the continuation of subsistence agriculture and a small proportion of wage labour, with the end result that land was not readily available for [tourism] development purposes (Harrison, 2001).

2.8.5 Island Tourism Development: From Tropical Paradise to Pleasure Periphery

In the minds of [Western] travellers, tropical islands are often the embodiment of paradise. This perception dates back to the Romantic period when European explorers and adventurers set out to discover the world through maritime expeditions. The islands they discovered across the seas fit perfectly the image of paradise that Judaeo-Christian traditions had helped create in their minds. Islands became the image of paradise on earth and myths were created around these islands. In the Western imagination, the archetypal idea of the island that came down from Greek antiquity was one of a timeless and immutable universe, part of this world or another and where somehow things happened differently (Péron, 2004). In the time of Rousseau, newly discovered islands in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific conjured up an illusion of natural purity, located in the antipodes of Western Europe. They were images of moral reassurance, where nature was intrinsically good and the innocent savage was preserved from the corrupting influences of civilisation. This archetypal idea of the island came at a time when the conscience of a growing literate middle class was troubled by economic and social factors. It was reassuring to imagine that paradise had not been lost and that it was still possible to return to the origins of humanity, as epitomised in the work of de Saint Pierre ("Paul et Virginie" first published in 1787), perhaps the best known example among Robinson-inspired writings of the French Romantic writers of that century (Corbin, 1988; Fougère 1995). Island images of plenty, a fine climate, and an exotic and beautiful environment are still deeply embedded in the Western imagination (Gossling, 2003). This fascination that islands have held on the human imagination is, according to Péron (2004; p. 326), "…not a passing fad," as islands and their inhabitants can contribute fully to present-day urban and globalised civilisation.

Today, the rich and colourful scenery of breathtaking coastlines, unique cultural heritage, temperate climates, and the romantic and carefree images that islands inspire have become the primary factors that attract

tourists to tropical island destinations. Tourism has become the transforming agent of the insular landscapes into a so-called "Pleasure Periphery" of the countries of Europe, North America and Australasia (Turner & Ash, 1976; King, 1993).

The apparent openness of these island landscapes makes them an ideal and convenient playground to satisfy the whims and fancy of modern tourists (Baldacchino, 2006). Nowhere is this image more vivid and real than in the island resorts, which incarnate the holiday aspirations of Western tourists by providing an escape from their daily routines into a "temporary materialisation of what is imagined to be a 'good life'" (King, 1997; p. 1). The development over time of "enclave" tourist resorts on islands has served to maintain this image of romantic exoticism and isolation. The very purpose of these enclaves, which was to be self-contained tourist destinations, ensured that the tourists were kept separated from the daily reality of the locals (Freitag, 1994, in King, 1997). The clear distinction between the tourist's identity and the "others" that started with the early European explorations was thereby reinforced.

Said's (1978) noteworthy view was that colonialism, apart from dominating the colonies politically and economically, also helped to create myths, stereotypes and fantasies that shaped the coloniser's view of the East. In that perspective, island tourism became closely linked with the image of island destinations constructed in time and space in the tourist generating markets. Such an image is still relevant today, thereby providing further support for the idea of historical inertia. There is thus a continuing legacy of Western bias that has led to the oppositional attitude of Western civilisation as compared with the "others" (Said, 1978; Kabbani, 1986) on these remote islands. This colonial discourse was used to justify Western superiority and imperialism. In that sense, it provides a historical framework that could explain the formation of the tourist image of island destinations, an imaginary place of a collective historical construction.

Of particular interest to anthropologists and sociologists are the practical implications of cultural contacts in the interactions between hosts and tourists (Smith, 1977) within the destination's social structures (Harrison, 2001) for the host government and international agencies interested in development (de Kadt, 1979). Beyond the early one-sided argument against tourism development based on its commoditisation effect on local culture (Greenwood, 1977) and the Westernisation and "cocacolization" of native peoples (Nunez, 1989), Cohen's early contributions (1979) and Greenwood's later reassessment of his earlier research revealed that tourism may in the end not have destructive consequences for the host country and could in fact contain certain constructive aspects (Greenwood, 1989). However, the type of tourism development that occurs in destination areas is often reflective of their inability to avoid being hosts within a tourism space created for tourist generating societies. Tourism development in host areas ultimately reflects the metropolitan influence on the destination's tourism superstructure (Nash & Smith, 1991), which Nash (1989) equates with imperialism.

2.8.6 Island Tourism Development and Globalisation

The transformation of tropical coastlines into tourism resorts has taken place within the varied historical dimensions of significant changes worldwide. According to McElroy (2004), two global forces that have historically defined the political economy after WWII are decolonisation and the spread of international tourism. In a similar vein, Wilkinson (2000) views the historical deployment of globalisation in the context of Western society in three waves: colonisation, development and neo-liberal capitalism. The onset of international tourism, according to Turner and Ash (1976), coincided with a restructuring of the island economies away from their crop exports as part of the third wave of globalisation. In fact, the necessity of development in the decades following WWII, for the purposes of economic growth and self-reliance, along with sweeping technological improvements and changes in international business practices, has

propelled tourism-oriented islands into a new global network of complex relationships. Indeed, tourism has provided the impetus for the globalisation of many remote islands. In terms of their relative positions in the world order, however, several of them still remain on the periphery of wealthy continents (Royle, 2001) or have nearby prosperous neighbours. For example, the appeal of the Caribbean as a low-cost destination, a key factor in its tourism development, can be related to both historical and contemporary forces that rest within its geographical proximity to the generating market of North America, as well as its several centuries-long history of being on the periphery of trade and commerce with North America. These factors have facilitated access to capital from multinational corporations (Wilkinson, 2000) for tourism development (McElroy, 2004). On the other hand, despite improvements in air transport, the islands of the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean remain long haul holiday destinations for the European and North American markets, though they are more accessible to the Australian and South African markets respectively.

In the fledgling days of newly independent non-oil exporting countries, the focus remained on the dearth of assets, primarily in the form of foreign exchange. For small tropical islands, investment in tourism development meant a diversification of the economy that was previously based on the traditional exports of sugar and copra during colonial administration (McElroy, 2003). With the debt crisis of the early 1980s, the promotion of tourism as a viable and sustainable development strategy for Third World countries found special resonance with small island nations across the globe. United Nations agencies (UNDP, WTO) encouraged the less developed countries to incorporate tourism development into national strategies and long-term plans as a means of economic development and self-reliance. To de Chavez (1999), cash-starved developing countries, inexorably linked in a global economy of increasing privatisation and trade liberalisation, were forced to view tourism as a shortcut to rapid development. Still, according to de Chavez (1999), tourism should be seen as an integral part of the imposition of the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s. To fulfil the structural obligations of

these SAPs, islands like Mauritius (1982), the Seychelles (1986), Jamaica (1982, 1984) and Trinidad (1990) had to invest in the development of export strategies so as to shift to manufacturing and service-based industries. Tourism, though not a traditional tangible commodity, could be classified as an export strategy, according to the IMF and the World Bank. Thus, the development of the tourism industry was linked with global economic trends.

A significant aspect of this notion of tourism globalisation for islands is the pressure on them to capitalise on significant changes in three important instruments of globalisation: communications, finance and transport (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). The development implications for these islands are multiple. The entities in a position of control that can best benefit from these revolutions are multinational companies in developed countries, while the insular island economies reap scant benefits from tourism activities due to high economic leakages and low economic multipliers (Wilkinson, 2000). Furthermore, as Holder (2001) observed in his address at the second Caribbean Tourism Summit in the Bahamas on the global currents in Caribbean tourism, the pressure of globalisation in the form of neoliberal policies has decidedly hastened the decline of crop export. Former colonies can no longer rely on preferential treatment from their former colonisers in the sale of sugar or bananas. Economic globalisation has therefore amplified the reliance of these islands on tourism. It has shifted power to transnational tourism firms, which together with growing complex market structures are increasingly challenging the role and power of states (Bianchi, 2001). Hazbun (2004) views as simplistic this image of globalisation as a unilateral force of outright domination that has caused a loss of power of these states. In fact, pointing to examples of "reterritorialisation" from Tunisia, Hazbun (2004; p. 331) argues that globalisation has provided actors, both local and global, with new control conditions based on negotiations that are respectful of existing local social and historical realities so as to operate within the global-local nexus (Robins, 1997). Global competition thus starts with a better grasp on local development on the part of the state, concurrent with the pursuit of regional

economic support. Perhaps with this in mind, Harrison (2001) credits the decline of North American and European tourism in the 1990s to the increasing pressure from global competition for local/regional tourism growth.

2.8.7   Island Tourism Development, Policy and Political Economy

Though the prominence of multinational corporations in the island tourism landscape is a major consequence of the over-reliance of island states on foreign capital for the development of their tourism sector, the impact of tourism policy on local political and decision making is perhaps even more significant. This section will examine literature regarding the role of tourism policy on broader social and economic policies and political systems in developing societies

According to Eade (2002), development is political as it involves the interplay of politics with institutional transformations. By Weber's definition, the most important source of political power rests with the state. In post-colonial countries, the principal legacy of colonial rule was an administrative bureaucracy that in most cases interacted with political institutions, often with great difficulty due to what Riggs (1964; p. 236) termed an "interference complex." However complex the interplays are among the government, the private sector, the public, political institutions and international sectors, they remain primarily political constructs. Although debates concerning political development in less developed countries have revolved around democracy, which is the "golden word" of the twentieth century (Hoff, 1998; p. 229), increased participation in the process of political modernisation has not translated into less control over resources, opportunities and policies by the political elite. Richter (1989) argues that tourism policy has been employed for political leverage by both the Marcos regime in the Philippines in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as by the democratically elected government of Corazon Aquino in the post-Marcos era. Beyond the use of tourism development policies to create a

favourable image of a dictatorial regime in a country with paramount socio-economic and political problems, there was also the fact that tourism provided rewards to supporters (local and foreign) of the regime through contracts for development projects and the provision of government financing (Hall, 1997).

The increasing globalisation of economies and the interrelated processes of economic restructuring, environmental issues and concerns over international security have required heightened engagement by the public sector in tourism policies. Conservative local tourism policies that continue to serve foreign economic interests are tools of reassurance to foreign governments and corporations and guarantees of continuing economic aid and investment (Richter, 1989). A bourgeoning tourism sector has required more involvement of the different agencies and institutions of the state and even the creation of state entities dedicated solely to tourism issues (Pearce, 1992). To Liu and Wall (2006), the intervention of governments and private tourism companies serve the interests of foreign capital while marginalising local populations. The increased importance of tourism and the perceived negative impacts of tourism in developing countries have highlighted the merit and utility of tourism policies, as evidenced by the various scholarly analyses that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s (Hall and Jenkins, 2004).

In addition to the multi-disciplinary nature of policy, it is crucial to take into account historical, geopolitical, social and environmental factors that are unique to a specific country when examining its public policy. A theoretical understanding of public policy, which would help to explain the processes of decision making and policy formulation, as well as causal links between events (Brooks, 1993) is beyond the scope of this study. However, this study acknowledges the increasing significance of tourism policy development in broader government strategies on various aspects of trade and promotion (Hall & Jenkins, 2004) and its functional role in the processes of economic globalisation (Higgot, 1999) and supranational structures (Hall, 2001).

A particular tourism development strategy as expressed in policy, used here to mean a political activity (Colebatch, 2002) that is inseparable from its outcome (Considine, 1994), needs to be placed within both the formal political context (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008) and the socio-economic characteristics of society. The process of policy formulation is by its very nature complex, as it varies over time and space and reflects variations and inter-relations among sectors (public, private, corporate and foreign) and communities (Hall & Jenkins, 2004), together with their underlying values, ideologies, power distribution, institutional and regulatory frameworks (Simeon, 1976, in Hall & Jenkins, 2004) and histories. The scope of tourism development thus reaches far beyond local politics to encompass multiple aspects of governance at the national, regional and international levels, as exemplified in the growth of supranational entities and regional economic and trading blocs (Hall & Jenkins, 2004).

In a novel approach to tourism development in tropical islands through the application of political ecology perspectives, Gossling (2003; p. 10) suggests the inclusion of a historical context whereby actors' interests and ideologies, in time and space, would be taken into consideration to understand their roles in the observed developments. Political ecology emphasises the influences of the political economy on ecological conflicts (Martinez-Alier, 2002) and therefore studies changes in the environment that are linked to the complex interactions between humans and their surroundings. The deliberate choice of a particular political system, for example, has an impact on the direction of public policy, which would itself involve some conscious move towards a deliberate action (Brooks, 1993) or inaction. As Hall & Jenkins (1995) remarked, in practice, a policy can only be as public as the amount of government involvement in it, which may also mean that public policy may ultimately have had very little input from government (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the popular neo-Marxist theoretical perspectives on public policy relating to tourism in "plantation" economies

(Britton, 1982, Francisco, 1983) emphasised economic and political power relations among classes (Hall & Jenkins, 2004) and across racial divides. Dependency theory (Frank, 1966; Wallerstein, 1979), as part of the Marxist tradition, focuses on hegemonic metropolitan relations engendered through tourism that force countries on the periphery into dependence on foreign capital and tourists (Leheny, 1995). Britton's (1982) elaboration of the enclave model of tourism development examines how tourism, by perpetuating unequal relations of exchange rooted in the historical structures of colonial trade systems, exacerbates socio-economic inequalities between the core and the periphery, as well as within the latter (Hills & Lundgren, 1977; Perez, 1980). Colonialism established an externally oriented trade pattern irretrievably organised around crop export to metropolitan countries and distorted the underlying structures of countries on the periphery. This plantation system (Beckford, 1972) has had lasting effects on these societies, and the type of tourism they developed was merely another expression of the superiority of industrialised countries as a result of greater access to organised consumption of travel (Hiller, 1976; Davis, 1978). From this perspective, tourism has failed as a development promotion tool in newly independent countries, as it was incapable of overcoming the structural disadvantages inherited from colonial times. On the contrary, in addition to expanding metropolitan dominance over destination peripheries, it contributed to their loss of self-reliance (Hovik & Heiberg, 1980).

Seeing some value in "…an almost defunct form of Marxist analysis…" Harrison (2001; p. 29) argues that the incorporation of capitalist socio-economic formations in the colonial economies of the Caribbean [but also true of those in the Indian Ocean and to a lesser extent the Pacific] has been a centuries long process as evidenced in the post-colonial social stratification of these societies and their ensuing political arrangements, power distribution and class struggles based on racial divisions. International tourism in the Caribbean was consequently fraught with severe racial undertones carried from colonialism at the level of hospitality practice (Husbands, 1983), and in islands like Mauritius at the

level of tourism planning and development, which served the investment interests of white owners of sugar estates. In other words, tourism reinforced the "enclave model" of tourism development (Freitag, 1984). This is logical given the structural similarities between the plantation system of crop export and mass tourism (Butler, 1993; Hall, 1994). Since enclave resorts are financed predominantly by entities in the metropolitan capital with few linkages in the local economy, tourism perpetuates an unequal system of socio-economic and cultural exchanges. Wilkinson (1989) views such patterns of tourism development as more prevalent in small island states because of low levels of economic diversity.

Because of its role as the sole decision maker on investment and production matters regarding the use of labour, the capitalist class is able to derive certain structural advantages (Atkinson & Chandler, 1983) that are perpetuated by the political system. According to Rose (2002), the symbiotic relationship between historical dominance and dependence created by the conscious effort of the economic and political forces of developed countries, combined with the socio-cultural consequences of colonialism, has contributed to a psychological dependency [in the Commonwealth Caribbean] that is manifested in the current constitutional structure of the Caribbean. The Westminster model of government bequeathed by the British to their colonies was presented as the best system available to modern societies and was therefore accepted as axiomatic in the English-speaking Caribbean (Manley, 1974) such that Caribbean psychological dependence was constitutionally legitimised. The tourist industry would deepen such psychological dependence, as tourism policies promoted by governments are largely foreign-oriented (Rose, 2002). It is therefore critical to understand the political and administrative contexts within which tourism policy is initiated and sustained, as they reveal important historical linkages among power, ideologies and values and how they serve to perpetuate the existing political system.

Implicit throughout the above discussion on public policy is the pivotal role of the political economy as a critical theory of explanation for

social changes, with an emphasis on structures and social relations that cause them and form societies. According to Potter and Binns (1988; p. 279), a major advantage of a political economy approach is its focus on the "… formative political, economic, social and institutional processes that influence societal organisations." A political economy approach to tourism reveals the role of ideology and the dynamics of interactions between various interest groups in the industry, not only in shaping policy (Lal & Myint, 1993) but also as they relate to social formation (Britton, 1989). The approach thus calls for a historical narrative and an explanation of how and why events played out as they did based on a historical analysis of the evolution of socio-political and economic dynamics (Duval and Wilkinson, 2004). Notwithstanding criticisms of the deterministic aspects of the Marxist view of the political economy, such as in the magnum opus of Laclau and Mouffe (1985, 2001), Marxist traditions consider the political economy essentially based on power relations enshrined in the capitalist mode of production, with the consequence of antagonistic relations between labour and capital caused by the workings of the market (Storper &Walker, 1989). Applied to tourism development processes, the approach focuses on the systemic sources of inequalities and power at different levels of social relations that give rise to the unequal and uneven processes of tourism development. Emphasis is placed on the "… interlocking networks of exchange" between "opposing social class interests and geographical regions…" brought together through tourism (Sharma, 2004; p. 47).

In a more open theoretical approach to political economy, Cox (1981, 1996) applied historical structures to explain how actions in the international political economy are conditioned rather than determined (Sharma, 2004) through structural and possibly reciprocal (Cox, 1996; p. 98) interplays among the three forces of material capabilities (dynamic, technological and organisational capabilities), ideas (including shared notions of social arrangements and collective images of social order among different groups, including rivals) and institutions (media through which material power relations and conflict are resolved) (Cox; 1996, pp. 98-99). Thus, a particular historical-geographical configuration of material

capabilities, institutions and ideological forces, in particular "state/society complexes" (Cox, 1981; pp. 134-137), influences the forms that these states take (Cox, 1996). This in turn affects the power structures that emerge from the process of social change, which itself varies according to the particular configuration it takes. This explains why the interest of one class or group is advanced to the detriment of others (Cox, 1996) and to the detriment of particular modes of tourism development (Sharma, 2004). Indeed, a particular organisational mode of tourism production and development is the result of a specific historical combination of capabilities and power relations in a given historical-geographic context. This approach acknowledges the role of unequal power and bargaining at play among collective actors in the decision-making process, not only with regard to development policy and planning (either in pre- or post-decolonisation periods) but also in the formation of the socio-political and economic structures within the boundaries of newly independent jurisdictions. Themes of political economy such as class, labour and development can thus be linked with tourism within the historical structures for a better understanding of the colonial connection to modern-day tourism.

The various shifts in the global political and economic environment after decolonisation, as well as the shock of the energy crisis in the 1970s and other major world events, have called for the application of political ecology to the study of developing countries. They include political instability in the form of coup d'états, social upheavals, ethnic riots and conflicts, terrorism, economic problems and corruption. Particularly common in island nations are rapid demographic and labour force changes and skill erosions due to emigration and their human resource consequences in the tourism industry, and the susceptibility of small islands to natural disasters in the form of tropical storms, tsunamis and volcanic activities. All of these factors have heightened the need for a better understanding of the policy dimensions of tourism (Ioannides & Apostolopoulos, 1999; Hall, 2001, 2002) and the nature of their historical context, which has taken on greater explanatory significance in the last several decades.

2.8.8 Island Tourism Development: Constraints

As previously mentioned, tropical islands reflect the image of paradise in the minds of Western tourists. Tourists longing to escape from their routines in a hectic industrialised world are drawn by the promise of rest and relaxation offered by the combination of sun, sand and sea, as well as the image of solitude and isolation of the islands. The latter two elements were especially crucial during the early stage of tourism development, when access was still limited and facilities of sojourn in terms of infrastructures, products, services and human resources were scarce.

Though it can be argued that these tropical islands in general offer a conceptually similar image, their actual topography is often diverse in terms of their origins and environments. These factors are critical, as they determine the direction and the extent of tourism development and planning. Apostolopoulos and Gayle (2002; p. 20) contend that there were three major environmental constraints that over time affected both insular resource planning and tourism development on the islands:

- their history of resource use;
- their vulnerability to natural disasters; and
- the fragility of their interdependent terrestrial and marine ecosystems.

Historically, colonial administrators have been extremely concerned about the ability of small island states to achieve either greater self-reliance or development. Indeed, size itself is a critical problem in these jurisdictions (McKee & Tisdell, 1990). Pearce (1987) views small size as the most obvious major factor that constrains island tourism development, characterised by "…limited resources, a small population and domestic market, diseconomies of scale, and a reliance upon foreign trade in a limited number of products" (Pearce, 1987; p. 154). According to Connell (1993; p. 120), apart from the remoteness and isolation of these islands, which create high transport costs in the tourist generating market, other now familiar problems to development include "… substantial trade deficits (but

considerable dependence on trade with metropolitan states), few local skills, vulnerability to hazard, disproportionately high expenditure on administration, political fragmentation and a dependence on external institutions for some key services (for example universities and banks)." The foreign exchange earning potential of tourism and its presumed ability to create employment opportunities in tourism-related facilities and services have indeed made it very attractive to small islands. However, many rushed into the global tourist market with barely any planning with respect to the significant demands of the industry on their economies (McKee & Tisdell, 1990).

A major challenge brought about by the advent of tourism on small tropical islands is striking an appropriate balance between protecting the environment while engaging in tourism activities that will inevitably affect the environment. The international community shares a concern for the serious environmental (and economic) problems of small islands. This concern was the driving force behind the approval by consensus of a comprehensive 15-chapter Programme of Action at the UN Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (SIDS), more commonly known as the Barbados Declaration (1994). It set forth specific actions and measures to be taken at the national, regional and international levels in support of the sustainable development of SIDS. The blueprint for change in the priority area of tourism included recommendations that would represent "…important and environmentally sustainable opportunities for tourism development in Small Island Developing States" (UN Chronicle, 1994; p. 64).

Though several island states have taken some initial steps toward compliance with the Barbados Declaration's Programme of Action, no island has created a comprehensive strategy encompassing substantial implementation, review and reiteration (Bass & Dalal-Clayton, 1995; Mauritius Strategy, 2005). Individual country strategies have been formulated as National Environmental Action Plans with the support of the World Bank (Renard, 1995). Tourism recommendations set forth in the

Barbados Declaration's Programme of Action include mutual support for environmental management and tourism development by drafting national policies, performing Environmental Impact Assessments for all tourism projects, standardisation of design and construction of tourist facilities to minimise ecological harm, and the adoption of measures to protect the cultural integrity of small island developing states (UN Chronicle, 1994). It is noteworthy that despite its role as a local development tool, island tourism is clearly entangled in remote decisions that cannot be controlled locally. When added to variables like geographic location, economic vulnerability and dependence on ecosystem fragility, a wide range of factors that influence island tourism development becomes apparent.

2.8.9   Island Tourism Development: The Factors

The success of tourism development as a major economic driving force on small islands over time depended on several factors. These factors, which will be examined in greater detail in the following paragraphs, included:

- their natural endowments as island tourism destinations;
- the colonial legacy and its effects on socio-political stability;
- the role of entrepreneurs, the private sector and the government in the industry; and
- the establishment and improvement of air links and accessibility with major generating markets.

Examples encompass one or more of the islands in each of the three regions of the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. To the extent possible, the factors and their significance are discussed within a time perspective that extends from the pre-independence period to the present.

2.9. Island Tourism Development: Examples in the Post-Colonial Era

This section will review the impact of the colonial institutional framework inherent in island tourism development during the colonial

period. It will then discuss island tourism development not only as a phenomenon of the post-independence period but also as reflection of colonial structures expressed in its salient features of resorts and air transportation. The idea of this approach is to develop a platform to understand the role of colonial structures as linkages between the two phenomena. Examples are taken from the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and also include some of the French overseas territories in the South Pacific.

The development of tourism on a small scale in the Caribbean began during the colonial era. In the mid 1920s, two women in St. Lucia, including the wife of the then colonial administrator, produced the first travel brochure that described the people and the natural attractions on the island. They were interested in developing a genuine tourist trade (Friedman, 1983). In 1945, the West Indian Royal Commission recommended tourism as a means to diversify the colonial economy and create employment (Dann, 1996, in Duval & Wilkinson, 2004). In the Bahamas, mass tourism began in the 1950s (well before its full independence in 1973), though it had existed earlier on a smaller scale (Palmer, 1994). When Cuba closed its borders to American tourists in the 1950s, the colonial government of the Bahamas took advantage of the opportunity to make the islands a popular tourist destination. Proximity to the U.S. market and the advent of jet travel, have enabled the tourism industry to become the foundation of the Bahamian economy.

In the archipelago of the Seychelles, tourism was first initiated by the British to help the Seychelles to meet its balance of payments. The British Economic Aid Mission concluded that the opportunities presented by tourism would enable the Seychelles to become economically self-sufficient within ten to fifteen years (Callimanopulos, 1982). The construction of an airport in the capital Mahé in 1971 propelled the number of tourists from 529 in 1969 to 3,100 in 1972, as access to the islands was no longer restricted to steamships.

The colonial government of Fiji was extensively involved in its early stages of tourism development, which offers a possible explanation for Fiji's later reputation as one of the Pacific region's most popular and established tourism destinations (Hall, 1997; Cooper & Hall, 2005). The origin of The Fiji Visitors Bureau can be traced back to 1924, when it was still called the Fiji Publicity Board. During the era of steamboat travel, Fiji served as a midway disembarkation point on the Australia-North America route. The publication of the Checci Report in 1961, which was established to examine tourism as a means to strengthen economies in the Pacific, highlighted Fiji's potential for tourism (King, 1997). The proximity of Australia ensured a surge in tourism that would start in 1962, and by 1968 the number of tourists to Fiji exceeded 66,000 annually.

The South Pacific (Pacific islands) region also boasts two French tropical territories: New Caledonia and French Polynesia. The latter was an Overseas French territory until 2004, when France changed its status to Overseas Country with an autonomous government under the direct external control of France (World Fact Book, 2004). The Pacific Island region has been promoted as a tropical paradise for decades, especially to European travellers. The arrival of the French military in 1962 shifted the islands from a subsistence economy to one in which a high proportion of the workforce supported both the military and the tourist industry (World Fact Book, 2003). Today, tourism is the primary industry on the islands, accounting for about one-quarter of the GDP, and it is considered a critical area for future growth.

The remoteness of the Pacific Island group from the major generating markets of Europe and North America remains its major drawback, although its close association with metropolitan France through development assistance and financial aid has helped the economy to fare satisfactorily. Furthermore, the deployment of major infrastructures by the military in the 1960s and the opening of an international airport in Papeete, Tahiti in 1963 spurred growth in tourism. The redeployment of airline services, especially from Europe, and the introduction of discount airlines

in France proved a major benefit to the economy of French Polynesia, which reached record figures by the end of the last century.

The status of France's overseas territories in the three regions is unique in terms of their political colonial structure, which has been modified slightly over the years in response to recent social and political demands, both locally and internationally. The French still view their colonies as part of the French Republic and the French nation. The South Pacific French territories remain of importance to France because of their strategic locations, but they are no longer the classic colonies characterised in the literature on colonialism in terms of dependency and exploitation. Together with other French DOMS (and TOMS) [Départements Outre-mer and Térritoires Outre-mer] in the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean, they have become the recipients of significant financial assistance from Paris, a major consequence of which has been a decrease in local pressure for independence while voices for "incorporation into the centre have become stronger" (Connell, 1991). The seeming preference for integration and a dependent status in these small islands arises from a generalised concern that "factional politics in a small island state would be disruptive" (Connell, 1991, in Duval, 2005; p. 273). The practical socio-economic effect of this incorporation has been the establishment of a welfare state with various financial advantages for the local populations.

Island tourism development, like tourism at large, is sensitive to the political economy in which it evolves. Decolonisation in the 1960s and 1970s did not translate into overall independence. Dependency theory explains the effects of tourism development as follows: the desire for financial independence meant for most of these islands the acceptance of foreign aid, through trans-national corporations, in order to finance tourism development. In the long term, these islands become trapped in a global tourism system over which they have little or no control (Britton, 1996). Timothy and Ioannides (2001) assert that economies dominated by a foreign power, despite their formal independence, "…become a colonial territory" (Erisman, 1983, p.343). In his empirical probe of the impact of

economic dependence in Latin America, Francisco (1983, p.374), though recognising high levels of economic reliance of the region tourism, found no direct evidence such reliance resulted in "political compliance at the international level."

The path of tourism development in the Bahamas effectively illustrates how the grip of dependency exacerbates the vulnerability of the island to foreign economic domination (Block and Klausner, 1987). The early penetration of the tourism industry by international organised crime families through casinos and resorts conferred on them power and control when relating with government authorities and international institutions. Furthermore, as a major world centre for offshore finance, the country has often been accused of providing "tax havens" and of playing a major role in laundering organised crime money (Block and Klausner, 1987, in Apostopoulos & Gayle, 2002). Despite large sums of money being poured into the economy through international banks and receipts from the tourism sector, virtually no benefits flowed to the locals (Block and Klausner, 1987). The political and administrative structure of the Bahamas is said to be plagued by corruption. Fighting drug trafficking and corruption are recurrent political themes in general elections in the Bahamas, along with cleaning up the offshore banking system and a more equitable distribution of wealth (BBC News, October 31, 2006). It has consequently been suggested that overdependence on a single economic sector, as well as on foreign capital and investment, is likely to produce an unstable socio-economic condition that "creates the ideal environment for socio-political turmoil" (Sonmez, 2002, in Apostopoulos & Gayle, 2002; p. 164).

The political legacy of both independent and dependent small islands is a powerful determinant of the success of tourism development policies. The colonial past of these islands has produced complex socio-political situations that are reflected in their current racial, ethnic, social and religious arrangements. A case in point is Fiji, with an intricate political power arrangement imposed by the British prior to independence. The effects of this lingering colonial structure are particularly apparent in the

close connection between Fiji's political situation and the success of its tourism industry. In Fiji, there is constant political tension between the two major population groups: the ethnic Fijians, with their traditional chiefly and land/clan systems and their hold on political power, and the majority Indian population, composed of a mixture of descendants from indentured labourers and Gujerati merchants, who have been excluded from sharing power after independence in 1970 (West, 1988). The result is that in the last twenty years, this South Pacific island has endured four coups d'Etats, with the most recent on December 5, 2006 (Reuters, December 6, 2006). After the first coup of May 14, 1987, the tourism industry collapsed, with the hotel industry anticipating a "potential loss of F$80-100 million in revenue and a number of hotels [that] could be forced to close down." (Burns, 1995; p. 265). Airlines altered their schedules, negatively impacting tourist arrivals, and hotel occupancy dropped to a record low of 10% as compared to a seasonal average of 70% (Burns, 1995). After assuming power, the new government targeted the tourism sector as the focal point of an ambitious recovery programme, which demonstrates the tremendous importance of tourism for the islands. Fiji's second coup in September 1987 inflicted further injury on an already weakened tourism industry. Visitor arrivals in Fiji for 1987 were 190,000, as compared to 258,000 in 1986, and the island's regional share dropped by 9%, a significant figure in the context of Pacific island tourism (Burns, 1995).

To Sonmez (2002), the long-term economic viability of islands is closely linked to their prevailing level of stability and security. In the last thirty years, the socio-political history of many island states (examples include Fiji, Haiti, the Bahamas, Jamaica, the Seychelles, Mauritius and Vanuatu) and of dependent territories (New Caledonia and Réunion Island) has been characterised by sporadic and sometimes chronic instability and social turmoil. These islands seem to have "not been able to extricate themselves from the problems of their colonial past" (Sonmez, 2002, in Apostopoulos & Gayle, 2002; p. 177) characterised by economic subjugation, ethnic divisions, and elitist power hegemony. The colonial

legacy is therefore a major factor not only in the socio-economic histories of these islands but also in their modern political structures.

2.9.1 Resorts

One of the primary defining characteristics of the world's tropical and sub-tropical tourist destinations is the phenomenon of resorts, which often aspire to become self-contained tourism destinations in their own right (King, 1997). Tourism development on these small tropical islands is essentially resort-based, and resorts are referred to as "enclave" developments since they are completely removed from the daily life and culture of the local people or of the entire island (Freitag, 1994, in King, 1997; p. 11).

The term resort may in a narrow sense refer to hotel properties as an "integrated resort," usually on the coastline and with a wide range of recreational facilities and accommodation types (King, 1997; p. 12). It may more broadly refer to a whole destination area, region or island. A key element of resorts is the substantial initial investment required to create a property that can comfortably accommodate the maximum number of guests. Sources of such considerable capital are generally found outside the islands, predominantly from large foreign corporate groups of the rich Western countries.

The development of resorts in small island destinations has often been attributed to the initiative of a private sector that is a vestige of the plantation economy (Best, 1968). The transfer of resources from plantation to resort is seen as a means of diversifying from a mono-crop (sugar or copra) plantation economy. Some of its salient elements are that it is tied to an overseas economy, it is controlled and maintained by local elites, and the flow of value is difficult to calculate (Best, 1968). This new industry "sired in the structures of plantation society constitutes a neo-plantation industry" (Taylor, 1993; p. 39, in Apostopoulos & Gayle, 2002) because it could be organised along traditional plantation lines. It was based on expatriate

capital and had a structure of local demands based on foreign needs (Harrigan, 1974). Both the plantation and the resort share the need for a large initial capital investment, a large-scale market, and land. Friedman argued, however, that there are also specific differences, "both in terms of operational requirements and derived social and cultural adaptations" (Friedman, 1990; p. 158).

The genesis of resort development on some small islands is often associated with the role of one or more entrepreneurs who operate outside of conventional practices and introduce new concepts. The inception of tourism in the Maldives can be traced back to 1972, when Gorbin, an Italian entrepreneur, "could feel the potential that these beautiful islands could offer the tourists" (Niyaz, 2002; p. 7). With his local partners Mr. Manick and Mr. Naseem, Gorbin set out to transform the Male atoll Vihamanaasfushi into the first resort in the form of a 30-room Kurumba village. This set the precedent for further development, and the next resort to be constructed on the Male atoll of Bodu Bandos was initiated by a local political figure. By 1982, the Maldives had 37 resorts and by 1999 boasted 85 such accommodations.

On the Caribbean islands of the Bahamas, hotel and resort development began in the middle of the 20th century. Hotel developer Hartford, for instance, created The Ocean Club on Paradise Island, which in the 1990s became the 2,300-room mega-resort of Atlantis Paradise Island under the ownership of Sol Kerzner's consortium (Waters, 1998).

Club Med, which was one of the original all-inclusive resort concepts, has been another major player in resort development on many tropical islands. Club Med was founded by Belgian Gerard Blitz in Majorca, Spain in 1950. Its first tropical "village" was opened in Tahiti in 1955, and Club Med now operates 68 such villages worldwide, including in tropical islands of the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean and South Pacific, although its business strategy has changed since it was originally established (Clubmed.com, 2009).

The accommodation sector, and island resorts in particular, does not operate in a vacuum. It must be viewed as part of an industry structure governed by a regulatory framework and in close co-operation with other players in the sector. Accommodation in "enclave resorts," bundled in package tours and all-inclusive holidays, has become the norm. In the development studies literature, especially from the theory of centre-periphery, destinations depend on decisions in tourism-generating (typically developed) countries (Britton, 1980, in King, 1997; p. 80). Countries like the Maldives, the Bahamas and Fiji are increasingly at the mercy of a number of powerful travel organisations that are based in developed countries (King, 1997). In these and other islands like Mauritius, the Seychelles, and French Polynesia, foreign multinationals and major hotel groups like Hilton, Sheraton and Hyatt are expanding their investments in resort development.

2.9.2 Air Transport and Island Tourism Development

Air transport is a crucial component of tourism development, and a historical perspective to island tourism development must therefore consider the evolution of air transport to the islands from its inception. The role of transport in destination development has commonly been analysed in the literature with reference to periphery. It is a spatial concept that can be determined by factors such as distance, accessibility, visitor perceptions and scale (Page & Lumbsdom, 2004). In tourism, the further the periphery (tourism destination) is from the core (tourism-generating region), the smaller the flow of anticipated tourists. In fact, constraints on peripheries can only be removed with adequate transport infrastructure and connectivity (Prideaux, 2000).

The economic diversification of tourism following independence required large capital outlays to establish and maintain the industry by providing sophisticated infrastructures. Airports, harbours, highways, hotels

and telecommunications services had to be constructed. To ensure growth and development, islands had to overcome the disadvantage of their physical remoteness from core markets (Prideaux, 2000). Thus, they needed to procure investment capital to develop these infrastructures. They also had to ensure the generation of tourism and additional tourism sectors by marketing through appropriate distribution channels (Prideaux, 2000). The burden of providing these infrastructures and the necessary apparatus for regulating the industry lay with the governments.

In the post-decolonisation period, many new nations made it a priority to create airlines that would bear their flags as a matter of national pride (Britton & Kissling, 1984; Sampson, 1984). It also meant that they would no longer be at the mercy of international carrier flights and could therefore avoid disruptions in their tourism industry (Hall, 1997). The creation of a national carrier nearly always involved painful financial stretches for these emerging countries. However, it was a necessary investment, as a national airline in the early post-independence era was a major criterion for a country to be classified as a modern state (Laqueur, 1971).

The literature on air transport in general abounds with historical insights on airlines in the developed world, but there are minimal references to the airlines of small islands. In the inter-war period, the imperial powers recognised the value of air transportation to enhance their control in overseas territories and as a symbol of their colonial presence (Gidwitz, 1980). In addition, these imperial airlines frequently operated and managed regional and local airlines in their colonies. The significant involvement of imperial citizens in the creation of colonial airlines was also common. Upon the independence of a territory in which a local airline already existed, the parent airlines would gradually relinquish their ownership of the local company. However, European involvement in the national carriers of newly independent nations continued due to insufficient expertise and equipment and the need for financial backing (Sampson, 1984). This occasionally

translated into some form of European participation in governing the newly independent countries as a whole (Gidwitz, 1980).

The interdependence of aviation and tourism places pressure on countries to invest in aviation development because it can significantly "affect the nature and growth of tourism" (WTO, 1994). In the South Pacific, almost every country has an international airline (Hall, 1997) instead of a more economically defensible regional carrier. A similar situation prevails in the Indian Ocean. Several small islands in the Caribbean have their own scheduled airlines, while those in the Eastern Caribbean are co-owners of a regional airline, the Leeward Islands Air Transport (LIAT) (UNEP, February 1996). The historical links and the proximity of the North American market to the Caribbean translated into frequent non-stop service from several points in North America, as well as "island-hopping" to hub airports, both inside and outside the region.

Since the initial establishment of national airlines in former colonies there have been significant air transport developments that have affected small island developing states. Islands in the Caribbean, for example, are increasingly co-operating, with the ultimate goal of providing sustainable quality travel at reasonable rates (UNEP, 1996). In the South Pacific, a major characteristic of airlines in the 1990s was the increasing level of cross-ownership through investments from New Zealand and Australia, which is, according to Hall (1997), a sign of the substantial growth in inbound tourism to the region. The constraints of international air transport regulations and the geographical disadvantage of islands leave little room for them to manoeuvre during negotiations on international air traffic rights. The implementation of restrictive internal policies at the local level could provide some semblance of control. However, it could also be detrimental to a country's national interests by stifling the development of its tourist industry (WTO, 1994).

Presently, any attempt by island national carriers to acquire a larger share of tourist traffic from generating markets would be in direct

competition with the latter's airlines. In the Caribbean countries, for instance, tourists have little option but to purchase the services of airlines and cruise ships based in Europe. A few airlines, such as Air Mauritius, have managed to achieve some dominance of their markets. They are, however, under increasing pressure to open up their skies in order to further liberalise and unify the world economic system (UN Division for Sustainable Development, 2004).

Some islands like the Maldives are almost equally served by both charter companies with scheduled flights and scheduled airlines to and from their primary generating markets. Air links exist between major capital cities in Europe and Southeast Asia and Male, the capital of the Maldives. These are almost exclusively through charter flights from the major European capitals of Western Europe. The charter companies conduct business under contract with major European tour operators, such as Kuoni, Thomas Cook, My Travel, and Nouvelles Frontières.

By virtue of their geographical location, the islands of the South Pacific lie at the margins of the world economy. This isolation engenders the expected challenges in economic and social development (Wilkinson, 1989). The former and present European rulers are quite remote from the South Pacific islands, which must rely on the rich neighbouring former British dominions of Australia and New Zealand for aid and economic development. These two countries serve as important tourist generating markets and for the economic survival in general of the South Pacific islands. Flights from Australian ports to Nadi and Suva in Fiji total more than twenty-two a week, exclusively through Qantas and Air Pacific on a code share basis (Qantas Airlines, 2009).

Air transport is vital to these islands to supply tourists. The geographical diversity of the region can only be "matched by a veritable patchwork of aviation services and passenger routings" (Duval, 2005; p. 321), which is only feasible with the help of neighbouring developed countries. The common problem facing these small Pacific islands is thus

the difficulty of securing regular routes on high-quality airlines (Hall, 1997). Though direct service to Australia and New Zealand exists, as well as limited service to Honolulu or points on the West Coast of the U.S., flight frequencies are very low. In addition, as major airlines on the U.S.-Asia-Oceania route introduced longer-range aircrafts, they have been gradually withdrawing services to the small islands of the Pacific as they can now over-fly these islands if desired (Hall, 1997). Such a challenge adds to the volatility of aviation service to the region and increases the dependence of these islands for connectivity on the airlines of the developed neighbours (Britton & Kissling, 1984).

Though the small Pacific islands possess the necessary natural capital for the development of tourism in the form of clean beaches, clear water and pleasant weather, they nevertheless lack the financial capital to develop transport links to entice tourists from the major generating markets. Governments were forced to enter the airline industry in order to ensure a continuing flow of tourists to the islands. This accounts for the fact that many national carriers providing regularly scheduled service to these islands are government owned. Air Tahiti Nui, created in 1996, was a response by French Polynesia to Air France's abandonment of the Paris-Tokyo-Papeete route. It was a means of preserving the tourism industry, which represents 70% of the economic resources of the country (Air Tahitinui, 2005). Similarly, Air Calin of New Caledonia offers seven weekly flights to Japan on a code-share basis with Air France, with the connecting Japan-Paris leg operated by Air France. The dire economic realities of air transport have further reduced services from European generating markets to the South Pacific. Yet, for both Air Calin and Air Tahitinui (Air Calin, 2005; Air Tahitinui, 2005), their ultimate objective is to bring more European tourists to the region. To do so, they must make use of gateways like Los Angeles, New York and Japan, as well as modern long-range aircrafts.

Australia and New Zealand not only provide the bulk of the tourists to South Pacific islands such as Fiji, the Cook Islands and Vanuatu, but are

also ineluctably involved in regional politics, including Air Services Agreements (ASAs). Numerous ASAs with Australia and New Zealand are highly restrictive and severely limit international operations by third parties (Duval, 2005). As a result, there are no independent charter operators out of Australia or New Zealand. However, low-cost alternatives such as Pacific Blue, the international sister company of Virgin Blue, operate international flights to the South Pacific islands.

Transportation problems in the South Pacific should be viewed in the context of the significant influences exerted on the market by Australia and New Zealand. Any form of inter-airline cooperation among the South Pacific islands would necessarily involve these two countries. As local airlines strive to match the islands' tourism policies, they are doomed to reinforce their links with Australian and New Zealand carriers. Only then can they aspire to route expansion and financial support.

The global airline industry is changing, and small island nations will have to keep pace with the air transport market in order to ensure the continued viability of their tourism sectors. There is pressure for reduced fares and economies of scale in marketing, and very large airlines employ sophisticated communications and reservations systems (WTO, 1994). To protect their carriers, small island governments have deemed it necessary to form alliances with major foreign airlines, thus aggravating the problem of dependence on developed countries. One example is the Seychelles, which sought such an alliance with Air France (Air Seychelles, 2005). In an increasingly competitive and globalised tourism market, islands are essentially forced into pursuing similar strategies, despite their desire to achieve complete independence. In addition to the aspect of insularity, economic dependence on the outside world for trade, commerce and the supply of tourists and holidaymakers play a major role in the air transport arrangements of small islands.

2.10   Island Tourism Development: Mauritius

This section will discuss the history of tourism development in Mauritius, the case chosen for this study, and will review the related literature. Although numerous potentially germane articles, archives and books were identified in the early stages of the study, few were directly related to tourism in Mauritius, despite frequent tangential references in articles, books, specialised magazines and economic reports related to the more encompassing topic of economic development.

The island of Mauritius presents the rare (though not unique)[2] case of a dual colonial heritage. The original colonisers and settlers were the French, who established the island's social and economic structures before the British assumed power after the Battle of the Old Grand Port and the Treaty of Versailles of 1810. The British took a pragmatic approach to captured colonies, especially those formerly owned by the French, by allowing existing structures to continue (Quebec being the most obvious example). In Mauritius, the British worked out a *modus vivendi* with the settler class of landed proprietors and merchants in 1814, through which they established political control of the island and preserved the structure of the island's economy and society, except for slavery, which was abolished in 1835. Mauritius, which achieved independence from the UK in 1968, is distinctive in terms of its socio-economic conditions prior to independence. Unlike the Seychelles, where tourism development was initiated by the colonial administration during the colonial era, Mauritius had a very powerful private sector controlled by a minority white population of primarily French descent that played a pioneering role in tourism development (Wing, 1995a). The colonial government realised, however, that the economy should be diversified and that tourism offered some potential to that end. The colonisers were nonetheless sceptical of whether the country could realise its full tourism potential because the island was so remote from the main European generating market. Competition from the

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[2] Other islands with dual history includes Vanuatu (British/French), The Seychelles (French/British), St. Martin/St. Maarten (French/Dutch)

already established tourist destination of the Caribbean meant that Mauritius had to find a means of attracting long-haul tourists.

The novelty of tourism as an industry in the Third World, coupled with the absence of appropriate communications and superstructure, seemed like insurmountable barriers. In fact, international experts in pre-independence times believed that Mauritius offered no prospects for economic growth or social betterment, as it possessed only disadvantages in the face of development needs. In his 1961 report, British economist J.E. Meade (1961) declared that the future of Mauritius was dominated by its population problem. With one of the fastest growing populations in the world, the country was expected to face serious social and economic burdens. In the opinion of Brookfield (1958; p. 17), Mauritius was too "small to be a viable nation." Additionally, he did not consider industrialisation feasible due to the absence of raw materials for industrial processing, nor was importation of these materials a realistic option due to the island's remoteness. The Mauritian agricultural sector was so over-developed that it appeared it was already being utilised to its utmost potential.

In Benedict's view (1961; p. 12), the Mauritian economy could be summed up in a single word: sugar. Such a heavy dependence on a single crop placed the economy in a precarious position, making it susceptible to the vagaries of market and climate. In short, the future of the island appeared ominous. The major recommendation (among many minor ones) in Meade's report was for the island to pursue a programme of agricultural diversification through a "produce more food campaign" and to further increase tea plantation. These processes of economic development, according to the report, would "absorb the growing population of Mauritius without a serious fall in the present standard of living" (Meade et al., 1961; p. 230). In the same vein, Titmuss' report advocated measures to stem population growth by instilling in the population the desire for family planning and for the country to regard emigration as a solution to avoid catastrophe (Titmuss, Abel-Smith & Lynes, 1961; p. 63; Titmuss, 1968).

However, there was no recommendation in Meade's report, which was commissioned by the colonial government, to "survey the present economic and social structure of Mauritius and to make recommendations concerning the action to be taken in order to render the country capable of maintaining and improving the standard of living of its people…" (Meade et al., 1961; p. xv), referring to tourism as a possible economic path to development. Wing (1995a) argued that the government experts' scepticism of and lack of interest in the viability of tourism as a development tool were at that time justifiable, because tourism was "a relatively new industry in the Third World" (Wing, 1995a, in Conlin & Baum, 1995; p. 233).

The establishment of an airport in Mauritius in 1952 brought about a drastic change in the socio-economic environment, as it made the island more accessible to the outside world. The airport and the increased connectivity that it ensured for the island to the outside world would play a crucial role for economic development and growth. In the early 1970s, the Mauritian government was keen to usher in economic development and resolve the problem of unemployment by establishing the Export Processing Zone (EPZ). The availability of cheap and skilled labour attracted foreign investors. By that time, the government began to show interest in tourism development given the potential of the island in terms of its white sandy beaches, beautiful and diversified landscapes and moderate sub-tropical weather. The early stage of modern tourism in Mauritius occurred in the post-colonial era as part of the newly independent nation's first five-year development plan (1971-1975). The government established numerous fiscal and other incentives to attract local capital from the sugar industry and foreign investment in tourism facilities (Durbarry, 2002).

A prominent figure in the early days of tourism and resort entrepreneurship was the South African Sol Kerzner, who created the Sun City casino and entertainment resort in 1979 and the Lost City complex in December 1992 in the South African tribal homeland of Bophuthatswana (Fick, 2002). When he was the Chief Executive Officer of Sun International, Kerzner formulated groundbreaking concepts for resort

construction in Mauritius (Grosset, 1996). Though the South African corporation Sun International has been the major foreign investor in Mauritius, much of the development of tourist resorts and hotels has come from local capital. Major local companies such as Rogers and Ireland Blyth invested in the first Mauritian resorts, as did several prominent sugar estates.

Another major element in the foundation of Mauritian tourism development was the creation of the national airline, Air Mauritius, with the help of its founding members, Air France and British Airways. This helped to open up new horizons of opportunity for the island. Indeed, a global national airline for the country and the creation of air links with both London and Paris were viewed in the early days of Air Mauritius Ltd. as both desirable and necessary. The national carrier was a vital tool for a country that was seeking economic diversification from its mono-crop base (U.S. Department of State Trade Compliance Center, 2005). The re-orientation of the country's policies on external strategies, however, was accomplished to ensure that tourism development and air transport access remained strictly regulated through private sector investments and government policies respectively. The relationship between aviation and tourism in Mauritius is defined by a ban on charter flights and the pursuit of high-spending visitor traffic. The government's long-time ban on charter flights was a protective policy favouring scheduled airlines, and the national carrier in particular. In 2005, Air Mauritius, Ltd. carried more than 55% of total passenger traffic to the island (L'Express, 2005).

The improvement in air transport technology, increasing flight frequencies from metropolitan airlines (the UK and France) and the construction of new hotels contributed to a sharp increase in the number of visitors to the island. Indeed, Professor Meade did not foresee that long-distance air transport would turn Mauritius into a favourite destination of rich Western tourists (Dommen and Dommen, 1999). In 1973, Mauritius welcomed around 68,000 visitors, increasing to 350,000 in 1993 and to

more than 660,000 in 2001 (WTO). By 2006, more than 788,000 tourists visited the island (Central Statistics Office, 2007).

By the 1980s, tourism was the third largest export industry in Mauritius in terms of the amount of foreign currency it attracted. At that time, widespread political consensus on broad policy measures ushered the country into a period of steady growth, declining inflation, high employment and increased domestic savings. The government added more incentives and together with the national airline aimed at high quality tourism with an emphasis on an "upmarket" that would spend significantly during their holidays on the island. By the end of the 1990s, tourism was the second largest foreign exchange earner, overtaking sugar and behind only the manufacturing industry. Tourism earnings had reached 14.9% of total exports by 1990, which represented an increase of 9% over the 1975 figures (Durbarry, 2002). In the accommodation sector, there were fears during the late 1990s that an upsurge in resort construction would cause hotel capacity to exceed the capacity of airlines to transport tourists to the island (Bowman, 1991). Hoteliers consequently called for charter flights and mass tourism, irrespective of public-policy preferences. Since 2004, the government of Mauritius has instituted a more liberal air access policy, along with continuing restrictions on charter flights (Coopamah, 2004).

A review of the literature on tourism in Mauritius reveals that the scope of writings on the island's tourism is relatively narrow. In the 1950s Mauritius constituted "a case study in Malthusian economics" (Houbert, 2001; p. 333), as described in the reports by Meade and by Titmuss, both published in 1961. This viewpoint provided food for thought in ensuing publications that dealt almost exclusively with economic development processes from a variety of perspectives, including political and through the state apparatus (Bowman, 1991; Brautigam, 1997; Carroll and Carroll, 1997; Goldsmith, 1999; Lange, 2003; Meisenhelder, 1997), social (Dukhira, 1994; Durand, 1978; Mannick, 1979; Mehta, 1981), cultural (Chellapermal, 1989; Tinker, 1977), environmental (Lutz, 1994) and industrial and economic growth (Alladin, 1986; Benedict, 1965; Bheenick

& Schapiro, 1989; Bowman, 1991; Domen & Domen, 1999; Durbarry, 2001; Moors de Giorgio, 2000; Yin, Yeung, Kowlessur & Chung, 1992). It was not until 1974 that the first serious study was conducted regarding the feasibility of a long-term tourism development strategy in Mauritius. This appropriately titled proposal, the 1974 work of S. Constantin: *Proposition pour une politique de développement Touristique a l'île Maurice* (A proposal for a policy of tourism development in Mauritius - candidate's translation), was referenced in a study on the effects of tourism on socio-cultural values commissioned by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and was published as an "Original Research Article" in Volume 2, Issue 2 of the November-December 1976 version of *Annals of Tourism Research*. Since then, an increasing number of research publications has enriched the literature on tourism development in Mauritius (Carlsen & Jauferally, 2003; Debbage, 1991; Durbarry, 2004; Misser, 1996; Page, 1999), its impacts (Archer, 1985; Durbarry, 2002), tourism taxation (Gooroochurn & Sinclair, 2005; Nath, 1998), transport (Khadaroo & Seetanah, 2007), and the environment (Cazes-Duvat & Paskoff, 2004; Magnan, 2007). It is evident from the above bibliography that a historical approach to tourism development is almost non-existent aside from the rather restrictive obligatory overviews in related articles that often reduce the complexities of historical processes to mere statistical facts. This study aims to situate itself within this gap, with the goal of demonstrating the significance of [colonial] history as the key to understanding the role of colonial structures in Mauritius' tourism development patterns.

2.11   Conclusion

Colonialism as a subject of academic inquiry has proven to be a complex and wide-ranging phenomenon that requires various approaches and perspectives in order to fully understand its implications. It has not been explicitly studied since the early days of decolonisation. At that time, there was a need for Western minds to come to terms with the dismantling of their possessions and for newly independent nations to fully embrace the

realisation of their new socio-political and international status. Yet, colonialism was invariably a crucial factor, either directly or indirectly, in the explanation of historical conflicts of a socio-economic or political nature.

The various disciplines of the humanities seem to agree in a general sense that a persistent legacy of colonialism exists, and that its sociological and psychological impacts are just as enduring and pervasive as its economic and political ramifications, which are more often the focus of studies and research (see Houbert, 1981; Meisenhelder, 1997; and Lange, 2003). There is a tendency in academia to regard colonialism as a historical relic, part of a certain historical collective amnesia on the part of both the former colonial powers and their colonies. However, recent incidences of racial and ethnic tension in the UK, France and the Netherlands have demonstrated that these societies are struggling to come to terms—intellectually, politically, socially and culturally—with a colonial past and heritage that have come home to roost as a result of the "colonial Diasporas" and an irretrievable process of globalisation and techno-cultural integration.

In the literature, colonialism is widely portrayed as a political phenomenon, as it is concerned with power, domination, control and superiority, and the perpetuation of inequality (Palmer, 1994). Yet, as Marxists have insisted, the foundations of colonialism are economic in nature and are irretrievably geared to serve a global capitalist system. The modern world, in both a global economic sense and in the individual socio-political realities of various countries, is best understood within an ongoing continuum of colonial history, one that continues to be written today in the post-colonial in the form of contemporary neo-colonialism.

One example of neo-colonial deployment in the post-colonial era is tourism, which has achieved increasing economic significance for newly independent islands that were faced with problems of economic development. A major turning point for all of these islands was the decision

to diversify their economies in the post-colonial period through the establishment of a tourism industry, including the development of a sophisticated infrastructure and a national air carrier. Otherwise, they were destined to remain stranded in a neo-colonial status in which they were politically autonomous but remained economically dependent on their former colonisers. The success of a particular island's tourism development efforts has depended to a large extent on its past and present socio-political structures, which have a significant impact on the direction and pattern of tourism development. In some cases, support for tourism development started during the colonial period and in others after independence. However, governments were not always involved in the initial stages of tourism development. Thus, in those islands with strong infrastructures and well-established private sectors, tourism was initiated by the private sector.

Tourism as a development tool does not operate in a vacuum; it is affected by a variety of factors that are both endogenous and exogenous to the islands. In establishing and expanding a tourist industry with long-term economic viability, small tropical islands find themselves in a predicament reminiscent of their pasts as dependent colonies. Therefore, development in the various island nations has progressed at different rates based on the benefits and constraints that have been imposed on them by their former colonial rulers, many of which continue to play a role in their development strategies. In all cases, the current emphasis is on establishing forms of development that are sustainable, will guarantee growth and will contribute to export diversification. In spite of the fact that different islands pursue distinct growth strategies based on their unique situations, they are increasingly grouping themselves into co-operative regional tourism initiatives, such as the Caribbean Tourism Organisation (CTO), the Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) and the South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO), as a way to minimise the danger associated with investing in a single industry as a guarantor of economic prosperity.

The review of post-colonialism and post-colonial hegemony clearly implies commercial specificity. From a tourism perspective, a

straightforward explanation for the importance of short-haul markets as the dominant source of visitors is the concept of distance decay. McKercher, Chan and Lam (2008) illustrated that 80% of all international tourism occurs to destinations within 1,000 km of the source market and that 93% of all outbound travel is confined to destinations within 2,000 km of the generating region. An analysis of long-haul travel, however, is much more complex. As Table 1.2 in Chapter 1 illustrated, there is a clear degree of destination specificity bordering on exclusivity among European countries with a strong colonial history to visit their former colonies, and at the same time to avoid visiting destinations that were colonies of other European countries. This relationship was not noted prior to the candidate's Master's thesis and a subsequent paper by McKercher and L'Espoir Decosta (2007). Superficially, some simplistic explanations may exist, such as language similarity, cultural proximity and home visits by migrants from these former colonies. However, there may be other deeper explanations relating to the process of decolonisation and associated industry-specific or policy-specific issues. The work of Grier (1999) about relating the effect of colonisation on subsequent growth and development is a case in point.

This section has illustrated the concept of colonialism through its major explanations, theoretical perspectives and implications. More importantly, however, it has served to identify a number of potential themes to explore in order to explain the continuing colonial influences on tourism, the subject of this thesis. These themes will be articulated around a series of "big" questions that are addressed during the research process:

- An enhanced understanding of colonialism as a concept of binary logic makes it possible to clearly and rationally place tourism within this same logic as a contemporary socio-economic phenomenon. The modern manifestation of international tourism for most former island colonies, even as a tertiary sector of international economic ventures, can essentially be divided between the North and the South. For

these jurisdictions, reminiscent of their colonial history, tourism emanates mostly from the rich developed countries of the North. It might therefore be worthwhile to examine whether tourism, as an economic and political enterprise, is in fact driven primarily by the needs of the former colonisers.

- From a neo-Marxist perspective on colonialism, can tourism as it is practiced within this binary North-South logic be seen as artefact of modern capitalism? Is tourism a deliberate capitalist construct, necessary for global capitalist expansion?

  According to the neo-Marxist perspective, colonialism and its legacy are extremely resilient. This is logical if one accepts the premise that colonialism is one of the structures through which capitalism ensures its global scope. Consequently, is the colonial legacy as expressed in tourism relationship merely a product of capitalist inertia? Could it be that the tourism relationship between former colonisers and their colonies became entangled in the lock-in effect of a colonial past? The Air Services Agreements between the UK and its colonies during negotiations for independence and the various economic and trade accords tend to support the existence of such a lock-in effect.

- The post-colonial approach to colonialism and its interpretation of colonial relationships from the vantage point of the colonised people provides a unique perspective and highlights the persistent conflicting and unequal power relationships between former colonisers and colonies in their modern tourism connections. Is it plausible to suggest that the relationships between destinations and their source markets are the result of pragmatic and proactive decisions

consciously made in the past by destinations of their own free will?

As the implications and logical extensions of the above questions demonstrate, the manifestations of a lasting colonial legacy in the modern global economic order are varied, pervasive, and often inconspicuous. Though the questions and the issues they raise seem to be stuck in the early post-colonial times of the 1970s, they are nevertheless worthy of exploration. Tourism as an academic discipline seems to have avoided such areas of inquiry, for reasons that could range from the fact that studying the sector from contemporary perspectives has more practical commercial applications to mere apathy toward historical analysis due to the intrinsic sense of remoteness it engenders. To the delight, and often to the frustration, of academics, however, the legacy of colonialism does not occur in isolation and cannot be studied in a vacuum. In order to fully appreciate the impact of colonialism on modern tourism practices in an increasingly globalised economy, it must be viewed within a complex historical continuum, taking into account perspectives from a variety of disciplines, including history, economics, political and social sciences.

2.12   Summary

This chapter has sequentially reviewed the literature on colonialism, its resultant structures, post-colonial economic development and tourism as a major tool in island economic development. It has examined the relationships between colonialism and the socio-economic and political structures inherited by former island colonies. The aim was to determine whether tourism development, through these existing structures, was and continues to be a reflection of colonial influence. A historical approach has highlighted the importance of continuing development in these small island nations based on their ulterior economic motives of growth, self-reliance and the enhanced welfare of their populations. The themes under discussion, through specific but unrestrictive examples, have highlighted

the fact that they touch on a broad range of inter-connected sociological, economic and political issues. They have also served to identify the resources for research on this subject in terms of books, journal and newspaper articles. Although it is not an exhaustive review of relevant resources, this chapter has revealed the inconsistent coverage of tourism development from a historical perspective.

More particularly, colonialism has been taken for granted as having influenced all aspects of colonial societies. Tourism literature gives scant coverage to possible reasons for the continued influence of colonialism on the patterns of island tourism development. Furthermore, a historical approach to explain tourism development patterns in Mauritius is equally uncommon. This study strives to take an initial step in addressing these gaps in tourism research and literature.

CHAPTER 3

3. METHODS AND ANALYSIS

"How you study the world determines what you learn about the world" Patton (1990; p. 67).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter lays out the methodological blueprint of the thesis. By way of review, the questions that emerged from earlier research to form the primary impetus for this study include the reasons for the phenomenon of an ongoing linkage between a colonial past and destination specificity as expressed in the inbound tourist flows of former island colonies, and why such particular links persist between these variables.

By extrapolation, these issues suggest other relevant and significant questions, including:

- Why are the tourism sectors of these small islands still intimately connected with their former colonisers?

- Why do their tourism development patterns exhibit so many characteristics reminiscent of their colonial pasts?

- Why do the tourism flow patterns to these former colonies still reflect such strong ties to their colonial pasts?

The selection of a research methodology to answer these questions depends on how effectively it addresses and answers the research question. The primary method of investigation and analysis of this phenomenon was derived from the principles of grounded theory. It was operationalised through a historical method that uses archival research and a case study of the island tourist destination of Mauritius for the period from 1940 to 1980. Thereafter, for a more profound understanding of the results and their

implications, a within-case comparative socio-historical perspective was employed as proposed by George & Bennett (2005). In that endeavour, the case selection process proposed by George & Bennett (2005). This approach allows the investigation of the conditions that influence and/or cause a colonial legacy to linger and persist in tourism flows and its development patterns, and its relevance and pertinence given its colonial past. Additionally, in-depth interviews were used to supplement the archival research method.

3.1.1 Research Paradigm

This study follows Lloyd's (1986) approach to a form of explanation and knowledge that rests on a unified discourse of socio-historical studies. It is based on the assumption that knowledge is built upon a theoretical foundation that links human actions and structures. One cannot be explained without the other. Actions are influenced by structural and psychological constraints and imperatives, while structures are explained as intended or unintended consequences of actions (Lloyd, 1986). Such is the philosophical approach underlying this thesis.

3.2. Qualitative Inquiry

According to Richards (2005), data refers to any recorded information of which the researcher tries to make sense. Patton (2002; p. 4) classifies data as qualitative when they stem from three manners of data collection, namely:

(i)   In-depth, open-ended interviews that yield responses, including direct quotations about peoples' opinions, views, knowledge or feelings;

(ii)   Observations that yield field notes, including descriptions of actions, activities, processes and interactions, all of which are part of human and organisational activities; and

(iii)   Written documents and materials that refer to records in general, including official publications and reports, institutional correspondence, photographs, personal diaries, etc.

Data generated from these forms of inquiry are usually "thick," with huge quantities of information and detailed descriptions, including the contexts in which they were produced. The data become relevant as soon as they provide substantiation for arguments and establish relationships to a research question (Richards, 2005). These facts or pieces of information are thus defined as relevant by the candidate, who accepted definitions of relevance as provided by others during the research process. The data extraction process is "lively," as it involves an active effort by the researcher to obtain the information (Smith, 2004, in Hardy & Bryman, 2004).

Neuman & Kreuger (2003) suggest that a qualitative methodological approach is the most appropriate means of revealing the causes of specific relationships between macro structures and the subsequent necessity to use inductive techniques to develop insights from the data beyond the obvious. Qualitative research methodology is an overarching term comprising various members, concepts and assumptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). According to Creswell (1998), the traditions within qualitative inquiry include biography, phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory and case study. The research design for this thesis rests on a similarly diverse qualitative methodological approach. The ultimate purpose of this study is theory development, as opposed to mere reporting of historical events, which is possible only through a qualitative approach. This indicates that the study is an effort at heuristic theory building (George & Bennett, 2005).

Following Crotty's (1998; p. 3) claim that "the philosophical stance informs the methodology," the research design for this study borrows essentially from principles of grounded theory in the choice of method while taking into account the nature of the research question, the context, perspective and criteria involved. Such an approach is appropriate for this study, as the primary goal of the research is to uncover reasons "behind" the persistent colonial bias in tourist flow patterns. The justification for a qualitative design thus hinges on the exploratory nature of the proposed study, as well as on the peculiar juxtaposition of the two complex social phenomena of colonialism and tourism. Post-colonialism is employed as a theoretical lens that helps to examine and interpret the interconnections within the data. Given its inherent pluri-disciplinary perspectives each with its own idiosyncratic speciality, post-colonialism helps to illuminate relevant events, their process and contexts, as well as to highlight explanations relating to the dual phenomena of colonialism and tourism.

A qualitative research design is also well equipped to assess both of these sociological phenomena individually, although they seem to have no commonalities in temporal or substantive terms. It also allows consideration of any potential complex social relationships between them that the study purports to reveal. Perhaps more relevant to this study, the research rests on a partial "historicisation" of formal social methods of qualitative design, which ensures that the historical particularity of context, contingency and flow are taken into account. Because it is grounded in the socio-historical (spatio-temporal) context and perspectives relating to the phenomenon of a colonial legacy in tourism, the study inevitably relies on contextual interpretations, contingent causality and explanations. It must also deal with a rich variety of information, which, realistically, can never be complete due to the very nature of the topic. As such, the data cannot be crisply partitioned in accordance with strict procedures (Griffin & Van der Linden, 1998). In that sense, the discourse underlying an explanation of the particular phenomenon of a continuing colonial legacy remains historically grounded yet contemporarily relevant so as to become unified through the highly adaptable principles underlying the methodology of grounded theory.

The end goal of theorisation is thus to provide a sound socio-historical analysis grounded in the data to construct better empirical explanations (Lloyd, 1986). To identify the causal explanation(s), this study examines the history of the relational structures of tourism with other enduring macro structures such as plantation economies, the social structure and its organisation, political structures, culture and corporate organisations. Only then can the study highlight and exploit the inherent historicity of the data.

The study adopts a predominantly macro perspective to the research question while also recognising the role and importance of individual actions within structures as possible explanations for change. This bifurcated approach was inevitable as the data collected were rich and complex, and also because events and phenomena were ultimately the outcome of individual decisions and the flow of events. Grounded theory provided a malleable yet structured and inclusive methodological framework that allowed the fullest possible assimilation of such profuse data.

3.3 Research Rationale

The research question that informs this study is grounded primarily in social science but is also an investigation at the intersection between social theory and history. The phenomenon of an ongoing colonial legacy in tourism in fact comprises an integral part of a relationship that is both historical and contemporary in nature. This study looks for evidence in historical events, structures, processes and decisions that could explain the continuing influence of a colonial legacy in tourism.

Of particular importance is the central framework of study [identified in the literature on economic history and colonialism] that rests on the three major colonial influences on post-colonial economies, based on inertia, explicit development decisions by former colonies and a post-colonial conspiracy of economic colonialism, which has been dubbed "neo-

colonialism." These form part of a "substantive theory" grounded in extant research of colonialism and post-colonialism that is deemed to constitute the overarching explanation for a continuing colonial legacy in the post-colonial world. In the words of Glaser & Strauss, (1967; p. 79), "… [Substantive theory] not only provides a stimulus to a "good idea" but it also gives an initial direction in developing relevant categories and properties." Accordingly, recognising their existence does not violate any principles of grounded theory method but rather calls for and legitimises their application. However, in situ, the candidate had to ensure that the data were analysed objectively through observation and interpretation, as opposed to relying on the data to validate a particular pre-formulated result. The goal was to look for ideas.

The two substantive areas of historical inertia and post-colonial conspiracy are frequently reflected in the daily post-colonial reality and are often germane to the same research issues as colonial effects, such that drawing from them ensured observation rather than testing (Suddaby, 2006). The research goal was not only to elaborate on existing conflict and post-colonial theories as possible explanations but also to develop new theory related to tourism by incorporating the former as data and memos for comparison with emerging theory (Glaser, 1978).

Intertwined with this rationale is tourism development in former island colonies and its antecedents, particularly related colonial policies. The interrelationship between historical evidence and theoretical concepts was therefore examined to address island tourism development and its effects on tourist flow. With a virtual absence of such a perspective in tourism theory, this study was warranted to serve the ultimate purpose of theory development and adopted the procedures of grounded theory to that end.

3.4   Grounded Theory

The methodology of this study is informed by steps that form the basis for the grounded theory approach favoured by Charmaz (2001). Coined in the 1960s by Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory was later modified and adapted by numerous researchers. The candidate considered grounded theory appropriate for this study because it is based on strong and reliable guidelines that can adapt to varying methodological and theoretical assumptions and approaches (Bryant, 2002; Charmaz, 2006; Clarke, 2005). Grounded theory methods refer to a logically consistent set of data collection and analytic procedures toward the goal of developing theory (Charmaz, 2001). It is based on a set of assumptions quite different from the deductive nature of traditional quantitative research design. The inherent inductive strategies and merging divergent disciplinary traditions of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) to review and simultaneously analyse documentary evidence were deemed appropriate to understand the reasons behind a lingering colonial legacy in tourism. Grounded theory as a method of investigation and analysis not only echoes the dual disciplinary approaches of the social sciences and history but also engages in explanations that explore relationships among concepts and social processes grounded in the data (Glaser, 1978) as possible answers to the primary "why" research questions mentioned in the previous section.

The application of grounded theory in this study not only recognises the continuously changing conception of phenomena in response to evolving conditions but also concurrently empowers the researcher to study both process and context and their subsequent roles in structure without undermining the importance of the temporal element. The process of decolonisation and the subsequent withdrawal of colonial power have for example impacted on both the initial and later development policies and models. The early reticence of newly independent countries to adopt tourism, as a development tool, should be interpreted within that paradigm.

Grounded theory is not theory-driven; it is unconstrained by the structured instruments of traditional research design and is geared to let key issues emerge out of the data. At the same time, grounded theory allows the researcher to follow leads and hunches gained [from the data]. It helps uncover processes and their inherent temporal sequence between beginnings and endings, as well as in-between benchmarks, within cases (Charmaz, 2006). By emphasising processes and the need to identify patterns in them, grounded theory highlights the natural temporal sequences within a particular process and places the consequential events within a larger contextual whole (Charmaz, 2001). As a result, grounded theory aims at generating and organising ideas, new information and developing a theoretical analysis of the data that corresponds with it (Charmaz, 2001, 2006). It is not, however, designed to prove existing theory (Steinberg & Steinberg, 2006). In this study, explanatory theoretical concepts grounded in a wide variety of documentary data and literature, and supplemented by primary data from in-depth interviews, present a solid basis for theoretical explanations of the lingering colonial legacies in tourism development and flows.

Glaser's (2005) thesis is that grounded theory is based on a latent structure analysis approach composed of concepts and indicators that eventually lead to emerging theoretical frameworks. Glaser advised that the researcher must remain open to these frameworks. The epistemological assumptions, logic and systematic approach of grounded theory methods encompass both the archival research and primary data collected through interviews. Grounded theory was thus a logical tool in this investigation, given the fact that the various elements that would have answered the research question could not have been anticipated in advance. Its bottom-up approach begins with a wide array of concrete data, moving progressively through analysis of coding, theoretical sampling and comparison towards the higher abstract level of theory formulation facilitated by thematic conceptualisation. Furthermore, it presented an innovative means for examining and explaining tourist flows and tourism development in former colonies.

While the approach to grounded theory adopted for this study appears rather straightforward, the fact remains that there is still no general consensus in the "methodological" world regarding grounded theory. The divide between the co-founders of grounded theory along positivistic and interpretive lines revealed the schism in the actual process and procedure of the method. The subsequent debates that grew out of the confusion surrounding the divergent evolution of the grounded theory method underscore the fundamental problems of definitions (Dey, 1999), and more importantly the criticisms of grounded theory based on its lack of theoretical underpinnings (Charmaz, 1995; Dey, 1999). In order to avoid entering this theoretical fray, the candidate found it methodologically appropriate to use post-colonialism as a theoretical "soft" lens that helped impose structure and direction when conceptualising data. This course of action was at first a matter of convenience but ultimately proved to be extremely valuable in the research process. Such an approach is the methodological essence of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

3.4.1 The Elements of Grounded Theory

The three basic elements of grounded theory are concepts, categories and propositions. Concepts are basic units of analysis of data. According to Strauss & Corbin (1990), it is from conceptualisation of data that a theory is developed. Data include incidents, events, and happenings from "raw data" are taken as potential indicators of phenomena (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Categories are derived from the concepts but at a higher and more conceptual level. They are generated through the process of analysis that relies on comparisons to highlight similarities and differences used in the lower level concepts. Propositions indicate generalised or conceptual relationships that exist between categories and their concepts and between discrete categories. The generating process of the three elements requires iteration (Pandit, 1996).

3.4.2 Operationalisation of Grounded Theory

The following sections describe in practical terms the two major ways in which grounded theory is put into operation in this particular study: historical archival research and a case-oriented comparative method, including case selection procedures.

3.5 Archival Method

"We study it [history] not merely for amusement—though it can be amusing—but in order to discover how we have come to where we are" *(Trevor-Roper, 1963,[i] in Roberts, 1996).*

This research uses the archival platform of historical methods to investigate the reasons behind the phenomenon of a colonial legacy in tourism. Traditionally, archival research involves methods for the study of historical documents (Ventresca & Mohr, 2001). In other words, it deals with those documents created in the relatively distant past and which provide to the researcher otherwise restricted access to events, individuals and organisations of the past. Archival research in fact encompasses a wide range of other more specific methodological practices that range from the basic historiographic skills necessary in archival investigations to more formal interpretation techniques such as content analysis. Archival research thus aims to elicit information and meanings through a systematic interrogation of documents, texts, and other historical materials.

One basic characteristic of archival research is the significant amount of detective work involved to extract the necessary information (Bryman, 1995). The historical approach to this research entailed dealing directly with recorded impressions and then drawing conclusions from such impressions on the actual events that inspired them. It is therefore the substance of the archival documents that was of primary significance.

Peripheral related sources were then compared with archival sources in order to make inferences based on available information. Roberts (2002) lists three ways in which a genetic use of history (tracing how the present grew out of the past) can be of practical utility to:

- better understand the present;
- understand the process of change itself; and
- extrapolate into the future.

Believing that knowledge of origins "invariably" promotes an understanding of the present can, however, lead to a form of genetic fallacy. Nonetheless, admitting that on "some occasions" it does would be no fallacy (Roberts, 1997).

3.6   The Case Study: A Comparative Historical Approach

Case study is a distinct approach to research and is an essential form of social science inquiry. It is defined by Yin (2003) as an empirical study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. Further developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their research of grounded theory, case study is an appropriate research strategy where context and phenomenon tend to blur (Yin, 2003). It is aptly considered here as a means of realising the methodology of grounded theory (Crotty, 1998). In fact, the research design provides a systematic way of looking at the phenomenon, including its context (where), by making use of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 1998). The historical and contemporary contexts of colonialism and tourism, as well as the unexplored causal relationships between them, create the ideal conditions to employ a case study approach to supplement the historical methods in the research.

In case study research, the social phenomenon under investigation dictates the properties and dimensions of the case and can include, among others, roles, organisations, groups of people and cities (Feagin, Orum &

Sjoberg, 1991). In this study, cases to illustrate the social phenomenon of a colonial legacy in the tourism sector are island tourism destinations. The case study approach helps answer the "why" and "how," not only of contemporary events per se, as claimed by Yin (1984), but of historical decisions and events with contemporary effects and dimensions. In that sense, the case study approach links the micro perspective - in the form of individual or governmental decisions - with the macro level - in the form of large-scale social structures and processes (Vaughan, 1992). At the same time, the logic of the case study is to "…demonstrate a causal argument about how general social forces shape (process) and produce results (outcome) in particular settings (structure)" (Walton, 1992; p. 122, cited in Neuman, 2003).

In this study, the general social forces are in the form of events and decisions propitious to laying the foundations for the perpetuation of colonial legacies and the "results in particular settings" are the apparent tourist flow patterns and tourism development practices in the islands. The aim is to arrive at a set of conceptual theoretical constructs underlying the probable relationships in the form of causal patterns between colonialism and tourism.

According to Yin (2003), it is imperative that theoretical constructs be employed to support the case study in terms of case selection, areas to be explored, described or explained, and in generalising the results to other cases. The case study will help determine the nature and extent of colonial ties in shaping the current tourism activities, including tourism policy and development. The post-colonial history would elucidate the impact of colonial policies on the island's tourism policies, development and flows.

The focus in this research was to adopt a post-colonial perspective to uncover the reasons for the presence of colonial legacies in tourism. Further steps included ensuring that the research was built upon existing substantive theory related to colonialism and history such that bridging it with the historical aspects of tourism facilitated the recognition of the research

137

contribution to theory and knowledge. Considering one case would also serve to highlight the variation in the influences of colonialism on diverse spheres, including social, cultural and corporate, of the jurisdiction under examination.

Though a full-fledged multiple-case study approach would have been theoretically ideal for this study, its real-world impracticalities in terms of resources and logistics meant that a comparative framework that would nevertheless allow for literal replication (predicting similar results) and for theoretical replication (predicting contrasting results) had to be adopted. Such a structure would ensure both description (scope and depth of the case) and explanation (causal relationships). One way to ensure systematic comparison in this research was to adopt the method and logic of structured, focused comparison within the selected case. This is considered to be a valid method and, indeed is seen by some as an improvement on the simple case study approach (George & Bennett, 2005). The method becomes "structured" when general questions reflecting the research objective are applied to the case under study and are juxtaposed with examples over time in order to enable systematic data collection and comparison successively. To Glaser and Strauss (1967), comparisons establish facts. General methods of analysis, including grounded theory, rely on the logic of comparison that is presupposed within cases. Additionally, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967), continuing comparative analysis is crucial during the research process, as it serves as a guide to theoretical sampling, a major principle within grounded theory.

By dealing with certain aspects such as tourism development and marketing decisions of the historical case, the method also becomes "focused." A within-case analysis of Mauritius was carried out relying on the principles of "process-tracing". Hall (2000) views process-tracing as a methodology suited to theory development [and testing] in a world with multiple interaction effects and where outcomes are or can be the products of several causes. "Process tracing", according to Goldstone (1991), helps to identify which characteristics of the initial conditions in combination with

which other factors and principles may cause a particular sequence of macro-historical phenomena. For example, how and which aspects of the initial conditions existed in the economic development of post-war colonies, combined with which conditions were present in early tourism development, may have provided the impetus for certain features of the colonial era to persist in the post-colonial period. Process-tracing thus generates numerous observations, which can only make sense and constitute an explanation of the causal process when they are appropriately linked. These observations achieve no power of inference on their own (George & Bennett, 2005).

3.6.1   The Case: Mauritius

Mauritius was considered as case study to examine the root causes for the phenomenon of a continuing colonial legacy in island tourism destination specificity (expressed through flows and development). Mauritius was considered primarily because it presents the unusual case of having been subject to both French and British rule, with the French cultural and social legacies still very potent. Furthermore, as Mauritius is the candidate's country of origin, it was selected for the obvious personal reasons of affinity and heritage and the logistical matter of accessibility. Other key factors were the continuing notable dominance by the French (the first to successfully settle the island) and the British (the decolonising power) in the long haul tourist source markets to Mauritius, despite the adoption by the island at different points in time of policies of market diversification.

3.7   Research Implementation

The operational requirements for conducting this research were extensive and involved significant resources. Access to historical documents from the colonial period for the case required three separate research trips abroad, each for a period of three months. These were feasible only through

financial support in the form of two "attachment programmes" by The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. Through the academic networking and personal contacts of the candidate's supervisor, the candidate was able to enlist the co-operation of other universities and institutions, particularly in the UK.

A preliminary overview of the various British archives was obtained online from their official websites, which offered comprehensive indexed lists of accessible files and documents retrievable in situ. Prior administrative arrangements had to be made through contacts to secure accessibility to the necessary archival information. These websites, together with traditional reference materials such as history books, historiographies and tourism-related literature from academic and national libraries, served to narrow the scope of the search for historical documents and other potentially relevant materials. Once in situ, the candidate was able to obtain assistance and guidance from appropriate institutional archivists at the different archives in order to determine the nature and arrangement of archival materials, as well as to ensure quick and efficient perusal of the documents.

3.8 Data Acquisition

The primary method of acquiring data for the purpose of this thesis was through archival research, supplemented by in-depth interviews with two former and still active key decision makers in post-colonial Mauritius. Documentary evidence such as archival and legislative documents relating to political decisions, which were found in parliamentary minutes, colonial notes, governors' reports and socio-economic decisions relating to post-colonial tourism development, formed an integral part of the research process. Access to archival documents in London and Paris was limited to the period between 1940 and 1980; however, this included the core periods of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Access to documents after 1980 related to the Foreign Commonwealth Office was still restricted (as of the writing of

this thesis) due to the thirty-year statutory access moratorium. In Mauritius, some official documents dated as late as 1985 could be obtained and were often cross-referenced in local newspapers.

Archival research was carried out in London (UK) from June 2007 to August 2007, and in Mauritius from June 2008 to August 2008. During these trips the candidate visited several archives, libraries and other depositaries.

For the purposes of this research, historical sources included official archival records, written records and oral history (from two in-depth interviews with two members of the political elite in Mauritius). Any testimonial fragments or other hints from the past that could shed light on a particular aspect of a social phenomenon or an event in human history constitute historical sources. The latter can be considered a generic term to cover any "…human remains and such products of man's activity as either were meant by their authors to communicate knowledge of historical facts or conditions, or by their nature are calculated to do so" (Feder, 1924; p. 84 in Garraghan & Delanglez, 1946; p. 103). One potent concept that comes to mind whenever written documents are evoked as a research tool is Weber's modern bureaucracy: the salient importance of written documents or "files that are preserved in their original or draft form" (Weber, 1968; p. 957) necessary in a bureaucratic setting. More than just historical artefacts, written texts are effective reminders of their association with some form of administrative power (Giddens, 1987). Written texts in the form of archival documents consulted for this study consisted of, inter alia:

- Governors' reports;
- Official letters from the colonial administrations to the Colonial Office;
- Letters from the Colonial Office in London to the colonies;
- Discussion notes filed with the Colonial Office;
- Meeting notes filed with the Colonial Office;
- Legal ordinances;

- Parliamentary Acts;

- Official reports related to the colonies;

- Circular Despatches;

- Newspaper articles;

- Secondary texts; and

- Transcripts of official and non-official speeches.

Written texts can be traced back to the need not only to count and survey but also to impose upon and control the activities of others across both time and space (Goody, 1986; Latour, 1987; Ventresca, 1995). In that sense, official archival documents and other organisational texts assume the dimension of discourse as they explain and communicate decisions that have been implemented. They are useful resources for understanding not only past events but also the circumstances that led to them. By codifying political thoughts in documents and hard data, such as parliamentary notes and organisational talks and decisions, written texts achieve authoritative stature in terms of reliability, trustworthiness and value.

3.9 Data Management

On location at the different archives, data collection began with perusing electronic or book catalogues, which revealed a large amount of information related to documents potentially relevant to this study. Any information related to sub-categories, such as tourism development, aid and investment, air services agreements, hotel development, airlines and annual reports from the colonies, were considered particularly significant.

Each researcher devises a particular method to organise and manage an enormous volume of information. In this case, the candidate found the use of Microsoft Excel to be the most practical solution. At Kew Gardens, for example, documents (or more precisely files) produced by various Departments for different sub-categories related to tourism in the former

British colonies of Mauritius were recorded chronologically (1940-1975) in a spreadsheet. This served as a master file that was thereafter sieved and recorded chronologically on different spreadsheets at two levels. The first level of classification was according to the five different Departments that "produced" the documents [Foreign Office (FO), Board of Trade (BOT), Colonial Office (CO), Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) and Dominion Office (DO)]. The second level of classification was by colonies. Thus, a safety net was constructed through the creation of a double record of documents to be requested. The same procedure of data collection and management was repeated at the other archives. To safeguard the data collected at the archives, the photo management software Picasa by "google" was employed through a raw classification according to the dates on which photos of documents were taken. More than twenty thousand photos were produced, each representing a single document, and a printout of core "documents" was carried back to the candidate's home university in Hong Kong. The availability of hard copies of these documents not only facilitated annotations and referencing but also enabled easier access to the data for analysis and cross-referencing with other documents and the literature.

3.10   Primary Data – Interviews

Primary data through formal interviews with two key and very high profile personalities from Mauritius were used to supplement, confirm or fill gaps in information from secondary data. According to Creswell (1998), interview as a method of inquiry is central to grounded theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967; p. 75) describe the technique of interview as consisting of "open-ended conversations" that would allow the respondent to talk with no imposed time limitation. A protocol for interviews was prepared after the first phase of research based on a thorough literature review and on the findings from archival research. The procedural step of theoretical sampling in grounded theory formed the basis for the most relevant questions to elicit clarifications and supplementary information. (Full transcripts of the two

interviews are included in the Appendix). The interview protocol conveniently served as a guideline to ensure the fluidity of the interview process and that the same subjects were covered with each interviewee. As discussed in the limitations' section, the candidate encountered significant difficulty in arranging interviews, as many important contemporary figures were either deceased or too frail to participate.

In the end, formal interviews were conducted with two prominent Mauritian political figures, Sir Aneerood Jugnauth and Mr. Paul Bérenger. Given the high socio-political status of the two participants, the interviews were carried out on-site as per their requests and schedules. An extended interview was conducted with the President of the Republic of Mauritius, Sir Aneerood Jugnauth, at his official residence, the Chateau du Réduit, on July 8, 2008.

Picture 3.1
The candidate with the President of the Republic of Mauritius,
Sir Aneerood Jugnauth; July 8, 2008.

On July 10, 2008, a face-to-face interview was carried out with Mr. Paul Bérenger, the former Prime Minister and incumbent leader of the opposition at the National Assembly of Mauritius, at his residence in Floréal.

Picture 3.2
The candidate with Mr. Paul Bérenger, former Prime Minister
and leader of the opposition at the National Assembly in Mauritius

A semi-structured interview method with open-ended questions proved to be the appropriate method, as these individuals ultimately had a significant amount of information to convey and did not require strict control of the interview situation by the candidate. Respondents were invited to talk about the past, to recall any relevant details from memory, and to give personal accounts of their first-hand experiences with the colonial administration. As politicians, their opinions reflected the evolution of their own perspectives on colonial administration, the road to independence, and other relevant socio-economic and political issues deemed relevant for them to discuss. Their personal experience with macro tourism policies was particularly relevant in terms of this study. However, the socio-historical contexts in which the interviewees recollected policies and decisions related to tourism were particularly helpful to the researcher in analysing and comparing the information. Contextualisation is crucial in the grounded theory approach, as theory has to be grounded.

The researcher used a digital voice recorder to record the collection of spoken memories and commentaries about the interviewees' personal experiences. Both respondents chose to speak in the Mauritian patois (Creole) interspersed with French and English. The candidate took notes in English when and where he felt that certain anecdotes or special emphasis could be of particular utility in eventually supplementing the data during comparative analysis and memo writing. Oral history was thus documented with the respondents having the opportunity to reveal and reclaim a past that had altered the course of their lives and indeed of an entire country, which served to enrich and perhaps even challenge established accounts (Wengraf et al., 2002). These interviews enabled the research to accommodate both formal and informal history, as accounts of past events beyond the official ones provided by administrations or governments were in fact revealed and explicated by the two political figures.

3.11   Analysis and Interpretation

Given the tenets of grounded theory, data collection and analysis, though very clearly delineated in theory, were in practice carried out simultaneously. Memos were kept at all times during the analysis process and were taken both manually in notebooks and later using the support memo function of the software Atlas.ti 5.2.

The broad questions related to the research objectives that were sought from the data for deeper foray and that encompassed various tourism sectors included the following:

- Did the data show an apparent colonial bias?
- In which sector(s) were colonial interferences most evident?
- How did they reflect major decisions by the colonial authorities or later by the national governments?
- In what ways were policy decisions taken that tended to favour colonial powers?
- Were there concrete follow-up decisions in favour of colonial powers?
- Were there any attempts to alter the course of these decisions?
- What were the outcomes? Why did they fail or succeed?

The interpretation of historical information relating to tourism was accomplished through two major approaches with two distinct ultimate goals:

(a) A historical research approach aimed at understanding the role of both colonialism and tourism in colonial societies (historical event) at a particular point in time as well as over an extended period of time (historical occurrence); and

(b) A socio-political science perspective designed to develop a conceptual or dynamic model of the social and political role of

colonialism (historical analysis), with its legacy in tourism as the phenomenon.

This social scientific approach, with due regard to a historical perspective, ensures that tourism concepts are considered against the historical backdrop of colonialism and that they are contextually grounded. Furthermore, by recognising the possible influences of the three substantive areas of historical inertia, explicit decisions in former colonies favouring colonisers and an ongoing colonial conspiracy as identified from the literature, this research facilitated direct inquiries of these issues through the application of grounded theory principles of analysis, which can in turn serve to elucidate existing theories.

The initial analytical process adopted for this study is derived from the approach to the grounded theory method of analysis favoured by Charmaz (2001). However, the sheer volume of archival information and the in-situ constraints associated with it, together with the working style of the candidate (Lewins & Silver, 2007) had a potent impact on the development of the analytical structures and function of the coding scheme. Due to these factors and the methodology employed, it was vital for the candidate to immediately identify thematic categories that came up through constant comparisons while sifting through archival documents and to compare them with those that were revealed during a review of relevant literature. These "Themes," which consisted of lumped codes, served to inform further research in terms of additional documents to be retrieved, consulted and photographed. However, the candidate made a conscious effort to respect the essence of the methodology, which comprises the systematic application of a set of research and analytic tools consisting of:

- "coding procedures,"
- "comparative analysis,"
- "memo-writing;" and
- "theoretical sampling"

3.12 Comparative Analysis

One area in grounded theory that transcends the controversy among its different approaches is the generalised endorsement of the constant comparative method as the major analytical method, identified by Glaser & Strauss (1967) in "The Discovery." Constant comparative analysis is the backbone of substantive coding (Glaser, 1978) or open-coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As explained in a later section on coding procedures, the candidate applied a method of comparative analysis throughout the research process consistent with the relatively simplified procedures established by Charmaz (2001). To the candidate, the coding system advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1990), which involves connecting categories at the level of their dimensions and properties during what they termed "axial coding," was too strict and proved to be too cumbersome for the historical data being analysed here. The procedure is inherently too rigid to explain through strict identification of dimensions and categories the processes by which socio-historical conditions of various natures (economic, social cultural, geo-political, etc.) are created to produce the ideal environment for a persisting colonial bias in tourism.

Constant comparisons were carried out at the various levels of open-coding and focus coding to ensure that an emerging inductive approach was being applied to raw data, formulating codes and categories, to ultimately arrive at the thematic categories.

3.13 Historical Analysis

In this study, the approach to historical analysis is subsumed to the grounded theory method of investigation. This perspective made it possible to go beyond the perception of the time element underlying archival documents as merely linear, as reflected in and embedded in principles of historical analysis. Consequently, the usual expression of linearity in the suppression of crucial turning points such as war, depression, independence,

significant legislation etc., which is often articulated in time-series data, is avoided (Smith, 2004).

Inevitably, because of the historical aspect of data, the methods fall within the broader context of historical inquiry. It is within historical inquiry based on the methodological model by Barrington Moore[ii] that the candidate has endeavoured to examine the relationship and feedback loops among historical occurrence, historical evidence and historical analysis (Smith, 2004). This process is complex and involves a search for sources of information (heuristic), the critical evaluation of such information (criticism or historical criticism), and the presentation of results (synthesis and exposition). It was crucial to follow appropriate procedures by adhering to the process of the above threefold historical model, either separately or simultaneously to ascertain the validity and suitability of the materials (Rostovtsev, 1926; Vol. 2).

In essence, the historical method acknowledges that events generate evidence, which then becomes data for analysis. However, searching for evidence as part of a researcher's perplexity to find a solution or an answer to a problem or question [which is the case in this study] or to test a theory also necessitates a feedback loop from analysis to evidence. In that sense, the data collected achieve relevance, perspective and purpose in relation to the question[s] the researcher seeks to answer. The historical approach to this study looks to the past to tackle the research question.

The other form of feedback loop refers to analyses of the recent or distant past by participants in those events under scrutiny. In the case of the two high-profile politicians interviewed, it was evident by the very nature of their own past experience and participation in the events, actions, processes, and decisions they recalled that the conclusions or perspectives they drew had often been and would hopefully continue to be fed back in contemporary debates and actions. This study therefore participates in a form of ongoing dialogue in which post-colonial societies like Mauritius engage within the socio-economic context of tourism. This form of

feedback loop highlights the direction that particular aspects of these societies are taking, have taken in the past or want to alter in the future.

3.14   Integrating Post-Colonialism into the Analysis

This study uses steps of grounded theory as a methodological framework and presupposes collection and analysis of data before using theory. To Glaser (1978; p. 3), "…grounded theory is a perspective on both data and theory." In this thesis, post-colonialism serves as a theoretical perspective (Crotty, 1998) to make sense of the data, situate the research and give it direction. Post-colonialism has served to circumscribe the scope of the study to reveal the context and has also identified substantive areas of focus for analysis grounded in theoretical logic and criteria (Crotty, 1998). Furthermore, its multi-disciplinary scope has provided this study with a plethora of lenses created by mutual interactions among the disciplines (Suppes, 1974), thereby ensuring a rich outcome that reflects diverse viewpoints. The theoretical perspective of post-colonialism has also provided the "concepts, terms, definition, models and theories" (Merriam, 1998) to make sense of data collected, thus making the analysis a theory-laden process. It has helped the candidate to "see" and understand certain aspects in the historical development of tourism that were closely related to the history of colonialism in the island cases. The conjunction of the grounded theory approach and the post-colonial perspective also highlighted the need for the candidate to remain open to a wide range of events detected in the data. The fact that the study was placed in a theoretical context reflecting the historical continuum within which tourism was viewed was important to the candidate's methodological sensitivity and sense of research direction. This combination allowed him some flexibility to explore the question without the constraints of a single set of ideas.

3.15   Coding Procedures using Atlas Ti5

Analysis and "thematic categorisation" were an ongoing process and were carried out simultaneously with data collection. Back at home base in Hong Kong and with photos of documents and two significant interview transcripts, the candidate considered using a software program that would assist in the coding, storing and managing the data. Amongst the various Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) packages available, ATLAS.ti5[iii] was the most appealing as it was said to be software developed on a philosophy similar to the principles of the grounded theory method of analysis. It is a workbench that can process and treat photos [in this case of textual documents], texts and other formats like audio/video in the same way it would process text (Lewins & Silver, 2007). The software package claims it allows better and closer management of partial and whole data files, thereby allowing the researcher close and "live" contact with the data. The software promised an overall enhanced interactivity that could only be of benefit in terms of flexibility in handling the data (Lewins and Silver, 2004).

The initial coding procedures applied to the archival documents consisted of identifying thematic categories from the data, which began with open coding of the archival documents in situ. The latitude allowed by open coding was an initial step to ensure the generation of emergent categories. The data were fractured through an initial phase of coding, then contrasted with substantive or theoretical preconceived codes (that emerged from existing literature) to validate the relevance of the core [macro] processes or [individual] actions/decisions present in the data. Central questions were subsequently extracted from the data as a means to reveal the properties of potential historically grounded and contextual reasons [actions, events, decisions and socio-political processes] that could explain the continuing colonial legacy in tourism.

If the open codes fit the data, the emergence of higher category codes is ensured. They are then lumped or re-assembled around higher-

level categories, which are referred to in this study as thematic categories. This is accomplished through what is known as focus coding, which builds and clarifies a particular category by examining all of the data it covers and identifying the variations within it and between other categories. Thematic categories generated at this level are thus the outcome of constant comparisons between data, events, contexts and concepts. One aspect of comparison within that process of focus coding is to ensure that the lumped codes or thematic categories are turned into active categories to reflect the [macro] processes. These would in turn be involved in the creation of a proper context that would be conducive to the maintenance of colonial ties. In that sense, these "live" thematic categories could eventually be applied to all the data they cover. In this study, thematic categorising therefore implies the selection of certain high-level or "conceptual" codes that have overriding significance to explain events and processes in the data. In other words, these thematic categories comprised selected codes that had common themes or patterns through their respective properties and dimensions.

The above explanation of coding procedures does not preclude the reality that coding was merely a mental process that occurred on the spur of the moment or was triggered by the "liveliness" of the data under scrutiny. This "method" was necessary not only to be faithful to the grounded theory spirit of ongoing analysis concurrent with data collection but also due to time constraints and limited resources available to the candidate. These thematic categories proved to be an asset in terms of time management as they gave the candidate enough time to re-orient his focus and target clearly identifiable documents for retrieval and consultation off-site. On a micro level, open codes and in-vivo codes [codes directly extracted from texts or respondents' discourses] were inherent in these themes and were stored electronically using Microsoft EXCEL. (These same codes and themes were later transferred to ATLAS software, which served as a data management tool due to the large-scale nature of the data.) Some codes were modified during the transfer, as the latter inevitably involved a re-assessment of the codes.

In summary, the coding process for this study based on Charmaz (2001) included:

1. Asking basic questions regarding the data:
    a. What is this data about?
    b. What category does the event/incident/decision/ process indicate?
    c. What is actually happening in the data?

2. Analysing documents and texts line-by-line, constantly comparing text with data and categories, which eventually forces saturation of categories and "… gives a feeling nothing has been left out" (Glaser, 1978; p. 58).

3. The candidate was personally responsible for all coding.

4. The role of software ATLAS.ti 5.2 was relegated to a mere storage tool for codes and memo writing rather than being used extensively as a technical workbench for simultaneous data analysis and memo-writing.

5. The theoretical sampling process was carried out within the case, within and between documents and with the interviews and relevant literature for the purpose of expanding, verifying and contrasting coding schemes.

6. Constant comparisons leading to saturation in terms of document accessibility followed an emerging approach to data analysis, codification and categorisation. The coding process is thus a reduction process conceptualised in the emergence of thematic categories, which is the highest level of codes in this study. It is a clear reflection of the tenet of the grounded theory method of research, which advocates searching [codes and themes] until finally nothing new materialises.

3.15.1 Exemplifying the Coding Process

Figure 3.1 below illustrates the coding process from a line-by line (open) coding system towards the creation of a thematic category. "Historical processes," which were developed to aid in the interpretation of the findings, are also shown. This particular example relates to data from a progress report dated November 29, 1952 sent by the colonial administration in Mauritius to the Colonial Office in London regarding the economic situation of the colony of Mauritius. With regards to a section on Mauritius Hotels Ltd., a new company formed to open a hotel in Mauritius, the report reveals:

"The [private] Company hopes to attract tourists from Madagascar and Réunion and, possibly Australia and South Africa. The object of the loan is to encourage the tourist trade. ...[T]he future of tourism in this Colony is uncertain, but it was considered that the excellent organisation of the Company offered a unique opportunity of testing the chances of success, and therefore justified Government's assistance on the basis of good security."[iv]

In the above passage, several potentially relevant open codes can be identified. One example is about the future of tourism on the island. The report reveals that the Government's interest in tourism began when it was identified as a sector of economic diversification. Also noteworthy is the fact that it involved a private initiative from a consortium of white Mauritian entrepreneurs (mentioned in the document but not reproduced here). The code "economic diversification" is situated here within several actions:

- A test case for a new business sector;
- Possible consideration for financial assistance from the Government;

- Initiating tourism, primarily from short-haul (Réunion & Madagascar) and medium-haul (South Africa and Australia) markets; and

- Considering tourism as having a viable future in Mauritius.

To ascertain the historical relevance of the data in this study, questions related to the context, actions and decisions are extracted from the data and include:

- What was the socio-economic context in which this project was initiated?

- Was there an interest on the part of the colonial administration in the project?

- If so, why was such interest expressed in that particular form?

- In what way did the colonial administration envisage assisting the sector?

In this study, codes emerged from archival documents related to tourism, sectors of tourism, economic and tourism development, the post-World War II and post-colonial development of Mauritius, two interview transcripts and literature related to the economic history of the late colonial period. Each code was generated based on several pieces of raw data. Several codes were very similar, with only slight differences reflecting variations in context, properties or even process. Many codes were repeated but differed in context or time and were thus coded for different instances. In this example, the open code "economic diversification" was based on several dozen pieces of data related to the particular case of Mauritius in 1952, when the idea of tourism as an economic sector of diversification was considered.

The answers to the questions asked of the various data from which the open codes emerged are then compared with each other. Figure 3.1 shows the grouping around the open code "economic diversification" given

the socio-economic context within which the code is considered. In the early 1950s, development imperatives were high on the agenda of the colonial government. High birth rates in the aftermath of World War II generated a need to create employment and ensure the provision of food. The administration even flirted with the idea of transferring labour to Madagascar and emigration to Borneo.[v]

This first level of comparison is thus conducted with multiple codes. Codes with similar properties are then grouped through focus coding, revealing new sets of "lively" codes, which in this study express the "macro" actions/decisions involved. A first round of theoretical sampling (re-visiting the case for more data for clarification, confirmation, extension or rejection) and is carried out with existing literature and documents to ascertain the relevance and fitness of these categories. Categories with properties that do not fit the different sets of data are eliminated. "Coping with a limited resource base" is a focus coding that emerged from a comparative analysis of the properties of four open codes and reveals the limitation to economic diversification and the impediment to development.

The final set of focused codes is validated against more information from the data and interviews through another round of theoretical sampling, thus enabling higher-level thematic codes to emerge. These are higher level as they have built-in properties that serve to answer the "why" question to this study. **"Failure of sustainable economic development alternatives and opportunities"** is a thematic code that emerged after its validation with the existing data. The implication of this thematic code is far-reaching. The adoption of tourism development policies has never been clear and straightforward. It was often considered a "tool of last resort" that local authorities were reluctant to adopt. Colonial administrations in those times were all striving to emulate the success story of industrialisation in Puerto Rico. The learning curve in industrialisation, however, was tedious and interspersed with social issues.

Figure 3.1   Coding Process

An example of the coding process around "Economic Diversification"
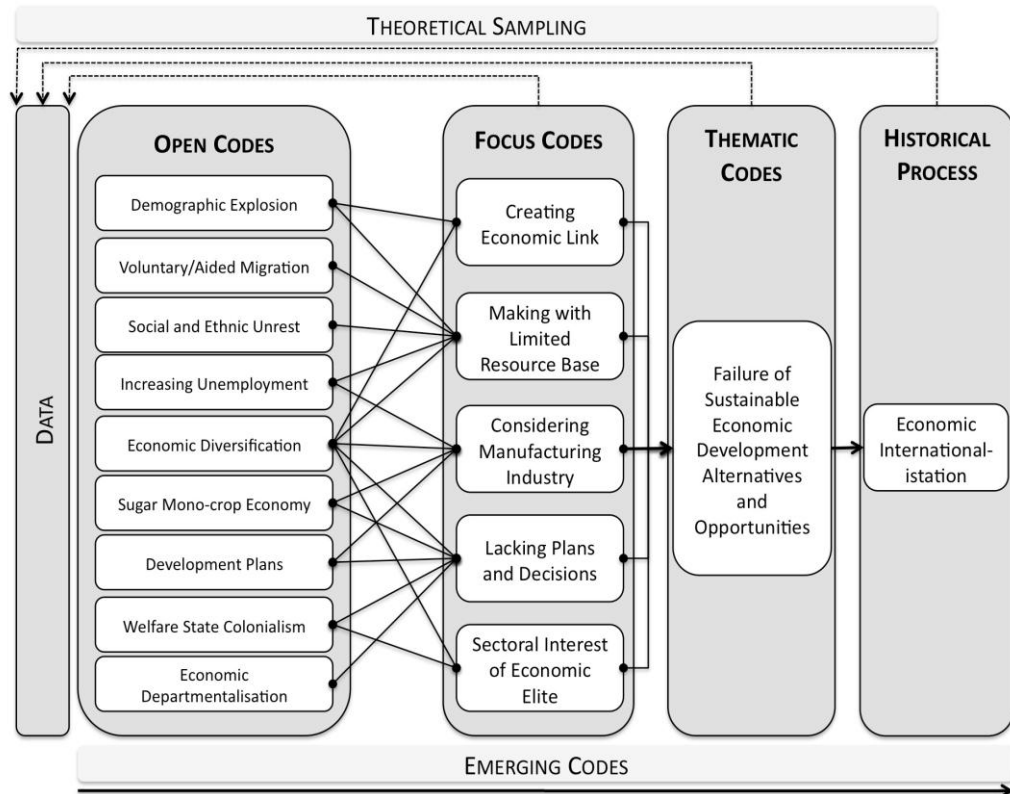
3.16   Memo writing

Though memo writing is generally viewed as the intermediate step between the coding process and the first draft of a study, it was carried out constantly throughout the analysis process as part of the grounded theory model. Memo writing facilitates writing about codes as processes and is not a method of sorting codes into Topics (Charmaz, 2001). Memo-writing was implemented during the analysis of data as soon as categories and ideas emerged that were deemed relevant and worthy of further examination by the candidate. The active nature of codes turns memo writing into more convenient processes for exploration. This is accomplished by focusing on categories, breaking them down into components to reveal their tacit

meanings and underlying assumptions. Moreover, the exercise of including raw data and materials in verbatim form from various sources in memos ensure that illustrations are analytically grounded and comparisons facilitated. In practice, the candidate adopted a parallel system of memo writing: one in the ATLAS software and the other in an EXCEL format. The latter platform was in time dropped due to time constraints and the duplication involved.

Codes that repeatedly emerged throughout data collection and analysis were flagged for elaboration, which proved a useful tool. Memo-writing was further enhanced through the iteration process of collecting, coding, refining ideas and in the go helped the candidate to not only become more familiar with the cases and data involved but also to significantly elaborate categories. The process of memo-writing was in fact a free-reined exploration exercise through which the candidate's thoughts, opinions and statements were expressed at different levels of analysis and abstraction, constantly revisited and superimposed upon data from documentary evidence, literature and interview transcripts that were reviewed along the way.

A major advantage of this type of "spontaneous" memo writing is the recurring exercise of comparisons that it entails longitudinally and laterally across categories, concepts, established bodies of knowledge and facts in the literature and documentary evidence. Major as opposed to minor categories became easily identified and served to identify forms and shapes of emerging analysis.

3.17   Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling refers to re-visiting the case and collecting more data in the process in order to clarify, confirm, extend and sharpen the ideas expressed in a [theoretical] framework of propositions. In simple terms, collecting more data develops the emerging theory. According to

Charmaz (2006; p. 177), theoretical sampling widens the route on the research journey and provides specific directions to "grounded theorising through sorting and integrating categories." In this study, theoretical sampling constituted a natural progression from memo writing.

In this study, it was logistically difficult to return to the archives themselves. However, the availability of both hard and digitised copies of documents from the archives allowed the candidate to re-submerge himself in the stacks of documents and data on several occasions. Furthermore, a comparison of the emergent propositions and theories (through code and category networks) was conducted within existing frameworks in the literature from disciplines including colonial studies, political studies, development economics, cultural studies and post-colonialism. The comparative methods inherent in theoretical sampling serve to improve the definitions of constructs through their properties and reveal the conditions under which these categories are interlinked. In that way, both internal and external validity are fine-tuned and the area[s] to which the study is applicable for generalisation is/are established. By linking categories, theoretical sampling not only raises the constructs to the level of concepts (here known as thematic categories) and identifies those most relevant to explain the data, but also ascertains variations within the process (Charmaz, 2001). Key issues, which in this study pertain primarily to historical context, historical occurrence, historical evidence and historical analysis, are identified together with their properties. The dimensions are then more explicitly defined and are "looped back" into more refined, analytic and incisive memo-writing, a process commonly used by socio-historians and adopted here due to the nature of the study. Ultimately emerging theoretical relationships aimed at answering the research question are more clearly expressed through this process.

3.18 Evaluating Grounded Theory Research

The evaluation of any piece of research is often twofold. First, there is the researcher's personal assessment of the journey, especially the method that transported him from the beginning to his completed work. Then there is the audience of scholars who would pay particular attention to whether the method was relevant, credible, rigorously applied, and how well it fits the disciplinary perspectives to the question.

Issues of validity, reliability and credibility surrounding grounded theory are not simple given its very origin in post-positivist and interpretative paradigms, whereby the natural and social worlds are viewed as completely distinct. This is further complicated as criteria of evaluation and judgement differ depending on who forms them and for what purpose (Charmaz, 2006). Throughout its evolution, qualitative research has been burdened with justifying and re-defining the reliability and validity of its results (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). For example, scholars with different disciplinary backgrounds would look at the issue of acceptability of evidence using their own unique set of criteria (Charmaz, 2006).

3.18.1 Fitness

Glaser and Strauss (1967) warn against using quantitative principles of rigour when judging grounded theory, since the approach to and concept of "reality" between quantitative and qualitative perspectives are thoroughly different. They propose verification of how well the theory generated from the process fits and works as one criterion of evaluation, which is derived from the very systematic conceptualisation step involved in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Charmaz (2006) sees this evaluation criterion as particularly useful since it forces the researcher to ponder how well the constructed theory reflects the reality of the data. Similarly, Dey (1999)

160

views the criterion of validity as being dependent on how genuinely the generated theory is grounded both conceptually and empirically in the data, a criterion termed as theoretical validity by Maxwell (1992).

3.18.2 Credibility

The application of the grounded theory method of research as process and its presence in the outcome ensures that the thematic categories in the theory are connected with the data. The implication of this close connection is that the theory tied down to an abstraction of the data is more likely to explain the phenomenon of a colonial legacy in tourism. The research was able to address a wide range of variations and take into consideration the differences involved at the national, sectoral and micro levels, given the wide range of data and the constant effort during the analytical process to allow conceptual categories to emerge from them. Furthermore, the candidate has endeavoured to present as clearly as possible the description of the research process in hopes that the reader can almost literally see the process, hear the participants, visualise the social world (Wells, 1997) and grasp the wider implications significant to the research (Charmaz, 2006). These steps, which relied heavily on a thick description from the data, were necessary for the credibility of the grounded theory approach. They played a crucial role in terms of clarity, description and analysis in the two chapters of this thesis (4 and 5) that discuss the findings.

3.18.3 Trustworthiness

Throughout the literature that espouses qualitative methods (Creswell and Miller, 2000; Lincoln and Guba, 1985), trustworthiness forms a major canon of evaluation and seems to be one evaluative criterion on which the majority of today's qualitative researchers agree. In this study, triangulation and a form of audit trail (Creswell and Miller, 2000) were used to secure trustworthiness. While triangulation facilitated an in-depth

understanding of the phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) of the colonial legacy in tourism, the audit trail provided a clear picture of the research from data collection to interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Flick (2002) warns against considering triangulation a validation tool; instead, it should be viewed as an alternative to it. This study applied triangulation through a multi-method of research, as well as to the sources through archival documents, published texts and interviews. The processes involved were not contradictory, as they were all agglomerated through the systematic procedures of the grounded theory method of analysis. With regard to the sources, the high socio-political and official status of the two respondents was in the first instance considered sufficient as a criterion of validation. Corroboration of factual information (as opposed to their own experiences and interpretation thereof) was carried out between the two responses, between their responses and official archival reports and publications, and between their responses and related publications. These processes satisfied the two implications of "multiple sources" as interpreted by Lincoln and Guba (1985; p. 305); namely, "it may imply multiple copies of one type of source or different sources of the same information."

A form of audit trail, which is a procedure for validity that provides clear documentation of all research decisions and activities (Lewis, 2009), was adopted in this research. ATLAS.ti served as an electronic platform for data storage and management, coding procedures and memo-writing. Categorisation procedures and the analytical process for documents and interview transcripts, along with other information such as personal views related to data, information and variations in observations (Schwandt, 2007) were also noted using the software. This thorough documentation allowed for replication of the research, not only through access to the process and methods of research but also to the data that was digitalised with the use of a digital camera. This enabled the candidate to later review segments of the research at various levels, including the research process, revisiting documents with the release of new ones, and certainly a re-analysis of the original data using other methods of analysis such as event history analysis.

Additionally, thick data with thorough discussion of the major themes have been used to present the entire picture of possible explanations for the persistent legacy of colonialism in tourism. The goal is to capture the readers' imaginations, transport them into the particular environment, setting and situation of the late colonial period juxtaposing early tourism development. This image and sensation should be strong so as to enable readers to imagine, discover and understand the reasons for the colonial bias in tourism flows. The appeal is to the image they form about a particular tourism travel pattern, which is the result of macro decisions dating back to the colonial period or to attitudes reminiscent of colonial times.

3.19   Limitations

It was the goal of the researcher to both collect archival materials and supplement them with interviews with key decision makers in Mauritius and the UK at the time of decolonisation period. Unfortunately, very few of them were still alive or in robust enough health to be interviewed at the time the research for this study was carried out. Amongst the very few important remaining political figures who were directly involved in the tourism industry and socio-political decisions in Mauritius during the final period of colonial history, only two agreed to be interviewed formally: Sir Aneerood Jugnauth, now President of the Republic of Mauritius, and Mr. Paul Bérenger, former Prime Minister and now leader of the opposition in the parliament and a major pro-independence and socio-political activist during the late colonial and early independent periods of Mauritius.

As a method of investigation and analysis, grounded theory continues to be a controversial topic. By its natural claim for theory generation, grounded theory has been intentionally and unintentionally modified and presented in versions that have not served to clarify the understanding of it. Limitations at the level of a doctoral study are

unavoidable: time constraints, lack of resources and lack of experience on the part of the candidate are but a few of them.

A major setback during this research has been the candidate's inability to secure learned opinions from academics. Furthermore, given the nature of Mauritian society, which is a composite of multifarious complex elements of ethnicity, race, religion and class deeply embedded in the socio-political and cultural structure of the island, the candidate's ability to gain access to key stakeholders, in particular those with relevant experience in the tourism and hotel industry, was limited by his own socio-cultural position within that society. Timing and luck have also proved to be a major factor in the collection of data (or lack thereof). At the level of theoretical sampling in the case of the interviews, the candidate was unable to engage the interviewees a second time. In fact, the candidate considered that he had struck gold when his requests for interviews with the President of Mauritius and the former Prime Minister were granted. However, as they revealed before the interviews, both were intrigued by the topic, which they considered "daring" (Jugnauth, 2008) and a "tad controversial" (Bérenger, 2008).

Undoubtedly, archival research spanning almost four decades of history represented a complicated undertaking. Aside from the required extensive operational and logistical arrangements, the research process itself was a challenge given that the candidate had no previous experience with historical research. Obstacles associated with archival research included accessibility, familiarisation with the cataloguing systems and a steep learning curve, the sheer volume of information available, the candidate's own trepidation in entering this "unknown world," and perhaps most importantly, the challenge of focusing the search, taking into account the scope of the research proposition. The decision to impose the research purpose on the archival research limited the scope of the data set collected at the archives to consider only tourism-specific sources. In addition, given the extensive list of areas of classification in the archives and despite the candidate's relentless efforts to expand the areas of investigation, some of

the broader social and political contexts that may have influenced this study could have been overlooked. Consequently, the inability to circumscribe the broader historical record, mainly for logistical reasons, certainly constrained the study. Thus, the absence of an explicit recognition in the study of the role of existing political and power structures and their implications on development and other factors evident in this material can be attributed to the fact that they were not evident in the archival records consulted.

One major limitation of the archival method lies in the routes by which the materials have come to repose at the archives. They are intrinsically not systematic, as they go through sedimentary processes based on archivists' definitions of what is worth keeping. Any inquiry based on the use of archives is thus bound by the implications of the methods underlying the accumulation of the archival references themselves. The candidate found a relative paucity of documents related to tourism development in the colonies before the 1970s. It was thus necessary to broaden the areas of investigation to include all possibilities that could relate to tourism in one way or another. Search areas included, among others, economic development, economic growth, trade and commerce, communications, air transport and social events. More often than not, a pile of documents yielded scattered mentions of the terms "tourism" or "hotel." However, as explained earlier, it was important to circumscribe the contextual situations in which these terms were used. This was consistent with the spirit of the grounded theory method of research.

However, despite the "official" character of the colonial government documents examined, the "tyranny of the printed page" must be acknowledged, as it is easy to assume that anything viewed in print is historically accurate. In archival research, it is worth remembering that truth and error have equal claims when reviewing archival records (Delanglez & Garraghan, 1946). One defining premise for archival research in this study is that the official archival materials had to be treated as data for analysis. The systematic method of grounded theory helped manipulate

the archives to reveal not only features of socio-political decisions but also transactions embedded within relatively enduring socio-economic and political relationships. The candidate's approach to the historical analysis of the complexity raised by the continual dialogue that occurs through the colonial legacy in tourism is one that attempts to build theory about not only the shape of that particular aspect of history in terms of its disjuncture and continuities but also to highlight and raise to the conscious level the historical specificity under study (Calhoun, 1998).

While the relatively efficient pace at which official documents were released at the archives in England allowed access to more documents, it also revealed that there are still volumes of documents that could be of relevance to this research but which could not be reviewed because they are subject to a statutory access restriction. This means they cannot legally be released for public access for a period ranging from 30 to 75 years.

With the wealth of information and documentation available, there was a considerable risk of the research process being diverted into less pertinent areas. The candidate therefore established research parameters and remained in regular communication with his supervisor for guidance as to the relevance of certain findings and to minimise the possibility of lengthy excursions into extraneous material. This approach, however, did not preclude pursuing genuine leads or hunches that developed during the research process.

3.20   Conclusion

The research process is ultimately defined by the selection of the most promising methods, and these choices in turn affect the nature and direction of the research. The main challenges presented to the candidate were both in the selection of and justification for the methods adopted (Crotty, 1998). Indeed, the selection of methods is considerably more complex than a simple response to the requirements of the research at hand.

It is intricately related to the theoretical paradigm of both the research and the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and to the interconnecting issues of ontological (nature of reality), epistemological (nature of knowledge) and methodological (system of inquiry) perspectives involved in the research paradigm (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Cited in Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). This study was conducted within an interpretative research paradigm that uses qualitative research methods, in particular the grounded theory methodology.

This chapter detailed the grounded theory method of research and analysis used in this study with the ultimate purpose of generating a substantive theory through an investigation of the phenomenon of a continuing colonial legacy in tourism. It explained the operationalisation of the research, which was carried out through archival research and a socio-historical case-oriented study of the selected island tourist destination of Mauritius. Together with the method of in-depth interviews, the multi-method approach to this study constituted the methodological triangulation, a validation process of the research method in terms of trustworthiness and reliability. The combination of methods proposed was deemed appropriate, as it helped to circumscribe a macro approach to an explanation respectful of the socio-historical and political context and nature of the research question. The close connection between the historical method of research and grounded theory in their complete reliance on data further convinced the candidate of the appropriateness of the methods adopted. This chapter also included detailed explanations of the coding procedures that form an essential element of the grounded theory method of research. Limitations to the methods have been addressed throughout the chapter, with a final section on the particular limitations of archival research methods.

The research process has been for the most part an unremitting journey into the unknown. Its multiple stages included moments of discovery, distress, puzzles and frustrations, but above all excitement. Data were collected in three different rounds in three different countries and formed an integral part of the unrelenting coding procedures and analysis.

The following two chapters discuss the discoveries that were made during this journey. They include the priorities that had to be clearly established during the research process to ensure that this study remained focused on and relevant to the core question of the possible reasons for a persistent colonial bias in tourism.

CHAPTER 4

4. MAURITIUS: SETTING THE HISTORICAL STAGE FOR TOURISM

This chapter provides background information for this study, with particular emphasis on the socio-economic and political contexts of the case of Mauritius. The chapter is driven primarily by extant academic and industry literature on the various aspects comprising the colonial island economy and serves to put the case study in proper context. It describes what occurred during periods of tourism expansion in the referenced jurisdictions. To that end, this chapter addresses the contextual factors that existed at that time and at independence, the degree of involvement of colonial and post-colonial governments in encouraging tourism on the islands, and how these factors have affected the scope and direction of tourism development. The following synopses lay the groundwork for the next chapter, in which archival data will be supplemented by two in-depth interviews and related literature will be analysed for insights into potential reasons for the evolutionary path that tourism has followed since colonial times.

4.1 Mauritius: The Geography

Mauritius is one of three small islands (the other two being Reunion and Rodrigues) that make up the Mascarenes (named after the Portuguese navigator Pedro Mascarenhas, who first visited the islands in 1512). It is located in the South West Indian Ocean just north of the Tropic of Capricorn, at a longitude between 57°18' and 57°46' East and a latitude between 19°50' and 20°32' South. The volcanic legacy of the island (See S.A. Renvoize, in D. Bramwell, 1979; p. 108) has given it some distinct landscape features: modest mountain ranges form a crown around a central plateau and are surrounded by plains, with white sand beaches ringing the entire island. Shallow lagoons separate the shores from the coral reefs. For

such a small volcanic island of just over 2,000 km² off the East coast of Madagascar, Mauritius exhibits varying climatic patterns depending on the geological relief, with regions of the central plateau above 550 metres in altitude receiving over 500 centimetres of rain annually, compared to 165 centimetres on the East coast and only 88 centimetres in the dry plains on the West coast. The island is situated in the path of the Southeast trade winds during most of the year. Temperatures vary depending upon the location, with microclimates that can range from an average of 16° C in winter to 22° C in summer at higher altitudes and from an average of 23° C in winter to 28° C in summer in the coastal regions, with temperature differences of only about 4° C between seasons (Mauritius Meteorological Services, 2008), making the water warm enough to swim year-round. Nonetheless, in summer, from November to March, Mauritius comes under the influence of inter-tropical convergence zones, with hot and humid conditions and the possibility of cyclones (tropical storms).

Source: http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/mu.htm

Charles Darwin and Mark Twain (1897) considered Mauritius an unequalled tropical paradise due to its lush and unique flora and fauna. Today, it is considered to possess "one of the most endangered floras in the world" (Ly-Thio-Fane, 1984; p. 33) and some of the earth's most unique species of bird, such as the echo parakeet, the Mauritian Kestrel and the pink pigeon (Durrell, 1977). The island's best-known original fauna is the Dodo bird, which, like many other indigenous species, has become extinct since the arrival of man and his cohort of companions, such as dogs, rats and hogs (Hachisuka, 1953).

4.2   Mauritius: General History

Mauritius has witnessed a dramatic change in its role over the centuries since its official discovery by the Portuguese between 1507 and 1513. It started as a major port of call for European vessels heading around the Cape of Good Hope for trade with the Far East during the age of early overseas exploration and colonisation in the 15th and 16th centuries. The death knell of Mauritius was sounded with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. First settled in the early 17th century by the Dutch East India Company, which was later blamed for the extermination of the Dodo, the island was abandoned for larger settlements in Southern Africa. Taken over by the French in 1715, it was renamed Ile de France. From then on, Mauritius was coveted for its strategic location on the spice route to India. Captured by the British during the Napoleonic Wars (1799 - 1815),[vi] the island was officially ceded to Great Britain through the Treaty of Paris in 1814. It was no longer French and remained under British rule until March 12, 1968. This put Mauritius in an unusual position among the British colonies: The economically and socially dominant group was not British, although they were of European descent.

4.3   Mauritius: The Making of a Plural Society

It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market- place, in buying and selling (Furnivall 1948; p. 304).

Any understanding of structural changes and their processes has to be grounded in the social arrangement and the groups that make up the society under study. The most important social feature of Mauritius is its multi-racial population, which affects to a great extent the political organisation of the island and ultimately its economy (Mannick, 1979; Selvon, 2001). The composition of the Mauritian population is an accurate reflection of its colonial story, which revolved around sugar and its requirements, which were characterised by a history of exploitation.

Unlike in the Caribbean islands, where some native populations existed prior to the arrival of Europeans (Knight, 1996), Mauritius was uninhabited (de Rauville, 1889). The French, who first settled the island, developed the colony's infrastructure and plantations. By bringing slaves from East Africa and Madagascar to work on the sugar estates, they created the plantation economy characterised by the mono-crop, exploitation through slavery and cultural divergence. The story did not end there, however. The *Acte de Capitulation* of 1810 between France and Britain on the cession of the island to the British was a cornerstone in the island's history. The British adopted the existing economic model wholesale, thereby reinforcing the strategic position of the island in its warehousing function in the British trading community and the Commonwealth (Berthelot, 1991). The British had no plans to develop the island. For them, is served as a low-overhead trading and military outpost where a liberal form of colonial rule was appropriate (Chazan-Gillig, 2000). The French inhabitants were allowed to preserve their property, laws, customs and religion. One repercussion of this was the relatively late abolition of slavery in 1839, although the slave trade was outlawed in 1807. By 1834, with an

increasing number of slaves being freed, indentured labour from India was imported to palliate the need for labour and to fill the gap left behind by freed slave labour on sugar plantation estates.

With more Indian immigrants brought in during the sugar boom of 1919 to 1923, a new racial patchwork soon began to emerge in Mauritius, with the Indian population outnumbering the mixed-blood (Creole) population and the small but economically powerful and influential group of Franco-Mauritians, who owned the sugar estates. When Mauritius achieved independence in 1968, it displayed a formidable mosaic of races, religions and languages. The latest ethnic addition was the Chinese, who started arriving by the 1830s and continued well into the early 20th century. The ultimate result of the island's dual history of colonisation is a type of society that, according to J.S. Furnivall (1942, 1948), can be termed "plural."

Plural societies involve multiple ethnic or cultural categories (Morris, 1957). The earliest form of the word was used to describe countries of Southeast Asia where separate ethnic sections of the population were held together by a colonial power. Since then, however, the term "plural" has come to describe ethnically stratified societies, notably in the Caribbean (Trinidad and Jamaica), in which economic integration existed at many levels (Clarke, 1986) such that pluralism became blurred with stratification, and the use of ethnic and cultural criteria to identify different sections of society did not help to describe their inherent strata (Benedict, 1962). In the case of Mauritius, if one uses criteria as varied as colour, national origin, religion or ethnic origin to differentiate sections of the population, the island "… is a plural society…" where the criteria or categories "… are all basically ascribed statuses" (Benedict, 1962; p. 1236).

However, these statuses of ascription did not, as Benedict (1962) discovered, serve to clearly delineate groups of people. One set of relationships can bring different communities together, while another separates them. This prompted Benedict to suggest that economic and political structures are more effective means of differentiation. Economic

classifications tended to cross ethnic boundaries such that societies began to evolve from an ethnic stratification, where each ethnic group identifies with a single occupation, to an economic stratification, with members of each group engaged in a wide range of occupations (Benedict, 1962; p. 1244), thereby undermining the concept of plurality. According to Eriksen (1992), a pluri-ethnic and cultural approach to understand post-colonial Mauritius is of limited utility, as it ignores the role of "anonymous structures" imposing "impediments originating in the labour market, the international commodity and information markets and the structuring properties of the state" (p. 185). As such, criteria other than ethnicity may be applied, which complicates the manner in which individuals construct their own identities and pursue their interests. Politically, there are cases where frustrated ethnic groups do not join forces to take on the group of politically dominant leaders but instead rely on individual leaders to represent their interests separately.

On the other hand, unprivileged groups sometimes form political alliances based on their economic class and thereby transcending their ethnic appurtenance. Colonialism thus did not itself generate cultural assimilation nor effective structural unification. Although major conflicts are avoided when there are interactions at various levels of society among different groups, the mere numerical differences can be reason enough for an emphasis on communalism (Benedict, 1965). In the registration figures for the 1967 general elections one year before independence, of the 307,683 people registered, 98,822 were of the General Population, 46,076 were Muslims, 8,218 were Chinese and 154,567 were Hindus, including 31,295 Tamils (Simmons, 1982. p. 180). The concept of community has traditionally played a key role in the constitutional development of Mauritius and the census that was conducted in connection with the electoral process (Christopher, 1992).

Distinguishing among people based on ethnicity or racial origin was common in the British Empire, where British administrators applied census classifications in order to impose social order and ultimately created a new system of social classification and interaction that the census merely sought

to describe (Barrier, 1981). Using racial and ethnic taxonomy in Mauritius to divide the complex multi-cultural population into ethnic and political communities proved to be a difficult undertaking, as it involved issues of cultural assimilation, religious conversion, inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriages that made ethnic boundaries rather fluid (Christopher, 1992). Thus, in the Mauritian Constitution as bequeathed by the British at decolonisation, the term "General Population" was used to identify any person who "does not appear, from his way of life, to belong to one or the other of these three [Indo Mauritian Hindus, Indo Mauritian Muslims and Chinese] communities."[3] The racial spectrum of this category was inevitably broad, making it virtually impossible to invoke a racial classification based purely on physical characteristics.

On the other hand, as revealed by the three categories delineated above, there is a close link between ethnic identification and religion in Mauritius (Dinan, 1986). Members of the General Population are mainly Christians, while nearly all members of the Indo-Mauritian community are Hindus or Muslims. A few Indo-Mauritians, mainly Tamils, are Christians. A large majority of the Chinese adopted Christianity in the twentieth century (Dinan, 1986). At decolonisation, these figures were important, as the political intricacies they implied for the general elections would determine the pace and form of independence from Britain.

Another ramification of the multi-ethnic and multi-racial composition of the island is the political significance of language, highlighted in Miles (2000). He describes the "delicate nature of linguistic balances in pluralistic, including democratically pluralistic societies" (p. 215) and the importance of language equilibrium. Inevitably, the state of multilingualism in Mauritius is a reflection of its colonial history and pluralistic nature of its social arrangement (Arno & Orian, 1986; Bowman, 1991; Lau Thi Keng, 1991; Meisenhelder, 1997; Miles, 2000). In the late 18th century, imitation of the French language by slaves as a form of

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[3] Constitution of Mauritius. Schedule 1, Paragraph 4, as quoted in Eriksen (1988; p. 9).

expression and communication helped to develop Kreol as the lingua franca among the black slaves on the sugar cane plantations. When the British took over the island after the 1810 Act of Capitulation, they guaranteed there would be no imposition on the customs and cultures of the inhabitants. As a result, French and Kreol continued to be spoken by the French plantocracy and slaves respectively. The abolition of slavery in 1835 and the need to replace emancipated slaves introduced Indian "coolies" to Mauritius, triggering a change in the demographic "lang-scape" of the island, with the spread of Indian languages such as Tamil, Telegu, Bhojpuri, Gujarati, Marathi. Chinese languages (Hakka and Cantonese) were later introduced with the arrival of Asians during the nineteenth century. Among the Indian languages, Bhojpuri, which arrived with labourers from the Indian states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, underwent the "… most localised (indeed, creolized) of nonindigenous Mauritian vernaculars" (Miles, 2000; p. 217). A lingua franca was clearly needed to address the polyglot situation that had developed over the course of centuries, and the Kreol of the slaves filled that gap (Baker, 1969). Apart from Kreol, most inhabitants of Mauritius now speak another language: either an "ancestral" language or French as the language of prestige. The population has thus developed at minimum some form of bilingualism, with Kreol remaining the universal lingua franca. This linguistic evolution will be explained below.

The introduction of a free primary educational system in the 1950s had two important effects on the Mauritian "lang-scape": an increasing number of people were able to speak, read and write both French and English, and more importantly the number of languages with which children became familiar was increasing. Ancestral languages (called Oriental languages in Mauritius) were institutionalised in the educational system, where children, depending on their ethnic origin, would learn their ancestral language in a primary school environment dominated by Kreol (Baker, 1969). Although English is the official medium of instruction in Mauritian schools, in practice oral instructions are often given in French (Baker, 1969), with Kreol and Bhojpuri also allowed to facilitate comprehension in the classroom (Miles, 2000). Furthermore, urbanisation and the

introduction of mass education have increased the prominence of Kreol, which has replaced traditional languages in many villages and homes.

Such a complex linguistic structure has played an important socio-political role in Mauritius over the years. Miles (1999) identifies the "fair-play" principle to describe the prevailing language situation just before independence: Kreol was expanding as the medium of informal conversation, with English as the exclusive written language and formal spoken medium of government. Meanwhile, French retained its role as the language of status, with the added advantage of being a medium of instruction in most primary schools. As for the ancestral languages, they became at varying degrees religious/cultural and literary languages for different ethnic groups. Today, English is the official language of the Parliament (Bérenger, 2008), and English and French constitute the island's two official languages. French is the most commonly spoken and read language among the educated population and it dominates the local press and other media. Mauritius is currently one of the very few countries in which the French language is progressing at a faster rate than English (Duval, 2008).

4.3.1 Mauritius: Socio-Political Structure

British colonial rule in Mauritius was a rather anomalous arrangement. The British presence was often regarded as mere formality reminiscent of a political partnership dating back to the "Acte de Capitulation" in 1810, which placed the administration under the British while the white French settlers provided the revenue from sugar required to help govern the island. British rule was uneasy over a rigidly stratified plantation society under the socio-economic control of the white Franco-Mauritian elite. The relationship between British governors and the Franco-Mauritians was based on a mutual but cordial distrust. They tolerated each other's presence as long as the British did not intrude on the political and

social dominance of the Franco-Mauritians (Mannick, 1979; Bowman, 1991).

Though British political control of Mauritius was formalised in 1814, an initial British form of government was installed only in 1825. Further changes were introduced over the years until mass participation in politics took root with the creation in 1936 of the Labour party, which was patterned on the British model. Until the 1930s, the Franco-Mauritians had dominated politics on the island. An acute economic crisis compounded the hardships of the Mauritian labourers, who were forbidden to organise formally. This caused industrial unrests, riots and violence to break out in 1937 and 1943. Several investigatory commissions (See Bowman, 1991) established in the wake of this turmoil identified the major causes to be poverty, very low wages, appalling conditions of malnutrition and a sugar colony "in which ideas and methods had remained unchanged for a century" (Tinker, 1977; p. 59). One man emerged from the labour party as spokesman for the workers: Dr. Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, who would later be known as the father of independence. He became the first prime minister of an independent Mauritius in 1968.

In the aftermath of World War II, the political character of Mauritius changed markedly. None of the local leaders were thinking about independence as late as 1958, but the political system had nonetheless begun to show signs of greater openness. Both London and the colonial government recognised that reforms were necessary to make way not only the socio-demographic changes that had occurred since the French had settled the island, but also to accommodate the changes engendered by the colonial reforms that had characterised the empire since before the war.

A key issue in the political organisation of Mauritius after World War II was the need to re-evaluate the island's existing constitution in light of Britain's reassessment of its own empire. The new constitution had to respect the pluri-ethnic character of Mauritian society, which meant a substantial shift in the political life of the colony. It signalled the end of

Franco-Mauritian political control and ushered in a period of significant participation by Indians and Creoles in the political life of the island. These changes were consistent with what was happening in other British colonies. A parliamentary system of government came into being in 1957 with universal suffrage in 1958 (Mannick, 1979).

4.4   Decolonisation: The Road to Independence in Mauritius

At this point of political development, local political tensions fomented by ethnic apprehension became more pronounced, as ethnic minority groups grew wary of what could be interpreted as a Hindu-dominated agenda. These tensions culminated in troubles between the Hindus and the Creoles in May 1965, after which the British Government agreed to a new electoral system (Mannick, 1979; Selvon, 2001).

However, a new constitution was not adopted until 1967 after a conference on independence in London. It proposed increasing the size of the legislative assembly by scrapping single-member constituencies to ensure representation of minority groups and to avoid over-representation of the Hindu majority. A system of "best-losers" was also adopted by awarding parliamentary seats to representatives of communities under-represented in the outcome of general elections. It confirmed the notion that institutional politics in Mauritius was organised primarily along ethnic lines (Christopher, 1992; Eriksen, 1994; Simmons, 1982). The island's independence was also at stake in that consultation. All of the local political parties and the British agreed to this new arrangement, and this was the political state of affairs in Mauritius as the country approached the August 1967 general elections (Bowman, 1991; Mannick, 1979; Selvon, 2001).

With their political base entrenched within the large group of Indian and Creole labourers, The Mauritius Labour Party (MLP) secured enough endorsements from Indian farmers and professionals who were moving up the social ladder to generate a strong movement for suffrage and

independence. In a coalition with the *Comité d'action musulman* (CAM) and the Independent Forward Bloc (IFB), the MLP won the 1967 elections with 55 percent of the votes. Their opponent, the Parti Mauricien Social-democrat (PMSD), which was against independence and in favour of an "association" with Britain, obtained 43 percent of the vote. At the first meeting of the legislative Assembly of Mauritius on August 22, 1967, Dr. Ramgoolam tabled the motion to request independence from the Government in the United Kingdom "to give effect, as soon as practicable this year, to the desire of the people of Mauritius to accede to Independence within the Commonwealth of Nations and that Mauritius be admitted to membership of the Commonwealth on the attainment of Independence."

4.4.1 Mauritius: An Independent Nation

Convinced that Mauritius was a good example of a functioning democratic system that was ready for independence, the British lowered the Union Jack on March 12, 1968. On that day, Mauritius achieved the status of a sovereign democratic state with a final Constitution formed under British rule that became the supreme law of the island. According to Prime Minister Ramgoolam in his address of thanks to the Governor General Sir John Shaw Rennie, these constitutional instruments were "…symbol of our Independence and the formal recognition of the birth right of a nation." They contained a guarantee to safeguard the fundamental rights and freedoms of all individuals, private property, the individual's freedom of expression and association, freedom of movement and protection from discrimination on the grounds of race colour, creed or sex. The Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, was vested with the executive authority of the island and was represented by the Governor General. A Cabinet of ministers, under the leadership of the Prime Minister, was collectively responsible to the Assembly for any advice given to the Governor General.

However, there were already [socio-political] signs of the challenges inherent in administering a democratic parliamentary system of

government with the presence of so many ethnic groups amid serious economic and social tensions (Mannick, 1979; Selvon, 2001). The series of amendments introduced to the constitution in the years following independence attested to the need for the political system to reflect the changing socio-economic, cultural and political demographics of the island.

At independence, the economic and social stratification of Mauritian society exhibited some enduring but unusual features. At the top of the power pyramid was the small capitalist class of Franco-Mauritians, whose wealth had been acquired through centuries of profit accumulation from the plantation economy. Beneath them was a growing middle class of Indo-Mauritians with increased social mobility, made possible through increased access to education (Seegobin & Collen, 1977; p. 110; Simmons, 1982), as well as land ownership achieved during the "parcelling out" or "Grand morcellement" period, whereby the consolidation of profitable lands by white estate holders in the 1870s and the 1920s allowed for less profitable lands on the margins to be sold, mostly to Indian labourers who would in time form a social class of small land-owners (Bowman, 1991; p. 25), At the bottom of the ladder was a rather large group of indigents, composed primarily of Creoles of African origin. This group remains marginalised in present-day Mauritius, not only for economic reasons but also in terms of their social-historic and political under-representation within the state (de L'Estrac, 2008).

Language played an important pivotal role in post-colonial Mauritius. After independence, Kreol was promoted as a possible national language by the opposition party, the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM) (Eriksen, 1988; p. 180). Although Kreol has since developed into the dominant vernacular of Mauritius, it has not enjoyed cross-ethnic recognition as a national language. In his study of the Kreol language space in the building of nationhood, Eishenlohr (2007) argues that different images and characterisations of Mauritian Kreol are linked to conflicting claims on the nation that produce different visions and interpretations of membership in the Mauritian nation. In 1983, fifteen years after

independence, a national political crisis erupted around a broadcast on national television of the national anthem being sung in Kreol, viewed by some politicians as "the national language." The Hindu faction within the government coalition broke apart and new elections were organised.

The notion of nationhood as understood in Mauritius, ostensibly modelled on compromise and pluralism (Bowman, 1991; Carroll and Carroll, 2000; Eriksen, 1992; 1998), was essentially the "outcome of a struggle for symbolic domination over the nation" (Eishenlhor, 2007; p. 2) in the postcolonial era. To Eriksen (1991), the manner in which language is used to create and demarcate cultural categories may not be readily apparent in social life. The official government policy of teaching Asian ancestral languages in Mauritian schools has served to reinforce ethnic membership and identity among Indians and others of Asian background, but at the same time has tended to marginalise the Creoles (of African origin). Kreol, which is spoken only in the vernacular and by almost all Mauritians, continues to be regarded as an inferior language associated with slavery, demeaning those of African origin with no socially accepted ethnicity.

Based on the foregoing discussion of ethnicity, religion and language, it is evident that Mauritians have a strong sense of belonging to and identifying with particular communal nodes. Dinan (1986) also remarked that, with their immigrant roots, Mauritians have the feeling of belonging to "somewhere else." To further obscure an already ambiguous sense of identity, national slogans such as "Unity in Diversity" that celebrate pluralism call into question the extent to which the country has developed a sense of Mauritian nationalism. Eriksen (1994) suggests that a national identity is indeed in the making [though it is difficult to argue that it is an ethnic ideology], as Mauritius is increasingly displaying the conditions considered necessary for nation building: "a uniform system of education and an economy based on work for wages" (p. 572). At the same time, however, it seems that nationalism in Mauritius is based on cultural diversity through compromise and tolerance (Eriksen (1994). To Eisenlohr (2007; p. 992), on the other hand, "conflicting perspectives on language and

linguistic practice have shaped the spread of the nation form to Mauritius," a nation that is plural in its composition and made possible through a form of cultural citizenship that emphasises ancestral languages rather than linguistic ethno-nationalism (one language for one nation).

With regard to the organisation of social order, the rather rigid social stratification of Mauritius did not diminish the tremendous social changes brought about during the last four decades. The island showed remarkable economic growth in the 1980s and 1990s, which substantially raised the living standards of the general population. The doom and gloom prophecy of Western academics during the 1950s had not come to pass "…yet" (Benedict, 1984; p.748). Centripetal institutions and social policies based on democratic ideals have enabled Mauritians to maintain social harmony, despite their many differences and occasional instances of social unrest. These are in fact related to the social democratic principles adopted by the first independent government under Ramgoolam. He established the precedent of running the country around unifying agents that relied on partnerships between the public and private sectors (Meisenhelder, 1997), which were a key ingredient in economic development and the creation and future success of a tourism sector.

4.5   Mauritius: Economic History

The Mauritian economy rests firmly on the sugar industry. Introduced by the French settlers, sugar cane plantation reached new levels of development under the British, who helped bring indentured labourers from India to replace freed slaves on the plantations after the abolition of slavery. Depressed on the eve of World War II, the sugar industry recovered only after the war, when world prices rose, boosted by aid from the British government. Indeed, Mauritius was granted a quota at preferential rates by The Commonwealth Sugar Agreement (CSA) of 1951, which also helped to improve production. Other non-sugar crops were also grown for the

domestic market, and a small but significant manufacturing industry had developed. At independence there were twenty-one large sugar estates, and by 1970 they employed 56,000, which represented over 30% of the work force. (This number fell to about 40,000 by 1990, excluding 5,000 seasonal workers.) Planters with factories produced 62% of the total crop on a plantation scale, and cane fields covered 47% of the land and 97% of all cultivated land. Sugar contributed nearly 93% of the annual exports and almost all foreign exchange (Mannick, 1979).

By the end of the 1950s the socio-economic figures were showing alarming tendencies (Table 4.1) as revealed by several reports commissioned at that time by the colonial administration. In the "Report on Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment in the Colony" by R.W. Luce (1958), the unemployment rate was around 15% of the labour force (Meade, 1961). In the 1960 "Report on Social Policies and Population Growth," R. Titmuss and B. Abel-Smith predicted a pessimistic future for the island's economy given its high population growth rate. At that time, the Franco-Mauritians and some Anglo-Mauritians owed most of the industrial and commercial concerns in the country, and despite their small numbers they were also disproportionately represented in the judiciary (Mannick, 1979; p. 19). In his 1961 report, Meade took stock of the important obstacles to development on the island. The "demographic revolution" appeared to be "… truly a terrifying prospect" (Meade, 1961; p. 3), which was amplified when viewed within the local context of a "strictly limited amount of land and scarcity of resources."

Meade (1961) recommended several measures to help prevent the certain socio-economic and political catastrophes that the population explosion would trigger. They included:

- economic diversification in the form of import-substituting industrialisation;

- the establishment of an industrial board to advise the government on tax breaks for new enterprises and assistance in the development of industrial estates;

- wage controls so as to facilitate manufacturing for export and ensure that the growing mass of workers could find employment; and

- the formation of marketing boards.

Table 4.1: Gross National Product, Mauritius: 1953-1958

Year	GNP Rs.million	Population (000s)	GNP per capita (Rs.)	Economically active population (000s)	GNP/ head/active population (Rs.)
1953	566	525	1,078	187	3,027
1955	591	560	1,055	193	3,062
1958	658	614	1,072	201	3,274

[Extracted from Meade Report (1961); p. 43]

Meade's report formed the basis for some economic policies in the 1960s prior to the country's independence. Amongst these were a strategy of import-substituting industrialisation and fiscal incentives to set up such industries. However, Meade's recommendation to pursue a low labour cost policy was not adopted, as the government's fiscal strategy strove to strike a balance between politics and economic affairs.

Table 4.2: GDP at constant prices, Mauritius: 1960-1972

Year	GDP (millions of rupees)	Growth rate (%)
1960	2,274	-1.3
1963	3,207	13.0
1965	3,082	3.2
1968	2,888	-6.9
1970	3,019	-0.4
1971	3,148	4.3

[Extracted from Findlay & Wellisz (1993); p. 233. Source: World Bank Data]

The unemployment rate was over 10% at independence. It climbed to 15% in the early aftermath of independence and around 20% just before the 1980s (Hein, 1989). An over-reliance on the sugar industry caused most jobs to be unskilled and poorly paid. In fact, unemployment was a major concern for the country's leaders as they contemplated the issue of independence. Sir Gaetan Duval, leader of the Parti Mauricien, complained to Prime Minister Dr. Ramgoolam about the high unemployment rate and dire economic conditions of the island, which he evoked as reasons for not pursuing independence but rather an association with Britain. The Import Substitution industry (ISI) solution created less than 1,200 jobs between 1964 and 1968 (Hein, 1989). Ghosh (1988) attributes the failure of the ISI to a series of complicating factors, including a lack of capital, a shortage of skilled workers and the absence of entrepreneurship in new industries.

The persistent and acute problem of unemployment triggered the government to consider examples of industrialisation that were working elsewhere. Amongst the possible models were the export-oriented industrialisation of Puerto Rico, which had been embraced by other Caribbean colonies, and the Taiwanese model of industrialisation. However, the major impediment to economic development in Mauritius at independence was the lack of a clear national economic plan or of any well-established planning process (Bowman, 1991; Mannick, 1979; Selvon, 2001). Ambitious industrialisation plans were created under the colonial government, such as the "Plan for Mauritius," which purported to develop a strategy for public capital expenditures from 1957 to 1962, or the 1960 "Reconstruction and Development Programme 1960-65." However, these proved difficult to implement in the face of more pressing problems, including the devastation caused by cyclones Alix and Carol in early 1960 and the overpopulation problem discussed in Meade's report. Such real-world obstacles diverted the government's attention and resources away from these early economic plans.

The newly independent government created an Economic Planning Unit (EPU) that could ensure the implementation of a comprehensive National Development Plan (NDP) to shape the economy, in spite of the challenges faced by the fledgling nation. It took nearly three years for the new entity to issue its initial contribution, the December 1970 policy paper on development for the decade 1971 to 1980. This First National Plan[vii] by the EPU was aimed at the creation of jobs under the slogan, "Travail pour Tous" (Jobs for all).

Within the aegis of the first National Development Plan in the early 1970s, the Taiwanese model of industrialisation that had been established in the Export Processing Zone attracted the attention of Mauritius' first post-independent government. That decade was ushered in by a period of economic growth (see Table 4.3), with the balance of payments surpluses reaching an unprecedented high of $62.5 million in 1974. Such economic growth was attributed to several factors:

- The newly created Export Processing Zone (EPZ) was boosted by incentives offered indiscriminately to both local and foreign investors;

- A sugar boom was triggered by rising sugar prices on the world market;

- There was substantial improvement in the island's connectivity to the world via air, sea and telecommunications; and

- Access to the EEC market for the island's manufactured products through its associate membership in the Yaounde II[viii] convention (made possible through its unique historical ties with France) ensured added prosperity.

The oil crisis in the early 1970s, however, significantly stemmed growth as import prices rose more rapidly than the island's exports. By the end of the 1970s, Mauritius was on the verge of bankruptcy as deficits in the balance

of payments and balance of trade deteriorated sharply. This situation prompted the government to turn to the IMF and the World Bank for assistance. Major economic retrenchment bundled with aid inevitably followed.

Table 4.3: GDP at constant 1976 Market Prices, Mauritius: 1972-1979

Year	GDP (millions of rupees)	Growth rate (%)
1972	3,410	8.3
1973	3,819	12.0
1975	4,193	0.9
1976	4,707	12.2
1977	5,075	7.9
1979	5,675	5.7

[Extracted from Wellisz & Lam Shin Saw (1993), in Findlay & Wellisz, p. 235; source: World Bank data]

The creation of employment in the EPZ triggered no change to an economic segmentation that functioned as an outward-looking free-market sector and a highly protected inward-looking sector (Wellisz & Lam Shin Saw, 1993). In fact, during the economic boom, this division was reinforced but was conveniently perceived as a solution rather than an optimal allocation of resources. Mauritius confirmed its status as an open economy. Following IMF-backed economic reforms based on cutting public expenditures and a faster liberalisation process, albeit with some elements of dirigisme, the economy responded positively to these structural adjustments and economic stabilisation measures with a period of remarkable economic performance that started to ebb only in 1982-1983.

Table 4.4: GDP growth, Mauritius: 1979-1986

Year	Growth rate
1979	3.6
1980	-10.0
1981	6.4
1982	5.8
1983	0.4
1984	4.7
1985	6.8
1986	8.9
1989	4.3

Adapted from Wellisz & Lam Shin Saw (1993; p.243) and Bowman (1991; p.123)
Source: 'Mauritius," Country Report (1, 1989), Central Statistical Office

It is noteworthy that economic growth and the eradication of unemployment were accompanied not only by an expansion of the manufacturing sector but also for the first time by tourism. It was the beginning of a new era for tourism on the island. Employment patterns showed a marked change over the course of the decade: Sugar and government were no longer the two primary employers and were surpassed by the manufacturing industry. Indeed, by the mid 1980s manufacturing was the country's largest source of foreign exchange, which was reflected in the simultaneous decline in the importance of sugar to the economy. The consequent surge in foreign trade triggered a surplus in the balance of payments. However, the socio-economic expansion that followed was made possible through a social consensus built around a development strategy geared towards the modernisation of the sugar industry, the expansion and diversification of manufacturing in the EPZ, the diversification of the agricultural sector and the development of tourism.

With an impressive export-led industrialisation through the EPZ spearheading economic growth in the early 1990s, Mauritius was soon considered a middle-income developing country with one of the highest standards of living in Africa (see Figure 4.1), with a sustained growth level of more than 6% during the 1990s (OECD African economic outlook: 2005-2006). Despite a decrease in both investment and production in sugar, the

industry remained a pillar of the economy. The other successive and successful engines of growth were textiles and tourism. Under a new government in 1995, the country responded to problems of increasing wages and a stumbling textile sector with strategies that included modernising the sugar industry, diversifying agricultural production into fruits, vegetables and flowers and promoting the island aggressively as a particularly desirable and luxurious tourist destination (Meisenhelder, 1997). In the late 1990s, under pressure from international financial institutions, the island subtly instituted an economic liberalisation process. This meant that the state's involvement in the economy was reduced to "…a facilitator of internationally competitive activity, a guarantor of fair competitive practices and a last resort for the most disadvantaged" (de St. Antoine, 1996).

The sector that has achieved the most significant economic stature since the early 1980s is tourism. It is second only to sugar among the island's primary industries, and the sector remains the island's greatest hope for easing the pangs of the economic crisis.

Figure 4.1
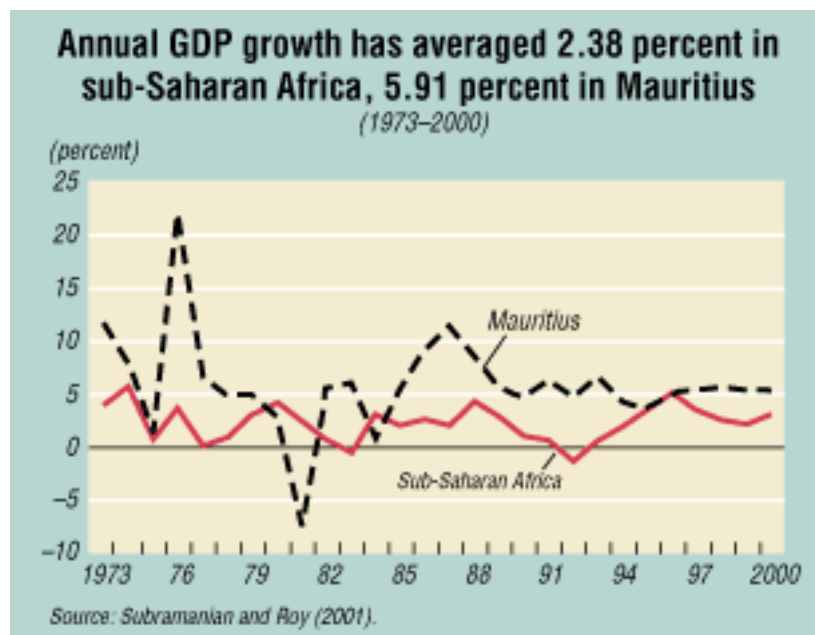
Source: Subramanian, A. (2001). Mauritius: A case Study. *Finance & Development*,
(a quarterly magazine of the IMF); vol. 38, no. 4

4.6   Tourism in Mauritius

Though it is rather difficult to situate the precise date of the creation of a serious tourism sector per se on the island, commerce related to travellers has existed since the early colonisation of the island.   Basic hospitality services were available in areas around the port for travellers like Mark Twain on his "…journey around the world" (Twain, 1897), who is often quoted in Mauritian history and tourism literature. Despite evidence of very timid beginnings in the 1950s, heavy investment in the hotel and tourism industry did not really take hold until the 1970s, with the construction of several beach hotels in preparation for an annual target of 80,000 tourists. The initial investment was provided by capital from the Franco-Mauritians that had been accumulated from the sugar industry. The government allowed private entrepreneurs to take the lead in terms of project development but reserved marketing and promotion for itself through the office of tourism (Duval, 2008).

Investment also flowed from South Africa and particularly France, with the creation of the "Club Méditerranée." However, precursors to the development of tourism on the island can be traced to just after World War II, when a military airstrip built by the British army in the South East of the island was converted for civil use in 1945. It allowed for the establishment of regular air service with Diego Suarez in French Madagascar and South Africa. By then, both investors and the government began to realise that available technology put Mauritius less than a week away from Europe. The island, until then remote and lost in the ocean, began to connect with the outside world. It became more plausible to the colonial government that visitors could indeed fly to the island for visits, just as was happening in the West Indies. In 1945, an RLAF[ix] airplane, later known as Air France, linked the island with Paris on a six-day trip with more than a dozen stops. Skyways Ltd., which became British Airways, linked London to Mauritius in 1948, and in 1952 Qantas stopped in Mauritius on its way to South Africa. South African Airways also made transit stops on the island on its Australian route starting in 1952. These somewhat "primitive" airline

services, however, did not prevent the island from making a late entrance into the international tourism arena.

There were attempts to emulate the West Indies in establishing a lucrative tourism industry as early as the 1960s. Despite undeniable natural attractions, however, the colony could not bring that desire to fruition due to a dire lack of amenities (Meade, 1961). In his report, Meade was not optimistic about the future of tourism in Mauritius. The major impediments to tourism development he cited included the fact that Mauritius was "a place so far off the beaten track" (p. 147) that it could only attract transit passengers. As an "île-relais" (Pébarthe, 2005; p. 81) on the South Africa–Australia route, it was also often affected by cyclones and the existing accommodations had structural defects and management and cuisine were of inferior quality.

These situations were on the verge of change at independence, when tourism was clearly identified as the island's second economic development priority. However, the First Plan (Premier Plan) of 1971 severely impeded this process when its authors recommended leaving all the risks of tourism ventures to the private sector, while the government would only ensure the provision of ancillary infrastructure. According to Dinan (1979), the private sector, led by Franco-Mauritian capital resources, was keen to develop the tourism and hotel industry in the face of the anti-tourism stance of government officials during most of the 1970s. Hence, in that same decade, the national carrier was deemed opportune, as the government believed it would benefit the newly created EPZ (Maudave, 2008). Though it was also tangentially beneficial to the tourism industry, official communications rarely mentioned the sector. Similarly, the government's tourism promotion budget was meagre, barely reaching 1.1 million rupees between 1975 and 1977 (Dinan, 1979). This situation shifted in late 1970s when development experts finally recognised that the tourism industry was firmly established and crucial for the foreign currency it generated. Simultaneously, as air transport and hotel accommodations were growing, so did the size of the tourist industry. In 1968, the number of flights departing from Plaisance

airport was around 600 and increased to nearly 2,500 in 1977 (Dinan, 1979). The number of airlines flying to the island rose from eight to twelve during the same period. In 1968, the country received 15,553 tourists, and by 1978 over 100,000 tourists visited the island annually (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: Tourist Arrivals, Mauritius: 1968-1989

Year	Number of tourists
1968	15,553
1971	36,398
1974	72,915
1977	102,510
1978	108,322
1981	119,000
1983	123,820
1984	139,670
1985	148,860
1986	165,310
1987	207 560
1988	265,310
1989	262,790

Sources: 1968-1977: Dinan (1979; p. 52); 1981-1989: Central Statistics Office. In Hein (1996; p. 34).

In terms of accommodation, with the number of visitors expected to grow as air services increased due to more airlines transiting Mauritius from South Africa to Australia, two hotels started providing hospitality services to visitors in the early 1950s: the Park Hotel, situated in the centre of the island at Curepipe, and Le Chaland in the Southeast of the island next to the airport. They were soon followed by the bungalows of Morne Plage, which not only made sun, sand and sea tourism more readily available to European tourists, but also became a compelling socio-economic development reality that helped create employment. The following table taken from Dinan (1979; p. 56) shows the number of jobs created directly by tourism, including those in small tourism enterprises.

Table 4.6: Direct Employment in Hotels and Tourism, Mauritius: 1969-1977

Year	Hotels	Tourism (including hotels)
1969	630	1,000
1971	1,200	2,000
1973	2,200	3,500
1977	3,500	5,500

Source: Dinan (1979; p. 56)

According to Dinan (1979), in 1968 Mauritius had fewer than 900 beds that could be considered at the international standard for tourists, but by 1989 it had more than 7,000 beds. The number of hotels of international standard rose from 23 in 1970 to 55 six years later (table 4.7), with almost a third of the increase benefitting from Development Certificates. This was an incentive offered by the government in 1974 through the Development Incentive Act that conferred certain benefits on the holder, such as duty-free import of capital equipment, preferential corporate tax rates, free repatriation of profits and dividends, loans and income tax concessions at favourable rates from the Development Bank.

Table 4.7 Hotels and Rooms in Mauritius, 1970 -1983

Year	Number of Hotels	Number of beds/rooms
1970	23	900 (beds)
1971	22	811 (rooms)
1975	34	1,499
1980	43	2,000
1983	55	2,300 (rooms) 4,900 (beds)
2000	95	8,657 (rooms) 17,776 (rooms)

Sources: 1970 (Dinan, 1979; p.55); 1971-1980: Central Statistical Office; 1983: The 1984-1986 Development Plan; Government of Mauritius.

Early investments in tourist hotels were fuelled by local capital with major participation by powerful groups of the Mauritian economy, namely

the Rogers Group, Ireland Blyth and several sugar estates. The private sector represented by conglomerates, which up to that time had significant expertise in trade and commerce, had the necessary organisational framework and resources to invest in incentive sectors such as textiles, manufacturing and tourism. According to Taylor (2008), investment incentives extended to a great number of sectors, including tourism in the 1970s, and initially attracted mainly foreign capital. However, the high tax rates on the island, coupled with limited investment opportunities abroad, made investment incentives very attractive to Mauritian investors. Thus, the Rogers Group, a major conglomerate, invested in New Mauritius Hotels/Beachcomber, while Ireland Blyth Ltd partnered with Sol Kerzner to launch the Sun Resorts. These two groups have almost similar profiles. They were established in the 19th century as shipping and trading companies that have over the years diversified their holdings to be active today in all sectors of the economy. They both have at their helm some of the richest Franco-Mauritian families (often referred to as the Mauritian Oligarchy). At the core of the Rogers Group today are the sugar groups WEAL and Espitalier-Noel and members of the Taylor family. In the Ireland Blyth Group, the core is composed of the Lagesse and Dalais families (Ireland Blyth Ltd., 2000 Annual Group report; p. 104).

The involvement of Franco-Mauritian capital in the early days of tourism should be viewed not only within the broader context of economic diversification from the sugar industry but also as a result of the vision of personalities who would place their mark on that sector with their spirit of enterprise and professional acumen. One such man, a Franco-Mauritian, was Amedée Hugnin Maingard de la Ville-es-Offrans. His friendship and positive relationships with government figures ensured the success of several tourism-related projects and paved the way to intensive partnership in tourism between the government and the private sector. His vision of a high quality tourism and hotel sector was pivotal in the subsequent formulation of tourism development and related government policies. His leadership in that sector also provided white owners in the sugar industry a head start in the hotel and tourism sector. Thus the Rogers Group started

(with Mr. Maingard) Air Mauritius in 1967 as a handling agent to finally take off in 1972 with aircraft operations. Unable to invest their capital abroad due to exchange control measures imposed by the government to protect the balance of payments and foreign reserves, the owners of the sugar industry used their business skills and imagination to profit from new venues of investment on the island (Domen & Domen, 1999). During the same period, the Mauritius Government Tourist Office (MGTO[x]) was created to promote tourism and to facilitate access to overseas markets. Mautourco, a government-owned transportation enterprise, was also created to facilitate land transport for tourist excursions, as well as airport transfers at arrival and departure.

Another local personality, Gaëtan Duval, a Creole who later became Minister of Tourism, was a key facilitator of tourism and promotion of Mauritius as a destination. In order to avoid collusion and monopolistic tendencies in the hotel sector, he paved the way for the gradual establishment of other hotel groups on the island. His special relationships with Gilbert Trigano, the founder of Club Méditerranée, and Sol Kerzner, the chief executive of South Africa's Sun International, attracted and made possible investments from large hotel groups on the island. Though they were more than 10,000 kilometres away, European tourists became the island's primary target market (Duval, 2008). Gaëtan Duval exerted special efforts to attract Europeans to the island through an aggressive promotion campaign, inviting European stars such as Brigitte Bardot, an icon of the silver screen in the 1970s. Furthermore, Duval emphasised the fact that Mauritius was the only stable and democratic political entity in the region and used this to promote tourism in France, England and India. His diplomatic ability to play on different fronts ensured crucial financial support for the island's development through direct investments from these three major countries. Today, the island boasts a diversity of establishments controlled by both Mauritian and foreign groups (See Pébarthe, 2005, pp. 89-91) consistent with international standards in other tropical destinations (Maudave, 2008).

Taking its cues from earlier policies of promotion to a rich European clientele, the island created the image of a high quality, luxury destination. As a result of this campaign, Europe has become the major long-haul tourist source market, with France and the UK as the two dominant tourist suppliers. France overtook the UK as major long-haul source market after the island's independence. Table 4.8 shows tourist flows from France and the UK, the two major generating markets to the island. Table 4.9 shows the percentage distribution of tourists from these two markets. Their rankings in terms of their share to the island's tourist flows are shown in brackets. By the early 1970s, more than 15% of tourists visiting the island were French. Over the years, the number of tourists increased substantially to exceed 291,000 by the end of the 1980s, with French tourists constituting just over 20% of that total. The UK has been among the top five long-haul providers of tourists since independence, slipping to a low of fourth position in 1988 (overtaken by the then Federal Republic of Germany and Italy during most of the 1980s) and up again to second in 1990. By 2005, France had increased its share of the supply market, while the UK was firmly in second position, with 12.5% of the total tourist arrivals on the island. Thus, the French, who were the original settlers/colonisers but not the decolonisers of the island, continue to have a strong influence on Mauritius through tourism. This provides another angle to the research question that will be addressed in the following chapter.

Table 4.8: International Tourist Arrivals in Mauritius from France and the UK (1968-2003)

Country of residence	1968	1974	1980	1990	1999*	2003*
France	922	7,874	19,620	53,170	175,000	200,000
UK	1,261	3,452	7,690	21,920	59,000	91,000
Others	12,370	61,589	87,770	216,460	296,000	341,000
Total	15,553	72,915	115,080	291,550	530,000	632,000

Notes: *Figures for 1999 and 2003 have been rounded; Source: Ministry of Tourism & Leisure, Mauritius

Table 4.9: Percentage distributions of tourist arrivals to Mauritius from France and the UK (1968-2005)

Country of residence	1968	1980	1988	1990	2000	2005
France	5.9 (2)	17.05 (1)	20.99 (1)	18.2 (1)	30.2 (1)	29.0 (1)
UK	8.1 (1)	6.68 (3)	5.76 (4)	7.5 (2)	12.9 (2)	12.5 (2)

Source: Ministry of Tourism & Leisure, Mauritius

In the 1990s, the island continued to position itself as an upmarket, sophisticated tourist destination. A seminar on tourism in the 1990s organised by the Ministry of Tourism,[xi] attended by the major players in the tourism and hotel industry of the island, highlighted the intent of the Government of Mauritius to "…maintain the competitiveness of Mauritius in the Western European market..." while at the same time to "…diversify the market sources and tap new markets" (Government of Mauritius, 1988; p. 8). In the second half of the 2000s, increasing competition in the European market from attractive alternate destinations such as the Maldives and the Seychelles caused the tourism authority in Mauritius to make the island more visible in India and China. Nonetheless, Europe remains its primary tourist source and target market. While the Minister of Tourism claims that Europe has reached its maximum level of exploitation, the private hotel sector is striving for more diversified tourist products that would emphasise quality and environmentally-friendly characteristics focusing on sustainable development, which would lead to more efficient penetration of the traditional generating markets (Le Mauricien, 2009a). The recent global crisis and concomitant H1N1 flu scare have reinforced the government's policies towards easing access for European tourists through a "no passport" policy for French tourists and through aggressive promotion campaigns and road shows in the UK and France (Le Mauricien, 2009b, 2009c).

CHAPTER 5

5. MAURITIUS: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF A COLONIAL LEGACY IN TOURISM

This chapter provides an analysis of archival data from 1940 to 1980 related to the case of Mauritius that were retrieved from various archives in London and Mauritius, and two in-depth interviews conducted in Mauritius. It will put forth possible causal explanations of historical dimensions related to continuing colonial links in tourism patterns based on evidence that emerged from the data analysis process. For comparative purposes, materials from the literature related to the different themes that emerged are used either as supporting illustrations or diverging examples of explanation.

5.1 From Thematic Codes to Historical Processes

The candidate used the coding procedures of the grounded theory method of analysis to identify high-level or conceptual codes, which were compared through what is called "comparative historical analysis." A macro-sociological approach underlies this exercise. The thematic codes generated are integrative and extend far beyond mere extant theories, to be situated in various disciplines. They are embedded both explicitly and implicitly within the discussion in this chapter and are integrated in the propositions formulated in the concluding chapter. First, the implications of these codes are explained to facilitate an understanding of the manner in which they are discussed with respect to the research question.

To achieve the objectives of this thesis, data in the form of historical documents and interview transcripts of influential personalities were coded through open coding and focus coding procedures successively to ultimately arrive at the thematic categories (see Section 3.9). The following

is a list of (live) thematic codes that emerged from a series of inter-related focus codes:

- Endeavour for fuller responsibility;

- Implementing constitutional reforms;

- Facing the harsh socio-economic reality of independence;

- Planning socio-economic development and prosperity;

- Undertaking policies to extricate the island from underdevelopment;

- Failure of sustainable economic development alternatives and opportunities;

- Efforts to create a stable political structure conducive to sustainable development;

- Projecting an image of a stable society and good governance;

- Directing and pacing development;

- Invoking socio-historical and cultural links;

- Directing marketing efforts;

- Evolving plantation society; and

- Continuing control of the economy.

These discrete thematic codes are nevertheless inter-related given the wide array of areas (related to tourism and its development) covered by the data. The thematic codes help to explain the continuing colonial bias in tourism through mechanisms called "historical processes."

The study adopted a virtual chronological approach to the analysis and discussion of the primary findings as they relate to the case study. These are explained within the context of a platform of investigation based mainly on island tourism development and destination marketing. This procedure was key in understanding the genesis of island development in general and to appreciate the significance of a colonial past, colonial

decisions and actions in the early stages of tourism. If it is accepted that tourism is a tool of economic development, as supported by the literature review, then by implication colonialism should be given due consideration in terms of its influence on the pattern and direction of tourism development in Mauritius, because colonialism has played crucial role in economic development and global production in general through the foundational structures it provided at the peripheries and the dependence it created on metropolitan centres (Britton, 1989; Harrison, 1992; Nash, 1978).

This chapter identifies six historical processes that are considered prerequisites for understanding the reasons for a continuing colonial influence in tourism. These processes are discussed on the basis of their foundational thematic categories, which surfaced during the process of analysing the archival documents, during the in-depth interviews and in reviewing the related literature. As mentioned in the earlier chapter on methodology, a comparative analysis is accomplished through the constant application of these questions (see Section 3.8.1) to the data. The questions are evident both implicitly and explicitly throughout this chapter and contribute to the primary research objective of understanding the reasons why a colonial link still lingers in tourism in small post-colonial tropical islands.

"Historical Processes" is an encompassing term that identifies six possible mechanisms to make sense of the intricate relationships between the emerging thematic codes and the three substantive areas of explanation. The six broad historical processes refer to:

- The form of colonial political withdrawal;
- The establishment and maintenance of the oligarchs and/or elites;
- The adoption and sustenance of democratic ideals (vs. fragmented nationalism);
- The rise and perpetuation of the colonial state bureaucracy;

- The pervasiveness of the process of economic internationalisation; and

- The macro influences and mystique of charismatic personalities.

The following sections will discuss each of the six historical processes within the context of Mauritius as they emerged from archival documents in order of their perceived importance. Though each of the processes are presented and discussed separately, they are nevertheless interrelated and influence each other at different times and to varying degrees as they form an integrative part of the societal structures of these islands. The thematic codes that led to the emergence of these processes and the consideration of the three substantive areas of explanation that were identified in extant socio-historical and political science theories are also embedded within the discussions. Further support to the discussions comes from socio-historical and political narratives of existing literature surrounding the emerging historical processes from various disciplines.

5.2   The Colonial Withdrawal

"It may be that we ought to hurry as fast as possible through this stage and give them the fuller responsibility which is being extended elsewhere."

Sir Hilary Blood (letter to J.J. Paskin, Colonial Office, London, November 1, 1950)
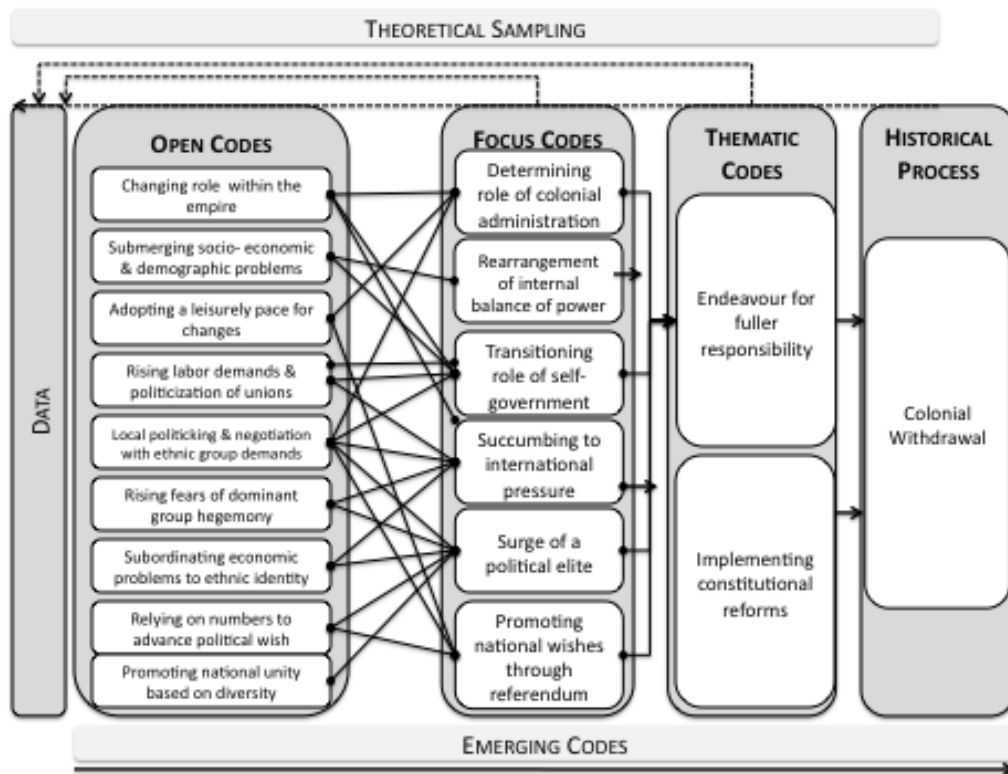
Figure 5.1: Colonial withdrawal as a historical process of explanation

The first historical process to emerge from the analysis process relates to the importance of colonial withdrawal as a prerequisite to fully grasp what constitute the insular characteristics and new identity of Mauritius as a small state, and its absolute and relative position in new relationships with the former coloniser(s). By emerging first, this process confirmed the overarching importance of macro-social organisation as the building block and premise to the political formation of a state (Taglioni, 2006) and the ensuing multiple interactions of heterogeneous factors that its insularity presupposes (Péron, 1993; p. 286). In order to understand the particular case of Mauritius and the role and effects of the decolonisation process on its structural foundations, the discussion is situated in the general colonial context of post-WWII, specifically the decolonisation movement in the British colonies. A related topic is the struggle of newly independent countries in other parts of the world to achieve growth and development with reference to the notion of economic development, which gained prominence after WWII. This will be discussed in connection with the analysis of another historical process, namely the significance of and

requirement for "economic internationalisation" as part of the struggle of newly decolonised island economies to survive and ensure growth. Structures for tourism development are then positioned in the historical context of colonial withdrawal. In that perspective, the attitude of colonial administrations toward tourism development during the late colonial period is discussed as a possible factor that influenced the direction the sector has taken.

As a major historical process that has radically changed the political economies it has impacted, decolonisation did not get much attention in historical documents on tourism development in Mauritius. In scholarly discussions of tourism, it is barely mentioned in background literature on the island (Wing, 1995a; Durbarry, 2001, 2004). One reason frequently put forward for this lack of engagement lies in the argument of timing: most of the island's tourism developed after its independence in 1968. This paucity of a historical perspective on tourism and its development has certainly not served to reconcile the current state of tourism in Mauritius with the historical process of decolonisation. Yet chronologically, the demise of colonial control occurred only two years before tourism was given serious consideration as a possible tool of economic development.[4] More importantly, the manner in which decolonisation took place, including its timing and the length of the process, had an impact on the societal structures that the island perpetuated after colonial withdrawal. Any prospect of development and growth in Mauritius was thus dependent on the continuity of these colonial structures, including the external linkages it inherited (Houbert, 1981), which ultimately influenced the patterns of tourism development on the island.

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[4] In the Public Sector Development Programme, part of the 1966 Sessional Paper No. 4 of the Mauritius Legislative Assembly, tourism is mentioned in section H6 merely as a promotion activity of the government through the printing of folders, brochures and maps (Development Strategy 1971-1980, FCO 31-891).
Though barely mentioned in the development plan extracted from the Development Strategy "White Paper" prepared by the Economic Planning Unit, tourism is given a green light as a development tool to be carried out by the private sector and supported by the government (record of discussion with Dr. Nijhawan, Director of the Mauritius Economic Planning Unit, by staffers of the EPU/ODA; September 22, 1970).

Two related questions were particularly exposed after the different coding stages (see Figure 5.1). First, to what extent did a history of sequential colonialism (first French and then British) create structural dependence in Mauritius? Also, to what extent has the decolonisation process experienced by the island changed the structural and external relationships founded in the colonial (or not)? The latter question is particularly relevant to the discussion on the form and direction of tourism development adopted by different governments in the post-colonial era.

5.2.1   Reforms towards the Decolonisation Process

A frequent reference in the various post-war documents and newspaper clippings on Mauritius relating to socio-economic and political development is the importance of reforms initiated throughout the empire well before World War II[5] in the colonies, initially in the direction of self-governance and ultimately toward peaceful independence. Locally, however, these reforms were themselves the consequences of conjunctures that were demographic, socio-economic and political in nature. With demographic changes came new demands, especially from groups within the society that were growing in number. By the end of WWII, out of a total population of just over 419,000, sixty-three percent of the inhabitants of Mauritius were Indo-Mauritians.[6] Though this group was divided along ethnic and religious lines, there had been earlier efforts by some Hindu leaders such as the Bisssondoyal brothers (Simmons, 1982) to organise them politically and in trade unions. In fact, the Mauritius Labour Party was created in 1936 as a result of intense labour and industrial unrest due to the acute economic crisis on the island and the severe financial hardships faced by most Mauritians. By the end of the war, the combined efforts of the Labour party, the workers' unions (consisting of Indian and Creole workers)

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[5] Sir Hilary Blood complains in his letter "First Impressions," dated January 14, 1950, to J.J. Paskin of the Colonial Office, that the reform and development of legislative councils, which were elementary matters of policy in the Empire, seem to have been entirely overlooked in Mauritius (CO 531-9585).

[6] Figures calculated from the 1985 Annual Digest of Statistics (Mauritius, Central Statistical Office, 1986), p. 3.

and the poor urban population would benefit from Britain's reassessment of its empire as India, the jewel of the British crown, was poised to achieve imminent independence. Britain was conceding that constitutional change was necessary to reflect not only its position in a new world order but also the changing conditions in Mauritius. The Mackenzie-Kennedy electoral and constitutional reforms[7] (named after the British Governor General Donald Mackenzie-Kennedy, who was assigned to Mauritius from 1942 to 1949) announced the beginning of sweeping changes in the character and rhythm of socio-political life in Mauritius. The political system became accessible to a broader segment of society, revealing not only its core complex nature but also the official recognition that pluralism would be determinative in the island's political future. The first Legislative Council that was instituted on the basis of constitutional reforms met in September of 1948 after the general elections in August 1948 (Government of Mauritius: http://www.gov.mu).

The preparatory process towards independence was lengthy and passed through a penultimate stage of self-governance. In the British Empire, this process allowed the colonies, each of which was considered a distinct and separate entity, to move at their own pace. Each invariably faced different opportunities for and obstacles to advancement up to the final day of colonial rule. In Mauritius, decolonisation can be summed up as the [peaceful] culmination of the rearrangement of the existing internal balance of power resulting from political reforms under the colonial government's vigilance, brought to bear upon a "community of different sections"[8] that were naturally antagonistic to each other.[9] The British administrators felt that "in both Fiji and in Mauritius […] the Government is not successful in coping with its Indian population."[10] In Mauritius, this conclusion was based on the existing socio-political arrangement of the island, which consisted of political power in the hands of white Anglophobe

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[7] Revision of the Constitution of Mauritius (Cmd 7228, London, 1947).
[8] Colonial Office internal discussion notes from Mr. Sidebotham to Mr. Paskin commenting on the "First Impressions" letter of Sir Hilary Blood to the Colonial Office (April 5, 1950).
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.

Franco-Mauritian sugar producers, followed by "the general population--that is all the rest of the population of the island with the exception of Indians and Chinese," and finally the large "solid, depressing, phlegmatic, unhealthy, uneducated mass of Indians."[11] Independence did not result from prior explicit demands from the local population, but rather grew out of the steady growth of pragmatic responses by the British to the kaleidoscopic variety of local colonial circumstances (Hyam, 2006) and, more significantly, out of internal local demands for change on a class basis [by Creole intellectuals and artisans, along with some Indian professionals] for constitutional reforms. After the 1948 extension of suffrage following meetings of the McKenzie-Kennedy consultative committee, politics on the island quickly evolved along ethnic lines, especially when Indians assumed leadership of the Mauritius Labour Part (MLP), which gave rise to fears about Indian hegemony and political control.

By the mid-1950s,[xii] the mood of the Macmillan's British government was rather cynical. The British realised that they could not make ends meet in the colonies, and pressure was mounting, particularly from the Americans, for European colonisers to dismantle their empires. Britain's imperial role was about to change. Increasing socio-economic problems and political awareness in the colonies added to the urgency of withdrawing the British presence overseas. Britain was ready to release many of its colonies.

In Mauritius, the constitutional reforms of 1948 resulted in two large ethnic alliances that on surface cut across class distinctions: a political group dominated by the Franco-Mauritian sugar estate owners, and another group of rich Indian planters and professionals. Throughout their political bickering, however, neither of these two groups questioned the colonial foundation of Mauritian society. They both wanted to maintain their links with Britain, and there was neither the mention nor the intention of radical socio-political upheaval. Both sides appeared to recognise that there was

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[11] Letter from Sir Hilary Blood, Governor of Mauritius, "First Impressions," dated January 14, 1950, to J.J. Paskin of the Colonial Office (CO 531-9585).

nothing to gain from sweeping reform. In fact, there was an "incredible bitterness between the races" that "consciously or unconsciously […] attacked the British way of life"[12] and which ultimately showed no signs of diminishing. On the other hand, the British did not appear willing to maintain the colony. With this in mind, political debates on the possibility of independence centred on the fate of sugar once Britain relinquished control of the colony and eventually joined the EEC. The racial divide helps to explain the island's unique "internal struggle" on its path toward independence. At stake was racial/ethnic political power. The Mauritius Labour Party would only consider independence when its leader, Dr. Ramgoolam, was prompted by London to opt for independence. The Parti Mauricien Social Democrate of Gaetan Duval wanted a form of integration with Britain as a solution to the problems of unemployment and over-population the island was facing. It was within that context that in 1965, Mauritius, which wanted a status of "association" with Britain, was "…told off" (Bérenger, 2008).[xiii] In fact, the 1958 constitution and the self-governance it mandated provided the catalyst for the British administration to steer the island in the direction of responsible government (Mauritius Legislative Council, 1958).

To reassure the Mauritian population and political parties, Britain entered into a defence agreement with Mauritius for internal and external security that allowed the British to maintain a communication station on the island.[13] Some British administrative officials also remained in place to ease the transition process during the early years of independence. However, the British remained intent on ceding control of the island to the local population, and a referendum was presented during the general elections to ascertain the opinion of the people on the matter of independence.

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[12] Letter from Sir Hilary Blood, Governor of Mauritius, "First Impressions," dated January 14, 1950, to J.J. Paskin of the Colonial Office (CO 531-9585).
[13] UK-Mauritius Defence agreement (FCO 46/3; FCO 46/4); FCO confidential brief on the "Visit by the Minister for Overseas Development to Mauritius," June 1974; and the visit of Roy Mason, UK Secretary of State for Defence, to Mauritius, April 24-26, 1975 (FCO-31/1916).

As part of the negotiations for independence, Britain managed to excise the archipelago of Diego Garcia from the Mauritian outer island territories to enable the construction of a naval base by the Americans. They accomplished this in part by teaming with local politicians to garner the support of the Indian ethnic majority, which until then had been apathetic on the subject of independence. Britain also did its utmost to ensure that the Mauritius Labour Party, which controlled the colonial government, remained in power by recommending a coalition between the MLP with the Muslim party (Comite d'Action Musulmane, CAM) and sending help to the party organise its election campaign.[14]

The results of these elections were very close. The pro-independence coalition garnered 54% of the votes, as compared to 44% for the PMSD, which rejected independence. Voting was ethnically driven, with the MLP obtaining the majority of its votes from rural areas where most of the Indo-Mauritians resided. The government that ensued merely followed the same structure as the colonial government, with Dr. Ramgoolam continuing in his role as Prime Minister. The administrative apparatus that supported the government also remained unaltered. British functionaries continued to lead the civil service and police force until local officials were able to replace them. Notwithstanding the fact that the Union Jack was replaced by a "quadricolore" of red, blue, yellow and green horizontal stripes that symbolised ethnic diversity, some coloured middle class people feared they would be dominated by a Hindu government and opted to emigrate to Australia. The Franco-Mauritian sugar estate owners, however, did not leave the country and remained the driving force of the economy.

In fact, very little change was introduced in Mauritius on a practical level. The new independent government of Dr. Ramgoolam, just as the British before, needed the revenue the sugar industry contributed to the national coffers in order to prosper economically. Furthermore, the

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[14] *The Sunday Telegraph*, March 10, 1968.

enormous problem of unemployment had to be tackled for which the government needed the full co-operation and partnership of private capital. As Dr. Ramgoolam told the National Assembly, "I trust that the rate of local and foreign investment will increase and that the private sector will make its full contribution towards a concentrated national effort."[15]

The time required for the process of preparing for independence, along with the insular nature of most colonies, had an inevitable impact on the subsequent maintenance of external linkages through trade and other relationships [including tourism] between former colonisers and colonies. In fact, these factors provided leverage to the efforts of colonial administrations towards the progressive realisation of responsible governments with national leaders and local populations. The relationships forged during the transition period to full independence undoubtedly reinforced a sense of familiarity, closeness and shared values, which translated in the post-colonial era to an eagerness to "consume" British, to revere goods and services of "British standard," and to be educated at British universities (Jugnauth, 2008). Furthermore, the agreements (regarding internal and external security) that were put into place at the time of colonial withdrawal likely signalled to the Indo-Mauritians that Britain intended to establish and safeguard its socio-political power. To the white Franco-Mauritians with economic power, on the other hand, Britain's actions provided reassurance that the internal economic, social and political structures would be unaltered, as the former colonial power would continue to support the newly born state in its first steps as an independent nation.

It was clear that the conjuncture of several events[xiv] at the beginning of the twentieth century placed increased emphasis on the need for power devolution by the centres and the dismantlement of their empires. World War I and the Great Depression of the 1930s prominently paved the road to decolonisation, the process by which states would emerge independent from colonial rule (Cooper, 2004; p. 218). At that time, both Britain and France,

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[15] Dr. Ramgoolam in the *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Mauritius, August 22, 1967.

the two remaining predominant external traditions, had experienced erosion in their economic and political power, and the future of their respective empires looked dim. One of the principles at the 1919 Peace Treaty of Versailles stipulated the right of small nations to self-determination, as opposed to being ruled by larger nations.[xv] Dissenting voices rose in the colonies and mobilisation began against colonial rule, particularly against the "civilising mission" of Western models of government. The conduit for such dissent was often through workers' protests and riots, such as in Mauritius in 1937 and Jamaica in 1938.

On the economic front, colonial empires soon faced new challenges as they readily abandoned economic liberalism for government intervention, a move necessary to later manage the economy during World War II. This triggered the creation of an intricate system of colonial rule that relied on economic planning, which in turn reinforced trading and economic relationships between European empires and their colonies. The outbreak of the war was a decisive turning point for both imperial relations and [African] colonial thinking (Pearce, 1982). To rally support, Britain had to call on imperial resources and colonial troops. In order to win the support of the colonies, the British contrasted their ideal of commitment to freedom and democracy with the Nazis' racist and fascist system of autocratic rule. At the same time, the British promised an improved system of colonial government once the war had been won. Many nationalists, especially in Africa, viewed such statements regarding the higher ideals of British colonial authority as a justification to demand greater economic and political autonomy. They believed that the right conjunctures of politics and economics, in both Britain and the world, would enable them to persuade colonial officials to live up to the higher ideals of colonial authority they espoused (Tignor, 2005).

The end of World War II revealed the need for reconstruction at home in Britain, as well as the necessity of economic development in the colonies. Simultaneously, calls for self-determination arose from concerted political actions amongst the colonies and from within the centres, which

brought about a wave of decolonisation of numerous territories. Fieldhouse (1987; p. 387) views decolonisation as part of the disintegration of an empire, characterised on the one hand by a demand for independence by colonial subjects and on the other by the "inability or unwillingness of the imperial power to resist it." The collusion of these seemingly opposing forces created a momentum that swept across the colonies to ultimately hasten the pace of decolonisation. However, the devolution of power to the locals by no means signalled complete abandonment by the British. In the Suez crisis, the policies of imperial defence, which consisted of a system of influence based on turning contented subjects into loyal allies through the erection of buffer states against Nasser and the Soviets, were part of the British government plans for an empire in the post-colonial world (Louis & Robinson, 2003; p. 65) to ensure and reinforce the security of the Gulf states and the Indian Ocean.[16] At the same time, the French realised they were not prepared to sacrifice their standard of living in order to raise it throughout the French Union. The last empires were giving up (Rothermund, 2006), and the changes in geopolitics and international affairs brought about by the war were materialising. The withdrawal of colonial powers[17] from their territories would result in the creation of numerous new countries within the international family of nations.

5.2.2   Decolonisation and Tourism Development

Chronologically, the demise of colonialism occurred almost simultaneously with the rise of modern tourism. Decolonisation was intended to be the final stage in the process of the larger and *"longue durée"* phenomenon of colonialism. According to documents related to both development and independence in Mauritius, however, what actually transpired was that decolonisation did not signal the end of the empire, but

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[16] Minutes by Burke Trend, March 1, 1957 and November 20, 1958 (PREM 11/2582).

[17] "Historians have offered four main options for explaining the end of empire" (Hyam, p. xiii): pressure from home nationalists; economic weaknesses; collapse of confidence on the part of the empire's rulers in the face of competing domestic demands; and international criticism, mainly through the United Nations.

rather a constant evolution from self-governance to what could be deemed independence within the Commonwealth. As a phenomenon of social change, decolonisation has never been coherent from the perspective of any European imperial tradition. This section examines decolonisation through documentary evidence as a critical historical moment of change when it temporally intersected with the then nascent social phenomenon of modern tourism development.

Archival documents that were recovered for this study relating to Mauritius reveal the scant attention local authorities paid to the tourism sector in development plans for the island. In fact, prior to independence, it was difficult for colonial officials to ascertain the status of projects outlined in planning proposals. The political bickering that characterised debates regarding development proposals was often blamed for the "time to time break down caused by a Reviewing Committee composed of certain members of newly elected council when considering a number of projects that have been published previously."[18] Before independence, these development plans were published as reports, such as the "Memorandum on Mauritius Development and Welfare Ten Year Plan" of 1946. By the 1960s, tourism was indeed often mentioned as a means of generating foreign exchange and employment based on the example of the Caribbean, where numerous tourism plans were already being developed. However, tourism continued to be viewed as a strategy of last resort for the island or was considered merely a form of promotion. The "Public Sector Development Programme, 1966-1970"[19] included two sections on tourism listing the three items that comprise section "H6 – Tourism:"

- Providing folders, brochures and maps used by the Government Tourist Office in the promotion of tourism;

- The production of films, filmlets, and posters on Mauritian tourism; and

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[18] Extract from report by Mr. Greening on his visit to Mauritius and the Seychelles, April 24-June 26, 1950 (CO 167-952-1).
[19] Mauritius Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1966*, pp. 66-67.

- For window display units to support publicity campaigns at main overseas airline building centres.

Tourism development in Mauritius thus seemed to have evolved in a virtual historical vacuum, at least until after its independence. The relatively few major hotels operating by the 1960s were all initiatives of the private sector, which was dominated by white Franco-Mauritians who had acquired capital from sugar profits. These wealthy Franco-Mauritians might have remained the equivalent of colonisers had there not been the Treaty of 1810 between England and France. The sequential colonisation of the island, however, resulted in something of an anomaly in terms of the socio-political position of the Franco-Mauritians vis-à-vis the British. As holders of the financial reins of the island, the Franco-Mauritians had indeed initiated tourism development due to their [financial] power (Harrison, 1994), and by the end of the 1960s there were a dozen hotels identified by the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism[20] of a standard to cater to tourists, with six small establishments in the towns. Furthermore, the island was becoming more accessible as a result of airlines using it as a stopping point between Australia and South Africa, which turned it into a holiday destination for colonial administrative officials and British residents in East Africa. Rogers and Co. became the major agent for foreign airlines serving the island and the predominant firm in the tourist industry.[21]

Colonial withdrawal after Mauritian independence, however, did not translate into a complete cessation of oversight and influence by the various departments of the Foreign Commonwealth Office (FCO). As part of their continuing technical assistance to Mauritius, FCO appointed consultants in 1971 to carry out an in-depth study of tourism development in Mauritius. This was in response to a discussion of the office of the British Overseas

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[20] Mauritius: Commerce, Industry & Tourism, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, 1970.
[21] Report and Recommendation of the President to the Board of Directors of the International Finance Corporation on a proposed investment in Dinarobin and Motels Limited Mauritius, April 29, 1971.

Development Administration (ODA) with then Director of the Economic Planning Unit, Dr. Nijhawan, on the rather low priority he placed on tourism in the first Development Plan of the independent government.[22] It is noteworthy that the relationship between the former coloniser and the newly independent country continued through British aid programmes as part of "existing aid commitments."[23] Indeed, the implementation of projects outlined in the Development Plans was financed primarily through loans and grants from major "aid donors" that included Britain, closely followed by France.[24]

The Mauritian population's colonial loyalty was shared between Britain and France. The earlier establishment of a French white settler elite on the island and its continuing relations with France eventually had an impact on the direction of tourism development, as they were the first to show interest in that sector and indicate a willingness to diversify their capital investments. It is therefore not surprising that initial civil air services after the war were to French Madagascar and that the precursor to Air France (RLAF) linked the island with Europe in 1945, three years before Skyways (later BOAC and British Airways) connected the island to London. Earlier decisions and policies conferred certain advantages of being there first. Air France maintains special relations with Air Mauritius up to the present, with both airlines operating eleven weekly flights on a code-share basis (AirMauritius.com, 2009).

5.2.2.1 Development in the Colonies: The Role of Colonial Administrations

In a 1952 despatch circular[xvi] to all colonies, the Colonial Office informed colonial governments of the need to promote manufacturing industries in the colonies, which was industrial development, "to increase

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[22] Record of a Discussion with Dr. Nijhawan (Director, Mauritius Economic Planning Unit) at ODN on September 22, 1970.

[23] Letter from the British High Commission, Mauritius, to the Ministry of Overseas Development about "aid talks," August 7, 1970.

[24] Brief No. 8, Commons House of Parliament of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Delegation to Mauritius, March 8-13, 1970.

the wealth and well-being of the territory and its people." Recommendations by the Committee on the Encouragement of Industry Legislation acknowledged the diversity of conditions and requirements of colonies, which made it impossible to propose a unified procedure or model of legislation. The legislation proposed was thus to promote "pioneer industries" in the colonies. Selective tax concessions on undistributed profits were seen as a necessary incentive to new enterprises in colonial territories. In this despatch, the Colonial Office also made it clear that colonial administrations should ensure that they applied the correct interpretation of the law. It also called for colonial administrations to abide by rigorous economic standards when granting special protection and concessions to business ventures. The involvement of local politics in industrialisation policies was also acknowledged but discouraged, as it was considered the primary cause of misapplication of protective measures, which should be kept to a minimum.[xvii]

The need to develop insular economies essentially started in the aftermath of World War II as part of a three-dimensional grand scheme that trickled down to the colonies: first, the rebuilding of Europe under the auspices of the U.S. Marshall Plan, with a managed capitalist socio-economic development perspective; second, a prevailing optimistic view after the horrors of the war; and third, the unabated determination of the colonies in the wake of Bandung to acquire independence (Dickenson, Gould, Clarke, Mather, Prothero, Siddle, Smith & Thomas-Hope, 1996). Another major consequence of the war for island colonies was improvement in the modes and systems of communication, which helped them bypass the major problems traditionally associated with islands: remoteness and isolation. Travel and mass tourism were emerging in the 1950s as a major world industry, with an estimated 25 million tourist arrivals worldwide, and total earnings of just under US$ 2 billion in 1950 (Ayres, 2000).

The other implication of the Western interventionist approach through the Marshall Plan was that socio-economic linkages were created between Western European countries and their distant colonies, which also

participated in war efforts. Development efforts in their various forms and fields were thus deemed to reinforce the economic dependency of the colonial territories upon their colonial rulers. One expression of such dependent relationships is the high proportion of long haul visitors from the former colonial powers who travelled to these tourist destinations. In the early stages of mass tourism, large developed countries, which include major former colonial powers, accounted for the majority of tourist arrivals.

Though it is commonly accepted that governments have played an important role in modern economic development (Griffin, 2005), their interest in the initial stage of tourism development was rather ambiguous. Colonial governments participated in development projects only in an advisory or facilitating role. The Colonial Office, which reflected the viewpoint of the British Government, always made it clear that it was "in principle undesirable that the [British] colonial governments should invest funds obtained by taxation in undertakings, which, in their early stages, are likely to be to some degree speculative."[25] Though this remark was made with regard to providing incentives to manufacturing industries, it was also applicable to other areas of development, as the British Government policies of development in the tropical colonies tended to be consistent across economic sectors. In extreme circumstances where government participation was deemed necessary, "it was to be restricted at any rate in one or two undertakings, though Government should perhaps have it in mind to consider at a later stage…"[26] The British were always keen on finding ways to keep the costs of maintaining their empire as low as possible.

How would this translate in the colonies? To the Colonial Office, minimising costs in no way meant abandoning efforts to bring development and economic growth to colonial populations. By the late 1950s, the Colonial office was developing programs to trigger economic development and growth in its colonies, as Britain was eager to let go of its overseas

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[25] CO 728/52, 1952, Manufacturing Industry in Colonies report, p. 26.
[26] CO 728/52, 1952, Manufacturing Industry in Colonies report, p. 26.

territories through decolonisation. Tourism was considered an appropriate development strategy, due in large part to the success of tourism development and other emerging positive economic signs from colonies in the Caribbean. In the Indian Ocean, for instance, the British administration wondered whether there could be mutual aid between Mauritius and the Seychelles for tourism development.[27] Ironically, tourism did not really take off until ten years later in Mauritius and 15 years later in the Seychelles.

In a letter dated September 2, 1958 to the Colonial Office, the Financial Secretary in Mauritius acknowledged that there was keen interest and enthusiasm on the island about the prospects of tourism and that it was believed "...among all sections of opinion that we should press ahead with this line, we are still at the thinking and planning stage, though some concrete things have been done..." It was clear that the local white sugar estate owners were looking for avenues of economic and financial diversification of the capital they had accumulated through colonial exploitation of sugar over the centuries. The key factor that kept the "tourism project" at the conceptual and planning stage, however, was the cost. Colonial administrators understood the importance of infrastructures and ancillary sectors to accompany the development of tourism, of which the island had next to none (Meade, 1961). Similarly, various pieces of correspondence between the different British governmental departments in Mauritius prior to independence mentioned tourism in passing or as an annotation within the more pressing economic agenda of growth and employment through industrialisation.

5.2.2.2 The Colonial Attitude towards Early Tourism Development

The overall lack of interest in tourism on the part of both the British and French authorities in their colonies and territories can be attributed to the following:

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[27] Letter from the Colonial Office to Mauritius; June 3, 1958 (PAC 199/317/02).

- The failure of the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which "…has remained little but gesture"[28] and revealed the immense task of financing economic and social development in the colonies. Despite harbouring comprehensive and intelligent planning, the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act could not be implemented, as Britain was unable to pay for it.

- After the war, development projects in the colonies were an urgent priority. The emphasis was on agricultural and food production and other industries as a way to alleviate food shortages in the colonies and in Britain, and at the same time to increase the dollar-earning capacity of the Commonwealth and its empire.[29] One instrument to that effect, the Colonial Development Corporation, was established in 1947 to increase colonial output, particularly exports, by directly engaging itself in production in the colonies. However, the Colonial Office was criticised at that time for its inactivity and inability to formulate development plans to harness the possibilities of development in the colonies to "…enable Great Britain to maintain her standard of living and compete successfully in an increasingly competitive world" (Law, 1958; p. 462).[30]

- Colonial administrations in the colonies (particularly British), which adopted a laissez-faire attitude with regard to the economy until World War II, were concerned in the aftermath of the war with the economic well-being of the populations under their administration. Economic measures, inspired by the Marshall Aid Programme, were biased in favour of industrialisation modelled on the Puerto Rican industrialisation scheme.

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[28] Address by the Secretary of State for the colonies to the cabinet in November of 1944 to request an increase in funds for the development of the colonies. In Havinden, M. & Meredith, D. (1993, p. 225).
[29] Note by Sir Norman Brook, Secretary to the Cabinet on "Colonial Development," January 16, 1948 (CAB 21/1968).
[30] Viscount Montgomery (1958). *The Memoirs of Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G.*; p. 462.

- Tourism relied on source markets that were located far from where the product could be consumed, and transportation technology until then relied primarily on maritime means. Air links to the islands were time consuming, expensive and irregular. Ground facilities only became available after World War II, when airstrips that had been constructed on the islands for military purposes were converted for civil aviation usage. In the Indian Ocean, both British and French possessions were rather isolated. The region was devoid of industrialised countries and the islands were not along the tourist path. There was a need to identify the pull factors that would attract foreigners to visit the region.

As a practical example, the gateways to Mauritius at that time were not up to standard, and in the words of the Mauritian Financial Secretary, Mr. W.G. Wilson, there were "…plans to clean it up… and that work on the ground should start well before the end of this year [1958]. To be frank with you we have not thought beyond the air passenger inflow as yet, and both Rault and myself feel that we would be wise to concentrate on that source of supply before thinking of extending our activities to the sea."[31]

The implications of the above quote are multiple. First, it indicates that the "colonial masters" did not perceive the former coloniser as a major source of visitors. Instead, they more readily identified either more proximate or developed long-haul markets. Consequently, they felt that the island colony had little potential for transportation and tourists from Britain. By identifying and emphasising proximate tourist source markets, the colonial administration attempted to sever the island's dependent tie to Britain. However, they failed. This attempt to break the colonial legacy as a way to withdraw economic aid and assistance to the colonies can be explained by the underlying British ideology of ruling that placed an unusually strong emphasis on the autonomy of the local government. Unlike

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[31] W.G. Wilson, from the Financial Secretary's Office, Mauritius, to J.H. Robertson, Colonial Office, September 2, 1958.

the French, who tended to favour "assimilation," the British supported the concept of a "self-governing colony." Yet, decolonisation, as discussed in an earlier section of this chapter, did not mean a complete discontinuation of the imperial relationship. Memberships of former British colonies in the Commonwealth ensured that their relationships with Britain would be maintained and continue to evolve (Austin, 1980).

The lack of insight into tourist generating markets for Mauritius on the part of colonial officials reveals the administration's low priority placed on tourism development on the island during that period. British administrators were hesitant to commit scarce resources in tourism ventures because they faced more serious socio-economic problems, such as over-population, unemployment and racial tensions. It also reveals that the island's administrators themselves perceived Mauritius as remote and isolated, which reinforces the need for a destination's population to develop and maintain strong ties to the outside world. However, it was true that not many parts of the world were developed at that time and there were therefore few tourist generating markets other than Europe. Also, aircraft technology was still developing and flights needed to make multiple stops on the way from Europe to the island. Nonetheless, a portion of the population from the private sector, the Franco-Mauritians, had already begun to actively develop business opportunities in the Mauritian travel and tourism sector.

The reticence of the colonial administration in Mauritius to engage in an aggressive tourism development strategy at that time was due to what they perceived as "cogent limitations." There were already several tourist resort ventures in other colonies, and the colonial administration was well aware of the financial debacle of such undertakings in this new industry. According to W.G. Wilson, "we think we are potentially a good tourist resort, but we are determined to profit from the mistakes of others, and to limit our activities to certain very definite and realisable objectives. In other

words, we intend to aim narrowly, and then consolidate, before we expand further."[32]

Such were the intention and vision of the colonial administration at that time. This attitude toward development associated with tourism would become the blueprint of tourism development in Mauritius after independence. The colonial administration deliberately avoided early and rapid development of the tourism sector on the island: "We do not hope, nor do we desire, to turn Mauritius into a Bahamas or a Bermuda, much less a Coney Island or a Miami…Given that only very rich people can afford to come here anyway, and given that rich people are almost invariably elderly and need peace rather than hilarity, we are aiming to set ourselves up as a small, comfortable and exceedingly expensive tourist resort."[33]

It is also notable that British administrators were extremely hesitant to incur any additional expenses in the colonies. Britain was already engaged in the process of withdrawing from its overseas territories. Since the end of the war, the new development policies were in fact a message to the colonies that … "they should not hold out hopes for any increased generosity in assistance from HMG to the colonies."[34] Colonial administrations were required to stimulate economic diversification and industrialisation by any means possible, primarily by motivating local private sectors to finance development projects. The British were also constantly seeking sources of financing, other than the British Government's own money, for possible development projects in the colonies. In Mauritius, the colonial administration was eager to make do with existing facilities or processes, rather than setting up an entirely new gateway structure at the port, for example. "In effect, we must concentrate on tapping the traffic already offering and potentially offering through

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[32] W.G. Wilson, from the Financial Secretary's Office, Mauritius, to J.H. Robertson, Colonial Office, September 2, 1958.
[33] W.G. Wilson, from the Financial Secretary's Office, Mauritius, to J.H. Robertson, Colonial Office, September 2, 1958.
[34] Minutes by Caine (June 7, 1945); CO 852/555/16489/1945.

established air (and sea) channels before we can think of making it easier for more people to come."[35]

It seemed more appropriate and made better economic sense to make Mauritius known to wealthy South Africans who could stop for an extended stay on the island on their way by sea to Japan. The administration was indeed not willing to incur the cost of an extensive infrastructure on the island sufficient to establish a full-fledged tourism industry, as the Colonial Office in London had hoped. It was a more cautious policy that the British Colonial Administration adopted in its colonies. "Certainly there is no need for us, as yet, to subsidise the transport of tourists to Mauritius."[36]

This was also true in the case of island colonies in the Caribbean. The increasing affluence of the Americans after World War II and their need for tourism, leisure and recreation had opened up routes to the Caribbean islands that were within their reach. Most of the English-speaking Caribbean islands were at some point recipients of American financing, aid and assistance. The British colonial governments were content to merely play their administrative roles and to watch while development in their colonies was being undertaken by their ally. Despite Britain's cautious approach to the development of its colonies, its Caribbean colonies witnessed a relatively early launch into the tourism market as compared to territories in other oceanic regions, due in large part to the proximity of the U.S. market. Ironically, French territories in the Caribbean did not benefit from such development. The French were waiting to see how British colonies would fare and hoped to take advantage of a fully developed tourism strategy after the British had discovered and resolved all of the inherent problems. In the Indian Ocean, however, the French were more eager to initiate air links with Paris and implement tourist package tours that included its colonies of Madagascar and Réunion together with

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[35] W.G. Wilson, from the Financial Secretary's Office, Mauritius, to J.H. Robertson, Colonial Office, September 2, 1958.
[36] W.G. Wilson, from the Financial Secretary's Office, Mauritius, to J.H. Robertson, Colonial Office, September 2, 1958.

the British colony of Mauritius, which nonetheless had a strong French cultural connection.

The inference from the foregoing is that where a cluster of colonies belonging to the same colonial power exists, development policies in one territory quickly spread to others controlled by that colonial power, but not to those of other colonial powers. The common official language, communication, political and administrative systems that were in place, either directly or indirectly through London, became transmitting channels of information and strategies that other local governors and administrations were eager to implement.

The case of Mauritius is noteworthy. While under British rule, the island was the recipient of development policies that had been adopted across the British Empire.[xviii] However, its close ties with France, through its economically and culturally powerful population of French descent and through its proximity to Madagascar and Réunion Island, a department of France since 1946, meant that Mauritius could benefit from the spill-over effects of French tourism development policies in the region. It is paradoxical, therefore, that France did not specifically plan for tourism development in the Caribbean/Latin America region when three of its departments were located there. It seems logical that the North American market could also have been a successful tourist provider to the French speaking territories. A possible explanation for the Mauritian anomaly may lie in the sheer force of the personalities who provided the catalyst for tourism ventures on the island. They could make conscious and deliberate decisions that would take them closer to the other coloniser, a strategy that others [rivals, communities, ethnic groups] might interpret as flirtatiously hegemonic.

Decisions on the part of the colonial administrations in both French and British colonies thus appeared deliberate. In his letter to the Colonial Office, after justifying the timorous colonial administration's tourism development policies on the island, Wilson concluded "...that we have more

scope before us than we can easily handle at the moment and we should like to digest a bit before entering into expansionist activities. If and when we consolidate the tourist potential already available to us we shall of course be only too pleased to look with the Seychelles and others at any mutually attractive idea."[37]

It is undeniable that the administrators' primary concern during that period was the financial and economic well-being of the colonies. While colonial administrations eagerly pursued economic development, it was with the hope of minimal financial efforts and disbursements on the part of the British Government. On the other hand, perhaps the British were looking to France to incur some initial costs for developing tourism in its Indian Ocean territories that could ultimately benefit Mauritius. Clearly, the administration was content with the level of tourism development they were trying to achieve at that time. Such an attitude was at odds with the Colonial Office's strong advocacy of development in general in the colonies. This illustrates that the Centre did not always have complete control over the peripheries.

Wherever possible, as in Mauritius, there was continuing competition for control between the two colonial powers. France has always shown tremendous interest in Mauritius and the policies being implemented there. In turn, the island has consistently expressed its willingness to collaborate with its neighbours. In 1959, discussions were already underway regarding the possibility of co-operation "in developing the tourist industry"[38] at a conference among representatives of Réunion, Madagascar, Seychelles and Mauritius. The French were also observing what the British were implementing in terms of tourism development in Mauritius. In a parliamentary report in 1962 (J.O. Assemblée Nationale, 1962), the isolation of Réunion Island, neighbour and sister island to Mauritius, was characterised as an advantage that should be exploited. According to the

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[37] W.G. Wilson, from the Financial Secretary's Office, Mauritius, to J.H. Robertson, Colonial Office, September 2, 1958.
[38] Extract from Executive Council proceedings (E.36), January 16, 1959.

report, such a plan should not be implemented lightly at a time when the British were trying to launch the tourism industry in Mauritius. It was important for the French that Mauritius be included in any tourism development plan they had for Réunion in hopes that Mauritius would carry along the French territory, which was only 140 miles away, on the path of tourism development.

By default, Mauritius was considered by the French as the engine of tourism in the region. "L'avance prise par l'Ile Maurice n'est pas forcément un handicap pour La Réunion."[39] It was hoped that Réunion would benefit indirectly from tourists visiting Mauritius. Réunion Island relied on Mauritius because the French Government's tourism development strategy in the region bypassed the department of Réunion to the benefit of Madagascar, which was to become independent in 1960 and where a new landing infrastructure was financed by the French. According to Deputy Marcel Cerneau, it was the lack of air links that perpetuated the geographical isolation of Réunion Island and was responsible for the absence of a concrete "loi-programme" of tourism. The French refused to invest in a similar landing infrastructure on Réunion Island for financial reasons (J.O. Assemblée Nationale, 1961).

5.3   Maintenance of an Economic Elite: Evolving Plantation Economy

One of the most likely potential explanations for the continuing colonial legacy in tourism, which was evident in numerous official documents and newspaper articles from the 1940s to the mid-1980s discovered during archival research, lies in the role of the economic structure of plantations inherited from colonial times.

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[39] "The lead taken by Mauritius is not necessarily a disadvantage." Note a propos du développement touristique de la Réunion, Octobre 17, 1966.
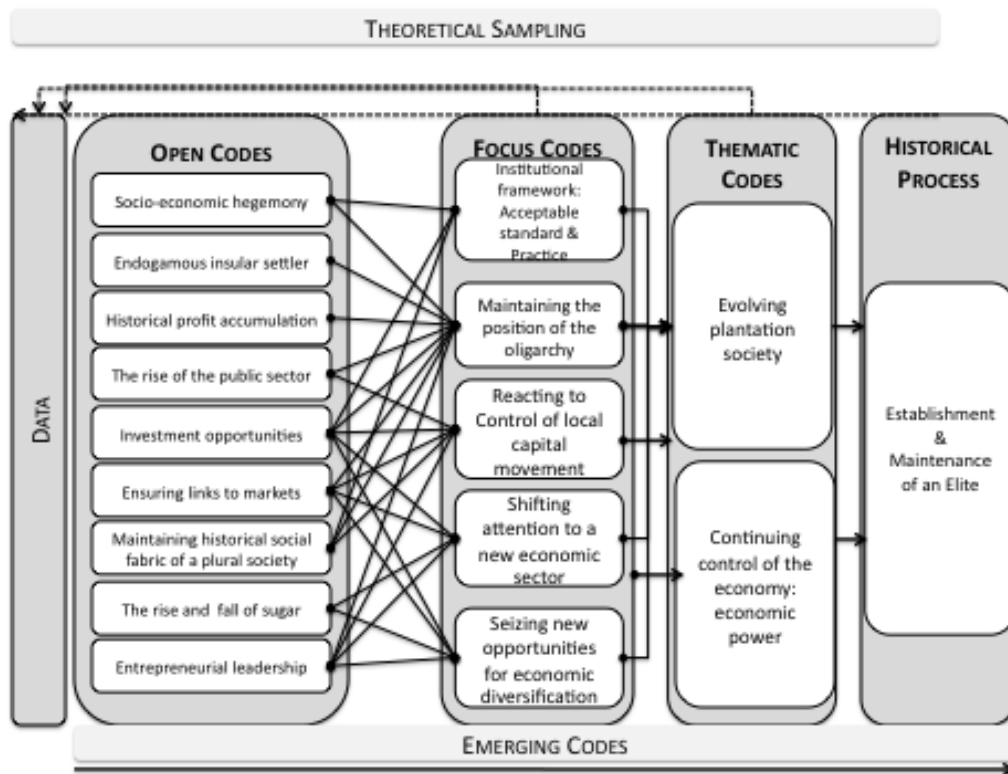
Figure 5.2: Establishment & Maintenance of an Elite

Indubitably, the economic and socio-political foundations of Mauritius rest on a plantation complex that has "...ultimately stretched from Rio Grande do Sul in south eastern Brazil …and it had outliers in the Indian Ocean islands of Reunion and Mauritius" (Curtin, 1998; p. xii). This is because the plantation economy originates in the Western European colonisation of the New World in the 16th century to secure markets and sources of raw materials. It was centred on the core institution of the slavery plantation (Dupuy, 1983). African slaves and Indian indentured labour toiled on these plantations that belonged to Europeans to grow tropical staples for the distant market of Europe. The socio-economic and political order of the plantation complex conferred absolute domination on the Europeans of the world economy and superiority over other races. Over the centuries, the vestiges of slavery and indentured labour as abominable features of human exploitation in the sugar cane fields have disappeared, but riding the waves of the economy derived from such exploitation is an elite of white oligarchs (Selvon, 2001). They comprise the "national bourgeoisie" (Houbert, 1981; p. 92) that has not only maintained itself but has thrived through shrewd

diversification of their capital investments, despite intermittent adverse financial policies.

What follows is divided *grosso modo* into two sections. The first examines documents containing empirical information relating to Mauritius in an attempt to ascertain application of the plantation economy model at a general level to social and economic changes on the island. The evidence includes structural changes in the context of tourism development, including the rise and fall of the mono crop sugar, the socio-demographic changes within the plural society, and a need for economic survival dependent on entrepreneurship and the maintenance of links with outside markets. An encompassing element upon which the evidence rests is the historical raison d'être of the plantation complex: profit accumulation. This is the platform of discussion of the theory that the socio-economic legacy derived from the creation and evolution of the insular plantation complex over the centuries could explain today's changes on the island, as well as the maintenance of the dominant economic group. Could the development of the Mauritian tourism sector be explained as "plantation tourism?" The role of the economic elite in the creation of a neo-plantation economy dedicated to its own maintenance is analysed within that parameter.

In order to appreciate the economic significance of sugar and the sugar oligarchy in the organisation of the plantation economy in Mauritius, it is important to highlight their historical contribution to the socio-economic and political fabric of the island. Introduced by the Dutch, sugar became part of a plantation system under the French, and its production became institutionalised as a production unit when the British assumed control of the island in 1810. By producing only sugar, in line with the West Indian mono crop model, the island turned into a plantation economy to become the leading single sugar cane producer in the British Empire (Brookfield, 1959; p. 24). Its organisation and success relied on the availability of abundant unskilled and servile labour in the form of African slaves, later replaced by Indian indentured labour. As such, the plantation incorporated both a form of labour organisation and a system of agriculture

that in combination evolved to produce an institutional framework of rules to accommodate a plurality of races and ethnic groups. Political and economic power rested with the white plantocracy of French descent, leaving administration to the British. At the bottom of this social arrangement, the exploitation of labourers was accompanied by repression and deprivation of all rights such that the organisation of the plantation became a social system to "…furnish an ideal framework" (Best, 1968; p. 287). The demand for Mauritian sugar in metropolitan markets determined the volume of local production, and costs were low primarily due the fact that wages were kept to a minimum with the regular supply of very cheap labour (Lamusse, 1980).

Several major events brought significant changes to the structure of sugar plantations after the "institutionalisation" of the plantation system in Mauritius, including:

- The modernisation of production by replacing mills with sugar factories;

- The Grand Morcellement, which allowed the creation of a small planter class comprised of Indians to whom the white owners of sugar estates sold some of their marginal lands; and

- The economic depression of the 1930s that rippled through the economy, with increased unemployment causing social unrest and revealing the first signs of socio-political restlessness.

Despite the winds of change that these events announced for the plantation system, sugar remained a major economic feature of the Mauritian economy in the aftermath of WWII. It was still inextricably linked to the island's general level of economic development, which had remained rather

sluggish up to that time. The economy developed more rapidly with the introduction of negotiated price quotas for sugar exports to the UK in 1951 with the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement (CSA), which guaranteed prices for an annual quota that increased from 470,000 tons in 1953 to 570,000 in 1974 (Moynagh, 1977).

The organisation of the industry itself had remained almost unchanged since its inception. By 1959, the sugar industry and its by-products accounted for 99% of Mauritian exports and produced more than one third of the national income.[40] By 1968, at independence, sugar production involved around 70,000 people[41] and covered approximately 90% of arable land on the island, with an average annual yield of 600,000 tons. There were two distinct categories of owner-producers as a result of the Grand Morcellement of 1870: (1) owners of the 21 sugar estates that existed at the time of independence, producing sugar on half of the land area on which sugar cane was cultivated; and (2) a large group of around 29,000 Indian planters on plots ranging from less than one acre to as large as 1,000 acres.

By the end of the 1970s the number of large sugar estates had decreased to 19, covering approximately 59% of the cultivated area. Private Mauritian companies[42] belonging to Franco-Mauritian families from the early French colonial period owned fifteen of these sugar estates. The British multinational group Lonrho owned two estates and participated as the majority shareholder in a local company that owned another estate. The government owned one sugar factory after its nationalisation in 1976.[43] Despite political pressure from the then leftist MMM of Mr. Paul Béranger for more nationalisation as a means of achieving an equitable redistribution of wealth, the sugar industry had solidly remained under the stronghold of

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[40] Mauritius Legislative Council, Sessional Paper No. 7 of 1960: a report by J.E. Meade & others: "The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius," p.14.

[41] Mauritius Guide, 1968-1969, Mauritius Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

[42] The annual report of The Mauritius Sugar Producers' Association as of 2000 lists the 33 companies and societies and the representatives of 13 sugar factories at executive level. Members of the MSPA are overwhelmingly Franco-Mauritian. http://www.mspa.mu/

[43] Sugar Industry Publication: *Mauritius and Sugar*; *Sugar in Mauritius*

the white economic elite. The latter has in fact consolidated its position at the top of the national economy by making the best of the worst situations.

Hence, just after WWII, a policy of agricultural diversification was undertaken in Mauritius to reverse the increasing dependence on sugar export and food imports. The goals were to promote new export crops, produce for local consumption and alleviate the problem of unemployment.[44] One positive step was the practice of interline cropping on large sugar estates that also rented land to small planters. Reports by Titmuss (1960) and Meade (1961) warned about the grave threat of unemployment posed by the "…great population increase" (Meade, 1961; p. 60) due to a lack of corresponding growth in the mono-crop economy. The government and the private sector of the sugar industry took heed of Meade's recommendations and developed strategies to diversify the economy. Overpopulation became the centre of planning and development, as well as the primary impetus for introducing structural change to the economy. Furthermore, the end of the CSA in 1974 announced new marketing arrangements for Mauritian sugar under the Sugar Protocol of the Lomé Convention, which established formal prices and quotas for the sugar export of members of the African Caribbean Pacific (ACP) to the EEC. By being the first Commonwealth country to be associated with the Community,[45] Mauritius was assured of a market for its sugar export. The quota and high guaranteed price[46] by the EEC under the Sugar Protocol (SP) provided an additional boost to the sugar industry,[47] affording Mauritius more time to develop a restructuring plan for the industry and to establish a stable economic base from which to develop other industries. The country as a whole, as well as owners in the sugar industry, benefitted from adhering to the SP as the gap between the preferential prices under the SP and the international market price of sugar grew even wider in the

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[44] Mauritius Guide, 1968-1969, p. 13.

[45] Brief for the visit of the Minister of Overseas Development to Mauritius: Association with the EEC (IED/ODM, June 1974).

[46] Source: *Mauritius Economic Review, 1971-1975,* Port Louis, 1976; p. 45.

[47] With a guaranteed price of £188 paid for the EEC quota, the sugar industry made a net profit of £20 million during the financial year 1975-1976. Source: *Financial Times*, June 18, 1976.

1970s. The increased return to the export sector acted like a foreign subsidy transferred from foreign customers to producers in Mauritius[48] (Sacerdoti, El-Masry, Khandelwal & Yao, 2005) and amounted to an influx of foreign exchange to the country and considerable profits to the sugar industry that further increased their accumulated capital.

In the 1950s, capital accumulated by the Mauritian oligarchy was not invested in other segments of the country's economy due to a lack of incentives to diversify production away from sugar. The maintenance of low wages in the plantation sector meant a domestic market too small to spur investment in other forms of production. The lack of viable local investment opportunities, together with the absence of exchange controls at that time, meant that the economic elite poured their profits back into the sugar industry, consumed luxury goods, and/or invested much of their profits abroad (King, 1970; p. 9). A shortage of capital was thus artificially created with the distorted use of excess profit, much of which was being reinvested in the sugar industry (through mechanisation and modernisation). This reflected the structure of the plantation economy as part of global colonial economic relations (Houbert, 1981), which discouraged economic growth through diversification.

After independence, the Mauritian government instituted several measures and policies in the 1970s to curb the outflow of capital by providing fresh investment outlets through incentives to establish new industries.[49] Private capital from the sugar industry reacted to these policies and began financing the country's diversification into the nascent economic sectors. Together with the government and foreign firms, the sugar industry invested in textile manufacturing. They also began an incursion into the tourism sector in association with French, British or South Africans business partners by raising capital locally. This signalled the beginning of the

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[48] Report on Mauritius published by the International Monetary Fund, 2005.
[49] Development Strategy 1971-1980, Government of Mauritius, Economic Planning Unit, 1970.

transformation of the plantation economy, made even more inevitable due to global changes spearheading development (and new forms of dependence) through communications, travel and accessibility, and transnational production (Villamil, 1979).

The creation of the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) by the Mauritian government to promote light manufacturing for export purposes was designed to create jobs and strengthen the economy[50] as part of the "Travail pour Tous" (Work for All) programme. Supported by a number of incentives that included duty-free entry of capital goods and raw material, a ten-year tax holiday, freedom to repatriate profits and capital abroad,[51] and the guaranteed provision of "cheap, well educated and dextrous labour,"[52] the plan relied on a mixture of local funds and foreign investment from which its well established financial sector could siphon.[53] The EPZ came in the wake of a nascent import-substitution manufacturing industry that by 1969 was exporting over 30% of its output[54] within the Yaoundé Convention, which opened the doors of the European Common Market to a range of manufactured goods from the ACP countries.[55] The novelty of the EPZ attracted local capital from investors who were shifting some of their attention to new economic sectors and away from sugar. The white sugar oligarchy was enticed by the profit potential of manufactured goods for export to a guaranteed market. They were by then prepared to invest in business ventures with well-established foreign firms that had the necessary manufacturing know-how and knowledge of the European market.

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[50] Record of a discussion of the Director of the Mauritius Economic Planning Unit (EPU), Dr. Nijahawan, with officers of the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), September 20, 1970.
[51] Letter, "Development Strategy 1971-1980," from The British High Commission, Mauritius, to the East Africa Department (EAD) of the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), February 10, 1971.
[52] Ibid.
[53] *Mauritius: Commerce, Industry & Tourism.* Port Louis: Ministry of Commerce and Industry. 1970.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Brief for the visit of the Minister of Overseas Development to Mauritius: Association with the EEC. IED/ODM, June 1974. See R. Garron, Le Particularisme des rapports entre l'Ile Maurice et la C.E.E. In *Annuaire des pays de l'Ocean Indien*, Vol. 11, 1975 (Aix en Provence, 1977).

Mauritian capitalists were also attracted by tourism, which they had begun to court timidly in the 1960s. Encouraged by a convergence of events in the form of improved aeronautical technologies and identification by the country's first post-independence Prime Minister of private sector investment as the engine to develop the island, the "conglomerates" (Taylor, 2008; p.41), comprised of sugar, trade and commerce capital, were best positioned to take advantage of the investment incentives proposed by the government. They provided the bulk of the capital[56] identified as necessary for the tourism sector in the 1971-1975 development plan for Mauritius. However, the country received only 143 million of the 400 million Mauritian rupees the government expected from overseas sources during that period, while funds raised locally amounted to 600 million rupees.[57]

According to the June 18, 1976 edition of the Financial Times, 22% of the total amount invested by the sugar industry went to the tourism and manufacturing sectors. Not only did they have requisite capital resources to invest in the sector, but they also possessed the organisational framework required to see projects through to fruition (Taylor, 2008; p. 41). Between 1961 and 1963, the government provided loans amounting to 1.4 million rupees for development of the country's tourism infrastructure, as well as substantial income tax concessions on hotel income, import duty and other concessions on hotel and tourism-related construction. The government also funded the marketing and publicity of the country's tourism resources.[58] For example, Rogers & Company, a leading commercial house in Mauritius and a subsidiary of the British firm Lonrho,[59] created a new company in 1971 around the "Dinarobin" hotel construction project. Shareholders in the venture were able to take advantage of a government-issued Development Certificate, which provided an eight-year tax holiday and the duty free

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[56] *The Financial Times*, June 18, 1976.
[57] Budget speech, Ministry of Finance, 1976; p. 3.
[58] Commonwealth Tourism Notes 1970, *Mauritius: Commerce, Industry & Tourism,* p. 97. Port Louis: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1970, pp. 31-42.
[59] According to a report from the President of the Board of Directors of the International Finance Corporation to board members, Lonrho was a British firm that had extensive interests throughout Africa, p. 1, April 29, 1971.

import of construction materials and equipment.[60] All of the shareholders except for BOAC were companies belonging to Franco-Mauritians. They included:

- Rogers & Company Ltd.[61]

- New Mauritius Hotels[62]

- Mauritius Travel & Tourism Bureau (MTTB)

- Mauritius Touring Company

- Mauritius Commercial Bank

- Anglo-Mauritius Assurance Society

- Mauritius Breweries

- Compagnie d'Investissement & De Developpement

- BOAC

The above account of the evolution of the private sector of sugar producers within the parameters of fundamental changes to the plantation system reveals an important aspect of that small but powerful section of Mauritian society: the resilience of the sugar oligarchy and their ability to reinvent themselves to maintain their economic power. The efficient organisation of the sugar industry, with all its components geared towards facilitating the production of sugar, made a big impression on Meade and his colleagues (1961; p. 79). The Franco-Mauritians could have left the country at independence (Bérenger, 2008), but instead chose to remain and use their strong organisational framework to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the internationalisation and diversification of the Mauritian economy. Their increased involvement in the tourism sector after

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[60] Report from the President of the Board of Directors of International Finance Corporation to board members, April 29, 1971.

[61] Rogers & Company Ltd. The original shareholders were three Franco-Mauritian families: Maingard, Adams and Sennevilles. Mr. Amedée Maingard was the founding member of Air Mauritius and Managing Director of the Aviation and Tourism operations of Rogers. Rogers & Co. was (and still is) the major tourism firm in Mauritius, with businesses that include the export of sugar and imports of oil, cement and vehicles, as well as the provision of agents of ships calling at Mauritius. It was (and still is) the agent of several airlines and the managing agent of New Mauritius Hotels and Beachcomber. *See* Report from the President of the Board of Directors of International Finance Corporation to board members, April 29, 1971.

[62] New Mauritius Hotels was founded to own and operate existing hotels in the 1950s and to construct Le Morne Brabant beach hotel.

independence in 1968 provided the framework for the Franco-Mauritian dominance of the country's hotel and tourism landscape. This could be due in part to the fact that the tourism sector presents an ideal form of development that is comparable to that of sugar industry (Houbert, 1981), perpetuating the characteristics of the plantation system. The Mauritian tourism sector relies on an inexpensive and available labour force, beaches that do not encroach upon the main industry (Houbert, 1981), and a "large amount of local capital from sugar industry."[63] It is also still dependent on distant foreign markets, which is reminiscent of the sugar industry.

While Mauritius appears to have taken the appropriate socio-economic and financial steps to move away from a mono-crop economy to one characterised by multiple sectors, its relative isolation from major markets remains a major disadvantage. Furthermore, from a dependency point of view, dependent economic structures are still present and have barely been transformed since their inception during the colonial period. Tourism is structurally part of the overseas economy. However, as an industry it has merely been transposed upon historical structures that were maintained in place when the local economic elite transferred their excess capital and knowhow from the plantation to the resorts.

5.4   Political Structure: Adoption of Democratic Ideals

"Britain has a special place in the hearts of all our Mauritian citizens… We have adapted your political institutions to a pluralistic society and a developing economy. We have made it our own and we prize Britain's traditions of personal liberty, the rule of law, and the equality of all people irrespective of religion." Jugnauth (1986; p. 13).

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[63] Attributed to Dr. Nijhawan, Director of the Economic Planning Unit, when being questioned by ODA staffers on the financing of certain projects not covered by UK aid programmes and technical assistance in the first development plan of 1971-1975, September 2, 1970.
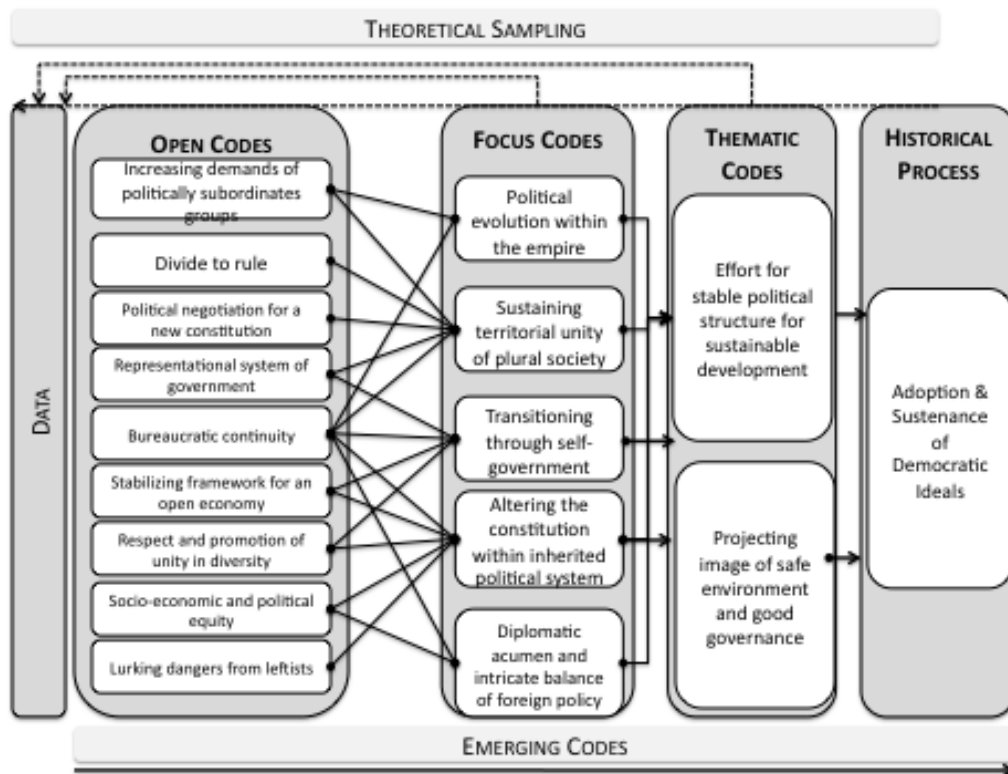
Figure 5.3: Adoption & Sustenance of Democratic ideals

One aspect of the political history of Mauritius that frequently emerged from archival documents is the formidable role played by the political structures in social stability and economic development. This section discusses the evidence that a political legacy derived from the creation and evolution of the insular plantation complex over the course of centuries could explain the "plantation" development pattern of the Mauritian tourism sector in the post-colonial period.

The impulse for decolonisation signalled a need for political or constitutional liberation for the colonies whereby the hope of the people for a better future was generated solely through the process of democratic elections. The character of the decolonisation process was above all related to the way in which colonisers withdrew from colonial rule, or, from the perspective of nationalists, to the manner in which political freedom was wrought from colonial powers. The political view in the centre regarding the empire was thus of critical importance. To the British, the empire was non-integrative (Morris-Jones & Fischer, 1980) and the emphasis was on the

autonomy of the colony.[xix] It seems that decolonisation was always on the agenda of the colonial rulers, especially the British, since their officials expected colonial territories to go the way that the American colonies had in the 1770s (Tignor, 2005; p. 42). This became more evident after World War II (Pearce, 1982), with the insistence of Attlee's Labour government to ultimately confer self-governance on the colonies through a carefully controlled process under British tutelage.[64] At that time, the British colonial policy was inherently ambivalent. While it was clear that Britain was in favour of devolving power to local leaders, it was difficult for the colonial power to do so in territories that were sharply divided along ethnic or racial lines.[65] This was clearly the case in Mauritius, where Britain was not ready to open the local political process for fear of social discord among ethnic groups. The British were concerned about leaving their colonies in complete socio-economic and political chaos, and it appeared that the escalating social tensions in Mauritius were based more on communal antagonisms than on pure Mauritian nationalist sensibility against colonialism (Allen, 1975; in Ostheimer; p. 202). This situation prompted Sir Hilary Blood to say, "perhaps the most serious aspect of all this [referring to the gloomy picture of the racial composition of the island, which he described earlier in his letter to the Colonial Office] is the quite incredible bitterness between the races."[66]

Due to problems associated with the complex nature of its population and its small size, Mauritius was a Class III territory in the books of the colonial office. This meant that it required a complex central government, one that called for the creation of a new category of territory that would be granted self-governance[67] but where defence and foreign

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[64] Letter from Sir Hilary Blood, Governor of Mauritius, "First Impressions," dated January 14, 1950, to J.J. Paskin of the Colonial Office (CO 531-9585).

[65] Sir Hilary Blood remarks that it was "not a very pretty social picture" presented by the socio-demographic landscape of the island and explains his frustration at the total absence of any "attempt …made to promote and develop local self-governing bodies." *Ibid.*

[66] Ibid.

[67] Draft from the Minister of the State Commonwealth Office to the Minister of Overseas Development on "Mauritius Finances," October 11, 1967 (QM/528- FCO 24/247).

policy would remain under British control.[68] As a result, as part of what would be its political evolution within the empire, the transition process was lengthy and involved a series of local political negotiations that culminated in the adoption of universal suffrage in the British parliamentary tradition. Miles (1999; p. 93), however, warned against the facile conclusion that "[Mauritius']…island status, small population size, and a British colonial legacy may indeed promote democracy…" but "they do not assure it." Nonetheless, the political structures that were formulated in detail by the colonial administration in consultation with local elites, and consequently bequeathed to the colonies at independence, were designed to ensure the perennial democratic ideals that metropolitan countries have always sought to instil and encourage.

The Colonial Office under Creech Jones from 1946 was committed to "guid[ing] the colonial territories to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth in conditions that ensure to the people concerned both a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression from any quarter."[xx] In the case of Mauritius, a swiftly established autonomous government and a representative parliament with proportional representation (of ethnic minorities)[69] elected through universal suffrage and autonomous government served to facilitate the political transition between the end of World War II and the country's full independence. Indeed, the transition process did not entail the radical eradication of a social system of government and administration that was conceptually colonial, because the source of independence was not based on a fervent demand by the people for a change in power. In fact, Mauritius requested that Britain reconsider its intention to fully relinquish control of the island and instead establish an association between the two countries, although Britain ultimately turned

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[68] Letter from the Commonwealth Office to B. Barber, UK Mission to the UN, New York, on "Mauritius," November 3, 1967.

[69] The *Report of the Benwell Commission* (London, 1966) was badly received by the MLP (see Mannick, 1979; Teelock, 2001; Varma, 1975), as little consideration was given to ethnic representation, a major concern for the CAM, an ally of the MLP. New negotiations with the British under the chairmanship of J. Stonehouse led to agreed changes to the satisfaction of the MLP and its allies: communalism was officially inscribed in the constitution of the island. *Mauritius Independence Order*, London, 1968 (FCO 16/88; FCO 16/108).

down that request. Interestingly, about a decade before independence, the fate of Mauritian political status was linked to the island's strategic geographical position. In 1955, the British were not considering granting independence to Mauritius unless they were guaranteed some form of military control over its island dependencies as part of a broader strategy to assert British power in the regions of both the Soviet Union and India.[70]

As previously mentioned, Mauritius is characterised by its unique socio-ethnic composition, which is itself a legacy of its (sequential) colonial history and which has irretrievably impacted the political culture of the island. The political engineering that has evolved over the course of several decades since the arrival of the last Chinese immigrants has ultimately bestowed upon the island a political culture that is typified by its constant "protozoan fragmentation and reconstitution," characteristic of the pluri-ethnic base of its multi-party political organisation. The political landscape that has developed since the labour riots in the 1930s and during WWII resulted in a formidable kaleidoscope of cultures, races and ethnicities by independence. The political organisation of educated Creoles and Hindus in the Mauritius Labour Party in 1936 against the economic power of the Franco-Mauritians has since been joined by several other political groups.

By the end of WWII, the Hindus dominated the MLP. The Hindu assumption of power can be attributed to their access to land ownership (from the period of Grand Morcellement), education and suffrage. With land, the Hindus developed an economic base to finance their sons' educations so that they could obtain access to government jobs and liberal professions, as high-level positions in the sugar industry (for which their parents toiled in the fields) were denied to them (Houbert, 1981; Mannick, 1979; Selvon, 2001; Teelock, 2001; Varma, 1975). These remained the exclusive domain of the Franco-Mauritians and the Creoles. Education was even more important, as literacy was a prerequisite for participation in

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[70] Draft speaking notes for Mr. McMahon's call on the Secretary of State for Defence: Indian Ocean (Undated) (FCO 31/897).

elections (together with property and high salaries until 1947[71]). By then, the MLP had a large enough following to oppose the Creole elites and Franco-Mauriciens of the Parti Mauricien (PM).[72] In the 1967 general elections, which would decide whether the country would pursue "association" with Britain, as endorsed by the PMSD, or obtain its independence, the MLP secured with its allies, the Independent Forward Bloc (IFB) and the Comité d'Action Musulman (CAM), 55.1% of votes and 39 of the 62 elected seats, enough to convince the British that the island was ready for independence.

The political landscape of Mauritius at independence was thus the culmination of changes that were both socio-political and constitutional in nature. They brought an end to the rigid political structures of the colonial plantation dominated by the French oligarchy allied with the British administrative colonial leaders. Multi-party democracy, which was probably inevitable due to ethnic-based differences and antagonistic interests (Furnivall, 1948; Smith, 1955) has manifested itself over the years in a variety of ways, indicating continual fragmentation and reassembly of individual parties and political coalitions as part of the democratic system of election entrenched in the constitution of the country (Varma, 1976). There is constant decay and reintegration (Bowman, 1991) perpetuated by a political culture that encourages deep public scrutiny, especially of political leaders. General electoral consultations take place on a regular basis[73] and have been dominated by coalitions of parties. This firmly anchored political tradition is considered a sign of the political stability of the island, which, despite sporadic ethnic clashes, has managed to avoid the repression of minorities and has historically emphasised the importance of a fair ethnic division of power (Simmons, 1982). As Naipaul described in *The Overcrowded Barracoon*, "They [Mauritians] have such confidence in their rights, their votes, the power of their opinions." Pluri-ethnicity does not seem to interfere with a cohesive national identity that is etymologically

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[71] A revision to the Constitution in 1947 removed the latter two criteria, while literacy remained a barrier to franchise for thousands of individuals. *Revision of the Constitution of Mauritius, 1947.*
[72] The PM was later renamed Parti Mauricien Social-Democrat (PMSD).
[73] Members of Parliament are elected for a term of five years.

negotiated for a common meaning among the different ethnic groups and is shared and promoted at an official level through the state (Eriksen, 1994), which is the formal mechanism for the exercise of power. The state apparatus bequeathed to Mauritius by the British at independence is founded on the premise of common participation in uniform socio-political systems made available to all. This perhaps explains why the economic dominance by the white plantocracy, despite being decried in national forums, has never been effectively challenged. The democratic element of common participation ensured the maintenance not only of a strong system of government but of a powerful white private sector. However, as Eriksen (1994) found, the evaluation of the Mauritian government's efficiency in terms of its ability to be representative can operate at different times on the different factors of ethnicity, race or class.

Several events have tested the state's ability to provide stability for the Mauritian people. The problem of overpopulation inherited from colonial times and its repercussions on the socio-economic fabric were also hot political topics in the referendum on independence. The Constitution of Mauritius, which is often decried as being imbued with communalism, is nevertheless seen (during election times) as a guarantee of access and participation for all minorities. [National] symbols of what constitute Mauritian-ness are colonial legacies (Eriksen, 1994), such as the coat of arms[74] introduced by the French colonisers that remains a part of the national heritage. In a sense, Mauritians recognise that they are all Mauritians because they have a shared colonial history. As the country achieved independence without any displays of violence towards the colonial power, there was no resistance to maintaining the socio-economic and political institutions of a system that assured sovereignty and territoriality (Hall, 1998). While the political system and its attendant administrative structures became safety nets for metropolitan countries, they have proven to be ineradicable shackles that have not only locked

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[74] The coat of arm of Mauritius reads "Stella Clavisque Maris Indici"--the Star and Key of the Indian Ocean--represented by a star, a key, a ship and palms believed to symbolize the importance of external relationships in local society [Masson, 1945].

former colonies into persistent multi-sectoral dependent relations with their former rulers but have also guaranteed decisions across the board reflective of consolidated inertia. These structures became the platforms upon which tourism would be initiated and grow.

The very nature of the international segment of tourism has significant implications for the intricate relationships between politics and the practice and development of tourism. Because the state provides the broad administrative framework for the general conduct of the business of international tourism, both locally and internationally, the latter becomes political (Crick, 1989). "Tourism is a simple continuation of politics by other means," according to Thurot (1975, *Economia* as Cited in Edgell, del Mastro, Smith & Swanson, 2008: p. 141), and is an integral part of the world's political economy (Edgell, del Mastro-Allen, Smith & Swanson, 2007). This idea goes far beyond a simplistic approach to tourism as the mere occupation of space and place and the negotiations that occur between tourists and their hosts. It also transcends straightforward assumptions that tourism has political ramifications in the subfields of political science, including international relations (Richter, 1983), because "tourism is simply too political, important and valuable…" (Burns & Novelli, 2007; p. 3). The reality, however, is that the political structure, and even more significantly its historical development as a deciding factor in the development of tourism, has garnered little academic attention (Hall & Jenkins, 1995).

An indirect approach that has received some attention is the role of participatory political systems on the effectiveness and growth of institutions (Miles, 1999; Rodrik, 2000), the conduct of foreign policy (Edgell, 1978; Crick, 1989) and impact on the international system (Karl & Schmitter, 1994). Regardless of the approach, Hall (1994) argues that the various functions of the state, which is the only political entity habilitated to exert sovereign power over a territory (Badie and Birnbaum, 1983; p. 105), are deemed to affect tourism policies and development. In the colonial context in Mauritius, the oversight role of the Colonial Office in the island's economic affairs has had a direct impact on the importance

attached to tourism development. The colonial administration's laissez-faire attitude, coupled with the operational difficulty of long-haul travel, explains why private sector initiatives by the Franco-Mauritians were given priority. Furthermore, as the political ramifications of tourism for Mauritius are manifested overwhelmingly at the international level, the political process involved could only be a reflection of the political structure of the state. This explains the choice of advertising and promoting the island to expatriates on the East African coast, to South Africans, and to the French territories nearby. Mowlana and Smith (1993) argue that in addition to being an integral part of foreign policy, tourism, because it is also a commercial activity, entails implicit or explicit international agreements that place it in the middle of international relations. Both the political structure of Mauritius and the international agreements involved in the facilitation of tourism are themselves the consequences of the island's colonial past.

5.4.1 Socio-Political Structure: Persistence of the Colonial State Bureaucracy
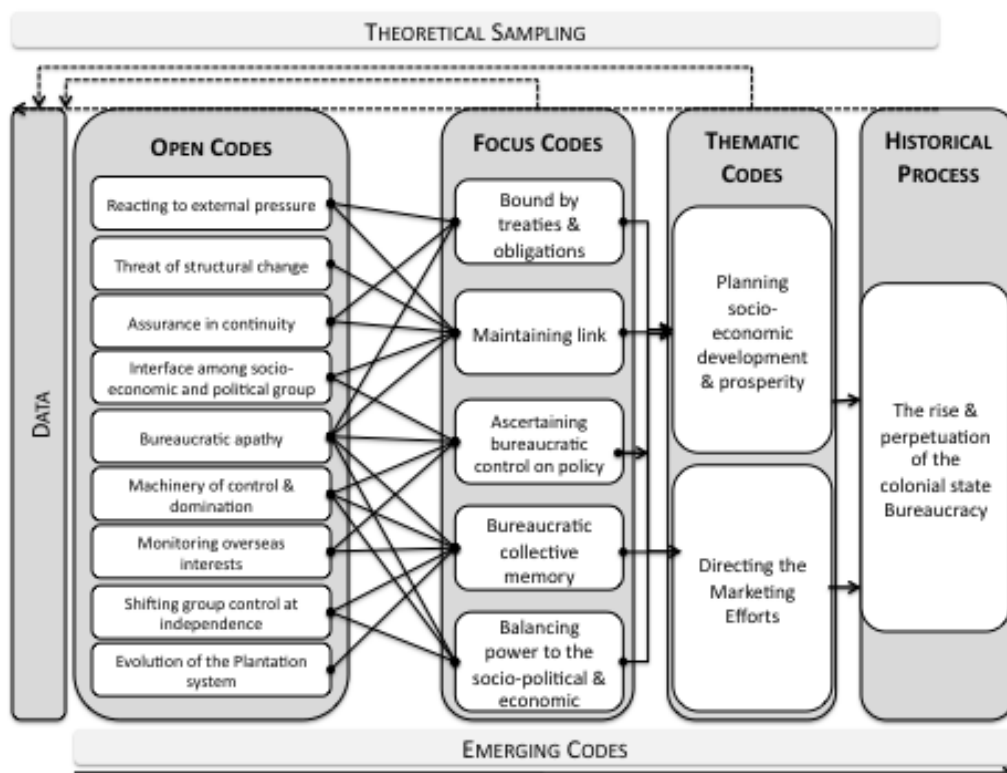
Figure 5.4: The rise & perpetuation of the colonial state bureaucracy

The colonial administration had to ensure that newly independent governments throughout the British Empire possessed the requisite skills to competently run and ensure the continuity of the existing artefacts of a legislature, judiciary and bureaucracy so as to preserve the nation state (Figure 5.4). However, external linkages were preserved as well (Houbert, 1981), and in most cases this was accomplished to the detriment of nation building. The latter indeed proved to be exceptionally difficult in former island colonies where an indigenous population did not exist, such as in Mauritius. The nation state thus became an instrument of power domination and control for the maintenance of the status quo. In other words, there was continuity in the structures of colonial times, and the economic structure became a stark reflection of that past. The tutelage of local functionaries by the colonial administration served to maintain the "bureaucratic" memory of the civil service. While political freedom in the aftermath of decolonisation meant that new leaders had to deal with poverty and a social system

dominated by colonial oligarchies, which would prove over the years to be inalterable, it also meant that the government machinery had to continue functioning. With an irretrievably open economy, the first leaders of an independent Mauritius had to ensure that all of the new nation's international obligations as a free and autonomous entity were met. These were the legacies of the colonial powers.

The bureaucratic structure put in place in Mauritius during colonisation acted as a synergistic and coalescent agent between the state and social actors. It not only became the operational and procedural memory of colonial rule in the post-colonial era, but also an interface between the state and local social actors and between the state and the world. They were also the economic tool and the interface with the outside world. Such synergy, reinforced by the needs of a political structure based on multi-party democracy, has merely contributed to the maintenance of the status quo whereby the white plantocracy continues to benefit from their historical financial capital.

However, the government model that ensued in Mauritius after decolonisation based on a gradual and smooth transition through colonial reforms brought no fundamental changes to its core socio-economic foundational structures. Responsible self-governance in Mauritius progressed to independence with the assistance of the British colonial administration; that period of transition, not necessarily without obstacles, was geared first and foremost towards control. The apathy of Mauritian officials with regard to tourism in the First Plan of 1971-1975 could be interpreted as a result of their understandable focus on political stability in the early days of an independent Mauritius. The private sector was solidly anchored in the Franco-Mauritian community, while the Indo-Mauritians, who had begun their ascent in the 1930s when they prioritised education, began to assume white-collar positions in the civil service. These jobs had previously been occupied by British expatriates and middle class Creoles but had been freed as a result of colonial withdrawal and the emigration of a large number of Creoles to Australia and Canada just before and after

independence. As the Hindus assumed high level positions and control of the government apparatus, they became too concerned with getting an economy burdened by high unemployment on track to worry about the sugar oligarchy. Because the national economy was inextricably linked with sugar, both the Franco-Mauritians and the government bureaucracy shared the same goal of robust sugar exports (Bowman, 1991; p. 69).

This convergence of interests between the government and the private sector provided the impetus for a call by Dr. Ramgoolam for a closer partnership between the two sectors, thereby altering the strategic environment in which the sugar industry operated. The government's objective was to establish a modern welfare state and promote economic growth. There was, however, an implicit recognition of the disproportionate dependence of the island economy on sugar, which was its primary export. To Lange (2003), state-society synergy in Mauritius was the winning formula to create broad-based development. This public-private partnership proved a formidable power when the leftist MMM/PSM coalition, which had won the 1982 elections, shifted toward a centrist political position, essentially continuing the economic adjustment policies that the IMF had imposed on the country in the 1970s. That machinery, which was set into action in the 1980s with the support of then Prime Minister Sir Aneerood Jugnauth, worked in harmony with the organisational skills and business acumen of the private sector. The state bureaucracy, together with the sugar industry, became the engine of economic growth. It had its own agenda of economic prosperity and social progress through a programme of industrialisation and investment in tourism after negotiating a secure market under the Yaoundé Convention for manufacturing firms in the EPZ. It provided a boost to the tourism industry with policies to increase air connectivity by expanding the services of the national airline Air Mauritius in traditional European routes, as well as new links with Asian and African cities. Indeed, gone were the days when the MMM would decry tourism as an industry "…where we were being servile to them in remote resort enclaves" (Bérenger, 2008; appendix); instead, there was "…a latent

consensus that tourism would be in the interest of the whole country"
(Bérenger, 2008; appendix).

5.4.2 Diversifying Source Markets: Relying on Traditional Tourist Generating Markets

The concept of "People Tourism" coined by the former Mauritian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism, Sir Gäetan Duval (Duval, 2008) did just that: it placed Mauritius on the tourism map of the French jet set society and imbued the island with the cachet of an expensive tourist resort. The emphasis was on the promotion of Mauritius as a luxury resort destination for high-end tourists from Western Europe, particularly France and England, and this has remained the backbone of the island's tourism policy to the present. There is evidence that the concept of pursuing a deliberate programme of selective and targeted tourism development was not initiated in the 1980s under the impulse of Prime Minister Sir A. Jugnauth, as is widely believed. The seeds for the policies he eventually implemented were sown during colonial times. It was a decision taken by the colonial administration, namely W.G. Wilson, which over the course of time affected the nature and direction of the island's tourism development programme. While for some (Mootoosamy, 2008) this was "institutional colonial memory" at work, it was obviously typical of historical inertia. After its independence, Mauritius was convinced it had made the right decisions and implemented the right measures at the right time in terms of its tourism development policies. Ultimately, the country has exhibited a successful and often admired slate of achievements in the tourism domain. Nonetheless, evidence from the past, as well as the island's present actions and policies, are consistent with historical inertia. Possible explanations lie in a resilient memory of the bureaucratic institutions inherited from the colonial past, or perhaps the thinking and behaviour of post-independent decision makers were in fact moulded by historical colonial forces.

As mentioned earlier, senior civil servants trained during the late colonial period replaced the British technicians in the post-colonial period, and ultimately became the guardians of a bureaucratic state that had been built over two centuries of French and British colonial rule (Lange, 2003). Two of these former civil servants, Sir Harry Tirvengadum and Sir B. Bacha, were until the late 1990s high profile administrators and board members in various tourism-related sectors. It is impossible to speculate as to how the island's tourism landscape might look today had the colonial administration then emulated the Caribbean model of tourism development.

However, what happened or was decided at that time is still topical today. There has always been some tension between forces of historical inertia and "mankind's unique power to produce change" (Roberts, 2002; p. xi). Recent requests to the government by the hotel sector in Mauritius to adopt an open sky policy exemplify that tension and a questioning of such inertia. Similarly, several attempts to diversify tourist source markets away from Western Europe have resulted in more focused and deeper penetration of the traditional markets. These markets have proven more resilient over the years in the face of international terrorism, flu scares and natural calamities (Le Mauricien, 2009) because they

> "…*are the traditional ones with France and Europe leading the pack. The country [Mauritius] is reinforcing its penetrating marketing policies: there are constant efforts to rejuvenate our image to bring in new concepts that will continue to appeal to our traditional markets. We are very lucky to have a sort of common past, a memory that links us to France and England. It will continue to be like that and we certainly do not let down our guards in these markets.*" Bérenger (2008).

To Bérenger, the former Prime Minister of Mauritius and now leader of the Opposition in Parliament, the "colonial history is an extraordinary phenomenon." The unique experience of Mauritius as having been both French and British seems to be a blessing for the island's tourism, as these

historical connections provide expanded possibilities for tourism growth. Thus, in terms of air links, recent timid attempts to liberalise air access have benefitted even more European carriers, with services by Corsairfly, Eurofly, Tui, Nordicfly and Virgin (Duval, 2008).

There were indeed some questions about generating markets over the years. To the colonial administrators in 1958, the main tourist supply was to come from the U.S., South Africa and Australia, but inexplicably not from Europe: *"…Because of our distance from the main reservoirs of tourists – the U.S.A., South Africa and Australia – we should hope to get most of our customers by air."* [75]

One explanation for the omission of the UK or France as possible tourist source markets could be the fact that the U.S., although much further from the island than Europe, was the most powerful economy, while Europe was still in the final stages of recovery from World War II. Furthermore, Britain still suffered from an "austerity" mentality after nearly going bankrupt after the war. Ironically, France was already supplying tourists to the island by that time.

In practice in Mauritius, however, the private sector, through bodies like AHRIM (Association des hoteliers de l'Ile Maurice) would, in the words of Béranger (2008) *"... do most of the marketing. […] the private sector under white control has dominated that industry, as they were the first to develop it. In any case they were the only ones to have the means. These big groups… they have loads of money. It is therefore logical that they spend in the marketing of the island… It is good that it is like that. It must be like that. And they are good at that."*

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[75] W.G. Wilson, from the Financial Secretary's Office, Mauritius to J.H. Robertson, Colonial Office (September 2, 1958).

5.4.3   Political Structure: Foreign Policy

The foreign policy positions of many now independent tropical islands are driven by a combination of factors, including their "…physical and geographic constraints, historical experiences, economic realities, and ongoing policy goals" (Bowman, 1988; p. 141). In other words, as demonstrated in Stone & Wellisz (1993), the polity and economy of former island colonies are inextricably linked through a game of power that is epitomised within their political structure. This is itself a manifestation of the colonial plantation economy. There are various examples of occasions, events and decisions revealing that these islands' colonial past and history of dependence has exerted a continuing influence on their national and foreign policies.

Writing on Jamaican and Caribbean politics of the early 1980s, Manley (1982; p. 25) claims that "to understand today's politics one must always begin with yesterday's economics," because these islands exhibit the "most perfect examples…of the effect of colonial economics." Tourism, which is a major pillar of current island economies, is therefore destined not only to exhibit features of the colonial economy but also to evolve within the political structure inherited from colonial times. This is further reinforced and promoted through foreign policy links maintained between former colonies and their colonisers, thereby ensuring smooth and continuous travel flows from the metropolitan countries to the former colonies.

The maintenance and reinforcement of links between former colonisers and colonies through foreign policies favouring former colonisers could possibly explain the flow patterns observed in Mauritius, which became independent after years of preparation by the British colonial administration (Rueschemeyer, Huber-Stephens & Stephens, 1992; Meisenhelder, 1997). In other words, if tourist flow patterns in terms of visitors' nationalities are indeed a reliable indicator of the host country's foreign policies, then in the case of Mauritius, the overwhelming numbers

251

of French and British long-haul tourists would reflect the continuation of an international policy that keeps the island locked in commercial and economic tourism dependence on its former colonisers. This section puts forth two levels of explanation: the ideological basis and origin of the political structure of island nations [implemented in the late colonial period to reflect democratic and plural characteristics] and the persistence of a resolutely metropolitan-oriented conduct of foreign policy [rooted in colonial origin and thus sanctioning continuing unequal relations in favour of former colonisers and reinforcing the island's dependency]. These characteristics are thus merely subordinated to an already historically advantaged and influential metropolitan diplomacy.

Britton (1982) accurately criticised the uneven tourism flow from developed countries to Third World countries for creating economic dependence. According to Matthews (1978b; p. 79; in Hall, 1994), the focus of metropolitan diplomacy in host countries, which is to advance the interests and welfare of their own corporate tourism enterprises, exemplifies the direct influence of the former coloniser. In the pre-withdrawal and early post-colonial era, foreign policies of metropolitan powers endeavoured to ensure continuing influence through economic and political supremacy over their former colonies.[76] There was a sense of urgency for colonial powers to maintain and strengthen their vigilance, as at that time there was an increasing threat from the appeal of the Soviet bloc's social-democratic ideals to newly liberated states.[77] The power of interference and persuasion exercised by intermingling foreign policies and private interests with the colonial experience, which was still fresh in the islands' collective memory, also helps to explain the suspicion and fear generated by corporate tourism.[78]

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[76]FCO 31/876 Mauritius: Annual Review for 1970; FCO 31/897- British Aid to Mauritius: Application and Effectiveness 01 Jan 1971.

[77] FCO 31/1917 Defence Agreement between Mauritius and UK JEM10/548/2 30 Dec 1974

[7878] FCO 31/890 Development of Tourism in Mauritius 01 Jan 1971- Financing and Implementation of Dinarobin and Inns in Mauritius JEM 5/3; In The INVESTCO incident: British administrators thwarted the project of a West German Group interested in an Integrated Tourism Project that would have also included a national charter airline for the island. The British were in favour of Dinarobin Inns, a project by a group of Franco Mauritians with Rogers & Co.

5.4.3.1 Foreign Policy: Implications for Tourism

At first glance, there are two relevant levels of international relations policy implicated in the tourism industry. At a national-historical level, the foreign policy to be adopted had been skewed towards the colonial powers, particularly since the late colonial period. At an international-historical level, common political and ideological positions on issues of common interest were at the basis of foreign policy positions in bilateral relations and international forums.[79] Consequently, as a foundational backbone to foreign policy, the national political structure itself has evolved alongside colonially rooted economic patterns. It was typical of British colonialism to export a bit of the home political model (Manley, 1987), which partly explains the varying degrees to which representative governments exist today in former British colonies, as adopting the "Westminster" model of parliamentary democracy was a prerequisite for the grant of self-governance (Goldthorpe, 1996).

To Urry (1990; p. 48), the implication of the internationalisation of tourism over time goes beyond dependence to engage countries in inter-dependent relations. Subsequently, an understanding of the tourist patterns in a particular society becomes dependent on and requires a deep analysis of development in other countries. Mauritius is at least 25-30 percent more distant from world markets than the average country on the African continent (Subramanien, 2001), which tends to explain the island's relatively late emergence into the international tourism market. The passage of time and a better awareness of the tourism experiences of other former colonial islands are possible explanations for why Paul Bérenger, leader of "…the MMM [Mouvement Militant Mauricien], then a radical, revolutionary leftist party with a prejudiced anti-tourism slant…quickly abandoned [its] attitude of criticism against tourism…in the 1970s" (Bérenger, 2008) and "…accepted a vision that tourism needed to be part of the country's development." There was also a constant awareness that the

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[79] FCO 20/87 Mauritius and EEC 1967-1968 EC 5/241/1; FCO 31/1228 Political Relations between Mauritius and France 01 Jan 1972 JEM 3/324/1

island was particularly vulnerable to exogenous shocks, the vicissitudes of world trade markets and international politics.

International and political dealings related to the establishment of Club Med in the Indian Ocean, which date back as far as the late 1950s, clearly illustrate the interrelatedness of national and foreign political issues involved in the creation of new destinations through tourism development. French interest in tourism in the Indian Ocean made its appearance in political rhetoric only in the early 1960s after a parliamentary mission in 1954 to Réunion Island, the French département situated only 150 kilometres away from her "sister island" Mauritius. The possibility of tourism development in Réunion Island provoked intense debate. The government was criticised for paying scant attention to the island's existing tourism development plan, which according to Marcel Cerneau, Deputy of Réunion, should be viewed and exploited within the "…geographical position of the département and which include, of course, Africa."[xxi] To others like Frederic de Villeneuve, although the government had made some efforts in promoting tourism in Réunion, the geographical remoteness of the island made it difficult to attract foreign visitors. It was not until 1966 that the interest of the private sector Club Med in Réunion was acknowledged by the Ministry of Economy and Finance,[xxii] and the project was reinvigorated a year later. By then, however, the entire concept had changed, with the possibility of a joint installation of the Club in Réunion, Mauritius and Juan de Nova, Madagascar. The Club Med saga in the Indian Ocean highlights the subtle dichotomous relationship between the public and private sectors in the international arena and the vital roles of individual personalities and the local government in securing assistance from the metropolis through politicking.

The installation of Club Mediterannée in Mauritius was fully supported by the Mauritian Deputy and Minister Gäetan Duval, a dear

friend of the French people and a personal one to Michel Debré.[80] Therefore, when the Préfet of Réunion informed him of a delay in the Club Med projects, Michel Debré personally contacted Mr. Trigano, the managing director of Club Med, and insisted that the projects be given priority and come to fruition as soon as possible. It was an interesting tug-of-war between the business goals of Club Med and the [international] political agenda of the French government in that part of the world. While increasing costs due to "high prices in Réunion and incompetence in Mauritius were causes for budget strains that dragged Club Med's projects in the Indian Ocean into major financial difficulties and in limbo,"[xxiii] the French government continued to insist that Club Med expedite the project. When Mr. Trigano and Mr. J. de Villmorin, an assistant managing director of Club Med, did not show up at the airport in Mauritius on May 27, 1970 for discussions with Mauritian officials about the installation of the Club, a diplomatic incident almost occurred.[xxiv] The French government, however, had both the interests of its businesses and those of maintaining an influence in Mauritius at heart. The British had physically withdrawn from the island and France sought to reassert its influence on an island to which it was historically, culturally and linguistically close.

Michel Debré, who was well aware of the geopolitical interest of such a project, requested that the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Maurice Schumann, convince then French Minister of Economy and Finance, Mr. Valery Giscard d'Estaing,[xxv] to finance the project. This was the major condition that Club Med required before engaging in operations in Réunion: it wanted an agreement that the French Government would help finance the additional costs of the project in Mauritius. To Trigano, the difficulties faced by Club Med's projects in the Indian Ocean could not be singled out, as the three projects of Réunion, Mauritius and Juan de Nova were irretrievably linked such that the decision to begin work on one project was conditioned by a solution to the problems affecting the other two. Mr. Schumann's request to Mr. Giscard d'Estaing for financial assistance to

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[80] FCO 31/890, Development of Tourism in Mauritius, January 1, 1971; FCO 31/887, Political relations between Mauritius and France, January 1, 1971.

Club Med was presented as a possibility for France to embark on a new economic cooperation between Réunion and Mauritius and to help this newly independent state in its desire to "extricate" itself from the overwhelmingly exclusive influence of Britain and increasing interest from the USSR.[xxvi] A solution to the financial problem was finally developed in 1972 through a series of intricate and difficult negotiations concerning a food aid programme involving wheat for Mauritius.[xxvii]

The island's goal of co-operation with France in the hotel and tourism sector, expressed through its foreign policy, should be interpreted from various angles. According to Bérenger (2008), the Club Med project in Mauritius did not meet with unanimity. Another majority Minister, Sir Harold Walter, an Anglophile of English descent, in particular eyed Gäetan Duval's close ties with the French and with Debré with suspicion. Bérenger believed that the two deputies "[...] hated each other;" it was a rivalry that went beyond the mere national boundary. Each represented [at least part] of each of the two major colonisers of the island. It was a newly founded colonial alignment in the post-colonial context of sovereignty and independence clashing with centuries-old colonial rivalries and suspicion thrown into the realm of tourism development decisions.

The waters of the Indian Ocean were subject to intense international scrutiny during the early post-colonial period. In Madagascar, after the riots of 1972 and the ensuing establishment of relations with the Communist bloc, the island became The Democratic Republic of Malagasy in 1975 under Ratsiraka, who was a staunch ally of the Soviet Union. The latter also courted Mauritius as the island stuttered into nationhood and needed "…hard cash in any large quantity…that the Soviet Government would be willing to put away into this development."[xxviii] The British, who were no longer the masters of Mauritius in 1970, were closely monitoring the moves of the French and of the Soviets towards granting economic and other forms of aid to their former colony.[xxix] The report of the French mission on the feasibility of a second airport in the north of the island garnered significant attention. The British were eager to find out which [country] "aid donors"

would be approached. There was also frenzy amongst the different diplomatic missions on the island to get an early start by pushing forward their country's businesses in the event that any contracts would be signed. In his report to London, a British diplomat remarked pragmatically "…contractors' prospects, however, are often influenced by who is appointed to do the consultancy."[xxx] Therefore, it was no surprise that immediately after independence British consultants were present on the island. The diplomat cautioned, however, about the need to "…be prudent to encourage other British consultants to consider making an approach to the Government on this project…"

The British presence was not the only persistent factor in economic development in the early days of independence. According to the British themselves, the new Mauritian administration exhibited a certain degree of "slowness in coming to terms with the realities of independence and the changed aid relationship which should have followed" (ODA, 1974). Certainly this would have affected the government's foreign policy approach, its requests for development assistance and the consequent ramifications in the tourism sector. Once again, the personalities of the political leaders can help to explain this continuing "infatuation" of the local authorities for their former colonisers. To Bowman (1988), there was a strong affection of Mauritian leaders, nearly all of whom had been educated in Britain, for British institutions and culture. "I myself studied in England. I have always had special feelings for England… Each time there is an opportunity for me to go there…I would do so," said Sir Aneerood Jugnauth, former Prime Minister and now President of Mauritius, during a personal interview (2008). Referring to aid relations, the steering report from the East Africa Division of the ODA did not fail to inform London that "… [Relations] have been amicable both officially and in personal contacts. Indeed Sir Seewoosagur made pleasant noises about UK aid at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting last August." It is perhaps this "emotional inertia" and deference that could explain why the excision of the Chagos Archipelago and Diego Garcia from the Mauritian territory in 1965 during talks on independence was accomplished without controversy or

national resistance and indignation on the part of political parties and the population.[81] By the 1980s and continuing until the present day, however, this subject is a major source of contention in Anglo-American and Mauritius relations.

These powerful links and "…natural bond [attâchement naturel]" (Jugnauth, 2008) also became a major channel of influence by the colonial powers in the post-colonial era. Britain capitalised on its special ties to Mauritius to emphasise the need for the local administration to shift its capital aid requests from the customary social projects to economic ones. The British wanted the island to come forward with an overall strategic development plan, without which the Mauritian government had been operating up to that time. Undeniably, the learning process of the independent administration, despite several years of preparation, was characterised by an underlying hope that the former colonisers would always be there to help the country to its feet. The insistence of the British on linking aid to the creation of strategic development plans like the one between 1971 and 1975 revealed several key points:

- The British had continuing influence on and importance for their former colony;

- The British were in a unique position to request changes and impose their own, such as "…sanctioning only a small number of schemes of real development value … rather than social projects" and using capital aid "to finance numerous small projects…" to "add up to a coordinated programme" (ODA, 1974);

- The British were the only significant donors to Mauritius for the first seven years of the island's independence.[xxxi] In the eighteen years between independence and 1986, the island

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[81] FCO 16/90; FCO 16/88, Mauritius prior to Independence; FCO 32/488 and FCO 32/489, Resettlement of population of Chagos Archipelago and Attitude of Mauritius, January 1, 1968 and January 1, 1969 respectively.

received British aid and funds totalling 51.6 million Rupees, primarily for capital projects but also for various technical assistance programmes, including the training of development economists and project officers and assistance in tertiary education (Le Mauricien, 1970).

Viewed in the context of the early 1970s, when there was a considerable improvement in Mauritius' economic well-being, mainly due to extra revenue from high sugar prices on the world market and record crops, the assistance of Britain to Mauritius made it the island's closest friend among the developed world (Bowman, 1988). This position was soon contested when France started courting the island aggressively to rekindle the historical and cultural ties that had gone dormant since 1810. The relationships that have developed thereafter between France and Mauritius suggest the island has become the "colonie de vacances" (holiday colony) for the French who have flocked to its resorts over the years. They have consistently been the number one source market since the early 1970s and have shown resilience to externalities, fuel hikes and natural disasters. Since 1990 France has been providing almost thirty percent of the total arrivals to the island. Britain follows as the second highest source market, with over ten percent of the total arrivals since 1999 (Ministry of Tourism, 2005). As Mootoosamy (2008) observed, "…the number of tourists France and Britain send to our island follows the same pattern of the order in which they colonised Mauritius: First France and second Britain."

The longstanding historical and cultural ties with France gave the island an unusual range of options in negotiating with developed countries and international organisations where France had a powerful say. Mauritian leaders and governments of different political backgrounds exhibited constant dexterity and success in advocating non-aligned causes in international forums while at the same time obtaining support, aid and assistance from Western countries without apparent offence to either group. Similarly, Mauritius was unfaltering in its verbal condemnation of the apartheid regime in South Africa but at the same time was entertaining a

prolific trade, investment and tourism relationship with the country.[82] Airline services agreements existed between the two countries, and South African Airways has provided air services to Mauritius (though negotiated before the island was independent) since the early days of modern civil aviation. Furthermore, as Mauritius was one of the rare countries where white South African tourists could go on holiday without any political boycott or administrative hassle, it was no wonder the island exhibits high numbers of medium-haul arrivals from South Africa up to the present.

Bowman (1991; p. 142) attributed "the international credibility of Mauritius to its functioning democratic system, strong human rights record and unusual success in blending together peacefully such a diverse population." In other words, viewed within the tourism context, it can be extrapolated that a country is most likely to attract international tourists when its political system is perceived to be close to the Western democratic political ideals of governance. As part of his explanation for why Mauritius stands out as a continuously democratic country with economic growth in a region where socio-political instability and poverty seemed to be the norm, Miles (1999, pp. 91-104) identified the unique institutional structure and leadership[xxxii] that has been based since independence on a continuous history of governing alliances that have minimised potential divisions across ethnic, religious, linguistic and ideological lines. A good illustration of this is the willingness of the MMM of Paul Beranger to abide by democratic rules despite having built a popular electorate base on leftist political agenda. Inevitably, the personality of national leaders before and after independence cannot be ignored. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and Sir Gäetan Duval, the two most prominent and influential and opposing political figures at the time of independence, subtly exploited communal differences to ultimately be viewed as admirable trans-communal leaders for the sake of national unity.

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[82] FCO 32/276, Mauritius seeking representation at the UN, January 1, 1967; FCO 31/888, Review of Political Relations between Mauritius and South Africa, January 1, 1971.

Such "national unity in diversity" has been a recurrent slogan for the annual celebration of the island's independence since 1968. It also reveals Mauritians' ability to promote nationalism without sacrificing ethnic specificity. This theme has consistently been adopted by different governing parties, irrespective of ideology, through negotiations around a common notion of "Mauritianness" that transcends community differences and facilitated to a large extent by the common Kreol language shared by all of these communities. This vibrant and civil image of Mauritius has radiated beyond its insular boundaries to be recognised worldwide by members of the global community as an example of a genuine commitment on the part of a multi-ethnic country to democratic socio-political principles that are grounded not in idealism but rather in pragmatic inter-ethnic entente. Though the latter is rooted in the island's colonial past, it has never been the result of colonial administrations' purposeful decisions. This constitutes one of the rare occasions where pragmatic and visionary leaderships have helped to mitigate the lock-in effect of that colonial past.

One expression of this "liberating lesson" has been politicians' belief in tourism prospects, which often collided with the advice of professional international consultants, who did not believe in the viability of tourism as a development tool.[xxxiii] By then, Sir Gäetan Duval, Minister of External Affairs, had already shown a keen interest in attracting French tourism,[xxxiv] such as Club Med, through his personal high-level contacts with stars and politicians. An image of peaceful multi-ethnic cohabitation has been constantly portrayed in the island's tourism promotions, especially in Europe. It has given the island its cachet of being a safe and politically stable destination, which is a fundamental prerequisite for a successful tourism industry (Hall, 1994).

It is thus clear that foreign policies and national politics are closely intertwined (Bowman, 1991; Hall, 1994). In most cases, the direction of the foreign policies of former colonies in their new independent status reflected what they inherited from the coloniser(s) in terms of obligations and responsibilities through valid international instruments, as stipulated in

documents of obligations and responsibilities signed by the British government and its former colonies on independence.

5.5   The Fall of Sugar: Evolution of the Dependent Plantation Economy

A striking feature common in virtually all of the tourism-related documents on economic development from the 1940s to the late 1950s is that tourism was never treated as an entity of its own. Tourism was a mere passing consideration in economic reports, plans, and official and unofficial correspondence.[83] In Mauritius, the surge in population after the war was a pressing issue that required the attention of British experts (to the detriment of tourism development) and which resulted in reports like Meade's "The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius" in 1961 and Titmus' "Social Policies and Population Growth in Mauritius" report as a Parliamentary session paper in 1960. The population explosion was a dire reality for other sugar plantation islands including Jamaica, Martinique, Trinidad and Réunion (Alladin, 1986). It became the priority of governments both before and after independence to provide work for that increasing population in order to avoid social discontent and rioting, another reality that many other plantation island economies shared. Sugar still dominated the economic activity in Mauritius in the early 1970s, with increased production and modern cultivation methods (Dinan, 1979). The industry faced serious problems, however, despite the fact that Mauritian sugar benefited from a guaranteed stable price under the European Economic Convention and the Lomé Convention. However, the island had to meet an assigned quota, which was often affected by adverse weather conditions.[84] Diminishing returns on cultivated land areas added to the industry's problems. Mauritius was facing what Jamaica had faced three decades earlier (Findlay & Wellisz, 1993).

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[83] CO 1036/534, Tourism Mauritius, 1950; CO 167/952/1, Mauritius Development and Welfare Fund (Loans) Ordinance, 1950.
[84] FCO 31/1239, Natural disasters in Mauritius: Cyclone Fabienne, January 1, 1972.

Typical of resource-based plantation economies, Mauritius could achieve growth either by cultivating more land or by applying newer technologies in both the fields and factories. The first option was impossible. Mechanisation of the industry meant the plantation system no longer required a large number of unskilled workers, which together with a growing population compounded the unemployment problems.[85] The implementation of manufacturing industries in the Export Processing Zone that attracted foreign investment flows from France, the UK, West Germany, India and Hong Kong helped to alleviate the unemployment problem,[86] and by the early 1980s Mauritius was among the largest exporters of woollen knitwear (Latham-Koenig, 1984; p. 171), with France and the UK being the major importers of its products.

The other development option for the creation of employment was additional investment in the tourism sector. Sir Aneerood Jugnauth, the Prime Minister of Mauritius in 1982, spearheaded that idea:

"It was not possible for our country to rely only on one economic sector, sugar. It was too dangerous. We were at the mercy of the world market. Our population needed work; basic needs and we were constantly besieged by tropical cyclones. We were flattened all the time and our cane fields were erased. It was misery for us." Jugnauth (2008).

He facilitated policies to increase air links by the national flag carrier Air Mauritius and allowed "…the company [Air Mauritius] …to get new leases …it is under my leadership that Air Mauritius grew and tourism really developed" (Jugnauth, 2008). The President was aware of the vulnerable and dependent nature of tourism, but it was a promising means of diversifying the country's economic portfolio and creating jobs for the population. Mauritius has the geographic disadvantage of insularity. The

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[85] FCO31/1909, Mauritius Annual Review for 1974: Economic Situation, January 24, 1975; FCO 031/1729, Mauritius Annual Review for 1973, January 1, 1974.
[86] FCO31/891, Development strategy for Mauritius, 1971-1980.

island is naturally vulnerable and by default dependent on exogenous factors for growth and development.

Development in tourism, however, did not release the island from its dependency on its former colonisers. The success of the new impetus to the tourism industry needed the competence of the local private sector, which the now President of Mauritius, Sir Aneerood Jugnauth (2008) felt could be tapped with his government in power. And as "…the private sector [is] being dominated by the Franco Mauritians who invested heavily in the hotel industry…Most naturally France and Britain became our major markets" (Jugnauth, 2008). These are all indications of a "dependent tourist sector" with a significant cultural and colonial bias.

5.5.1 Economic Internationalisation and Dependence
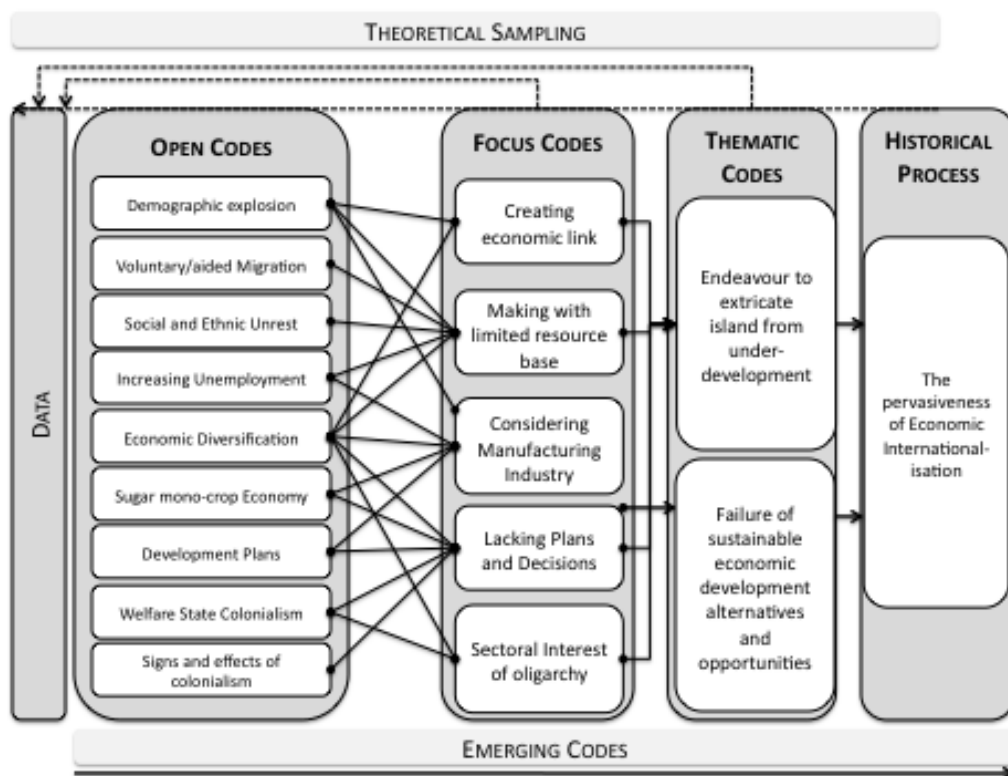
Figure 5.5: Economic Internationalisation

At independence, Mauritius was faced not only with the dire reality that 99% of its exports were generated by the sugar industry but also with a

major financial crisis and a severe problem of unemployment.[87] And yet, to its new rulers, the main preoccupation was the fate of the country's sugar exports with the prospect of Britain joining the EEC. Mauritius would "…continue to grow as much sugar as possible. Sugar is our lifeblood..."[88] said the Prime Minister Ramgoolam in the Legislative Assembly the previous year, and it would be the death of the industry with the probable end of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement (CSA) if Britain joined the EEC. Mauritius had in fact already approached France the previous year for some reassurance with regard to the EEC. Dr. Ramgoolam hoped that by officially stating during legislative debates on sugar Mauritian agreement with the view of General de Gaulle, "France should have a responsibility towards all the French-speaking countries of French culture."[89]

Dr. Ramgoolam was in fact creating a lifeline for Mauritian sugar. The result was quick and fruitful for the island, with significant cultural assistance and aid. This in turn paved the way for the government's shift in its economic strategy of import substitution to embrace export-oriented industrial development through the establishment of the EPZ. However, this is not so novel for an island with a history of a plantation economy, a long tradition of international trade, and whose coat of arms symbolises the importance of external relationship in local society (Masson, 1945). Once this shift had been accomplished, the next logical step for the island was into tourism arena.

For several decades, tourism has assumed increasing significance as an instrument of economic development, especially for tropical islands across the globe. As the second largest item of world trade in the early 1980s (Richter, 1983), tourism has since been touted as the largest and fastest growing industry in the world (World Bank, 2009). Tourism is particularly critical to tropical countries with limited resources, as it fosters development through the economic growth that inevitably

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[87] FCO 32/306, Financial aid and estimates for Mauritius, January 1, 1968.
[88] Legislative Assembly Debates, June 13, 1967, p. 791.
[89] Legislative Assembly Debates, June 13, 1967, p. 791.

accompanies it. This is the view of the modernisation paradigm, as tourism becomes a development strategy (Britton, 1982) and a tool for the promotion of a modern [Western] way of life (Harrison, 1992). Development in that sense signifies not only an improvement in the two core economic indicators of Gross National Product (GNP) and standard of living, but also attainment of the economic goals of "...increasing foreign exchange earnings, reduction of balance of payments deficits, the establishment of positive and mutually supportive linkages with other sectors of the economy, reducing the reliance on imports while at the same time preserving traditional values and cultures" (Dwyer, 1986; pp. 1-2).

While Dwyer's statement of fact is now taken for granted, it does not truly reflect the decades of tribulations, trial and error, administrative mishaps, political strife, and social misfortunes suffered by newly independent states after World War II in promoting their economic development and more importantly the structural changes involved. Despite the political freedom acquired through independence, however, many of these so-called "Third World" countries have remained locked into a colonial system of trade, payments and resource transfers. The colonial trade system is a tangible consequence of two centuries of European Imperialism that started, in the case of Britain, with their victory at Plassey. Braudel (1967, 1973) refers to this major historical event as a clash of civilisations with the consequent establishment and maintenance of formal political and economic control over peripheral countries. Primary goods from these countries were exchanged for manufactured products from the centre. Such a process forced many island colonies around the world to adopt a mono-crop plantation system. The resulting colonial pattern of production, trade, investment and migration has had profound implications [of dependency] for the economic development potential of the periphery and a lasting effect on global economic divisions.

"The thing we needed, when I got to lead the government, was to discover new channels through which we could create employment to bring

266

prosperity to the country. That was the goal. This is how we went into tourism…" (Jugnauth, 2008).

To the Mauritian government in1982, tourism was the panacea. According to Sir Aneerood Jugnauth, the decision to seriously consider tourism within a development strategy was deliberate and it turned out to be a boost to the economic morale of Franco-Mauritians with strong ties to France who felt "secure" under his government and were thus willing to invest their resources in the tourism sector. Although there was illusion of control by the Mauritian government, its leaders eventually had to acknowledge that the country's well being depended on how well it was positioned within an internationalised tourist market and the loyalty of an elite class still strongly attached to [colonial] France. It was therefore this "attâchement naturel" within Mauritian society that explains the conscious decision to lock the industry with historical link. There were indeed alternatives, but the French connection was "natural" and certainly made more economic sense. The country's focus on France was an implicit recognition of an inexorable and perennial dependency that was initiated with the onset of French colonisation of the island in the 17th century. This dependency expresses itself through a double lock-in effect whereby the majority of the local population is dependent on a small elite class that still enjoys socio-economic (though no longer political) advantages as a result of having established themselves first, and a tourism sector that depends on the familiarity of past colonial links to ensure its growth.

Through its subjugation by colonialism, Mauritius was thrown into a process of economic internationalisation, a major economic trade component of which was human slave labour, and the plantation economy was an expression of its economic thraldom. When Mauritius, under the British, embarked on a West Indian type of plantation economy based on the mono crop production of sugar (Alladin, 1986), it became integrated within a system of international trade though imperial markets. Its eventual status as the leading single sugar cane producer in the British Empire (Brookfield, 1959; p. 24) and the fact that its production and the state of its

economy were reliant on the demand for sugar in metropolitan markets further highlighted its dependence and vulnerability.

Tourism is one area in which characteristics of the plantation system (reminiscent of colonialism) are present, with its perpetuation of unequal relationships and extreme vulnerabilities to external linkages. Although [mass] tourism is a fairly recent historical phenomenon in the wake of changes and events during the post-World War II period, tourism and its development have accentuated and expanded the internationalisation process through more intense and rapid movement of capital, international trade and people. To Blérald (1986), tourism transformed [the French West Indies] into a leisure playground for industrialised countries and revealed the dynamic capacity of capitalism to re-invent itself and re-organise its space of domination and reproduction. There are indications that it began with the hesitant steps of colonial administrators who, faced with the impending and inexorable process of decolonisation, had to ensure that the soon-to-be independent territories could sustain themselves economically.

5.6   Influence of Personality
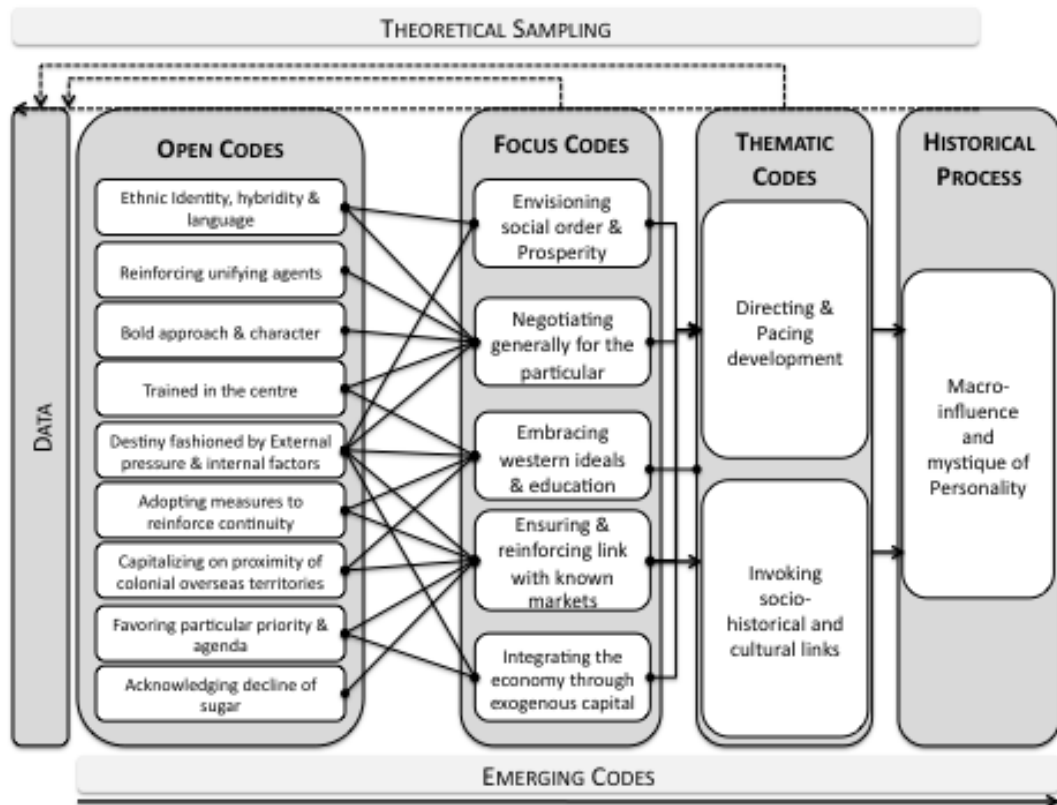
Figure 5.6: Influence of personality

The role of personality on the particular direction of development cannot be ignored. While the first post-colonial independent government of Mauritius could be accused of the same complacency with regard to the planning of tourism development as its British counterparts, the private sector's business acumen and eagerness to diversify investments under the Joint Economic Committee is evident in the "canvas for discussion" (Joint Economic Committee, 1971) that was proposed to the government of Mauritius. The Committee called for a clear and immediate articulation of the government's general precepts of its tourism policy for the following ten years (Joint Economic Committee, 1971; p. 26). To many political observers, the government left it (laissa le soin) to the private sector to take the initiative in tourism development (Duval, 2008; p. 19). To foreign observers, the government "had too much on her plate internally" and was playing electoral politics to "save their skins…" (British High Commission, 1972; p. 1).

269

The first post-colonial government of Mauritius did little to commission tourism development reports based on a lack of financial resources. It would take a bold and politically controversial initiative by a dynamic personality like Gaëtan Duval,[xxxv] then Minister of Foreign Affairs, who singlehandedly commissioned a tourism study for Mauritius by French experts, with French finances, to incite an "official" reaction from the majority members of the coalition government, as well as from the British authorities. The latter were intent on maintaining their influence in the aftermath of their departure from their island, particularly in light of the French aggressively courting Mauritius and the increasing Soviet interest in the island through technical assistance (Carter, 1970). By going solo on this venture without consulting the other sectors of the government (Carter, 1971a), Duval was engaging in an election campaign strategy on behalf of his political party based on economic diversification that would reduce the country's dependence on sugar. His strategy, which was strongly grounded in the liberal ideology of "social-democracy" (Duval, 2008; p. 18), was resolutely geared towards opening the economy to the outside world through exports, attracting foreign investors and aggressive promotion abroad. While textile production within the EPZ and tourism would be the pillars of Duval's strategy, his adulation of France and La Francophonie, combined with his tremendous diplomatic acumen, gave him access to the highest levels of French political and entertainment figures. The repercussions in the tourism sector were almost immediate: France overtook Britain as the major tourist source market in the early 1970s (see Table 4.8).

Jugnauth became a key figure in the "second wave" of tourism development on the island in the early 1980s because under his leadership "…several hotels by the private sector settle[d] in. They felt secure…the atmosphere in the country was one of construction, of work…a new dynamic. We had a new system of marketing that looked at the South Africans and Réunion for short haul tourism market and we marketed ourselves to Europe." Jugnauth (2008). He considered it natural that the island would turn toward France and Britain, the primary long-haul tourist

source markets, which both happen to have been the islands' former colonial masters.

5.7   Concluding Remarks: The Colonial Legacy

This chapter set out to identify evidence of a persistent colonial legacy in tourism as a result of the political structure derived from the creation and evolution of the plantation complex in former colonies. The very nature of the business of international tourism, which is both an extension of politics and a tributary of the foreign policies of former colonies, is constrained by the latter's colonial past and inherited obligations. Thus, both the ideological basis for foreign policy and its resolutely metropolitan focus serve to lock an already dependent tourism relationship into a reinforced dependency on the former coloniser. Similarly, the mode of power withdrawal plays a role in the maintenance of links with the former colonisers. Decolonisation in Mauritius was without animosity on the part of the British such that post-colonial links were maintained out of inertia. Subsequently, because of its origin in unequal relationships at the international level, tourism perpetuates a colonial bias as expressed in the development and generating sources of tourism.

In the analysis of the case of Mauritius, little evidence was uncovered in official documents relating to the island that could point to an interest by the colonial authorities and the role they might have played in determining the direction of tourism relationships between the periphery and the centre. There are indications, however, that the foundations to such development had already been indirectly established, initially through the political and administrative structures that resulted from Constitutions drafted by colonial authorities, and later by economic planning decisions and development policies that both affected and were in response to socio-political and economic structural changes. However, the attitude of colonial governments in the overseas territories towards tourism development was much more complex than a mere nod of approval or disapproval.

CHAPTER 6

6. MAURITIUS: HISTORICAL PROCESSES

6.1 Relating Historical Processes to Colonial Legacy

The research identified the catalysts for a lingering colonial legacy in tourism in six exceptional historical processes[90] of various types. These emerged from data based primarily on the "operationalised" area of island tourism development in the case of Mauritius. As part of the grounded theory method of analysis, high-level or conceptual codes that emerged from documents on tourism-related sectors were corroborated in literature on colonial socio-economic and political histories using historical analysis.

The processes are manifestly distinct. They help in understanding the process of tourism development in the historical contexts of colonial and post-colonial Mauritius. However, for these processes to find relevance to the research question they must operate in combination with one or more of the three substantive areas of explanation identified in the historical literature:

1. the weight of the historical past and its importance in historical inertia;

2. the lock-in effect as a ramification and consequence of the historical [colonial] past, which feeds on historical inertia; and

3. the conscious decisions affecting tourism prior to independence and the direction of subsequent tourism development in the post-colonial era.

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[90] Geographical and geophysical aspects such as distance, size, and the array of vulnerabilities associated with islands are recognised as potent causes for the maintenance of colonial ties. They are not dealt with explicitly here as by their very nature their explanations would transcend the socio-historical realm.

At that point it will be possible to examine colonial legacy in connection with tourist movements. To facilitate the following discussion, a chronological approach along a timeline that is divided essentially between pre-independence and post-colonial will be adopted. The following primary question will be addressed in this Chapter through examination of the relevant processes and events along a historical continuum:

Can a colonial legacy be attributed to these three substantive areas when applied to the processes identified above?

6.2   Establishment of an Elite: Historic Determinism

History has undeniably played a pivotal role in the socio-economic and political development of Mauritius. The interest of the white plantocracy has traditionally been bound to sugar and the group's ability to maintain control of that economic sector. After WWII, the island clearly needed to diversify from its mono crop economic base, in large part due to a declining sugar industry that increasingly struggled to ensure uninterrupted access to traditional markets. Tourism as a viable option for diversifying the investment of profits from the sugar industry in the post-colonial era thus reflects a historical determinism that had been triggered when the first French settlers developed a plantation economy in Mauritius.

The establishment of an elite suggests that the island's reliance on the colonial powers for its tourist trade, both in terms of initial capital investments and as ongoing source markets, was not straightforward. This is especially true of the tourism dependence of Mauritius on Britain, which is somewhat more nuanced and perfectly reflects the island's extremely complex colonial history. Britain has always trailed France in terms of the number of tourists visiting the island and ranks consistently as the second most prolific tourist generating source. The "hegemony" of French tourists can be explained by the strong historical and cultural links that have been maintained with France, initially established during colonial rule and carried

forward through the local "plantocracy," descendants of French settlers, as well as the island's ability to exploit the close proximity of Réunion Island, France's overseas département and a metropolitan tourist feeder destination in the region.

The British colonial administration no doubt had the best of intentions in weighing the prospective benefits of mutual aid between Mauritius and the Seychelles in 1958 in order to foster tourism development on both islands. The Mauritian economic elite had a vested interest in such a plan, as it would have provided potentially lucrative avenues for diversification of investments. However, this possibility did not come to fruition due to the steep development costs involved in the ancillary sectors required by the establishment of a tourist industry. At work was the tendency of the British to exercise extreme caution in development decisions and to embark only on activities with "very definite and realisable objectives,"[91] coupled with the Franco-Mauritian policy "d'attentisme" (waiting).

Simple economic logic, however, explains why the Franco-Mauritians were the first to test the waters of tourism investment. They were persuaded by the increasing opening of the island to international trade, a growing population that ensured the availability of a cheap and educated labour force, and indications that colonial administrators were willing to make decisions and implement policies that would serve to enhance the island's connectivity with Europe. The opening of an international airport in Mauritius in 1952 was a positive signal for established white traders and brought the promise of access to wealthy tourists from Europe.

While historical inertia would be a manifest explanation for the initial lack of enthusiasm when it came to investment in tourism, archival documents regarding early attempts to develop a tourism industry in Mauritius exhibit relentless individual political endeavours and purposeful

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[91] See section 5.2.3.2.

policy decisions designed to attract French investors to the island. These actions were communally motivated but were nonetheless deliberate. There were also conscious attempts by the white community and commercial sector to broaden their business base by venturing into the hotel industry. Inevitably, the highest level of political decision makers, both before and after independence, sought to mitigate such zeal. There were also examples of the British implementing measures to protect hotel projects initiated by the Franco-Mauritians at the expense of foreign enterprise. The INVESTCO project, which was hailed by its British and German promoters as an integrated tourism project that would help to create a national airline in Mauritius, was sabotaged by the Foreign Commonwealth Office, although it garnered the attention of then Prime Minister Dr Ramgoolam. Such situations highlight the legacies of the dual colonial powers of Britain and France at play in Mauritius, particularly in the international tourism arena.

This study also confirmed the validity of the Marxist dialectic about island economies' dependence on developed economies as a continuing process of post-colonial reality. The patterns of dependence by former colonies, which can be traced back to early colonial settlements, have remained a determining contradictory factor in the maintenance of unequal relations, including within the islands' own tourism sectors, which is a key tool for growth and development. As a consequence of such dependence, former island colonies remain vulnerable to externalities even after they have formally achieved independence.

Economic diversification is a constant struggle in Mauritius, as the foundational economic structure (the plantation system of monoculture) has faced persistent threats of failure. Furthermore, foreigners and the local Mauritian elite continue to control the capital required for economic diversification. They also enjoy ongoing advantages derived from their early establishment during colonial times, as illustrated by the white private sector in Mauritius. Furthermore, the seasonal nature of the demand for labour in the tourism sector merely perpetuates the plantation economic structure. Documents suggest that islands like Mauritius were reluctant to

embrace fully-developed tourism policies. Indubitably, the additional external factor of improved air transport technology precipitated serious consideration of tourism as a potential means of raising former island colonies out of poverty and underdevelopment. Mauritius did not embrace tourism as a "viable" sector of development until the late 1970s. Tourism afforded the economic elite not only the opportunity to maintain their historical domination but also to increase their socio-economic and political advantages.

Closely related to the process of the establishment of an elite are the accompanying aspects of socio-cultural domination of a historical nature. Early settlers, slaves and indentured labour significantly impacted the socio-cultural and ethno-cultural physiognomy of Mauritius, resulting in a socio-cultural mélange and hybridity. Hybridity underscores an explanation of the post-colonial legacy in tourism flows resulting from the constant interface of lock-in, conscious decisions and hegemony, with causes that are socio-historical in nature. As an illustration, it is the language of the early settlers in Mauritius that has proven to be a formidable tool of domination (Bérenger, 2008) over the centuries and ultimately served as a potent connecting tool between former colonisers and colonies within a new tourism relationship. The fact that French is widely spoken in Mauritius is a powerful historical legacy of the plantation economy established by early French settlers, and it was not dismantled by the British when they emerged victorious from the Napoleonic wars. To the tourism authorities in Mauritius, a common language and culture are key and obvious explanations for the popularity of the island among French tourists. The cultural proximity and familiarity appears to be a combination that makes the island relatively more attractive to the French than to the British, and strong enough to keep France consistently in the lead as a long-haul generating market for Mauritius.

6.3 Democratic Political Structures and Colonial State Bureaucracy: Familiarity of a Replicated Political System

The political structures of island colonies in the early phase of decolonisation were mere variations on models put in place by their former colonial powers. The replacement of British civil servants by mostly Indian-ethnic bureaucrats did not alter the essential character of the state apparatus. The political system, together with the well-lubricated and fully functional state bureaucratic machinery, ensured the maintenance of the status quo from colonial times. It simultaneously protected the economic interests of the local oligarchy by providing political stability, which was essential for newly independent governments to ensure revenue, peaceful survival and the promise of development in their new nations through the oligarchy's own survival instincts. Democratic ideals underlying governance were vital for these new nations to secure promises of development assistance from rich nations in their early days of independence.

In Mauritius, it was difficult for the MMM, which came into power on a populist agenda, not to succumb to the imposition of the IMF. Furthermore, the deliberate implementation of structural adjustment policies under the stewardship of the state apparatus was too powerful to oppose. Mauritius, like many other small and impoverished nations, entered into economic relationships with international bodies such as IMF and IBRD (World Bank) to achieve development, thereby reinforcing its dependence on more developed countries. By channelling development funds through private capital and investment, these institutions established frameworks that locked the newly independent economies into a global fiscal network, of which tourism is but one segment. Locally, tourism-related decisions in Mauritius were subsumed to the economic priorities of these institutions and of the economic elite, the only entity resourceful enough to pursue tourism as a source of development. The position of the state in these decisions was sometimes difficult to circumscribe, since it became inscribed in the island's socio-political traditions. This began right from the start, when the initial government of an independent Mauritius made it a policy for domestic

institutions (Subramanien, 2001) to, in theory, work in consultation and close partnership with the private sector so as "to create a culture of transparency and participatory politics" (p. 5). In turn, the survival of these institutions depended on how successful they were in luring wealthy tourists to the islands. Former colonies like Mauritius were literally doubly locked-in within a conspiracy of hegemonic relationships in which they were subordinate and [inter-]dependent, a situation created and maintained at both an internal and international level.

There is some evidence that in the early stages of independence, nearly all countries, even those graced with the bounties of natural resources, turned to these international organisations for aid and assistance, because colonial development aid was no longer available to the colonies. A struggling economy like Mauritius, which was eager to embark on the process of import-substitution manufacturing, had access to these funds. However, aid in the form of loans from the IMF had the effect of inhibiting development of the supportive institutions, which thus remained intentionally unaltered after independence. Thus, Mauritius was kept in the position of looking to the EEC for support, and specifically to France. In addition, due to its characteristics of remoteness, scarcity of resources, population surges, and lack of power and wealth, Mauritius was dependent on the exogenous capital of foreign multinationals.

Accepting tourism as a tool of economic growth involved a conscious decision to further open up the economy and voluntarily subject it to exogenous capital. Some capital investment and expertise for early hotel development in Mauritius came from foreign businesses (South African, French and British), with the result that the tourist product developed in the post-colonial era became almost exclusively oriented to serve a Western market, thereby ensuring the persistence of Western economic hegemony. Given the economic advantages derived from these policies, foreign investors obtained approval and financial support from the state, which devolved for economic and development reasons. Ironically, as evidenced in early official documents, tourism was rarely contemplated as a tool of

economic development per se before the advent of mass tourism with the jet aircraft. Indeed, development blueprints during the early years of independence mentioned tourism only in passing, including the foreign currency (and foreign people) it would bring to the economy. This reflected a bias towards the need for industrialisation, which Harrigan (1974) considered a mimicry characteristic of the macro-state emulation syndrome.

Furthermore, the economic and socio-political structures that emerged from the adjustments and changes that occurred during the late colonial period were considered the most logical and appropriate tools for long-term tourism development. They were also indicative of the crisis in the plantation system that caused the economy to evolve gradually into a tourist paradise. With macro-support structures firmly seated upon socio-political and constitutions inherited from colonial times, Mauritius clearly maintains vestiges of both its French and British colonial past. Political affinity through common democratic ideals and practices legated by the former colonisers becomes a reassuring factor to Western travellers and continues to reinforce the links between Mauritius and its former coloniser(s). The systems on both sides contain structures and characteristics that offered the right fit and conditions for a tourism sector that relied on these markets in order to constitute a viable tool for economic expansion.

6.4 Colonial Withdrawal and its Legacy in Tourism: Perpetuating Dependence

One finding of this study is the impact of the particular mode of political withdrawal during decolonisation on the subsequent maintenance of links with the former coloniser. The road to the independence of Mauritius can be traced back to before World War II. A transition period to self-governance under the guidance of British administrators ultimately resulted in a relatively smooth implementation of national government and rule. The absence of extreme national animosity, as well as recognition that

the British practised a form of "mitigated colonialism" in the case of Mauritius (Ringadoo, 1997; Bérenger, 2008) could perhaps explain the continuing importance and influence of Britain in Mauritius. More importantly, a historical accord on peaceful relations between the British and French set the stage for a pervasive influence of the French culture on the island. With independence granted without actual "struggle" or revolution, there was indeed no reason for the post-colonial government not to recognise or to reject the binding obligations it had assumed by colonial administrators on behalf of the territories within the national state apparatus at that time. Such an approach by the executive branch comforted and reinforced the administrative power position of the post-colonial state bureaucracy, which was then exclusively in the hands of local civil servants.

On the economic front, the early post-colonial era accentuated the necessity of aid and technical assistance. Constant efforts in the post-colonial period by the Mauritian government to adopt tourism policies to diversify their tourist markets ultimately failed to diminish the importance of these traditional markets for their economies (Duval, 2008). The post-colonial era thus unveiled a significant paradox: independence came with the harsh realities of the island's perpetual dependence on its former colonisers due to its internal limitations, thereby heightening its vulnerability.

6.5   Demonstration of Macro Influence of Personalities: Maintaining the Colonial Link

A major factor in the development and maintenance of links with former colonial powers is the key role played by individual personalities within the political and socio-economic spheres. Documents on early incursions by Mauritius into the tourism domain are replete with the ideology and outlook of charismatic leaders, especially those who were active during the height of negotiations for independence. Ramgoolam in Mauritius was key in ensuring a secure European market for Mauritian

sugar by deliberately approaching France and joining the Association of French Speaking States. Early key personalities interested in developing tourism had clear ideas about the source markets for their tourists. The best illustration in Mauritius is Duval, a Creole politician, who played a pivotal role in the appearance of French hotel groups and the influx of French tourists through his personal acquaintance with leading French politicians and entertainment figures. In the same way, by turning to French, British and Indian airlines for assistance in establishing an airline, the Mauritians were implicitly recognising their historical and ancestral ties (Jugnauth, 2008) with these countries.

6.6   Internationalisation and Dependence

Though modern tourism was initiated in Mauritius rather late in the decolonisation spectrum, its existence in rudimentary form can be traced back in to the early twentieth century. Tourism evolved into an operational tool characterised by unequal relationships between source markets and destinations. It also exacerbated economic dependence of Mauritius, which was itself inherited from a colonial past of mono-crop dependence, rather than being spared by it. The power and dynamics of this unequal structure cannot be underestimated. Its constant invocation in studies of economic development and poverty in the early post-colonial Third World seem to be reinforced by the free-exchange ideology (Chazan-Gillig, 2000; p.35), which was the initial factor that placed Mauritius on the world map of trade and production and which underlies globalisation today, with tourism as a major component.

Island tourism development appeared destined to exhibit colonial patterns, because the foundation of its initial development lies deep in an unequal colonial structure of subordination of the periphery to the centre (Britton, 1989; Harrison, 1992; Nash, 1978). Just as early import substitution manufacturing ventures in the aftermath of decolonisation needed foreign capital at an initial stage (post-colonial economic

development based on the Puerto Rican and Taiwanese models), tourism development on a more substantial scale was also forced to rely on funds from more prosperous countries. Historically, as early as the 17th century, island economies were thrown into a process of internationalisation when they were integrated within a mercantile system of colonialism that relied on overseas expansion and slavery-based plantation economies to thrive (Houbert, 1981). Building hotels, constructing supporting infrastructures and eventually creating national air carriers required large-scale capital investment that newly independent governments were unable to raise on their own, although Mauritius was an anomaly (Houbert, 1981) in that local investment by Franco-Mauritian sugar plantation owners constituted a major share of total capital required. Furthermore, obeying the simple equation of supply and demand, it was imperative to attract wealthy travellers who were found in the rich industrialised nations and former colonial powers for tourist trade to flourish in the islands. This logistical problem was soon surmounted by the advent of the jet aircraft, which considerably reduced the perceived distance between the prosperous European tourist supply sources and their leisure playgrounds in the tropics. On the surface, this breakthrough in the tourism realm was a promising means of generating income from the islands' natural [beautiful] resources and an "elegant," clear and firm strategy towards economic independence. Eventually, this romanticised vision resulted in the harsh reality that islands developed an almost exclusive dependence on their very first long-haul tourist suppliers, which happened to be their former colonisers.

The study also shows that historical patterns in tourism development as reflected in flow figures, investment, airline services, marketing and management exhibited indirect metropolitan economic control and continuing advantage. This situation was not surprising given the rather laissez-faire approach to economic policy by the British colonial authorities, which were more concerned with minimising the costs of maintaining the empire. The result during the post-colonial era was the endurance of relics of privilege to local oligarchies, which through ongoing business ties with metropolitan ventures maintained unequal relationships and contradictions

inherited from colonial exploitation. Evidence in Mauritius suggests that its early independent government made conscious political and economic decisions that served to maintain key links with metropolitan powers and economic enterprises in order to ensure economic growth and employment. In so doing, it avoided rejection of the inherited status quo and its associated privileges to local oligarchies. Such a decisional approach not only legitimised but also reinforced the existing dependence, a case of double lock-in effect and an illustration of the inherent contradiction of independence.

The economic pragmatism of nationalist leaders in post-colonial governments helps to explain their conservative political and economic positions. The focus on economic development in the early years after independence was dictated not only by what was in fashion, successful or unproductive in terms of policies and theories,[xxxvi] but more importantly by the fundamental need to feed the population. Because the former colonial powers were rich and had access to travel technology, as well as the fact that they offered a certain level of comfort derived from familiarity, it was natural for these newly independent countries to turn to their former colonisers as tourist source markets. This was perhaps based in part on an unconscious quest for historical continuity and on the more fundamental and pressing need to satisfy the basic requirements of the population. This explanation, expressed by the former Mauritian Prime Minister Jugnauth (2008), is echoed in the phrase "bread and butter issues" (Manley, 1982; p. 22). Mauritius was not only locked into its previous state, but voluntarily subjected itself to historical inertia.

Indeed, there were also conscious decisions to revert to the prime source market (coloniser) after attempts at market diversification (Mootoosamy, 2008) did not result in identifying new sources that were sufficiently sustainable to merit the investment of resources. Dependence on major markets remained an unavoidable fact. These decisions made economic sense: the market was already familiar and there was a historical connection (Jugnauth, 2008). In this case, the colonial link was restored by

voluntarily relinquishing control to the metropolitan market. The fact that the scheduled routes of the national airline of Mauritius are dominated by services to their former colonisers provides a good illustration of marketing machinery in reverse.

6.7   Conceptual Findings

Irrespective of post-colonial political rhetoric and policies, tourism practices in Mauritius rest on relationship models that are fundamentally colonial. They were, above all, driven by the economic imperative to ensure the success of the tourism sector for an infusion of hard currency. Among the wealthy countries that could provide such hard currency were the former colonisers. It made sense to turn to these former colonisers, as they were known entities and were reliable sources of tourists. This strategy is consistent with the "natural predisposition" theory, which legitimised economic organisation at the international level on the basis of the need for specialisation.

Within this "structuralist" framework, Mauritius has an "agricultural vocation." The plantation economy was created in the periphery and the resulting economic organisation was subordinated to distant European metropoles. Following that same [Marxist] line of reasoning, initial colonial relationships in the domain of tourism and their subsequent consolidation are necessarily determined by the developmental exigencies of tourism service providers and businesses, which form an integral part of metropolitan industrial capitalism (Blérald, 1986). As mentioned earlier, Matthews, (1978a, in Hall & Tucker, 2004; p. 4) views tourism as "potentially being a new plantation economy;" this study contends that such potential is already realised and is in action. "Plantation tourism" is a current reality, a legacy of the plantation economy of colonial times. This legacy is inevitable for the obvious reason that it is ingrained in a "system" that is founded on the unequal principles of treatment of colonialism. Perhaps more importantly, the colonial legacy is supported by the presence

of historical processes at work, which, through a lock-in effect that inevitably calls for conscious decisions by post-colonial governments, conspire to maintain a potent colonial hegemony. In view of the historic processes that the grounded theory analysis identified, the study suggests that Mauritius has many similarities with other colonies. The processes are commonly mentioned in historical literature with regard to general development, change and events in the former island colonies. In that sense, the application of grounded theory analysis, specifically in connection with historical tourism research, confirms the validity of historical research as a coincidental objective of this study.

The importance of major historical events in the socio-economic and political direction a country may take cannot be underestimated. A key factor is the form of general historical processes, such as economic internationalisation and decolonisation, and their impact on specific mechanisms such as tourism, which not only legitimises the processes but also highlights the historical links involved. Tourism thus becomes a mechanism within the larger structure of an increasingly globalised world, which merely reinforces the historical relationships of domination and dependency reminiscent of imperial times.

Many of the events and decisions leading to the development of tourism and its fostering of a lingering colonial legacy seem to be the product of contingency. Their stories are generally embedded in the accidental solutions, decisions or conscious choices made by individuals at the time the questions arose (Trevor-Roper, 1980). Furthermore, the difference in the mechanism of colonial power by France and Britain was reflected in their initial approaches to colonisation. Such a distinction was potent enough to result in differences in the decolonisation processes they employed. In Mauritius, the 1810 Treaty of Versailles did not undermine the continued direct link with the metropolitan France, and in fact expanded the island's colonial exposure to the British. There were sentiments in Mauritius in the early 20th century and before independence of a possible "retrocession" to France, and a link to the former coloniser was eventually

re-established through the island's participation in the Francophonie. British decolonisation, however, maintained continued indirect links through the Commonwealth. The foundation of former British colonies essentially remains a political system that is intrinsically British.

6.8   Conclusion

This study identified six historic processes, which together with the three areas of explanation have served to illuminate the historical process of tourism development and may have helped to explain, though not explicitly, the colonial legacy in tourism. However, there are indications in the documents that they have influenced other intervening factors important to tourism, such as: marketing strategies, air services agreements, hotel implantations, etc. Ultimately, these historical processes of colonial inception invariably encompass the past, present and future of island tourism in former colonies. Their perpetuation is underpinned by inescapable geophysical and natural limitations, as well as by vulnerabilities that their socio-economic and political structures cannot alter. The stronghold of an omnipresent and omnipotent elite that permeates all spheres of insular life reflects and is enhanced by the unequal platform upon which international tourism thrives. The disproportionate fixtures of a colonial past thus provide a natural adherence and groundwork to tourism.

CHAPTER 7

7. CONCLUSION

7.1 Prologue

This concluding chapter of the thesis begins with a restatement of the research topic, its aims and objectives, followed by a concise summary of the findings.

The thesis identified and provided evidence of six historical processes that are considered prerequisites to understanding the reasons for a continuing colonial influence in tourism. In conjunction with the three substantive explanations of inertia, lock-in effect and conscious decisions identified from the literature of colonial history, these processes provide the impetus for an explanation for the persistent colonial legacy in tourism as expressed in six related propositions. To conclude, a model is proposed to explain why and how a colonial legacy persists in tourism. Suggestions for new avenues of research based on gaps in the current literature and further questions that arose in the course of this dissertation follow an explanation of its contributions to a socio-historical understanding of and scholarship in tourism research.

7.2 Revisiting the Research Rationale

McKercher and L'Espoir Decosta (2007) analysed tourist flows to former European colonies and found that colonialism is an unrecognised influencing factor in long haul destination choice by residents from former colonial powers. This study follows on those findings to uncover macro-structural reasons as opposed to consumer-oriented explanations as to why colonialism, which is considered defunct, could serve to explain the tourist flow patterns observed.

The study was approached from a socio-historical perspective of tourism within the context of colonialism. This approach was natural given that the political legacy of the colonial state as a root cause of profound political, economic and social crises in post-colonial states (Young, 1988; Alavi, 1972) is now common currency among a variety of disciplines dealing with aspects of post-colonial social and economic development (Goldthorpe, 1996; Harrison, 2001; Bernstein, 2000). Nonetheless, significant (socio-) historical perspectives on the role of the late colonial period on island tourism are atypical in tourism studies. Academic treatments of tourist flow patterns typically follow the traditional flow models of distance decay and market access (McKercher & Lew, 2004). These explanations of tourist movements are based on contemporary influences, with almost no reference to the possible role of colonialism. The especially novel and constructive analysis of tourism from a post-colonial perspective by Hall & Tucker (2004) is a unique contribution that recognises the importance of a colonial past in addressing tourism in developing countries. The latter concept was captured in their rhetorical question, "Is tourism colonialism by another name?" The authors' implication that colonialism is a potent determinative socio-historical factor and that tourism perpetuates the persistent hegemony of former colonial powers makes a compelling case for a clear colonial legacy in tourism as expressed in its development and flows.

7.3   The Research Topic

The core of this study is to identify the reasons behind the persistent colonial influences in tourism. The semantic of "post"-colonial, which implies that the relationships characterising colonial rule no longer exist (Loomba, 1998) is consequently appropriate. However, the discourse relied heavily on socio-economic and political perspectives, rather than a cultural and identity conflict approach to traditional post-colonialism, in order to identify primarily macro explanations for the persistent colonial legacy in tourism.

7.4   Revisiting the Research Process

To address the research question, it was necessary to conduct an analytical and socio-historical investigation into the relationship between tourism and colonialism, which is often implied but rarely addressed explicitly in tourism research and literature. The first challenge was to place all of the traditional notions of colonialism and tourism in context. Thus, Britain and France, as the last major colonial powers in the aftermath of WW II, were obvious subjects for the study. Mauritius, which has a history of sequential colonialism, having been under the control of both Britain and France (in that order), was selected as an illustrative case. The time frame relevant to this study includes the post-World War II period until 1985. The archival research for this study was conducted almost exclusively within that time frame.

Both colonialism and tourism are significant social phenomena, each with a powerful global impact. Both are complex and multifarious social processes that have woven intricate global webs. Colonialism, however, is generally cast in a negative light and rarely discussed any more, because it is viewed in retrospect as an abject and wilful act that humanity would prefer to obliterate from our common history. The second phenomenon, as this dissertation has demonstrated, has stuttered its way through the socio-economic and political world over time to ultimately establish itself as an indispensable tool of development, especially for small island economies.

Following Rosovsky's suggestion (1971), particular attention and recognition was given to previous research in the areas [of colonial history and tourism] relevant to this study. A comprehensive literature review was conducted, including a review of island tourism, economic and tourism development, literature on colonialism, imperialism and their related theoretical approaches, and literature on the economic and socio-political histories of Mauritius. The result was not intended to be a factual chronology but rather to provide an analytical reflection of a socio-historical

nature to aid in the analysis of the relationship between tourism and colonialism and to ascertain corroborating evidence to the findings. The distinct and significant aspect of island tourism development served as a major platform of investigation.

The literature review closed with a statement of the theoretical post-colonial perspective that served as a guiding framework to this research and as an explanation of its significance in view of the analysis and findings. A qualitative research methodology was used for this study. It relied principally on steps of the grounded theory method of analysis by Charmaz (2001). This was supplemented by a historical analysis of archival documents and primary data from in-depth interviews of two major political leaders in Mauritius who had first-hand experience with policies and decision-making, both before and after independence of the island. The particular methodology of integrating archival information into tourism research was a key element of this section. Descriptive background information of Mauritius provided a context for the analysis and findings. A discussion chapter integrates the findings that emerged from the analytic story and is followed by the final chapter that summarises this thesis with sections on the contribution of the study to knowledge and recommendation for further research.

7.5   Summary of Findings

This study highlighted both empirical and theoretical findings. Whereas the former refers to concrete historical evidentiary explanations for continuing colonial influences, the latter takes a conceptual approach grounded in sociological and historical explanations of causality, structures and processes.

Six historical processes of colonial inception emerged from the application of steps in the grounded theory method of analysis to documents retrieved from various archives. The first process relates to the

establishment of an economic elite at an early stage in the plantation economy. This economic class played an unabated subsequent role in the maintenance of the plantation economic structure and historical socio-cultural links with colonial powers through a tight grip on the capital they accumulated from the plantation economy. They were in a position of power as prime investors in tourism industry, which they used as a diversification tool towards the sustenance of their control on the economy. To be able to attend to that constant goal, and to face external demands of world change, the elite was forced to recognise the need for a stable environment, which was necessarily political by adopting and sustaining democratic ideals. This second process would have predictable impacts on the maintenance of socio-political and economic links through tourism with former colonial powers.

The third historical process reflects the irretrievable consequence of the force of changes that have their roots in external events and phenomena. Two world wars, formidable advances in science and technology and a universal call for political autonomy in a new world order pushed for the withdrawal of European colonial powers and the dismantling of their empires. The preparations involved in the colonial withdrawal process and the various forms it embodied had subsequent influences and control in the economic sectors, including tourism, in the post-colonial era.

Despite these changes, however, the picture in the former colonies has remained almost unchanged. The political configuration inherited from colonial times and its accompanying state bureaucracy within the new "nation-state" has not disappeared. The persistence of the colonial state bureaucracy is the fourth process. It has in effect been reinforced in the hands of nationalist leaders to resist changes and ensure subsequent sectoral developments that fit and maintain the macro socio-economic structure and its colonial features. Personalities and the demonstration of their influences in society have also played a major role in the previous process. This study found that the opinions, decisions and visions of influential personalities, the fifth process, have had a persuasive and persistent impact on the macro-

economic structures of Mauritius and its political and economic directions in the post-colonial era.

Finally, perhaps the most pervasive of all processes to emerge as a finding, is the process of economic internationalisation. Initiated with the onset of colonialism, it subsequently influenced the establishment and growth of industries. One of these, tourism, embodies characteristics of the plantation system in that it perpetuates unequal relationships and extreme vulnerabilities to external linkages.

7.6   The Propositions

The historical processes formed the basis for the formulation of six propositions that summarise the discussion as shown in Table 7.1 below. Together with the three substantive areas of explanation, they serve to elucidate not only the different reasons for a continuing colonial legacy in tourism but also the intricate relationships among them. Such synergistic accounts are archetypical of the overarching multi-disciplinary framework within which this study has been conducted.

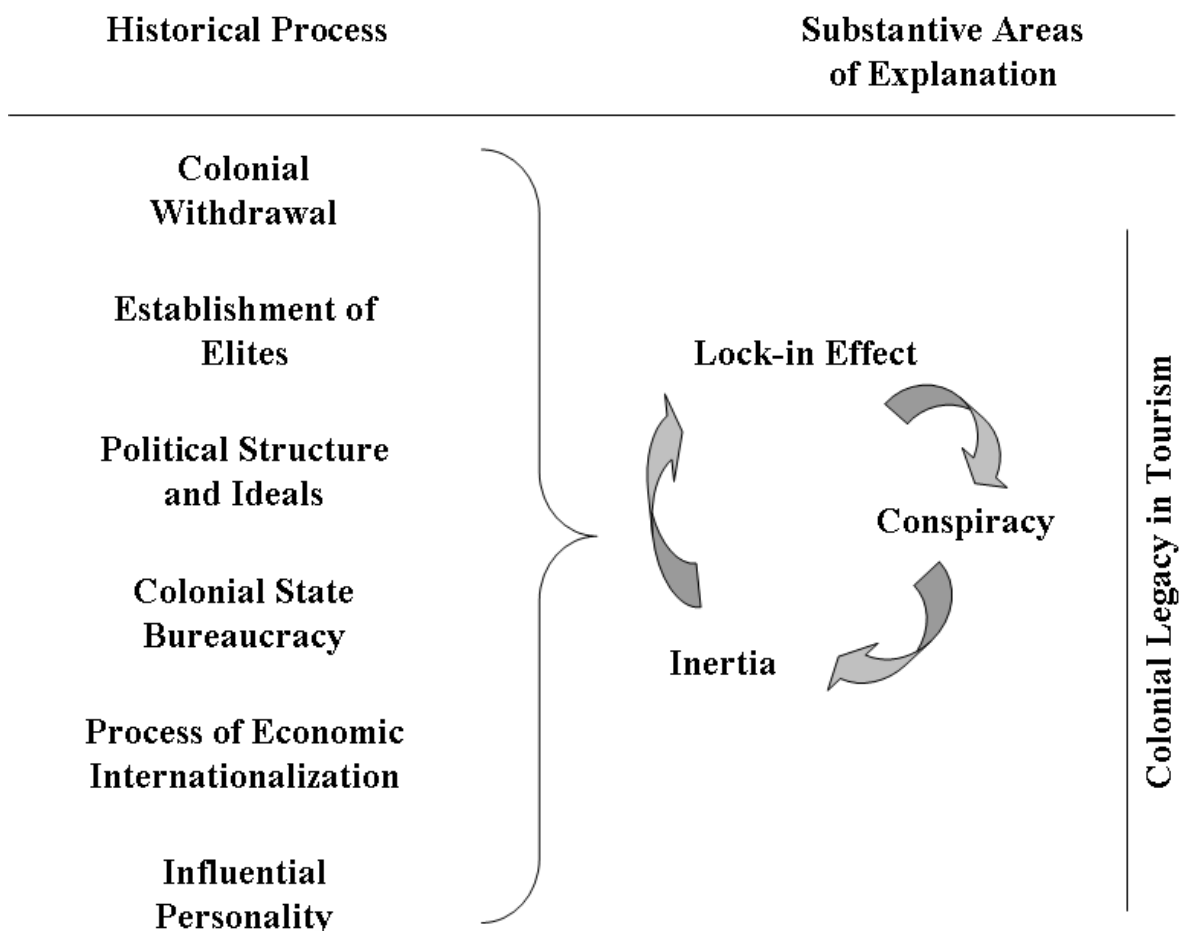**Table 7.1 Historical Processes and Derived Propositions**

Historical Process	Propositions
Colonial Withdrawal	The colonial withdrawal process, its preparations and the various forms it embodied had subsequent influence and control in the sector of tourism in the post-colonial era.
Establishment of an economic elite	The establishment of an economic elite at an early stage in the plantation economy and its unabated subsequent role in the maintenance of the plantation economic structure and historical socio-cultural links with colonial powers eventually encompassed the tourism industry and its development, as reflected in the control of that sector by an elite private sector.
Process of economic internationalisation	The process of internationalisation initiated with the onset of colonialism subsequently influenced the establishment and growth of a tourism industry that embodies characteristics of the plantation system, which perpetuates unequal relationships and extreme vulnerabilities to external linkages.
Persistence of colonial state bureaucracy	The persistence of a political configuration inherited from colonial times and its accompanying state bureaucracy within the new nation-state reinforces resistance to change and ensures subsequent sectoral developments [tourism] fit the macro-structure and its lingering colonial features.
Adoption and sustenance of democratic ideals	The adoption and sustenance of democratic ideals (as opposed to fragmented nationalism) had predictable impacts on the maintenance of socio-political and economic links through tourism with former colonial powers.
Demonstration of macro influence of personalities	Opinions, decisions and visions of influential personalities had a persuading and persistent influential role on the country's macro-economic structure and political directions during the post-colonial era.

The conceptualised processes are manifestly distinct. However, they seem to operate and find relevance when combined with one or all of the substantive areas of explanations in order to elucidate why a colonial legacy continues to impinge upon tourism. This explains the fluid nature of their implication throughout the discussion as opposed to an explicit and rigid explication.

293

7.7   A Model of Explanation

Significant patterns and subsequent conclusions have been derived from the linkages involved based on the extent to which the data relating to the historical processes correspond to the order in which these three substantive areas would most appropriately explain the issues that emerged from evidence.

On the basis of findings, a model of explanation that emerged, as shown in Figure 7.1, suggests that the continued colonial legacy in tourism is an inevitable outcome of six exceptional historical processes that heavily influence tourism and actors in former island colonies to operate within predictable combinations (or hybrids) of inertia, lock-in effect and conscious decisions. As such, these processes become necessary precursors to developing a colonial legacy in tourism in the post-colonial era. There is thus no single element that on its own presents an incontrovertible link between patterns of tourism development and a colonial legacy. Rather, the body of evidence points to complex dynamics between the historical processes and the substantive areas of explanation. The variety of decisions, factors and non-factors serve to add to that complexity. The end result is a "plantation tourism" model that perpetuates the structural dependency from which it originates. The strength and enduring nature of the legacy in turn depends on the relative power of the action and reaction of each historical process, either on its own on in combination. While no single source of evidence in this study conclusively proves the existence of a colonial legacy in modern tourism, all of its elements taken as whole strongly suggest that such a link exists.

Historical Process

Substantive Areas of Explanation

Colonial
Withdrawal

Establishment of
Elites

Political Structure
and Ideals

Colonial State
Bureaucracy

Process of Economic
Internationalization

Influential
Personality

Lock-in Effect

Conspiracy

Inertia

Colonial Legacy in Tourism

Fig. 7.1 Model of explanation of the colonial legacy in tourism

7.8   Contributions of the study

Beyond a simple quest to understand a reality that is of personal interest to the candidate, this dissertation has also provided the opportunity to present new knowledge through unorthodox approaches. Indeed, this attempt to uncover new knowledge adopts a rarely used method of research in tourism studies. On the research level, the study deals directly with the interaction between history and social sciences via the application of the grounded theory method of analysis to historical documents. Such an approach is uncommon given the enormous amount of archival research involved and the equally daunting process of sorting and constant analysis that it involves. This research has presented general structural concepts on the development of island tourism, with special attention to its process of maintaining links with former colonisers. It has contributed to the

understanding of a phenomenon of colonial legacy in tourism by examining dimensions that have revealed themselves in archival documents. Throughout, schemes of explanation through coherent accounts of the process of creating a colonial legacy were thus grounded in historical evidence. In that sense, this study is ultimately a lesson in socio-historical practice.

7.9   Recommendation for Future Research

As mentioned previously, this thesis is not a consumer study, although its underlying premise of research rationale in tourist flows to island destinations could have suggested otherwise, and indeed this information might be of some value to island destinations in structuring tourism marketing strategies. It has, however revealed some research gaps in the domain of the history of tourism that need to be filled. A possible study of historical consumer behaviour that would test the propositions identified in this thesis is a case in point. Furthermore, given the observation that the historic processes influenced intervening factors, further research with a focus on these factors can be carried out to confirm or refute it. Further research of a historical nature regarding colonialism in island tourism development for other islands could also be carried out for comparative purposes. In that perspective, the inclusion of other possible explanations of a socio-cultural and historical nature may be considered to explain a lingering colonial legacy in tourism in these islands. By their very nature, these researches will naturally reinforce the necessity for inter- and cross-disciplinary approaches. A possible future research variation of the findings may also include a different methodological approach and a historical perspective from the generating markets towards the former island colonies. The logistics of such research would certainly be complex and the tabula could be narrow. Furthermore, oceanic regions are increasingly dependent on tourism for the socio-economic growth of the islands they harbour. Yet, both local academic circles and the tourism sector appear uninterested in truly understanding the evolution, mistakes or impeding

factors of a historical nature. Though there have been some indications of interest by major tourism scholars, virtually none of the academic research comes either from indigenous perspectives or even from an "oceanic regional perspective."

Paradoxically, during the research, the candidate found tremendous resistance, not from the political leaders that were interviewed, but from the ranks of administration in tourism departments and bureaus to acknowledge the continuing significance of a colonial past in the affairs of Mauritius. In dire situations that represent a direct threat to the industry, however, such linkages are surreptitiously acknowledged through decisions to rekindle or further develop traditional (colonial) tourist source markets, such as the outbreak of mosquito fever (Chikungunya) in 2008 in Mauritius or when the number of international tourists plummeted in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attack. In that perspective, the findings of this dissertation might prove enlightening to bureaucrats in thinking through the development of new concepts based on concrete historical facts to attend to contemporary policy-related problems.

APPENDIX I

Transcript of Interview with Mr. Paul Bérenger

Interviewer	Patrick L'Espoir Decosta
Interviewee	Mr. Paul Bérenger
Position of Interviewee	Leader of Opposition in the Parliament of the Republic of Mauritius and former Prime Minister.
Location	Residence of Mr. Paul Bérenger, Floréal, Vacoas, Mauritius.
Date	August 10, 2008; from 16:00 to 17:00
Languages	Creole, French, English
Others	Interview was recorded on a digital recorder with verbal permission granted by Mr. Paul Bérenger beforehand. Interview transcribed and translated by the candidate on August 11-12, 2008.

Interview with Paul Bérenger, Leader of Opposition in the Parliament of the Republic of Mauritius and former Prime Minister.

Q: What can be said about the history of tourism development in Mauritius?

Two things come to my mind when we talk about tourism development in Mauritius. Mauritius is one of a very select and rare group of countries that has been both a French and a British colony. This has resulted in the second fact that we became bilingual in English and French. Our kreol vocabulary is very close to the French language. To me this explains the presence of so many French tourists in Mauritius. A general comment: we have been a French and a British colony, we belong to both the Commonwealth and the Francophonie. These two factors have surely helped in the development of our tourism industry.

One thing: when the British took over the island in 1810, they had to be very careful: they needed to deal carefully with settlers of French origin. We should not forget that the French were the first to settle on the island and populate it. The Dutch tried to. In the end, they introduced rats, exterminated our Dodo, exploited our ebony forests and got kicked out by cyclones. So the British could not put in place a classical colonial power as they did elsewhere in the sense that they would impose their law, language etc., for their advantage and to the detriment of the autochthones. This has certainly benefited us historically as we did not get to know a classical colonial regime.

My third remark is that Mauritius is very peculiar. We had no indigenous population. Everyone comes from outside. When the Dutch left the country, the French came in from France and Bourbon, and all others came from other parts of the world: Madagascar, Africa, India and China. No one can claim indigenous status. This is a big advantage for the island. Now there is also the historical advantage of being here first. This explains why the white community completely dominated the economy and industry in general. They dominated the sugar industry before and after independence, and then tourism. So we can safely assume that it is the French that have initiated economic development.

Personally, as a socio-political observer, I have always been surprised by the reaction of the whites after independence. Until independence, they were quite reactionary. They were against independence. They financed Duval in his anti-independence campaign until 1968. Thereafter when the British granted independence to Mauritius, that very white French community which could have emigrated and take all its money with it abroad chose to stay, to diversify the economy.

To my knowledge, there have been no sociological studies to understand why they chose to stay. In any case, they decided to stay and diversify in textiles and tourism. This has not happened in many former colonies. In other countries where the French have settled, such as in Algeria, they behaved differently. This would be an interesting comparison which would have to deal with time, the place, and so many other elements including population, religions, culture, etc. After our independence we benefited from having been colonised by both the French and the English in terms of language. This whole thing is a general comment. We are at where we are now because of all this.

Q: You returned from your studies in the UK in 1970…

No. In fact, I returned for good in 1969. We started our political party, the MMM, a radical, revolutionary leftist party with a prejudiced anti-tourism slant in that …they are coming to our country to use and abuse us, to turn us into more servile servants. When they came to our country, the population was forgotten. We were just being servile to them in remote resort enclaves. We did think along those lines in the party. This was also present in the Seychelles, much more so there. However, I must admit that we very quickly abandoned that stand…I would say in the 1970s. It remained that way much more in the Seychelles: an attitude that foreigners are coming to exploit and humiliate us, as if in our country there were in fact two countries: one for the foreigners and one for the others. We did abandon that attitude very quickly in the 1970s. It was like there was a latent consensus that tourism development would be in the interest of the whole country. In my opinion this is what

explains the success of tourism in Mauritius. It is not really our beaches. It is the attitude of the population: happiness, welcoming, hospitable, etc. This is why I am a bit concerned when I hear the government aiming for 2 million arrivals. We should be aware of "seuil de tolerance" (carrying capacity) because beyond a certain amount everything can tip over. As leaders we must be aware of this. I believe we do have some scope for expansion but we need to be careful that facilities and access to public beaches are not affected. This would have a disastrous effect on the local population whereby it would feel like being a foreigner in one's own country.

To come back to my first point, I really cannot remember when exactly we abandoned our attitude of criticism against tourism. We were against exploitation of the locals by foreigners, but then we accepted a vision that tourism needed to be part of the country's development.

Q: Could it be that the failure of the import substitution industry to really help the problem of unemployment in the 70's is an adequate explanation for the appeal of the tourism industry, just as in Jamaica…

Yes… in the case of Mauritius it was the textile industry, then tourism. I believe that Mauritian intelligence was well aware that we are such a small country without a great scope for development. The Mead report had announced our death: that we would be smothered and that development was impossible. I believe that this had a profound impact on the Mauritian mentality. We became much more aware of our smallness and that we were overcrowded and that we would not be able to survive if we missed opportunities. This could perhaps explain why my government in 2005 considered the possibility of establishing the IRS Integrated Resort Scheme. See, it seems we have never forgotten significant events in the history of our country. We have known dire periods in our history and they marked us and lead us to take decisions accordingly. We became very aware that we are a remote island lost in the Indian Ocean and that we do not have the luxury to pick and choose. Tourism presented itself as an opportunity. I am not sure about Jamaica…but the history of Jamaica is totally different from Mauritian history. Their history and legacy of slavery is quite different. At a very early stage slaves were very organised and revolted. They upset and sometimes bullied the British colonial powers. I believe this has influenced the mentality and attitude of the Jamaicans, which differ from those of Mauritians. We were condemned by others to gloom and doom and poverty. I believe we diversified logically into tourism after textiles and import substitution industries. From import substitution we moved into textiles and tourism.

Q: When you were not in the government, did you feel that Mauritius was attracted to France and England not only in the domain of tourism?

You know, this is where it becomes communal…because it involves to a certain extent a type of domination. Over time the white population of French origin has kept the French language as a tool of domination to humiliate the others, and we all know how much more difficult French is compared to English. The French language was used to keep the others, non-white French, in a submissive position, to keep them under control. As for the population of colour, their dream was to speak French perfectly, to imitate them, so that they could join them eventually. As you can imagine there was a reaction on the part of the Hindu and Muslim populations, whose intellectuals felt more attracted to the English language, in reaction to the French language hegemony by the whites. English thus became the language of the intellectuals and of politicians. French became the language of conservatives. Language thus had a role that was communally tinted. Even in the Parliament today the use of French is rather limited. By the way, in passing I will say that English is not the official language of Mauritius. The Constitution says that the official language in Parliament will be English. This has been de facto taken to mean it is the official language of the island.

Q: Do you think that after independence the country felt it had nothing more to do with its former colonisers?

No. This was not at all the feeling in the population. The fact that we were French until 1810 and thereafter British and given that they really had to deal with the French whites with a great deal of caution (they did not do like in Kenya and elsewhere), soothe them while at the same time appease the Hindus and Muslims. No, I don't believe we did not want to have anything to do with England. It is the British that pushed us to take independence more so than in the case of other colonies. I think that the fact that in other colonies they were big real estate proprietors, they belonged to an economic class... here no. The French were the owners, the economic power. They remained on the island. Only a few British families settled here: the Taylors, Rogers, etc…they were only a few. The British were mainly in the colonial administration apparatus. They were not in the economy. This is very particular to Mauritius. It was a unique situation to have two colonial powers present and controlling different sectors and apparently making it work in a land of multi-cultural and multi-ethnic people. This also made a difference. So, at the moment of independence there was not an anti-British sentiment in the island. There was perhaps a certain nostalgia for France among the whites of French origin and maybe among the coloured. I think it stopped there. There was not really an anti-British sentiment. In fact, after the war and under the influence of a strong anti-colonial attitude on the part of the Americans, there was a kind of sympathy for India. I believe it was widespread in all the colonies. It was the time for the rise of nationalist leaders such Nkrumah, Nyerere, Kenyatta, etc. In Mauritius in 1947 there was much sympathy among the Hindus and Muslims for the independence of India, which culminated in its partition to separate them into then two countries. Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan later on. There was thus some sympathy from the Muslims for Pakistan and the Hindus for India. However, there were no hard feelings for the British here.

You know, Mauritians who do not know history like to believe in myths. For example, one myth is that Ramgoolam was in favour of independence. This is a myth. Until 1957-58 Ramgoolam and the Mauritian labour party, just like the Maltese labour party, were in favour of total integration of the islands with Great Britain. Malta almost succeeded in integrating its deputies with the UK's House of Commons. Ramgoolam was in favour of the same plan. Everything turned upside down though: the British said no way to the integration of Malta and this trickled down into Mauritius. In 1967 Ramgoolam put forward a motion in favour of independence after the elections. He said in Parliament: "Mr. Speaker Sir (referring to Mr. Vaghjee), you remember how faithful we were as members of the British Empire. We wanted to be integrated but then we were told off." This is when Ramgoolam went for independence. Pro-Britain feelings among the Hindus, Muslims, and a bit among the coloured were strong. There was not really a true pro-independence movement in Mauritius. It was after the failure of Malta that Ramgoolam mentioned independence for the first time at the end of '59. Elections were very recent in the UK. Conservatives won the election and the new secretary for the colonies was McCloud. Ramgoolam met him two days after the election. Until then, Ramgoolam was a pro-integration proponent, just like the Maltese. After his meeting with McCloud, he made a declaration for the first time in favour of independence. Here in Mauritius, the newspaper "Advance" had a very small article about it. Its editor in chief, Beejadhur, went to the Governor and said, "Just don't bother about what he [Ramgoolam] is saying. He is just saying anything." In my opinion, McCloud did push Ramgoolam to ask for independence. McCloud was a liberal conservative. He was not liked by conservatives and he wanted decolonisation, contrary to the British colonial administrators. I personally believe he did push Ramgoolam in that direction.

So this was the turning point that tipped Ramgoolam towards requesting independence. The British were well thought of by the labour party of Ramgoolam. I am saying this because before the labour party of Rosemont, Seeneevasen, Anquetil, etc. the pre-1948 labour party was revolutionary and anti-conformist, just like the MMM of the 1970s: revolutionary and constantly calling for strikes. Ramgoolam was against them. The British did try to break down the party. Otherwise, Mauritius was one of those countries where it was the British that pushed the independence of the territory. We did not need anti-British feelings to be granted independence.

Q: Did our colonial past influence you in international or political decisions when you were in power?

No. But again, the fact that we were both a French and a British colony did help us strike a balance. This is the case because if we had had a colonial power that had harassed us…used violence against us and put us in prison etc…then history would have had to be re-written. Trust me on that. Our common history with the colonial powers and our knowledge of them has helped us secure a balance all the time. They also ensured that each coloniser had to be careful about the other and this carried over into the French and English policies with Mauritius well after independence until now. Each knows that the other will take advantage of the slightest false move by the other when it comes to Mauritius. This is in fact a continuum, a legacy of their colonial history.

Q: At one point, when Club Med was pushing hard, through Duval, to set up here, Sir Harold Walter raised the alarm that Duval might want to sell the country to France…

This did not surprise me at all, for two reasons: Beyond the communal division, Walter himself was a very complex man. He was British at heart. Duval was of French descent and French at heart. They hated each other. Walter did not trust Club Med and for that matter any of the French interests here. In most cases, French interests were very close to Duval. It is true that Club med flirted a lot with Duval.

Q: In France, when it came to Club Med, some officials complained that the Mauritian government was being difficult…

It was Debre who complained. He later became Prime Minister. He was the one who initiated the reconciliation between Duval and Ramgoolam.

Q: Do you think the British tried to undermine the influence of France in Mauritius?

This is not true. However, I must admit that it was an obsession with Debré. He was the deputy for Réunion… he was truly a reactionary and paranoid about the British. Duval was their passport of entry into Mauritius. Despite having Réunion and Mayotte in the region they were obsessed with a breakthrough in independent Mauritius.

Q: We often hear of traditional tourist markets for Mauritius…

They are first of all France. When you look at the statistics, Europe dominates, with France leading the pack, Britain often second, then Germany and South Africa for the short haul. We must not forget that Réunion is France too, though they are accounted for as separate.

Our traditional market is most importantly France and Europe.

What is really surprising with tourism in Mauritius is that the population has remained very welcoming. It is extraordinary, because you know well that tourists come with their disadvantages, their arrogance, prejudice and idiosyncrasy. Whether we like it or not, tourism is a clash of culture in a very civilised…I will even say hedonistic way. Sometimes clashes can turn ugly. In the process of tourism promotion and development we know all too well that the local population goes through a hard time. Imagine that resources belonging to them are sort of being hijacked for the enjoyment of foreigners. I personally did much to improve public beaches and access to them. This is a difficult task. People often do not respect the environment. Common facilities such as toilets, showers, barbeque places. When you compare these with those islands, those enclaves of prosperity that are the resorts with their beautiful, well-kept and out of bound beaches… I am going to give you an example: The Royal Palm. This is a real phenomenon: a 5-star resort hotel of very high international standing and catering to the la crème de la crème found right in the middle of a big village. This is unimaginable. Just think about it. You leave your country for some wonderful vacation, for some peace and quiet and you have paid a fortune for that and what do you get? Locals are invading the beach: Trouble…hell in paradise. The hotel

would have had to shut down. The whole of Port Louis was invading that handkerchief of a beach. This is when we intervened to avoid a degeneration of the conditions. To save that hotel we developed the adjacent beach La Cuvette for the local population. This was a wonderful project with all facilities provided on that public beach so that the local population did not have to overflow into the hotel's domain. I know that right now the conditions of La Cuvette are deteriorating. This government is doing nothing. The environment is not their business. The relationship between tourists and the locals is an extremely delicate thing. When you think of the amount of money the tourists pay to Royal Palm…

Q: How do you see the future of tourism in Mauritius?

Oh my…I am very worried. I talked about this in Parliament very recently. I am not sure the deputies understood me. Figures are already showing…with the price of oil and air tariff crises. So many companies are having loads of problems, with many closing down. There is a slump. Yesterday morning, I read the latest economic report of the European Bank: the last six months have been awful. We will face dire times. I just hope this will not last long. Duval (the present Minister of Tourism) used an expression that I used: there are storm clouds ahead.

I have told the management of Air Mauritius: Don't be overly optimistic. Oil prices have gone over $140. Management of Air Mauritius has approached the government and said, "If you do not help us, we will have to pack up." When you think of it, within six months some 24 companies have closed down.

Q. British Airways just sold its shares in Air Mauritius…

This does not really worry me. At the beginning, Air France and British Airways helped to start up Air Mauritius. We knew nothing about the airline industry. I understood that with time British Airways came to think that with its 10% of shares it really doesn't have any control or influence. British Airways may be thinking that it can just take its money and go. With Air France, it will be different, I think. They are in a strategic alliance with Air Mauritius and ADP is investing loads in the airports of Mauritius. The link seems to be stronger here.

There has been a rumour that British Airways is just making way for Virgin so as to avoid any conflict with European laws. I do not personally believe Virgin will take over Air Mauritius. Air Mauritius will struggle to survive. Above all this is the flagship of our country. It says a lot about where we have been and where we are right now.

Then there is the case of Emirates. What they did with Air Lanka…even the logo of Air Lanka has been changed to resemble that of Emirates! When I was leading the government, Emirates approached me for daily flights etc. I refused. They are very good but they are not what I call orthodox airlines. They do a lot of what we call cross-subsidisation through their hotels. They have the means to kill us. They sit on oil. They give perks, gifts, free stays, etc. This is what cross-subsidisation all is about. I was made aware of what they did in other countries. I held them off! I believe the present government is doing the same thing. They have not been granted all that they asked for. I know that there were rumours about twice daily flights. If we are not careful, Air Mauritius will go down. There is this international crisis and there are those vultures like Emirates.

Q: Regarding the marketing policies in our tourist source markets: How do you assess them and what will be their direction in the future?

Most of the tourism marketing is done by the hotels themselves. Let me remind you that the private sector under white control has dominated that industry, as they were the first to develop it. In any case, they were the only ones to have the means. There was of course the contribution of foreigners such as Kerzner. The MTPA has come along to add to the picture. Most of the marketing is done by the hotel groups. It is good that it is like that. It

must be like that. And they are good at it. These big groups, they have loads of money. It is therefore logical that they pay for the marketing of the island.

Q: And what about their source markets?

As we said before, there are the traditional ones, with France and Europe leading the pack. The country is reinforcing its penetrating marketing policies: there are constant efforts to rejuvenate our image to bring in new concepts that will continue to appeal to our traditional markets. We are very lucky to have a sort of common past, a memory that links us to France and England. It will continue to be like that and we certainly do not let down our guard in these markets. We do try to break through in other markets: Japan…not very successfully though… India, given our cultural links and the fact that we need to capitalise on the country's growing wealth, Australia with the Mauritian Diaspora there, China with its big middle class. There is also Eastern Europe. There has been some improvement in these markets. But our traditional sources remain solid and continue to grow.

When you think of it: colonial history is an extraordinary phenomenon. They crushed, annihilated the handicraft industry in India. When you think that in Bihar they imposed the cultivation of opium to export to China… that they triggered the Opium Wars when a country refused to buy their opium… they started a war and even took some of the country's territory… that is really incredible.

END

APPENDIX II

Transcript of Interview with Sir Aneerood Jugnauth

Interviewer	Patrick L'Espoir Decosta
Interviewee	Sir Aneerood Jugnauth
Position of Interviewee	President of the Republic of Mauritius
Location	Official residence of the President of the Republic of Mauritius, Chateau du Réduit, Réduit, Mauritius
Date	August 7, 2008; from 10:00 to 10:30
Languages	Creole, French, English
Others	Interview was recorded on a digital recorder with verbal permission granted by Mr. Paul Bérenger beforehand. Interview transcribed and translated by the candidate on August 8-9, 2008.

Q. How important was tourism before independence?

Sugar was the only sector that attracted our attention before independence because of advantageous prices guaranteed under the Sugar Protocol on the World market. Sugar was thus profitable and colonial governments did not really think about other economic sectors. Tourism as an industry was initiated and developed only after independence but not under colonial rule.

The colonial government did nothing in that domain.

The conversion of the then exclusively military airport of Plaisance into a civilian one could surely be seen as an indication that there was a change in the policy direction of the colonial government. British Airways and Air France started to come to the island and in general they were flying to their former colonies too. This was the major motivation for a civilian airport. The development of the airport, however, as we know it today, came after independence. The way the British made it and left it...it was rather rudimentary. It is only after independence that the Mauritian government developed the port and airport to the state that it is now.

Q: What can you say about Air Services Agreements and decisions to fly to Paris and London?

You must know that ASAs were signed before World War II under the colonial government. Under Ramgoolam, the national carrier was created under the impetus of the private sector, especially Mr Amédée Maingard, who got his airline experience in the war as part of the RAF. I must say that the British and French did co-operate together with India in the creation of our airline. They were minority shareholders in the company. However, since its creation the company did not have much development and scope except for the inter-island flights with two very small aircraft, and in the early '70s with an old 707 leased from SAA we flew to London. London was of course the first choice destination. We were still closely linked with the UK. Our country, its whole system, has been moulded by British ways of doing things. Our education…we looked up to the British standard in terms of their manufactured goods. So, when I came to lead the government in '82 I thought that it was not possible for our country to rely only on one economic sector, sugar. It was too dangerous. We were at the mercy of the world market. Our population needed work, basic needs and we were constantly besieged by tropical cyclones. We were flattened all the time and our cane fields were eradicated. It was misery for us. In fact, you know what: we found after independence that our country was in worse shape with loads of problems: population, poverty, unemployment. The thing we needed, when I got to lead the government, was to discover new channels through which we could create employment to bring prosperity to the country. That was the goal. This is how we went into tourism and gave some boost to the textile industry, which started some time before I came to be the Prime Minister. But then they were embryonic, as one would say. The first government started them, but they remained static. We gave the impetus that they needed. For example, for Air Mauritius, when I led the government and was responsible for civil aviation and national security, the company got the boost to get new leases. It was under my leadership that Air Mauritius grew and tourism really developed. Before I came to power, there were only two hotels that were on the verge of bankruptcy. With us, several hotels from the private sector settled in. They felt secure. The atmosphere in the country was one of construction, of work…a new dynamic. We had a new marketing strategy that looked at the South Africans and Réunion for the short haul tourism market and we marketed ourselves to Europe. Most naturally we went to the British. I must say that the private sector, being dominated by the Franco-Mauritians, who invested heavily in the hotel industry, they had very good links with France. Most naturally France and Britain became our major markets. In fact, under my government so many good things and sectors came into being.

Q: Why tourism marketing to France and England?

I suppose for us their two cities are very important for obvious historical links… our historical past. We always had a link with France and England. I must admit that in the early aftermath of independence, these two countries helped us quite a bit financially. France has always been very interested in Mauritius until today. They have helped us in so many projects. Naturally these were not given freely… lots of technical aid. As for the British today…the only assistance we get, given that we are part of the Commonwealth, is through the organisation. In any case, the British have decided to streamline their assistance through themselves and OAD. We can even say the Brits have more or less cut off their links with us. But France has always been interested. Well, it must also be said that the fact that we are bilingual, because of our historical past with both countries, our special appeal to both England and France in terms of our beaches and resorts and of historical links and because many Mauritians study in these two countries…all this has made these two

destinations profitable to Air Mauritius. I believe Air Mauritius considers these two destinations as vital for its business.

Q: Did Mauritius take advantage of the historical rivalry between England and France?

I personally was not at all interested in that rivalry. It was a problem, a historic one that they have dealt with and done with I hope over time… and it was a problem that concerned them. They are and we are sovereign countries and we treat them as such and as friends. We treated them and dealt with them on equal terms. Naturally, what Sir Walter wrote regarding the possibility that Duval was trying to sell Mauritius to France by aggressively pushing for the installation of French hotels and interests on the island…there is much truth in that. Sir Gäetan always had a French agenda. He wanted the French here, especially in terms of their defence interests. The Americans were in Diego and by proxy the British were there. I always resisted Duval's request to favour the French. I am in the right position to say that because Duval worked in my government and he constantly made appeals to me on behalf of the French. I did so because I thought Mauritius had no enemies. I did not see any rationale for an army. I was influenced by no one: not by the French, not by the British and certainly not by Duval. I treated these two countries as friends of Mauritius and all the assistance and cooperation we got were because of special friendship ties of a historical nature that we had with France.

Q: How were decisions about destinations for the national airline taken?

This is rather technical. We need expert technicians to explain these. We had Sir Harry, who was and still is I believe one of the greatest experts in this. He was with Air Mauritius, of which he became Managing Director and Chairman. I relied much on him. I listened to him a lot… to his advice. As to the legal aspect of it, the State Law Office was the advisor. This is how agreements with other countries were technically made. As for the choice of destinations for Air Mauritius, I already told you… South Africa, Réunion, being very near us and with a market ready to travel for pleasure, and France and England, with the natural national curiosity that has expressed itself over centuries, was our natural first choice. Certainly, and you may want to hear this I think… it seems we are greatly influenced by our history.

Q: What is your take on the tourism industry today?

When I was at the head of the government we already knew that tourism would be the sector where much of our economic future would lie. It has proven to be the right choice. We need to develop new markets to get other nationalities interested in us. Use historical and cultural links to bring the Indians and the Chinese here. At the same time reinforce and ascertain our footholds in France and England and in Europe in general. The Russians, the Eastern Europeans and Northern Europeans are now coming to Mauritius. Getting new markets to be interested in Mauritius will help expand tourism. Now we also need to develop new channels of development. Sustainability is the key word these days. We want our country to be an example of success. We have the brains. It is sad they are all going elsewhere.

Q: After independence, how was the attitude of Mauritians towards tourism and tourists?

In Mauritius, tourism had never had a negative image. Mauritians are well known for their hospitality and courteousness. We as a population had no apprehension, resentment or bitterness against tourists. I hope this remains and never changes.

Q: After independence, what was the reaction of the leftist party MMM to tourism?

There is no doubt that communism and socialism had much influence on leftists, here the MMM. However, I never felt they resented tourism. In fact, they were fighting for employment and better distribution of national wealth…

Q: Do we still have some links with France and England?

Listen…with England, our attachment will naturally continue, mostly through the Commonwealth. There is some tradition in the historical link: our students like to go there for their studies, and to France for that matter. In England it is getting more expensive but we still want our children to go there for university studies. Our first choice has always been England. I myself studied in England. I have always had special feelings for England. I have always liked England. Each time there is an opportunity for me to go there, I do so. You see…it has become a natural bond, fondness (attachement naturel).

As for France, for sure with all their efforts and most importantly with the 1810 agreement where some of its judiciary system, its language and culture would be preserved… there is no doubt about French influence. It is inevitable that the French presence is more tangible than the British. And now we are part of the Francophonie and Francophone movement. This means that our relations with France have become stronger. I sincerely believe that this will always exist… that we will always have special ties with France and England. And I believe this is a plus for us. I cannot see why we should change it, and this is also true in the way we do our marketing for tourism. Also, the fact that we are bilingual, that our students go and study there, that there are big Mauritian communities there, that these countries give scholarships to our students…

Q: How do you explain that figures of tourism arrivals for long haul markets are dominated by France and England?

Listen… Yes, France and England will always dominate the tourism market in Mauritius. For all the reasons I have cited before, I personally believe it will continue. You know, it is a collective memory that keeps us attached to our former rulers. You know that tourism is a reality that is very similar to colonial rhetoric and discourse. What we are now is the result of what, when and where we have been in the past. How a country develops, its present state, its future, is often the result of decisions taken in the past. The Europeans became rich and super powers because of their adventurous nature and greed for gold, spices, lands and seas. Whether we like it or not, we have a colonial history which reflects itself in many things that we do, that we are, in our institutions, our taste… there is a bit of all this.

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10. http://www.l'express.mu
11. http://metservice.intnet.mu
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14. http://www.twnside.org.sg/title/chavez-cn.htm. March 1999
15. http://volatile.org/research/tourism.htm
16. http://www.whirledbank.org/development/sap.html
17. http://www.who.int.csr/don/2006_03_01/en/index.html
18. http://www.intnet.mu/iels/stresses_mau.htm
19. http://www.un.org
20. http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sids/sidstbc.htm
21. https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html

END NOTES

[i] Hugh Trevor-Roper (1914-2003) was a British historian of early modern Britain and Nazi Germany. According to Trevor-Roper, history was full of contingencies and should be understood as an art, not as a science. *History and Imagination: A Valedictory Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford* (May 20, 1980).

[ii] Barrington Moore (1913-2005) was an American political sociologist famous for his work "Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World." His methodological strategy combined the investigation of particular cases, the use of comparative analysis, counterfactual argument, establishing generalisations and causal explanations.

[iii] ATLAS.ti5 is the fifth version of ATLAS.ti; flexible software initially developed in Germany at the Technical University of Berlin and later by Thomas Mohr. It offers a variety of tools for the qualitative analysis of data in various formats. Its functions are basically divided into four interrelated sections within files called Hermeneutic menus. The four drop-down menus are: Documents, Quotations, Codes and Memos (Lewins & Silverman, 2004).

[iv] CO 537/9585: Progress Report Finance; Telegram No 1127 (November 29, 1952).

[v] CO 537/9585: Notes from Mr. Paskin in the Colonial Office to Mr. J.B. Sidebotham (April 13, 1950).

[vi] The Napoleonic Wars refer to a series of conflicts between France of Napoleon Bonaparte and several European nations between 1799 and 1815 which spilled over into several parts of the world, including the Americas and the Indian ocean (de Jomini, 2009, re-issue).

[vii] This ten-year policy paper was followed by specific plans for the years 1971-1975, 1975-1980 and 1980-1982. The strategy of the Second Plan 1975-1980 was to create "More Jobs for the Mauritian People" targeting the creation of 76,000 jobs by 1980. The emphasis was on the type of jobs being planned (more skilled and educated manpower) rather than quantity. Industrial development was identified as the most important feature of the country's development effort at job creation: in 1974 the manufacturing sector employed 30,000 workers and the Plan's target by 1980 was to provide 47,000 additional jobs for the large young population of the island. By 1977, employment in large establishments rose to 195, 375 from 173,000 in 1975. Rural development through rural planning with the help of UNESCO together with development through co-operatives Credit were also established in this plan. (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, The Second Plan 1975-1980)

[viii] Mauritius joined the Yaoundé convention in 1970. The Convention was a special agreement initiated by France for and on behalf of its colonies with the newly formed European Economic Community. The colonies were guaranteed special trade and aid privileges with the Common Market. [Due to its cultural affinity with France and special friendships between French politician and deputy of Reunion Michel Debré and local Francophile politicians, Mauritius was made a full member of several organisations and institutions related to France. In 1975 Mauritius organized the congregation of the "Association international des parlementaires de langue française" (L'Express, September 16, 1975). That same year, Mauritius hosted a meeting of the French-speaking members of the Agence de Cooperation culturelle et technique (Le Monde, November 28, 1975). Mauritius has since then continued to be a strategic partner for France and her overseas department Reunion.]

[ix] Réseau des lignes aériennes françaises.

[x] The MGTO (Mauritius Government Tourist Office) is now the MTPA (Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority), which is a major player in catalysing resources for the promotion of the island abroad. It facilitates the identification of markets and their exploitation through advertisement and fairs abroad.

[xi] A seminar on Tourism in the 1990's in Mauritius was organised by the Ministry of Tourism and was attended by major players in the hotel and tourism industry. During that seminar, the government made clear its intention "to gain maximum industry involvement in decision making" (Ministry of Tourism, 1988; p. 9) through its marketing wing, the Mauritius Government Tourist Office.

[xii] Between the two World Wars there were pressures, especially from the Americans, on the European colonial powers to relinquish their holds on their colonies. According to Boyce (1999) in "*Decolonisation and the British Empire 1775-1997*," p. 268, during that same period, the successive British governments felt additional pressures based on their own "ways of thinking about politics and government." Britain was viewed by its colonies and other foreign nations as the pivotal point in a blatant discriminatory trade system. World War II was the last effort by Dominions and colonies to rally behind Britain. There were increasing pressures for the recognition of the various nationalities within the British Commonwealth. Colonial policies of Attlee's government in 1946 purported to move away from sentimental imperialism in favour of more liberalism and realism. This required a re-evaluation of changing realities but by no means meant outright decolonisation, as Britain still felt tutelage was necessary. However, the threat of Soviet expansion and the need for economic recovery signalled continuing interest in the empire. In practice, the objectives of colonial policies as outlined in 1949 by the Minister of Defence, A. V. Alexander, included that of achieving "the most rapid development practicable of our overseas possessions, since without such colonial development there can be no major improvement in the standard of living of own people at home." Gallagher (2004), *Decline, revival and fall of the British empire*; pp. 145-146. At the Colonial office, Attlee's Secretary of State A. Creech Jones made colonial policies less paternalistic, more positive and generous.

[xiii] In his interview, Mr Bérenger quoted Dr Ramgoolam as saying the following in the Mauritian Parliament during his inaugural speech: "Mr. Speaker Sir (referring to Mr. Vaghjee), you remember how faithful we were as members of the British Empire…we wanted to be integrated but then we were told off…" (Bérenger, 2008).

[xiv] In fact, events well before the beginning of the twentieth century had important effects on the colonies: the anti-slavery movement in England (brought about in the last three decades of the 18th century by the cases of slaves abandoned by their masters in Britain), the French revolution in the late 1780s (see *The history of Jamaica* by C.V. Black (1958, 1985), Chapter 12, *Effects of the French Revolution*, and 14, *The end of slavery*); and revolutions in the British and Spanish American colonies from the 1770s to 1830. However, the final stage in the dismantling of the European empires was World War II.

[xv] After World War I, Britain was prepared to face the prospect of a move towards granting independence to India. The same cannot be said of other European empires, which would consider such a possibility only after World War II. In the aftermath of World War I, the "civilising mission" of Western models of government was increasingly criticised on the grounds that it did not ensure sustainable paths of moral, human and social development. Preludes to the coming struggles for decolonisation found strong echoes in the critical discourses of the Indian poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). M. Adas (2004).

[xvi] Circular despatch 728/52 of 21.07.1952 from Colonial Office: Industrial Development in the Colonies.

[xvii] Ibid.

xvii CO 167/952/1 (May 19, 1959, p. 26); Report on the inter-departmental committee on the encouragement of industry legislation, under the chairmanship of Mr. W.L. Gorell-Barnes, to examine colonial legislation designed to encourage the development of manufacturing industries in colonial territories and to consider generally the various incentives to private investment in such development provided by governments.

xviii Britain often appointed committees to examine specific socio-economic and political aspects related to its colonies. These committees surveyed methods adopted in the UK, the Commonwealth countries, foreign countries and colonial territories before drawing conclusions. Policies and recommendations based on such conclusions were thereafter transmitted to colonies for action by colonial governments. One such committee, "The Committee on the Encouragement of Industry Legislation," was appointed to examine colonial legislation designed to encourage the development of manufacturing industries (May 19, 1952), p. 33. A major finding and acknowledgement of this Committee was that due to the diversity of conditions and requirements in the various colonies, it was impossible to recommend a unified procedure or model legislation for the encouragement of investment in industrial enterprises in the colonies.

xix This was the official administrative view of The British Treasury in 1951, with the recognition that colonies were self-governing units, with constitutions and bodies of law that help them maintain financial stability. This view was generally shared by some governors whenever the autonomy of their colonies was concerned.

xx *The Colonial Empire today: survey of our main problem and policies* (May 1950); CO 537/5698, no. 69.

xxi «Cadre géographique ou se situe ce département et qui comprend, bien entendu, l'Afrique» [translated by the candidate]. In J. O. Assemblée nationale, 1ere séance du 14 juin 1962, p. 1716.

xxii Letter From Mr. Aurousseau, Chef de Cabinet of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, to Club Mediterannée (October 26, 1966); 9 DE 53.

xxiii Letter From Mr. Trigano of Club Med to Mr. Aurousseau, Chef de Cabinet of the Ministry of Economy and Finance (August 18, 1971); 9 DE 53.

xxiv Letter from the French Embassy in Port-Louis, Mauritius to Mr. J.C. Aurousseau, Chef du cabinet du Ministre d'Etat de la défense nationale (June 2, 1970); 9 DE 53.

xxv Mr. Valery Giscard d'Estaing became President of France in 1974 for a period of seven years until 1981 (septennial); 9 DE 53.

xxvi Letter from the French Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Maurice Schumann, to Mr. V. Giscard d'Estaing, French Minister of Economy and Finance, September 18 1969: *" Sur le plan politique enfin, cette réalisation permettrait de satisfaire rapidement la demande d'aide économique et financière présentée par le gouvernement mauricien, désireux de se soustraire a l'influence trop exclusive de la Grande-Bretagne et aux avances de l'URSS qui cherche a s'implanter dans cette partie d l'océan indien. Elle instaurerait un début de coopération économique entre la Réunion et l'Ile Maurice, souhaitée par les chambres de commerce des deux territoires et contribueraient enfin à consolider nos liens d'amitiés avec ce jeune état indépendant où nous avons de nombreux intérêts."* 9 DE 53.

xxvii Letter from the Charge d'Affaires at the Mauritian Embassy in Paris, Mr. Raymond Chasle, to the French Ministry of Economy and Finance, February 2, 1972.

xxviii Letter from the British High Commission in Mauritius to the Ministry of Overseas Development, East Africa Division (February 9, 1970).

xxix Ibid.

xxx Ibid.

xxxi Quantum of capital aid by the British Government to Mauritius since independence [in British pounds]
Table (i) UK aid to Mauritius: 1968 – 1973 (GBP)

1968	0.64 million
1968	1.40 million
1969	1.00 million
1970	5.00 million
1973	5.00 million

Source: Steering brief from the East African Bureau of ODA for the visit of the Minister of Overseas Development to Mauritius (June 1974)

xxxii The five factors that, according to Miles, have fostered democratic outcomes in Mauritius are (i) *Sequential colonialism*, whereby the island has inherited a dualistic institutional structure that ensures British-represented political rule, while economic and cultural domination was exercised by Francophones; (ii) *Bilingualism plus*, whereby the two colonial languages co-exist as mutual checks in an official way together with Creole, the lingua franca, which has no official status but which nevertheless binds the Mauritian people together, and other ancestral languages preserved among the various Asian communities brought by the British to the island; (iii) *Institutional structure and leadership*; (iv) *Super-civil society*, whereby the existence of numerous private NGOs (non-governmental organisations) characteristic of a healthy and dynamic civil society warrants inter-ethnic harmony and solid national unity that do not exclude ethnicity and embracing negotiations towards common Mauritianness; and (v) *Indian work ethic,* whereby characteristics of thrift, hard work, and orientation on the future of the Indo-Mauritians were used to explain both Mauritian economic success and political conflict with an undertone of ethnic rivalry.

xxxiii In a record of a discussion between officers of the British Overseas Development and Dr. Nijhawan, Director of the Mauritius Economic Planning Unit, in London on September 22, 1970, about the major points of development in the strategic development plan from 1970-1975, Dr. Nijhawan "did not place a very high priority on tourism because he did not consider that its development would produce many additional employment opportunities," though he conceded that the "main benefit would come through foreign exchange earnings."

xxxiv This keen interest of the Francophile minister Sir Gäetan Duval would cause his expulsion from the coalition government of Ramgoolam in 1974 when the Prime Minister learned Duval's discussions with the French far beyond mere tourism development "about the possibility of granting them [the French] military facilities." Confidential report on French Interests in Mauritius from the British High Commission to the Minister for Overseas Development (June 1974).

xxxv Gäetan Duval was the leader of the Parti Mauricien Social Democrate (PMSD), a political party favoured by the Creole community. He was a Francophile known for his "wilder excesses" (Carter, 1971b) and his close ties with France and Michel Debré, then deputy of Reunion Island. Comfortable in their positions of influence in Mauritius and "safeguarded by the aid we give, in its many forms, and by the natural friendliness the Mauritians feel towards us" (Le Tocq, 1971), the British, just as the Mauritian Prime Minister Ramgoolam, were nervous about the close relationships between France and Duval (Joy, 1971).

xxxvi The theories and doctrines, or *Zeitgeist,* that underlay the programme of the British [Labour] government in the 1950s and 1960s and which rippled throughout the empire consisted of a combination of Fabian doctrines and the Soviet concept of planning. The emphasis on import-substitution industry betrayed the absence of a belief in foreign trade as a possible engine of economic growth in the developing world.