

Tourism and its relationship to community development in Chamarel, Mauritius

Davina Zara Ludmilla Prang

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
London Metropolitan University
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

January 2016

Acknowledgements

The completion of this study represents a significant turning point in my life. It has been a long journey and has demanded a lot of effort, time and personal sacrifice. During this time I was lucky to have the support of many people. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my Director of Studies Professor Dean Bartlett and for the advice and support of my Head of Department Professor Jillian Farquar. I am grateful for the numerous readers of my work including Professor Michael Hitchcock and Professor Marcus Stephenson who supported the proposals and findings of this study and their valuable insights over many years.

The research for this thesis would not have been possible without the kind help and generosity of the villagers of Chamarel who gave up their time freely to share in discussions and allowed me to interview them. I felt humbled by their sense of optimism as they shared their innermost thoughts and lives with me. I am indebted to the families who welcomed me into their world and experiences of everyday Mauritian life. My taxi driver was a valuable friend who participated in the research on community tourism whole heartedly.

I would like to thank the many informants including staff members of the Ministry of Tourism, Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture and the Mauritius Research Council for their hospitality and lively debates on tourism development and Creole communities.

The content and findings in the study includes issues which may be seen as sensitive. Therefore, certain information were anonymised and pseudonyms or descriptive role details were used. The findings of this study do not seek to be representative of any party or persons.

Abstract

This study focuses on the Creole village of Chamarel in the south of Mauritius. It examines trends in Mauritian tourism and how this has changed to include ecologically sensitive areas. It will discuss the historical context of Mauritius and the relevance of a plural society to tourism, with a particular focus on the representation of Mauritian culture, the Creole identity and the relevance of this to community development.

The research explores community tourism in Chamarel, utilising a multifaceted qualitative approach involving an ethnographic investigation intertwined with data from other techniques. Data was collected from semi-structured interviews, participant observation, casual conversations, narratives, social events and netnographic sources. The data was expanded over a ten year period to identify patterns and themes in community tourism during 2004 to 2014. This multifaceted approach represents a new methodology for the study of Mauritian tourism.

There has been a significant change in Chamarel to cater for ecotourism and community tourism. The findings shed light on community participation. This is achieved through the analysis of Government reports and development plans. The range of sources used enables a very rich, multiperspectival account of community tourism through ‘native eyes.’

The research suggests that interpretations of being Mauritian take on new meanings through the development of community tourism and reveals that ethnicity amongst other factors influenced the success of development in Chamarel.

This study contributes to a greater understanding on the complexities of community tourism development, analysing the concept from both national and local levels of planning. It provides a unique insight into community tourism in the Creole community of Chamarel and constitutes the first project of its kind in this geographic area. The research concludes by highlighting the need for further research on community perspectives in Mauritian tourism development.

List of Tables

- 3.1. Mauritius natural tourist attractions
- 3.2. Chamarel natural tourist attractions
- 3.3. Mauritius man-made tourist attractions
- 3.4. Chamarel man-made tourist attractions
- 3.5. Tourist arrivals c1970-2013
- 3.6. Tourist arrivals per source country c1985-2010
- 3.7. Tourist arrivals per source country c2004-2013
- 3.8. Tourist arrivals per source country c2011-2012

- 5.1. Tourist attractions in Chamarel 2004-2014
- 5.2. Tourism accommodation in Chamarel 2004-2014
- 5.3. Eco and adventure tourism in Chamarel 2004-2014
- 5.4. Culture and heritage tourism in Chamarel 2004-2014
- 5.5. Creole Table d'hôtes in Chamarel 2004-2014
- 5.6. Restaurants in Chamarel 2004-2014

- 6.1. Themes from tourism and the environment in Chamarel
- 6.2. Themes from community participation in Chamarel
- 6.3. Themes from consultation and decision-making in Chamarel
- 6.4. Themes from the notion of community in Chamarel
- 6.5. Themes from cultural tourism in Chamarel
- 6.6. Themes from commoditising the Creole identity in Chamarel
- 6.7. Themes from conflicts on table d'hôtes and Creole representation
- 6.8. Themes from development for the community – accessibility
- 6.9. Themes from the need for vocational training in Chamarel

- 6.10. Themes from the need for vocational training in Chamarel
- 6.11. Themes from community tourism in Chamarel
- 6.12. Themes from the need for business support in Chamarel
- 6.13. Themes from integration in community tourism

List of Figures

- 1.1. First tourist map of Mauritius showing Chamarel (2002)
- 1.2. Map of Chamarel's location and surrounding areas

- 3.1. Chart of tourist arrivals c1970-2013
- 3.2. Chart of tourist arrivals per source country c1985-2010
- 3.3. Chart of tourist arrivals per source country c2004-2013

- 5.1. Multi-ethnic composition of Mauritian population in tourism promotion.
- 5.2. Chamarel promotion on Government website
- 5.3. Overall picture of Chamarel tourism in time 1 (2004)
- 5.4. Overall picture of Chamarel tourism in time 2 (2014)
- 5.5. Map of Chamarel
- 5.6. Map of Chamarel locating tourism development in 2014
- 5.7. Diversification of the Chamarel tourism product in 2014
- 5.8. The alternative tourism concept in Mauritius.
- 5.9. Rejuvenation of Chamarel tourism with cultural and heritage tourism 2014
- 5.10. Adapted Butler (1980) TALC model for Chamarel

- 7.1. Community tourism change over time in Chamarel 2004-2014:
 Connection of themes emerging in the data

List of Abbreviations

AHRIM	Association des Hôteliers et Restaurateurs de l'île Maurice
BOI	Board of Investment
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India and China tourism markets
CSO	Central Statistics Office
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOM	Government of Mauritius
IRS	Integrated Resort Scheme
MMM	Mouvement Millitant Mauricien (Mauritius)
MOT	Ministry of Tourism (Mauritius)
MTPA	Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority
NHPA	National Handicraft Promotion Agency
NLTPS	National Long-Term Perspective Study
RDI	Relative Development Index
RPA	Rapid Participatory Appraisal
SCT	Sustainable Community Tourism
SIA	Social Impact Assessment
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
TALC	Tourism Area Life Cycle
WWTC	World Travel and Tourism Council figures

UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	vi
Abbreviations	vii

1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the research study	1
1.2. Location of the research site	6
1.3. Historical Chamarel	8
1.4. A study on community tourism	9
1.5. Aim and objectives of the study	12
1.5.1. Aim	12
1.5.2. Objectives	12
1.6. Chapter summary	13

2. CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH SITE

2.1. Introduction	15
2.2. Chamarel and Le Morne as areas of slavery heritage	15
2.2.1. Early Creole identity	15
2.2.2. Early stages of Creolisation	18
2.3. Mauritius as a plural society	23
2.3.1. The relevance of the plural society to Mauritius	24

2.3.2. Creolisation - an exception to plural society?	27
2.3.3. Creole identity vs Mauritian identity	31
2.3.4. The Creole identity and ethnonyms	34
2.4. Conclusion	42

3. CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM TRENDS IN MAURITIUS

3.1. Introduction	44
3.1.1. Mauritius in geographic context	44
3.1.2. Mauritius natural tourist attractions	45
3.1.3. Mauritius man-made tourist attractions	48
3.2. International tourism to Mauritius	50
3.2.1. New emerging markets: BRIC	61
3.3. The tourist profile	64
3.4. Further diversification of the tourist profile	68
3.5. The application of the Tourism Area Life Cycle model (TALC) to Mauritius	70
3.6. Tourism planning and policy	72
3.6.1. Sustainable tourism in Mauritius	72
3.7. Community tourism – a new approach in Mauritius	81
3.7.1. The concept of community tourism	81
3.7.2. Planning for community tourism	85
3.7.3. The notion of community and community participation	87
3.7.4. Tourism for community development	88
3.7.5. Equity in participation	91
3.7.6. Issues in the process of public participation	93
3.7.7. The citizenship dimension	96

3.7.8. Consultation and decision-making for community tourism	99
3.7.9. Implementing the community tourism concept in Mauritius	102
3.8. Conclusion and summary of the research question	104

4. CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction	106
4.1.1. The need for a study on Chamarel	106
4.2. Quantitative versus qualitative research strategy	108
4.2.1. Positivism and quantitative research design	108
4.2.2. Perspectives on qualitative research design	111
4.2.3. The justification for qualitative methods in Chamarel	114
4.3. The research strategy for this study	114
4.3.1. The selection of the research methodology	114
4.3.2. The case study	115
4.3.3. Ethnography	117
4.3.4. The Chamarelian community as a sample	119
4.3.5. Rapid Participatory and ethnographic Appraisal	121
4.3.6. Interviews – the Mauritian intelligentsia	123
4.3.7. Documental research – history, archives and policy documents	124
4.3.8. Netnography	125
4.4. Data collection	126
4.5. The validity of the research methodology	128
4.5.1. Generalisability	128
4.5.2. The level of bias within the data	130
4.6. Data analysis	131

4.6.1. An emergent data analysis	131
4.6.2. Writing as a native and insider	132
4.6.3. Triangulation	137
4.7. Overcoming challenges in the fieldwork	138
4.8. Conclusion	141

5. CHAPTER FIVE: TOURISM PLANNING IN MAURITIUS

5.1. Introduction	142
5.2. 1970s-1990s: Tourism industry as a response to crisis	143
5.3. 1980-1990s: The need for a human dimension to tourism planning emerges	145
5.3.1. Recognising the social function of tourism	145
5.3.2. One dimensional sustainability	147
5.4. 1990s-2004: Community perspectives in national plans	151
5.4.1. Mauritius – a harmonious plural society for tourism	151
5.4.2. Perceptions of tourism in Creole communities	154
5.5. The first dedicated tourism development plan for Mauritius	157
5.6. 2004-2014: Findings on Chamarel’s tourism development	158
5.6.1. Diversification of tourism attractions in Chamarel	162
5.6.2. Changing accommodation trends	167
5.6.3. Eco and adventure tourism	171
5.6.4. Cultural and heritage tourism in Chamarel	175
5.6.5. Festivals, music and dance	177
5.6.6. Promotion of Creole cuisine	181
5.7. Conclusion and summary of the findings	184

6. CHAPTER SIX: COMMUNITY TOURISM IN MAURITIUS

6.1. Introduction	187
6.2. Community tourism in Chamarel	188
6.2.1. Tourism and the environment	190
6.3. Community participation	198
6.3.1. Community tourism: Reinforcing power relations in community	198
6.3.2. Consultation and decision-making	202
6.4. Creole heritage and tourism	204
6.4.1. Carnivals and festivals for tourism	204
6.4.2. Commoditising Creole sega	208
6.4.3. Conflicts on table d'hôtes and Creole representation	209
6.5. Development for the 'community'?	213
6.5.1. Accessibility and facilities for tourism	215
6.5.2. The need for education	219
6.5.3. The need for vocational training	223
6.5.4. Stagnating community tourism businesses	225
6.5.5. The need for business support	229
6.5.6. Integrated schemes for tourism	232
6.6. Conclusion and summary of the findings	237

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: TOURISM FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: PERSPECTIVES FROM CHAMAREL

An Analytical Discussion

7.1. Discussion of Chamarel's tourism and significant change over time	242
7.2. Community membership and Mauritian citizenship as fragmented and conflicting	247
7.3. Stakeholders in Chamarel tourism: Conflicting interests and local exclusion	250
7.4. Democracy, selection and leadership for tourism	252
7.5. Development planning and community tourism as an autocratic approach	253
7.5.1. Racial inequalities in tourism development	254
7.5.2. Ethnicity and disadvantages for tourism employment	256
7.6. Community tourism and cultural revitalisation	257
7.7. Conclusion	262

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1. Implications of the research findings	265
8.2. Factors to consider when conducting qualitative research in Creole communities	267
8.3. Contribution of the study	269
8.4. Recommendations for future research	270
8.5. Conclusions	271

<u>REFERENCES</u>	277
--------------------------	-----

<u>APPENDICES</u>	343
--------------------------	-----

A. Primary research matrix	343
B. List of primary research informants	344

C. Keynotes on interviews	346
D. Other types of primary research gathered	347
E. Media notes (television and radio)	347
F. Conferences	348
G. Matrix showing secondary materials collected in Mauritius	350
H. Newspaper articles	351
I. Photo journal inventory	354
Glossary of terms	359

1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the research study

Mauritius is located within the Indian Ocean and east of Madagascar. The tropical climate is hot, wet and humid during the summer months between November and May. Therefore, the peak tourism season is between May to early December when it is still humid but relatively cooler than the rest of the year. Tourists are recommended to avoid January and February when the island is prone to cyclones and heavy rainfall (Lonely Planet, 2013).

The island is of volcanic origin and famous for being the home of the dodo, a flightless bird which was driven to extinction in the 17th century. Before the Dutch invasion the island contained an impressive 40 indigenous bird species amongst other rare wildlife such as giant land tortoises, lizard, snakes and two types of giant fruit bats (Temple 1974). However, the introduction of such animals from Malaysia like the Macaque monkey and the Javanese deer brought a decline to indigenous fauna and wildlife (Temple 1974). Therefore, there is now a great deal of attention paid towards the ecological sensitivity of the island and the impacts of human intervention.

Mauritius was historically influenced by the sugar industry and was a mono-crop economy. However, natural disasters such as ‘Cyclone Carol’ on the 28th February 1960 severely damaged crops and employment opportunities (Maurinet, 2013). It is still remembered today in traditional ‘Sega’ folk song as being the worse time in national history and where many starved as a result of lack of employment (Lebrasse 2004). Therefore, the tourism industry was seen as a positive approach to rectify the unemployment problem.

Ongoing projects by The Mauritian Wildlife Foundation (MWF) and Government departments such as the Forestry Service are working together with the Ministry of Tourism and Beach Authority to find new approaches towards sustainable development (The Mauritian Wildlife Foundation, 2012). The National Forestry Policy (2006) recommended ecotourism to lessen the strain on physical capacity within coastal zones. The ecotourism industry involved the training of public and private ‘personnel,’ however, it was not clear how local community

residents participated during the process of hotel construction work (Government of Mauritius, 2013).

The tourism industry was officially introduced to the island during the early 1970s as part of the Government of Mauritius' (1970) National Development Plan. This was the first four-year plan for Social and Economic Development (1971-1975) and it was also unique to recommend tourism development. The tourism industry was recommended as a way of diversifying from a mono-crop economy into three-pillar economy (sugar and agriculture, the export processing zone for manufacturing and tourism).

Over thirty years after the first national plan, tourism is still a vital pillar of the Mauritian economy as shown by the latest statistical reports from the Mauritian Government and continues to steadily grow in tourist arrivals (Government of Mauritius, 2013). From the time of this study, tourist arrivals have increased consecutively throughout the years 2005 to 2012. The greatest market share in tourist arrivals to Mauritius are mainly from northern European destinations such as France and Germany, with France consistently providing the majority of European share with 49.5% in total arrivals (Statistics Mauritius 2012, p.3). During 2010-2011 there were 932,847 tourist arrivals with a further +3.2% increase during 2011 resulting in a total of 964,423 tourists arrivals (Statistics Mauritius 2012).

A tourist arrival figure reaching the million mark would achieve the target placed by the Minister of Tourism and Leisure (Nando Bodha). During an interview in 2011, Minister Bodha revealed that it was the Ministry of Tourism's (MOT) desire to ensure that one million international tourists visit Mauritius in 2012; a ratio of one tourist per resident if the present population stands at 1.2 million (Clifford 2011). The MOT would also ensure the protection of tourists through the 'clean up' operations on criminal activity in certain areas such as Ile aux Cerfs (Mauritius). There is no mention of how this fits within sustainable tourism or any acknowledgement of the impact a 'one tourist to one resident ratio' would have on physical carrying capacity (Gouges 2011, p.10). What is more concerning is the future proposals to double tourist arrivals to two million per year over the next decade (Gouges 2011, p.10).

In contrast, the strain on carrying capacity within coastal zones was what the Government sought to avoid in its First National Development Plan (1971-1975). The Government marketed the Island as a non-mass tourism destination which catered only for high-spend luxury tourists (Ministry of Tourism and Economic Planning 1971). Tourism promotion of a luxury image was believed to be the key way of avoiding the pitfalls of mass tourism on the island's natural resources (Ministry of Tourism and Economic Planning 1971). The Mauritian Tourism Promotion Authority (MTPA) promoted Mauritius as 'exotic' and the last 'paradise on earth.' It was believed that this automatically attracted more responsible tourists, few in numbers, which would not cause such a great impact on the physical carrying capacity (Ministry of Tourism and Economic Planning 1971).

A study of tourism destination image by Prayag (2009) highlighted a gap in research on tourism marketing in Mauritius. The island is still promoted to the high-spend European markets but is diversifying into others areas such as adventure, golf and spa tourism (Prayag 2009, p.841). Naidoo et al (2010) study on the European tourist perceptions of Mauritian brand image recognises that tourism promotion on the island is mainly based on sun, sea, sand and images depicting a 'paradise' with 'friendly multi-cultural inhabitants' (Naidoo et al., 2010, p.95).

Another approach towards restricting the burden on physical carrying capacity focuses on enclave tourism to control development in specific areas of the island. Oppermann and Chon (1997) illustrate, in their case study of Mauritius, the first stages of spatial tourism development in the form of enclaves. The areas were located in the north of Mauritius in Grand Baie and Flic en Flac in the west of Mauritius (Opperman and Chon 1997). This approach towards tourism development was popular in other Indian Ocean islands such as the Maldives where an 'enclave policy' restricted tourism development to one self-contained resort per island or 'atoll' (Weaver 2012, p. 42).

Grand Baie fishing village was selected as a 'tourist hub' in the First National Development Plan (1971-1975). The fishing village was transformed into an enclave for affluent local residents and French expatriates. It could also potentially offer the high standards of public infrastructure and facilities needed to attract wealthy international tourists (Ministry of Economic Planning 1971).

Freitag (1994) identifies the benefits of enclave tourism in the Dominican Republic. He describes enclave resorts which promote 'inclusiveness' to cater for tourist's needs and desires. These enclaves would provide for the pleasures of tourists within a controlled environment and exclude the local region (Freitag 1994, p.541). Turner and Ash (1975) describe the evolution of the first tourism enclaves as 'pleasure peripheries', which were a result of affluent post-war tourists, artists and wealthy aristocrats visiting Spain and Eastern Europe (Turner and Ash 1975, p.99). The pleasure peripheries in Eastern Europe such as Romania on the Black Sea were likened to a 'Disneyland' for the rich and this extended beyond to the Caribbean as tourists discovered new pleasure peripheries. The Bahamas, for example, experienced a boom in tourists during the 1960s after relaxing their gambling laws (Turner and Ash 1975, p.99). During this global development for tourism enclaves and pleasure peripheries, major hotel chains such as Hilton, Holiday Inn and Club Med caused a decline in local hotels and entrepreneurs. Britton's (1982) study of tourism in the Third World discusses how tourism businesses would be dependent on the 'intermediate level' organisations, usually foreign sourced, and therefore there was very little financial gain for local regions. Most services such as food, drink, equipment and consumer products would be outsourced through international companies (Britton 1982, p.345).

In terms of hotel ownership, Turner and Ash (1975) identified that this phenomena would spread to the Indian Ocean where major hotel chains such as ClubMed would be established on islands like Mauritius. Indeed, Club Med is represented in Mauritius today at La Pointe aux Canoniers (ClubMed 2013; ClubMed 2015). In contrast, the hotel development proposed within The First National Development Plan (1971-75) displayed a lack of regional emphasis and a reluctance to involve local hotel entrepreneurs. Over the years, in various plans since then, there has been little recommendation on community participation in tourism. A White Paper (1988) for tourism advocated the benefits of tourism but did not discuss the inequalities within tourism participation and distribution at a local level (Ministry for Tourism and Employment 1988).

The First Tourism Development Plan for Mauritius was published in 2002 and it was the first of its kind to discuss the need for research on the social aspects of tourism development. It also acknowledged one of the few social studies on Creole fishing communities made during the

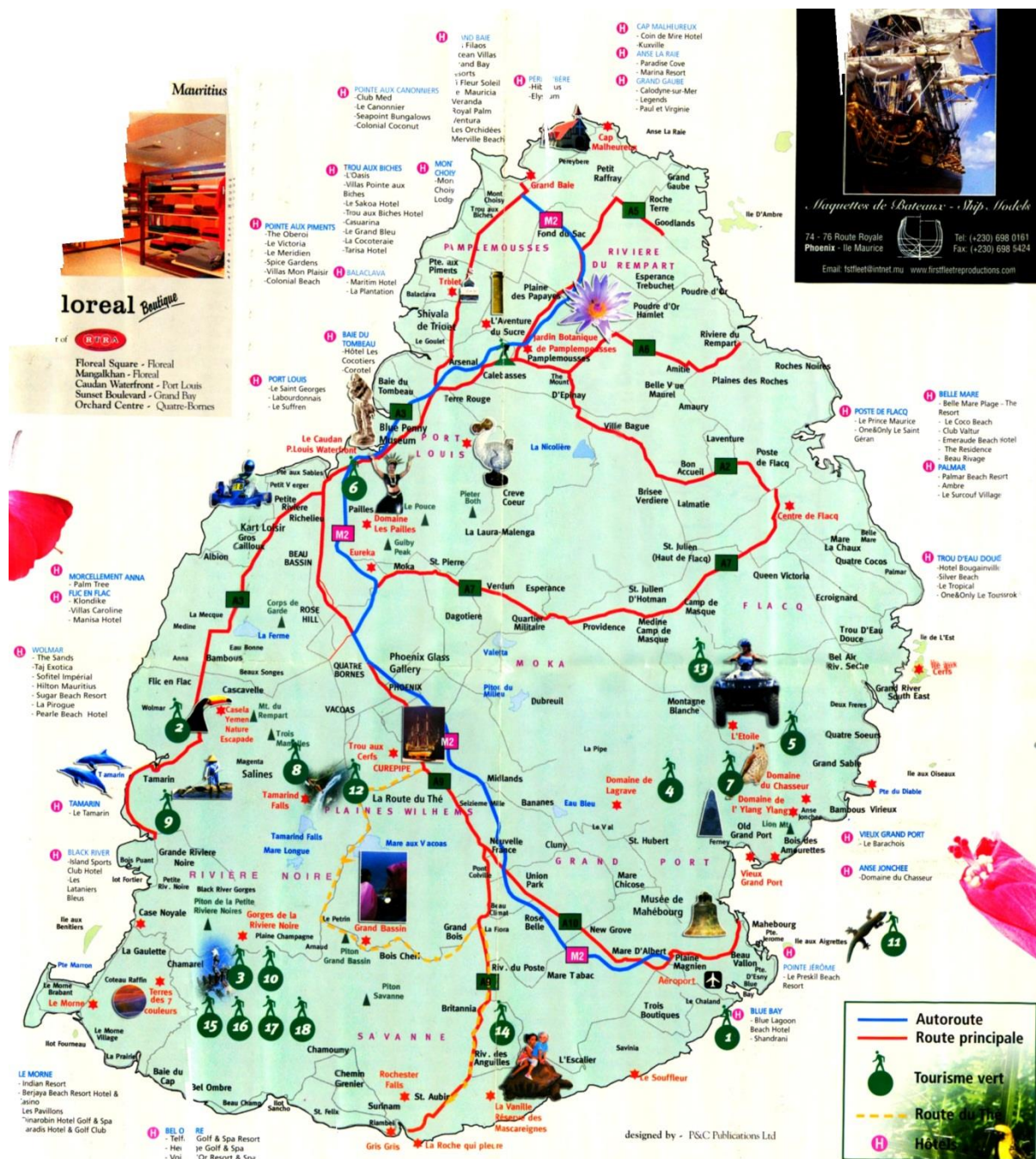
1990s (Mauritius Research Council, 1998). However, neither of these reports linked tourism development and social impact studies together. What was needed was a link between the two.

The intention of this study was to bridge the gap in research on Mauritian tourism. It identified how social impacts from tourism and ethnicity may be connected through a catalyst such as the tourism industry; in particular community tourism which seeks to benefit the local residents. Joppe (1996) quotes the United Nations definition of community tourism development as a '...process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation', assuming that tourism development is based on an ideal notion of community where all members share the same purpose and common goal (Joppe 1996, p.476).

This is particularly significant as the Community Tourism Project in 2004 was located in the South (le Morne and Chamarel) which had been neglected in terms of national development and was remotely accessible to tourists in comparison to Grand Baie. At the time of the study, the area of Chamarel was found to be suffering from a lack of distribution of benefits from tourism development such as public infrastructure, improvement in local resident facilities and education. Chamarel and Le Morne also hold strong historical ties to the Afro-Mauritian communities identified with poverty and slavery (Farquar 2002). This study suggests that other ethnic and historical factors can also play an important part in community tourism development. The social aspects of tourism planning in areas of sensitive ethnic background such as Chamarel would call for even closer analysis within on the notions of community and the meanings of community participation.

1.2. Location of the research site

Fig 1.1. First tourist map of Mauritius showing Chamarel (2002)



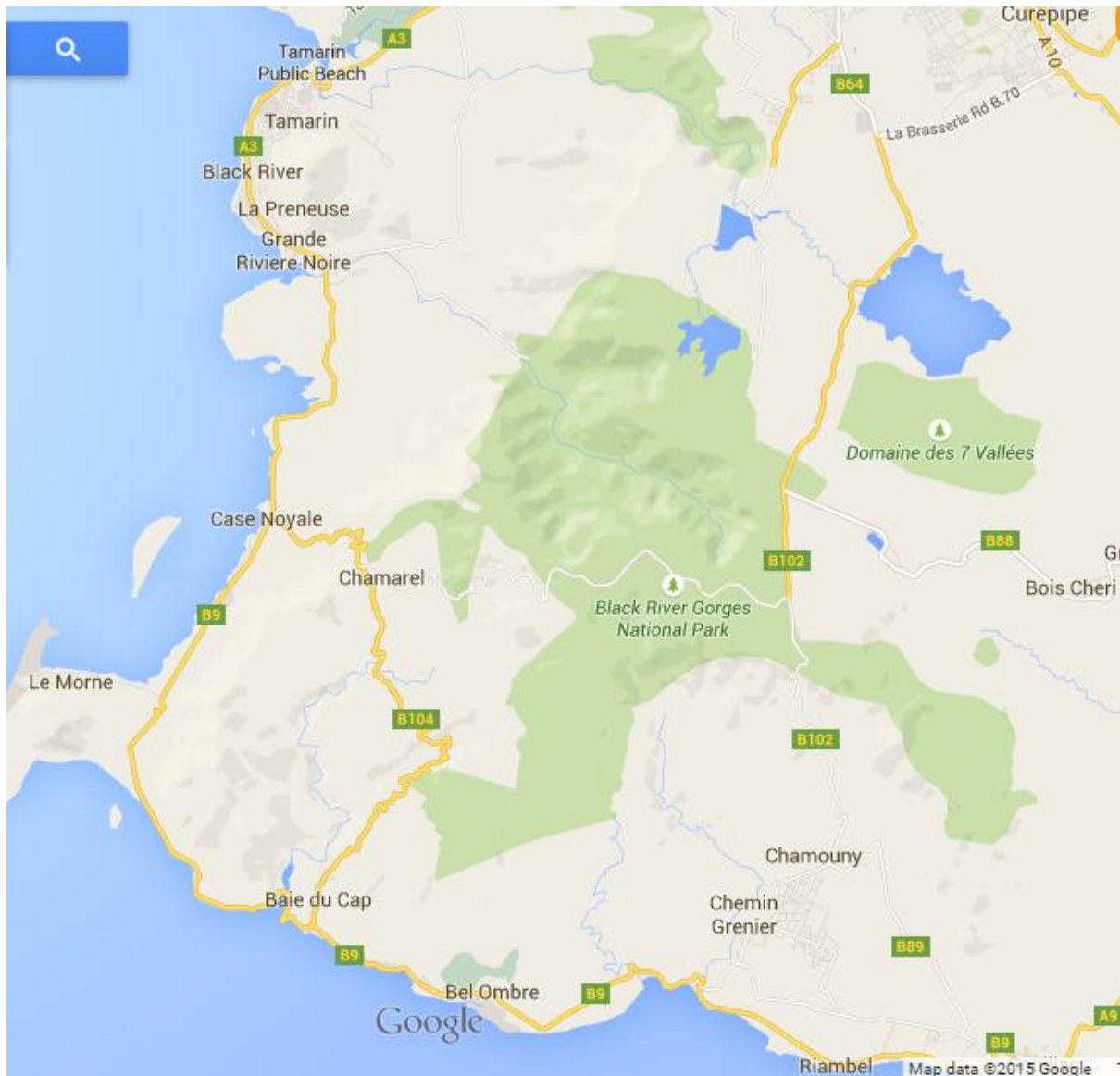


Fig 1.2. Map of Chamarel's location and surrounding areas. Source: Google Maps (2015)

Chamarel is located in the south-west of Mauritius on a minor route which travels along the south-western coast. Chamarel's environment features dense forest and mountain ranges, valleys and ecologically sensitive areas. Natives associate Chamarel with the UNESCO World Heritage Site at Le Morne Brabant linked to slavery heritage and ancestry.

1.3. Historical Chamarel

Historical findings from archival research in Mauritius indicated that the village owes its name to Charles Antoine de Chazal de Chamarel, a captain of the infantry of ‘Compagnie de Indes.’ French archive maps and family records which were found at the Mauritius National Archive stated that Chamarel’s original name was ‘Le Nuage’, {cloud} and measured 625 out a total territory of 4,138 arpents (Societe de l’histoire de l’île Maurice 1943). This was given to the de Chazal domain in concession during 1786. It was recorded that Chamarel village was named after the De Chazal family and was inherited by subsequent generations through the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (Bhurdivaz and Breejan 1993, p.7; Societe de l’histoire de l’île Maurice 1943, p.263; 1952, p.744; Regnard 1927, p.4-5, 24-26, 36-44).

Other areas in the domain were either given tropical names such as ‘Eden’ or French landmark names such as Chateaufort, Coin du Mouchoir, Cachette, Jacobi, St. Denis, St Louis and La Rousseliere (Staub 1982, p.1). Dutch, French, Malagasy, English, Hindu and Arabic names are used for regions in Mauritius. Some of these names refer to those who lived on the island, others to places in the world or commemorate battles and military posts. Other names are given to trees, shrubs, caves, rivers, lakes and mountains. Interestingly, the sugar plantations that provide employment for the majority of Chamarelians is still called ‘Bel Ombre’, the name dating back to 1776 when land was granted to a Monsieur Reminiac and Monsieur Etienne (Staub 1982).

Chamarel is part of the District Rivière Noire {*Black River in French*} since 1768. The Dutch first named it 'Zwarte Rivier' {*Black River in Dutch*} to refer to the black rocks in the river bed along the banks and this name remained during the French colonial period (Barnwell 1957, p.172, Hollingworth 1961, p.16-18). Poppy and mulberry trees were produced for opium and silk in Chamarel around 1817. Tea and coffee plantations were also tried on the island (UNDP 2005, p.2). In 1844 the concession changed hands and in 1860 Amedee Perrot established a leading sugar factory in the area. The village of Chamarel still exists in a rural region with dense, tropical forests and high mountainous reliefs due to past volcanic eruptions (Staub 1982, p.3).

1.4. A study on community tourism

Early pictures of Chamarel featured its only attraction Seven Coloured Earth or La Terre Sept Couleurs in French *{sept kulers in Mauritian Kreol}*. These photos depicted an area known to locals as a popular picnic destination which was unprotected from erosion and from domestic tourists. Visitor photos show where they could step onto the sand dunes and they could park their vehicles on the dunes without any restrictions or barriers which indicates a lack of regulation to safeguard this natural resource (Mauritage 2014b).

Mauritius was placed onto the international map long before registered tourism figures when Princess Margaret visited in 1956 (Mauritage (2014b). However, there was more awareness of Chamarel as a unique and outstanding area of natural beauty when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth visited Mauritius in 1972 (Le Mauricien 2012b).

A rapid ethnographic appraisal was undertaken in the area of Chamarel village during 2004 to 2005 which combined a rapid appraisal of the United Nations Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project with ethnographic techniques. Some of the methods employed were casual conversations, semi-structured interviews and overt participant observation. The use of these techniques in a ‘rapid appraisal’ is recognised within the sciences (in particular health and medicine) to quickly assess a medical phenomenon, but has also been used more recently within small communities to assess projects on poverty and local farming. McGee’s (2011) research on poverty in a rural community in Columbia, for example, interlinked local perceptions to policy decisions as well as secondary data from Government policies. She combined these with local level participant observation and life histories at local farms and schools to draw out themes and create semi-structured interviews (McGee 2001, p.1).

Spradley (1979) concepts of ethnographic techniques refers to an emergence of data through participant observation to describe real life events at various levels, ranging as a spectrum from passive to completely covert participation. The use of description and descriptive questions are also part of the ethnographic process. Interviews remain semi-structured and open to exploring new ideas and themes as they emerge from the respondent. In some cases, the approach could be simply to ask the informant to talk about a particular subject and in turn the data can be used

to discover other relevant questions about a research area (Spradley 1979, p.85). The use of descriptive observations and descriptive analysis are a key feature of ethnographic studies, particularly on small community and subcultures. Research on street corner society, for example, analysed the social structure of gangs and rackets in an Italian slum and the historical background of rackets as part of his ethnographic findings (Whyte 1993).

This study on Chamarel used similar ethnographic techniques such as descriptive analysis and real life everyday situations. It is a rapid ethnographic appraisal of a Community Tourism Project during 2004 to 2005. Ethnographic study should involve the understanding of real-life situations and a study of the local people in their natural settings (Brewer 2000:18). This study analyses the context of these findings within the historical development of Afro-Mauritian community in the southern region and connects them to slavery, French colonisation and the sugar industry. This means that the methodology for this study was more open to a multi-disciplinary and emergent design approach as and when new data presented itself. However, the researcher would remain aware of the concepts to progress and explore the themes as they arose, such as through semi-structured interviews, gaining entry to new social circles or visiting new research spaces.

As quoted by Gunn (1994), tourism requires multi-disciplinary techniques and that the use of many methods may be needed to understand the complexity and nature of the tourism industry (Gunn, 1994, p.5). It is believed that to understand tourism as social science, disciplinary boundaries must be crossed and new multidisciplinary perspectives are formed (Graburn and Jafari 1991, p.7).

The benefits of using an emergent design allowed the study on Chamarel to unfold naturally rather than being rigidly constructed or assumed. This is because it is inconceivable that enough could be known ahead of time about the many multiple realities taken from local perceptions on the self, insiders or outsiders to be fully covered by a structured survey and quantified by numerical measurement. The use of emic research seeks to identify the views of cultures and peoples on their own terms (Finn et al., 2000: 8). An emic approach in this study would therefore be subjective and represent an insider perspective of the Chamarel villagers and each other. Stronza and Gordillo (2008) studied community ecotourism projects in the Amazon used

emic research in the form of multi-disciplinary techniques, sometimes combined simultaneously to explore the meanings community members attach to their world through everyday life situations. These meanings can be given to historical, social and cultural norms operating within the individual's life (Stronza and Gordillo 2008, p.454).

What does emerge from this study is a multifaceted account of community tourism from the members who were affected by it and what is termed a 'snap-shot' during a unique space of time which cannot be replicated (Veal 2006, p.41). The time of the study (2004) was indeed a unique opportunity to analyse the first Community Tourism Project within Mauritius but also the first time an Afro-Mauritian community was selected to benefit from tourism development at a grass-root level.

Ethnographic analysis is therefore akin to the autobiographical style that can be found in various studies; the use of 'thick description' to interpret culture (Geertz 1993), the study of West Indian lifestyles in Bristol (Pryce 1986), and the church on brainwashing as examples of this style (Barker 1984). In his book on the ethnographic self, Coffrey (1999) feels that the autobiographical style has been identified as key element of ethnographic writing because it also involves locating the 'self' within the data in order to construct and create the research process (Coffrey 1999, p.26). An ethnographer can gain a better understanding of self through their experiences in the fieldwork and through self-redefinition (Coffrey 1999). Galani-Moutafi (2000) writing on the ethnographic self refers to Malinowski's diary (1967) as a positive example of an ethnographic research process which revealed unknown aspects of the investigator to themselves, allowing deeper insight into the ethnography (Galani-Moutafi 2000, p.213).

However, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) point out, the researcher is faced with a responsibility to acknowledge that subjective research is independent where the researcher and the research object interact and influence each other and their values within the process (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p.37). As quoted in Ryan (2005), 'The act of asking a question is not a neutral act – to ask a question bestows legitimacy upon the question as the question forms an agenda to be considered by the respondent' (Ryan 2005, p.9). In other words, the researcher is faced with a

series of self-accepted responsibilities to ensure the ‘truth’ of a research circumstance without bias.

Discussion on ethical principles in ethnography recommends that researchers cannot assume an informant’s interests and should be open to discover whatever interests them (Spradley 1979, p.21). Therefore, a lack of bias should be part of an ethnographic interviewer’s concern, with a general non-exploitative approach towards the confidentiality and information of their informants. Ryan (2005) argues that researchers operate within their own understanding of research ethics to respect the different constructions of what is ‘truth’ and are keen to ensure integrity within the research process (Ryan 2005, p.12).

1.5. Aim and objectives of the study

Aim

The aim is to provide an exploratory study of community tourism in a Mauritian village by identifying how Chamarel has significantly changed over time towards tourism development.

Objectives

1. To analyse how the tourism industry trends have changed over time in Mauritius using a chronological guideline of 1970 to 2013.
2. To identify initiatives for tourism development in Mauritius by evaluating national development plans and policies.
3. To explore community perspectives within tourism planning in Mauritius.
4. To explore the experiences of community tourism within Chamarel village.
5. To establish tourism development in Chamarel and how it has significantly changed over time.

1.6. Chapter summary

Chapter One introduces Mauritius and describes its geographic location and historical background. It also introduces Chamarel village, its location and background to the research site. Chapter Two discusses the historical context of Chamarel looking firstly at Mauritian heritage and the importance of Chamarel as a cultural and heritage site.

Chapter Three conceptualises the research study by looking at the trends in tourism in Mauritius taking a holistic approach using the chronological time line c1970-2013. It takes a closer look at the tourism industry in Mauritius and the relevance of these themes towards the development of Chamarel. It reviews tourist areas as places where these ethnic groups within a plural society intermingle and combine. It explores approaches to tourism planning, in particular the change in trend towards ecotourism and community tourism in Chamarel. This includes an evaluation of Mauritius on the Tourism Area Life Cycle and its positioning for ecotourism and community tourism as a point of rejuvenation. It presents the new approach towards community tourism development in Mauritius within the Creole village of Chamarel.

Chapter Four investigates both quantitative and qualitative methods for tourism and argues the relevance of qualitative methods to fit the purpose of this study. It details the use of rapid ethnographic appraisal and netnographic multi-media to update the study with current trends and to assess how Chamarel has significantly changed over the same time period. The nature of the fieldwork is discussed here and justifies an integrated approach that utilises a combination of desk research (e.g., archival-based data, policy documents, other Government reports, company newspaper articles, and media sources) and primary research (e.g., ethnographic appraisal, including local interviews and discussions with the Mauritian intelligentsia). Lastly, the Chapter will highlight the gaps in current literature on Mauritian community tourism.

Chapter Five presents two sections; first the findings from Government national development and tourism plans collected during the fieldwork in Mauritius. Government plans were analysed in chronological order from the First National Development Plan (1971-1975) to the most

recent, between the years 1975-2002. It also provides a detailed analysis of statistics on Mauritian tourism during this time. It includes the First National Development Plans for the country in 2002. Secondly the Chapter uses netnographic and multi-media methods to position the National Development Plans at a local level by analysing Chamarelian community tourism development at several research angles.

Chapters Five and Six analyse community tourism in Mauritius at a local level using ethnographic perspectives combined with netnographic media material to give a rich account of the implications of community tourism development between two time frames in 2004 and 2014. The analysis of the fieldwork allows the data to emerge through ethnographic techniques and draws out themes based on Creole identity, Creole and community exclusion from the community participation process. It will compare the conceptual themes in the literature when discovered in the findings.

Chapter Seven produces a further analytical discussion to address the concepts of plural society theory and ethnicity in Mauritius relating to the bigger picture of Mauritian community tourism development. It identifies and discusses the many factors which influence the success of community tourism in Mauritius such as the notion of community, insiders and outsiders, internal conflicts and inner tensions.

Chapter Eight readdresses the research aim and objectives and concludes on the themes raised and the implications of the research. It will evaluate how the methodology was utilised and further recommendations for future research in Chamarel. This Chapter will state the contribution of this study within pre-existing literature and how it can be used as a platform for further research in Chamarel, Creole identity and community tourism development.

2. CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH SITE

2.1. Introduction

This Chapter provides a framework of historical literature that demonstrates how the island developed under colonial intervention and more importantly how this shaped Chamarel into a valuable heritage and ecological site. It will explore the early development of the Creole identity and the connections between Creole identity and French perceptions of the Creole in areas such as Le Morne and Chamarel. It will then examine these ideas further through the concepts of Creolisation and plural society in modern day Mauritius.

This Chapter fills in the gap in current literature which features the Le Morne area but excludes the links to Chamarel in the greater picture of Mauritian heritage and slavery. Therefore, this Chapter is significant in the fact that it highlights the value of Chamarel with importance to Creole identity and how this fits into perceptions of the development in Chamarel.

2.2. Chamarel and Le Morne as areas of slavery heritage

2.2.1. Early Creole identity

The first stage of a plantation economy in Mauritius (Île de France) started to emerge under Governor Labourdonnais who established two companies for the creation of sugar in 1743, and a further ten sugar factories by 1789 (Rouillard 2005, p.11). Labourdonnais distributed concessions of land (on average 146 arpents each) to French ‘settlers’ as ‘plantations’ with the aim to set-up a factory in each one. He exported these crops to Surat (in Gujarat) and Europe. Île de France became prosperous as an agricultural colony and plantation economy. This also indicated a social order in Île de France, namely settlers, plantation owners and their slaves (Rouillard 2005, p.11).

Governor Labourdonnais wrestled with inter-ethnic conflicts between these three groups and Maroon slaves. These were slaves who had escaped from plantations and were fugitives within the island, and in doing so the Maroon became less about victimhood but more symbolic as a figure of resistance (Eichmann 2012, p.325).

Rev Henry Shepherd (1821) describes the ‘numerous herds of Maroons’ and ‘runaway slaves’ who were pillaging plantations and villages, killing the inhabitants, burning and destroying them. They also freed fellow Africans in order to swell their numbers. (Allen 1999, p.35).

These events added to the perception that Creoles were to blame for the subsequent chaos in food production and commerce. The Creole population was branded as robbers and ‘bandits’ who had a ‘lazy’ attitude to work. Creoles were perceived as ‘lazy, half literate, badly-chosen people, who were good-for-nothing’ (Addison & Hazareesingh 1993, p.16). Governor Pierre Poivre describes areas of Port Louis as ‘dangerous places’ where slaves were considered thieves, drunkards or prostitutes (Mahatma Gandhi Institute 1982, p.19).

Maroon settlements existed alongside plantations with a number of these found on the southern region of the island (UNESCO 2005, p.9). Chamarel and Le Morne in the South therefore became well-known areas associated with Maroon slavery, where they were seen as a threat to the social order and security of the Colonists (Fauque 2002, p.16). Subsequently, Chamarel and Le Morne gained a tarnished reputation amongst the Franco-Mauritian class as being dangerous ‘black’ areas and the southern parts of the island also acquired this stigma (Boswell 2006, p.22). The dense woodland within Chamarel and Le Morne provided ideal places for fugitives to hide and was known during Dutch, French and British rule as places for ‘Les Escalve marron’ (*runaway slaves*) to escape and hide (Eichmann 2012: 322).

Skilled hunters were enlisted to train soldiers and slaves in forest warfare adapted for the terrain found in Chamarel. Punishments which awaited recaptured ‘Esclave Marrons’ ranged from

whipping while being chained and branding on the shoulder called a 'fleur-de-lis.' A slave who ran away a second time and recaptured would lose a limb by amputation (Lagesse 1970, p.16). The runaways were reduced by this approach but not eradicated as they would avoid being caught by committing suicide at Le Morne Brabant Mountain. There is a legend about the Mountain where in 1835 a group of Maroons threw themselves off the cliff when the soldiers were approaching, unaware that they had come to announce the Abolition of Slavery Act (Eichmann 2012, p.322). The area is now a designated World Heritage Site since 2008 and is part of the Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund 2004 set-up at the time of this study, however it is not known why Chamarel was excluded from this fund.

Record keeping became scarce and also illegal due to the Abolition of Slavery and this presented challenges towards finding the ancestry of the Chamarelian villagers. Despite the Abolition of Colonial Slavery 1833 and the Abolishment of Slavery Act 1834 slaves were still being imported illegally into Mauritius and Ile De Bourbon (Reunion) from Madagascar, East Africa and the Dutch East Indies (Mathieson 1967, p.214-5; Quenette 1984, n.p; Reddie 2007, p.201). Traders relied on the emancipation to disguise their illegal acquisitions. As many as 43,250 Malagasy slaves and 16,600 East African slaves may have been introduced into Mauritius and the Seychelles (Valentine 2001, p.27). Therefore, ancestors of the Chamarelian villagers could have originated from these areas. The introductions for slave registers were ineffective because the keepers of the registers forged entries such as when a slave died, for example, his name was given to an illegally imported slave (Barker 1996, p.200).

During this period of slave trading, early classifications and categorisations of the Creole population changed from only slaves and white colonists, to include freed and 'coloured people' from the emancipation (Allen 2001, p.110-111). Recaptured Africans who were being illegally transported were named 'Prize Negroes', or 'Prize Slaves' (as crews who caught the vessels were awarded a prize of one guinea), 'African Recaptives', 'Government Blacks', 'Government Apprentices' or 'Liberated Africans.' (Peerthum and Orjoon 2005, p.12)

British classification of slaves and the emancipated used the term ‘coloured’ which renamed the categorisation that was previously called the ‘equal and free’ (pure French or British) or ‘free’ (the offspring of French masters relations with black slaves) labels of society (Tinker 1993, p54). The ‘coloured’ were the slaves who had broken free of bondage by means of completing an apprenticeship. A great deal of social prejudice against the emancipated slaves existed during this period and an emergence of coloured population from apprenticeships were seen as inferior to the white French and British classes (Tinker 1993).

However, there was also the emerging lower class of ‘Corvée’ slaves (Indians) who were leased from their owners for four days a year to perform labour duties. Corvée slaves were one of the first recordings of Indian slaves amongst the categorised ‘black’ majority who were in the island before Indian indentured labourers arrived (Campbell 2005, p.51).

The Royal Commissioners who investigated the treatment of Indian immigrants in the colony in 1872 reported that the traditions of slavery still persisted. The local police force continued in periodic ‘Maroon hunts’ against the tens of thousands of indentured labourers. This was conducted under the authority of desertion and vagrancy ordinances modelled upon old fugitive slave laws. Conditions for indentured labourers resembled a ‘new system of slavery.’ The day-to-day working and living conditions of Indian and Creole populations held similarities and allowed them to mingle and become Creolised (Allen 2012, p.37).

2.2.2. Early stages of Creolisation

A study of colonial policy in the tropics identified the plantation economy as an ‘industrial agriculture’ characterised by an indigenous population of tropical colonies exhausted in serving in agriculture as a system of importing of people from the old world to cater to labour demands. The workforce lived and worked in a way that reproduced the institutions of slavery with a regimented pattern to those of soldiers and convicts (Furnival 1948, p.157). Mauritius is an example of a plantation economy during the transition from slavery to abolition, where the

plantation owners were eager to find cheap labour with a view to continuing the existing system of slavery and social order (Campbell 2005, p.201).

Over seventy years Indian immigrants at the embarkation in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were recruited and treated in similar ways to the slavery system (Allen 2012, p.3) Mathieson (1932) reported the cruel conditions for indentured labourers in overcrowded, cramped and unsanitary living conditions which spread infectious diseases of Cholera, Dysentery and fever (Mathieson 1932, p.215). Many immigrants were robbed of their pay or never received their promised six months wages in advance once they boarded. They suffered from depraved conditions or starved and were beaten by the 'Sidhar' if they refused to cooperate. Indians were held at the 'Vagrant Depot' in Mauritius where plantation owners bid for them which was similar to a slave auction (Tinker 1993, p.68-69).

An accurate definition of the label 'coolie' remains unclear. In general a 'coolie' was a Tamil word for a hired labourer and perhaps this may refer to the Kuli tribe of Gujarat (Houlben and Lindblad 1999, p.2). An etymological project south Dravidian etymology refers to the Tamil word for daily wages, cash payment as *{kai-kkuli}* (Starostin, 2008, p.1).

Indentured labourers were housed on an estate often called the '*Camps des Noirs*' that was similar to a slavery camp (Tinker 1993, p.207-8). Conditions of slave huts for an Indian coolie resembled a Creole slave 'cabanne' and as a result, Malaria and Syphilis were widespread. Miscarriages and abortions were also common (Mathieson 1932, p.227).

Children who survived were not schooled and started working at the age of 10 years old in the weeding gangs (Temperley 2000, p.270). 'Old immigrants' were disadvantaged having completed their indentured time and lacking, in many cases, the money to get home. To survive many were forced into a further period of indentured labour (Tinker 1993, p.12).

Tinker (1993) relates how the feelings of indentured labourers were not dissimilar to that of slavery and the Segga songs which recorded their feelings for their Indian homeland. In this sense the Creolisation of both Indian and African peoples through Segga music and dance amalgamated sentiments of their daily lives and homelands. Indian immigrant labourers felt lost and betrayed and worked in cramped and inhumane conditions. The abuse of the 'tin-ticket' system forced them to work unpaid on Sundays (called a 'Corvée'), suffering disciplinary beatings and imprisonment (Mahadeo 1995, p.53). Examples of the 'livret' or 'billet de passe' in Mauritius confined labourers to their estates, and if not presented they were punishable by fine, imprisonment or flogging (Tinker 1993, p.175-178).

Therefore, the system of slavery had survived and was extended through the new system of indentured labour as Indian nationality and culture was the subject of prejudice and repression (Bissoondoyal 1987, p.59). Indians also suffered the exclusion to the right of marriage and recognition of family units. Ancient patterns of Indian culture were suppressed, ignored, or even obliterated (Marimootoo 2004, p.75). This left them 'Creolized' and reduced to a cultural subjection that matched their economic subjection. Indians had to adopt the Kreol language (see glossary) in order to connect and communicate with fellow labourers, slaves at work and in the bazaar. Indian dress was adapted towards Creole style, not only in the sugar cane fields but also at their own private occasions (Marimootoo 2004, p.75). Indians adapted almost completely into Creole culture but in Mauritius their style was certainly 'Creolised', as they had kept some of their religious traditions in private and were later using these to visibly identify themselves as a unique ethnic group in Mauritian society (Marimootoo 2004, p.75).

Indian descendents did retain vestiges of their cultural identity compared to that of the Africans in Mauritius despite their appalling treatment (Allen 2001, p.43). They devised past-times by means of festivals and feasts which recreated some semblance of India. On completion of indenture, Brahman emigrants (highest caste Indians) left the plantation for a life of religion and became the hereditary guardians of many of the shrines in Mauritius. Indian legends were adapted to fit local spaces around the volcanic hills and the sacred lake of Grand Bassin, such

as the festival of 'Maha Shrivratree' where devout Indo-Mauritians still assemble each year after a pilgrimage (Tinker 1993, p.208-210).

In comparison African culture was totally obliterated. The distinctiveness between slaves and their masters was only continued through music and dance in plantation economies such as in Mauritius and Caribbean societies. African ancestry and culture was celebrated through Segga dances using similar African instruments e.g. the Ravanne (Schneepel and Schneepel 2011). Segga songs related the sufferings in their everyday lives but it was also used as a form of entertainment and amusement. Similarly, slaves preserved some of their African cultural traditions in French and Spanish speaking Caribbean societies (Schneepel and Schneepel 2011).

Religious activities were also linked to music and dance rituals which were maintained during the period of oppression (Figueredo 2008, p.67). The French Code Noir ensured that slaves would adopt Christianity as their faith but it is believed that the Creoles continued to worship their traditional African deities (Telfair 1830, p.3). As a result of cultural resistance, hybrid religions evolved which blended elements of African and European tradition, such as those in Santeria in the Spanish Caribbean, Vodun in the French Caribbean, and Candomble in Brazil (Telfair 1830, p.3). Many specific features of Caribbean music can be traced directly to Africa and can be correlated particularly within religious music preserved in Afro-Caribbean religions like the Cuban Santeria and Jamaican Kromanti and Haitian Vodou Dance of the Spirit (Mitchell 2006, p.105). A few specific songs or melodies can be linked to modern African ones. The use of drums closely resemble African drums with the same names and many other features of these religious traditions correspond to similar African belief systems and social practices (Manuel 2007, p.46).

Creolisation in Mauritius was influenced by the dominance of French institutions even under British rule. French remained the official language of the country which was agreed as part of the Peace Treaty of Paris 1814. French citizens demanded that they keep possession of their property and their way of life on the island. It is believed that there was little concern on the

continuation of French society as long as they did not have the Indian Ocean Islands as naval bases (Allen 1999, p.1). Therefore, the French language, laws, religion and customs were maintained. The cultural influence (its norms and values) continued to prevail over the Creole population despite British colonialisation (Lagesse 1970, p.146).

Turning our attention to the Indian population, the key difference between Indian and Creole populations was that Indians gained the means to become socially mobile through independent land holdings and trade. Indian immigrants were then able to improve their standard of living considerably. Planters began to sell off parts of their large estate due to the fall in the price of sugar in 1883-1887 (Campbell 2005, p.203). Sometimes these were in lots on a smallholder basis. Hence, these fractions of land were called ‘morcellements’ where Indians gained prosperity and social mobility on the same level as freemen and their descendants (Temperley 2000:165).

The buyers of small lots were usually Indians who had managed to save enough money during and after their indenture (these were usually ‘Sirdars’) (Campbell 2005, p.203). Efforts were often made to keep the Indians on plantations, but these were not always successful and many found other work once their contracts had expired with independent Sirdars unlike the Creole slaves. Thus, Indian indentured workers moved first into hawking and share-cropping and then onto purchase of land and the development of their own businesses (Campbell 2005, p.203).

In Port Louis, Indians were plying their trade, as already-skilled craftsmen and engineers from Madras and Pondicherry. Some Indians kept market gardens, selling yams, milk, eggs and handicrafts to increase their wages. One of the three sections of Port Louis in which they settled later became known as the Indian quarter. They also set-up the market place of Port Louis called the ‘bazaar’ (Bissoondoyal 1987, p.59). This is still present in Mauritius today and is seen as a tourism attraction.

In the early 20th century peasant style agriculture became a significant part of the sugar industry. Indians became wealthy landowners and producers. They controlled 45% of sugar cane land by 1920. Indian labourers gradually attained higher positions in Mauritian society. During the 1930s they progressed from mechanics, carpenters, and factory checkers to civil servants and bankers (Tinker 1993, p.214).

2.3. Mauritius as a plural society

The previous section discussed the shaping of Mauritian society where African slaves and indentured labourers worked within a plantation economy and how French settlers held dominance with economic and political control. It is therefore important to discuss Mauritius as a plural society because this holds significance to the meanings of being native, Mauritian and Creole.

The foundations of a plural society concept were made in Furnivall (1948) with his Economic interpretation of the plural society in Burma. He concluded that a plural society comprised of a 'mixture of peoples' or a medley of ethnic groups, which lived side by side but did not share a common will or set of values (Furnivall 1948, p.102).

Morris (1957) identified similar characteristics which typified a plural society. Ethnic groups are separate units (with physical and cultural differences) co-existing alongside each other within the same political unit but they do not combine. Ethnic groups meet only in the market place. However, Morris argues that alliances can extend far beyond the market place and are articulated within the political sphere (Morris 1957, p. 124, 207). This was explored by Smith (1960) paper looking at social and cultural pluralism in the Caribbean. Ethnic groups can exist side by side as institutional systems under a common Government and political system but they contain internal differences. Examples of these pluralistic societies are Switzerland and America where each group is represented equally within the political sphere (Smith 1960:156).

Therefore, there is a similarity between Smith (1960) and Furnivall (1948) with their concepts of a plural society. However, Smith argued that the definition of a plural society would be where an external coercive foreign power would gain political domination over the other ethnic groups. This would be implemented through regulation and rigid hierarchical ordering of relations between the different sections. A plural society in its most extreme form would be when a dominant cultural group representing a minority population uses coercive force and regulations to ensure the dependence and repression of the subordinate sections (Smith 1965, p.86).

Over thirty years after Furnivall's (1948) study, Kuper (1997) highlighted that the plural society was still characterised by social cleavages which were exacerbated under a colonial rule and regulated by one dominant ethnic group. Despite some culturally plural countries becoming newly independent, the separate cultural sections still maintained their identities through the domination of one group over the subordinate other (Kuper 1997, p.224).

2.3.1. The relevance of the plural society to Mauritius

A plural society would be characterised by a minority ethnic group which would have social and political domination over the other groups (Smith 1965, p.86). The plural society concept can provide an understanding as to how the Creole population in Mauritius was segregated from participation in the early stages of island development.

For example, Governor Poivre reported to the Metropolitan Government in 1767 that he was concerned 'that often the freed people were in competition with the white settlers, so that quarrels were constantly brewing, making the maintenance of law and order difficult.' Conflicts between permanent settlers and slaves continued throughout French colonisation. This represented a threat to the social system and the hierarchy of the French settlement (Mahatma Gandhi Institute 1982, p.20). It was therefore important that the plural society was maintained where the French minority held economic and political control in the social structure.

Early stages of the plural society in Mauritius emerged after the Abolition of Slavery. However, the French dominant minority still resisted Government law and asserted control over the social order in Mauritius. Regular confrontations between the planters and the Government escalated. The use of firearms and soldiers could not enforce policies which the wealthy Franco-Mauritians disapproved (Fauque 2002).

For example, the ‘Code Noir’ (Black Code) edict was imposed during the time of the French Empire (1710-1810) which forced slaves to practise the Catholic religion. There was a penalty fine on the owner who failed to ensure this (Farquar 2002, p.16). The cultural influence from French colonialism extended to the slave’s ‘leisure time’ – Sundays would be spent either recovering debts owed for incomplete work or attending the Sunday service at a Catholic church. If a slave was found on any day after 7 pm without a ‘chit’ {*ticket*} from his master he was punished, flogged or put to work in irons (Choojoo and Bablee 2007, p.29).

Therefore, leisure time reinforced French cultural institutions such as the French language and the Catholic religion amongst the black population (Choojoo and Bablee 2007, p.29). The reinforcement of French acculturation using the Code Noir is an example of extreme methods which forcibly removed Creole slaves from their African heritage and ensured their lower order in the social structure.

As previously mentioned, French cultural values and social system were maintained under British control. The emphasis on religious conversion prevailed under British colonial rule of the island (1810–1968) where Christian activities replaced leisure time, such as receiving religious instruction on the Scriptures (Barker 1996; Nwulia 1981, p. 60). This gives us some insight into the sociocultural limitations placed on the Creole ethnic group throughout the early stages of island development.

In contemporary Mauritius, the nature of party politics still revolves around segregation of the descendants of slaves (the Creoles) from the indentured labourers and the dominance of a

French minority. There are examples throughout Mauritian politics where party membership was exclusive to each ethnic group as illustrated during the late 1960s and early 1970s, where there were two main opposition parties in Mauritius: the Labour Party (LP) and the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM), representing the Indian and the French communities respectively. Franco-Mauritian 'oligarchs' were represented by the 'Parti Mauricien' which maintained the historical relationship between French plantation owners, French Council members and the coloured elite (Benedict 1965,p 5).

The ethnic alliances for each party still prevail today - the Labour Party (LP) is led by Navin Ramgoolam of Indian descent and the MMM is led by Paul Béranger of Franco-Mauritian descent. Prayag's (2012) article on the complex ethnic politics in Mauritian democracy acknowledges how the success of a party at election depends largely on the 'unnatural alliances' made through coalitions and agreements which are based on ethnic considerations in order to win the support of voters (Prayag 2012, p.1). Examples of ethnic coalitions and party propaganda with a view to building a relationship between the Creole and French political parties will be discussed later.

The concept of a plural society was visible when Indian indentured labourers and slaves were broadly classed as 'Creole population' and excluded politically without a right to vote unless they were 'coloureds' (Benedict 1965, p.15). Benedict's (1965) historical study of Mauritius defines the 'coloureds' as Creoles who were freed from slavery for marriage or concubinage, or the offspring of French settlers who took Negro mistresses. The coloureds were therefore given education, a small property and in some cases they obtained influential social mobility between the two ethnic groups (white settlers and Creoles) depending on the leniency of their owners (Benedict 1965, p.15).

There have been political events which have shown that ethnic allegiance to these parties can alter according to the political motivations of the individual. While still under British rule, Governor Sir Bede Clifford backed a campaign headed by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam to forward the Indian right to vote (Mulloo 1998). In contrast, Sir Anerood Jugnauth of Indo-

Mauritian descent moved his allegiance from the Mauritian Labour Party headed by Ramgoolam and created the Militant Socialist Movement (MSM) to participate in coalition with Paul Berenger's MMM party campaign for Kreol to be recognised as a national language (Addison and Hazareesingh 1993).

2.3.2. Creolisation - an exception to plural society?

A counter argument to the pluralist debate is that concubinage and intermarriage can cut across the ethnical boundaries. Intermarriage is an indication of 'modernity' in Mauritius, which suggests the attitudinal changes towards inter-community marriages, integration and peaceful co-existence (Mehta 1981, p.80). Both Furnivall (1948) and Smith (1965) argue concepts of plural society do not take into account the process of Creolisation, intermarriage and concubinage between social and cultural sections. Creolisation is defined as a continuum of historical events, such as colonialism, which can cause different ethnic groups to become entangled and indiginised. A previously excluded ethnic group can experience acculturation and become integrated into the public realm (Hall 2002, p.30; Carroll and Carroll 1997, p.480).

Hall (2002) refers to Braithwaite (1971) on Creole society in Jamaica to describe how Creolisation is applicable to all ethnic groups including the white settlers as well as the coloureds who had to adapt to plantation life. Braithwaite (1971) added that Creolisation was the mixing of cultural, social distinctions and linguistics (Hall 2002, p.30).

The relevance of Creolisation to Mauritius can be found within the research of Carter et al. (2003) in the book 'The Last Slaves.' Records have been found of apprentice Africans who intermarried with Indian Hindu and Tamils. A female slave named 'Lily Marianne' is mentioned as a case of a 'Recaptive African' for apprenticeship in 1947 who was later freed from contract to reside with a Muslim named 'Carime Bacosse' (Carter et al., 2003: 83). Carter et al. (2003) states that 'it was perhaps not so surprising that a baptised apprentice should marry a Muslim given that numbers of the Mozambicans had surnames which suggested a link to that

faith'. Another example is a 'liberated' African woman Fanelie Casakee who married Philippe Boutoo Dookun in 1877, an immigrant from India of the Ghutowar Caste and Marie Lily who wed Mooniapa Tiravetty, a Tamil, in 1882.

However, in both the Indian and Creole communities, civil marriage was still regarded the exception rather than the norm with traditional non-legal marriages still taking precedence and this made it difficult to record the offspring from such marriages (Carter et al., 2003: 84).

The impacts of intermarriage created new attachments to the label 'Creole' during slavery which were no longer homogenous or exclusive to dark skin African descendants. A dictionary for etymology cites that the use of the term 'Creole' has several origins, some of them being from the Spanish word 'Criollo' meaning a native person, or 'Cria', meaning a servant (Harper, 2012). In other words, the etymology of the term 'Creole' holds no connotation of skin colour and instead reflects the miscegenation of ethnic groups. It can describe any 'Mauritian of mixed African or Indian and European descent' (Benedict 1965, p.9). Creole is defined as anyone born in the island irrespective of their origin and represents a diverse and unique amalgam of regions, customs and languages (Teelock 2001, p.5, 48). According to Carroll and Carroll (2001) and Teelock (2001) research into female slaves, those who became concubines of the settlers converted to Christianity and changed their names to reflect their new faith (Carroll and Carroll 2001; Teelock 2001, p.33-34).

Inter-concubinage also existed between Chinese migrant men who took native Creole women as mistresses. This was due to the small proportion of Chinese traders that were termed legally married (Addison and Hazareesingh 1993). During the 19th century, most Chinese women adhered to local customs not to accompany their husbands overseas until 1881. Up till then, only nine women had migrated from China. Therefore, men followed the Chinese custom to have as many concubines as they could financially support and co-habited with local women. It was not uncommon for the father to teach the traditional Chinese way of life and the Chinese language, while the Christian mother taught the Catholic faith, hence the socially accepted term 'Creole-Sinois' denoting an individual of mixed Chinese and Creole parentage. Therefore, the

Mauritian population now had definitions for the Indian (Indo-Mauritian), Chinese (Sino-Mauritian), Creole of African heritage and mixed descendent (Afro-Mauritian) and French (Franco-Mauritian) (Addison and Hazareesingh 1993, p.68).

However, during the first half of the 21st century, open mixing was limited and inter-ethnic marriages were still generally discouraged, in particular amongst the Chinese population. Benedict (1965) in a study of plural society in Mauritius noted that the social taboo regarding intermarriage was still prevalent and that although intermarriages did occur, notably between Chinese and Creole, they were openly discouraged despite shared religious or linguistic categories (Benedict 1965, p.9).

Open mixing occurred between Creole and Chinese during the two seasons of sugar cane cultivation ('la coupe' harvest season and 'l'entre-coupe' field season) (Eriksen 1994, p.4). During the off-peak season, many labourers were out of work without state-run employment schemes. The Chinese shopkeepers organised a system where labourers would purchase food on credit during the 'l'entre-coupe' season. The relationship between the ethnic groups would emerge on this basis and the Chinese shopkeeper became a respected figure in villages (Eriksen 1994). The Chinese shop could be seen as a 'contact zones' where ethnic groups 'meet, clash and grapple with each other' as the subordinate accepts hegemony (Hall 2003, p.14).

A more recent example of such contact zones can be the numerous factories and offices built for the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) manufacturing boom during the 1980s in Mauritius, which gave further opportunities for inter-ethnic groups to mix in the workplace (BOI 2001). There were generally optimistic views that the tourism and EPZ industries could rectify the social taboo on intermarriage (Eriksen 1994, p.564). Eriksen (1994) believed that the EPZ and tourism industries encouraged social change through multi-ethnic work cultures and this removed social constraints which had previously prevented widespread intermarriage (Eriksen 1994, p.564). However, it was recorded that despite EPZ and tourism spaces as centre points for communication and exchange, intermarriages still remained rare in Mauritian society

(Mauritius Research Council 1998a). Work places were integrated but few members chose to leave their 'identity group' and intermarry (Mauritius Research Council 1998a, p.22).

Disownment from the family and community can prevent intermarriage. In terms of acculturation, intermarriage between sects is rare which ensures loyalty to the ethnic group; 'Loyalty to the group takes precedence and outweighs any sense of common citizenship' (Mauritius Research Council 1998a, p.18).

An example in the social research conducted by Ericksen (1998) was the Tamil daughter of a small planter who was given the ultimatum of disownment from her family if she intermarried with a Creole factory worker. 'Like virtually anybody in a similar situation, she has to make a choice between her family and her lover' (Eriksen 1988, p.34). Inter-communal marriages were deemed to 'create social tensions, aggravate communal problems, spoiling the purity of community and the mingling of blood is not desirable' (Eriksen 1988). Fear of differing social-cultural values and being disowned or excommunicated from a community and its traditions were also major factors (Mehta 1981, p.79-80). Metha (1981) study of opinions on inter-community marriages discovered that interactions were more frequent within ethnic groups than between them and therefore marriages were also contracted within the ethnic groups. He concluded that future social development policies would need to take into account the social issues that involved intermarriage:

'...the cleavages of a strict socio-economic and class nature within the society persist and are deepening, becoming clearer and potentially more explosive. These are crucial issues to be addressed head-on by Mauritian development strategies' (Mehta 1981, p.vii).

Carroll and Carroll (2000a) found low cases of intermarriage in Mauritius and that intermarriage remained a social taboo:

'Ethnic boundaries remain strong for Mauritius in their private lives. Out-marriage is still uncommon, and even inter-ethnic socializing is a departure from the norm' (Carroll and Carroll 2000a, p.127).

2.3.3. Creole identity vs Mauritian identity

It has been discussed how the Mauritian identity became blurred between Black and 'Creole' identities through the processes of Creolisation, intermarriage and concubinage between ethnic groups. The Chapter has also explored whether Smith's (1965) plural society theory can be applied to Mauritian society, where these ethnic groups intermingle and coloureds gained greater social mobility. Carter et al. (2003) shows how a plural society in Mauritius did not remain within three distinct ethnic groups (white, black and coloureds) as the Creole identity took on further intermingling between the Indian, Tamil and Chinese ethnicities.

The definition of Creole as an ethnic label in itself has been undergoing a process of change in social and political acceptance, shifting from an umbrella definition. During the 19th century to be Creole defined anyone born within the island to include African heritage, French or Franco-Mauritian natives (Teelock 1996). During the French Empire period when slavery was permitted a 'Creole' was defined as any 'native' born within the island, either French, Black, Chinese or any other origin (Teelock and Alpers 2001; Benoit 1985). In particular, 'Creole' referred to the Frenchman born in the colonies. Therefore, the creation of the ethnic label 'Creole' was not exclusive to black skin colour or African slaves (Teelock and Alpers 2001).

The amalgamation of French sailors, soldiers, plantation owners and African and Indian slaves caused socio-culture ramifications to the meanings of native and the social ordering within the early stages of Mauritian society settlers (Mahatma Gandhi Institute 1982).

The blurred boundaries between ethnic groups is discussed by Ericksen (1986) on Creole identity where conflicting perceptions exist within these ethnic groups (Ericksen 1986).

Previously, Benoit (1985) suggested that Creolity is specifically defined as black and dark-skin Creoles of African descent (Benoit 1985, p.25). In contrast, Ericksen (1986) points out that coloured Franco-Mauritians associate Creole ethnic identity with Africa, while Creoles perceive themselves as French descendents (Eriksen 1986, p.60). Therefore, the use of Afro Mauritians as a political label separates African heritage from Franco-Mauritian identity (Eriksen 1986, p.60). A similar challenge exists with definition of Indo-Mauritians within society. The 'Indo-Mauritian' group can include racial categories within a racial category as discussed in Smith and Kuper (1969). They examine pluralism in Africa – the East Indian community cannot be assumed to act as a united element of the population, as they are also divided by religion into Hindus and Muslims and by language into Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu and others (Smith and Kuper 1969, p.136).

Morris (1957) studied Indians in Uganda and discovered that within racial categories there were even more castes and sectarian groups which he named 'subcultures' (Morris 1957, p.124). He gives the example of various Indian tribes with varying religious and cultural origins, such as Sikh, Islamic and Hindu. Tinker (1993) detailed study on the history of Mauritius describes how Indian slaves and labourers were originally identified as 'hill coolies' from Northern Bihar, Madras, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Godovary. Labourers came from the Deccan and Concan districts (Tinker, p.1993, p.43, 49, 55). This supports the argument that Mauritian ethnicity is not clear cut in terms of cultural groups – it is a complex system of subdivisions not only based on ethnic castes but also religious derivations and Hindi dialects (Morris 1957, p.124).

The Mauritian Census material during the period of indentured labour (1835 to 1910) includes a multitude of different castes and ethnic groups amalgamated under the label 'Indian Population' or 'Indo-Mauritian and other Indians.' This generalised ethnic category has been employed right up to the Abolition of Slavery (Dinan 2002, p.21-24). This not only makes it difficult for exact estimates on Indian slaves, indentured labourers and their descendants but adds to the complexity of Mauritian ethnicity and class without clear-cut boundaries. Therefore, the implications of a research study on the Creole community will need to take into consideration the multifaceted perceptions on Creole identity and how it is represented.

The Chinese population is another section of the Mauritian community which do not fit into an ethnic class colour scale described previously by Smith (1960). The Chinese community formed a culturally distinct and separate section in the political unit. They settled in Mauritius to open shops during the 19th century (Eriksen 1994). 81% of Chinese immigrants were traders by 1901. However, there is insufficient documentary material to estimate how many Chinese migrated to Mauritius (Addison and Hazareesingh 1993, p.67). Decrees created during the Qing Dynasty (1712 and 1724) gave strict laws against the migration of Chinese men and women overseas and The Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) barred all new immigration from China (Pew Research Centre 2013). However, Anshan (2012) argues that in the late Qing dynasty, a large number of Chinese prisoners were transported as slaves by the Dutch between Batavia (Jakarta), Mauritius and Africa's Cape Colony (Anshan 2012, p.1). The Immigration Act (1917) and the National Origins Act of (1924) also extended the immigration ban to include virtually all of Asia (Pew Research Centre 2013).

Lastly, the relevance of the plural society model to Mauritius can be questioned in respects to how it omits certain subcultures that are subordinate to the dominant power but are not placed under Smith's (1960) class and colour scale and do not necessarily come under Mauritian citizenship. The Chagos islanders (natives from Diego Garcia), for example, do not necessarily fit into Smith's concept of 'black, white or coloured' (Smith 1960, 2009, p.278). The Chagos were evicted from their island when it was given in negotiation for Mauritian Independence from 1968 onwards. However, they did not have political representation, social aid and housing assistance (Evers and Kooy 2008). With the differences in educational background and illiteracy, the Chagossians have not integrated into the class colour hierarchy or cultural sections. It is difficult to locate historical literature on their arrival and they are not included in texts discussing the plural society or the multiculturalism in Mauritius. Chagossians are shunned by the Africans who identify with French society and not accepted by the ethnically distinct Chinese and Indian populations, as discovered by 'Stealing a Nation' (2004).

Creole identity can also be explored from a Primordialist view. Drury (1994) states that ethnic groups have been defined as people who share normative patterns of behaviour, shared culture and sociocultural traits, common descent and are socially distinct while interacting with other

groups in a larger social system (cited in Rex 1994, p.5). Members of ethnic groups may differentiate themselves from non-members using ‘primordial’ characteristics. Primordial theory relates to how members of an ethnic group perceive a strong sense of emotional ‘belonging’ through kinship groups, community and associative structures, a shared culture and language or religious belief and customs (Rex 1994). Rex (1997) discusses how Durkheim’s research also found ‘sacredness’ as part of a primordial sense of belonging by members who feel connected to myths and narratives of the groups origins (Rex 1997, p.271; Guibernau and Rex 2010:7).

An example of ‘sacredness’ as a primordial characteristic of the Afro-Mauritian community can be found in the stories of Chamarel as a place for maroonage and fugitive slaves to hide, along with the myths of Le Morne Mountain where slaves would commit suicide to avoid recapture (Maunick 1997, p.6). The sentimental and historical attachment of the Creole community to the area of Chamarel and Le Morne is connected to a primordial sense of sacred belonging to slavery heritage and African ancestry symbolised by mourning, oppression and black solitude (Maunick 1997, p.6).

2.3.4. The Creole identity and ethnonyms

As previously discussed, Mauritian society consists of several ethnic groups Indo-Mauritian (Indian), Sino-Mauritian (Chinese), Franco-Mauritian (French), and Afro-Mauritians (Creole) from the descendents of slaves, plantation owners, indentured labourers and immigrants. They shared a common religion during the time of the French and British Empire as well as French institutions such as the French language and customs on leisure days. Jagatsingh’s (1981) book on the island’s history stated that all Mauritians were unified by the native Kreol language (refer to the glossary for distinction between Kreol and Creole) which originates from a mixture of African, Malay and French languages during the period of slavery (Jagatsingh, 1981). In this sense, it can be argued that Kreol is a ‘core culture’ or a ‘common’ or ‘shared’ language. The promotion of Kreol as a unifying feature of Mauritian society emerged in political campaigns to encourage nationhood and ‘Mauritianess’ during the 1980s. The concept of ‘Mauritianess’,

unity within diversity and articles on Mauritian citizenship started to be published in local literature (Jagatsingh, 1981).

Benoit (1985) identified the linguistic associations between African Bantu, Swahili and Creole languages which created social awareness of Africa and Afro-Mauritians in the wider social system (Benoit 1985:44). An example of this can be found during The Socialist Campaign during 1982-83 by the MMM (Mouvement Militant Mauricien - socialist party) promoting unity as 'Mauritianess and nationhood' (Benoit 1985). The party used the slogan 'Enn sel lepep, en sel nasyon {*A single people; a single nation*} which campaigned for Kreol to be recognised as the official national language. However, the MMM suffered overwhelming opposition and defeat on their Kreol campaign and it caused the downfall of the Government (Eriksen 1993, p.17). Weber (1993) study found that it was an insufficient campaign to associate all members with the ideology of a Mauritian 'nation' or nation state. Kreol is an unstandardised language and still associated with negative ethnic perceptions that are cognitive to the Creole population (Weber 1993; 24) and Kreol was still viewed as barbarian and uncivilised; 'The Creole patois is nothing but French badly pronounced and free from ordinary rules of grammar, civilisation and modernity' (Benoit 1985, p.41).

In the mid-1960s the Kreol language was still seen as 'barbarous and corrupt jargon', useless and unsuited as a national language. This had not changed in the following decades from Benedict's report. Kreol remains one of the most controversial and divisive indicators of racial tension in Mauritius (Benedict 1967, p.34).

From a Talcott Parsons perspective, the unifying language of Kreol was a core value in Mauritian society. Kreol would therefore minimise intra-ethnic conflicts by providing a basis for social equilibrium. However, Kreol is still viewed as a 'second-rate' language that would advantage Creoles at the expense of other communities and remind them of Franco-Mauritian domination (Carroll 1994, p.313; Carroll and Carroll 2000b, p.28; Mauritius Research Council 1998b, p.18). The arguments that Mauritian society is unified because it has a common

language, or Creolised because a common language brings these groups together is a rhetoric that was expressed earlier by Benedict (1967):

'If Creole can be said to be unifying because nearly everyone speaks it, yet no one wants it, English can be said to be unifying because hardly anybody speaks it yet nearly everyone wants to' (Benedict 1967, p.35).

Eriksen (1988) compared the metonymical differences between the French and Kreol language. The Kreol language and the Creole population were interlinked and represented by 'rum & beer, blackness, vulgarity, carelessness, ignorance, illiteracy' (Eriksen 1988, p.22). Therefore, Afro-Mauritians are still called 'ti Kreol' with reference to the poorest segments of society, the 'negroid', the 'small' or marginalised (Bowman 1991, p.46; Carroll and Carroll 2000a, p.128; Hollup 2000, p.413).

'The ethnies own self-definition may not be the same as that used in referring to it by other ethnies. Generally its self-definition involves the notion of moral worthiness, while other groups might describe it in quite derogatory terms' (Rex 1997, p.272).

The political campaign of MMM is a recent example of the above quote by Rex (1997) as it caused subsequent rioting and exacerbated the disunity between ethnic groups within the Mauritian population. The failure of electoral support for unity based on Kreol language also portrayed the public lack of support for Black Creoles within political developments (Rex 1997). Drury (1994) mentions that ethnicity is about the 'sense of difference' which is made manifest to its members when they interact with other cultural or racial groups. Campaigns promoting this sense of difference were led by Foreign Minister Gaetan Duval of the Mauritius Democratic Union (UDM) during the 1970s. He constructed himself as a figurehead for Black Power as a response to growing inter-racial politics (Drury 1994, p.14). This indicated a visible political influence of the global Black Power movements in this era, such as the civil rights movements during the 1960s and 1970s where Martin Luther King and Malcom X campaigned for racial integration and economic equality (Joseph 2009, p.752).

Naipaul (1972) article on Mauritius as an 'Overcrowded Baracoon' observed:

'A huge swastika is painted on the main road that runs through the little Indian town of Triolet. The swastika is the Indo-Aryan good-luck sign and part of the decoration of a Hindu house, but here it is used politically, the emblem of a new party called Jan Sangh, which seeks to remind Indians of their racial loyalties. Both swastika and Mr Duval's Black Power are responses to the inter-racial and New Left MMM' (Naipaul 1972, p.298).

Black Power slogans were written in French alongside Kreol for example:

C'est beau d'être noir, Noir ene jolie couleur, Noirs au pouvoir.
{*It's good to be black. Black is a beautiful colour. Black in power*}

Such campaign songs also stressed black skin and beauty:

Black beaut-tee! Black beau-tee!
Black is beautiful!
Black is beautiful!
Is black
(Naipaul 1972, p.281).

Racial aggression was deliberately used as part of the Duval campaigns. The campaign Segal went on to follow;

Mo' dire' ous: la frapper.
Laisse-mo' trappe-li,
Laisse-mo' batte-li.
Mo'alle condamne,

Jamais mo' va laisse mulatre

Faire mari de mon endroit.

{I tell you hit them. Lemme catch them, lemme beat them I'd rather go to jail than let a mulatto man boss me around} (Naipaul 1972, p.281).

The ethnic divisions were particularly reinforced via politics by the MMM party using the proverb 'Sak zako bizin protez so montayn' *{Each monkey must protect his mountain}* (Eriksen 1988, p.4, 13).

Primordialism theory does not take into account the conflicting perceptions and power struggles present within ethnic groups and beyond the small community (Rex 1997, p.271). It is argued that the boundaries of these primordial institutions depend on the purpose in hand to serve the motivation of the 'ethnie' (ethnic group members) for social and political manoeuvres (Guibernau and Rex 2010, p.7).

The alternative situationist view of ethnie was founded on the notion that the boundaries of an ethnic group are dependent upon the how it engages in the situation or political project (Rex 1997, p.272). The project could be one of control for authority or a call for solidarity of the pre-existing ethnic group. This can also be seen as 'creating a nation' or nationhood (Rex 1997, p.272).

However, social boundaries can be 'variable, flexible and situational' due to the conflict that is inherent in power relations between ethnic groups (Drury 1994:14). The period of slavery in Mauritius deconstructed old perceptions on Creole identity (e.g. one born into the island which included African, Indian and Chinese as 'Creole-Sinoi – Chinese Creole), (Teelock 1996; 2001) to one that identified the Creole with lower strata, black Creoles and darker complexion Benoit 1985, p.2).

Therefore, the black Creole and 'General population' started to be expressed socially as two groups (although this heterogeneous group was not recognised in Mauritian Census); the Franco-Mauritian as the affluent, well educated, light-skinned who identified with French cultural institutions, and the 'Black Creole' as the illiterate, poorer and dark-skinned who identified with African ancestry and slavery (Benoit 1985, p.2, 25). Eriksen (1994) argued that, socio-politically, this meant that the Creole population lacked natural leadership for lower strata Creoles to gain political power (Eriksen 1994). Eriksen (1988) study on Mauritian nationalism analysed the interaction between ethnic group members and non-members and presented how various situations mobilised and re-constructed ethnic group identities. He found that despite a shared religion (Catholicism) and shared culture (French cultural institutions) between the Franco-Mauritian and Creole, the black Mauritian citizen will take on a social identity depending on 'who he is talking to and on the nature of the contact.' He gives an example of a lecturer who uses cultural strategies by addressing each person in the language he feels would help him build a rapport and gain social acceptance such as addressing his employees in Kreol but his boss in French (Eriksen 1988, p.20).

Tyagi (2011) writing on rethinking identity and belonging in 'Mauritianess' gave the example of 'Devi', an Indo-Mauritian who would interchange between Telegu, Creole, Bhojpuri and English depending on her situation, therefore representing a 'multilayered Mauritian identity' (Tyagi 2011, p.91-92). The possibility of a shared cultural heritage in Mauritius poses problems, particularly when relating differing perceptions on ancestry and heritage (Nirsimloo-Gayan 2007, p.44).

Therefore, the conflicting perceptions of being Creole and French are not clear cut to ensure the success of the Kreol campaign. Benedict also gives some insight on this phenomenon:

'Members for the Creole population who are rising in the social economic scale give up speaking Creole in favour of French, and their wives may even pretend to be unable to understand Creole' (Benedict 1967, p.36).

Barth (1969) argued that objective data on cultural traits does not always provide an analysis of ethnicity as it 'depends not on culture per se but on the meanings which actors give to such differences' (cited in Drury 1994, p.14). The use of 'nasyon' {*nation*}, for example, was found to have different meanings on Mauritian nationalism. It cannot be assumed that Mauritian citizens feel they belong to the same ethnic group. Therefore, the concept of nationhood is more complex. The word 'nasyon' {*nation*} is used to refer to an ethnic community or language that a member feels they belong to, or to point out an impure Hindu caste 'ban ti-nasyon' {*the lower caste*}. The concept of Mauritius as a nation has not been a success in political campaigns due to the confusion on the meaning of nationalism. Mauritius being 'en lil' {*island*}, 'en pei' {*a country*} and 'le pueple mauricien' {*the Mauritian people*} or 'tu ban Morisien' {*all Mauritians*} has been used in differing political campaigns with several conflicting meanings (Eriksen 1994, p.554). Therefore, it is important to understand the use of ethnonyms within the contexts of 'Mauritianess' and Creolity.

As previously discussed, the situationist theories take into consideration the individualism within ethnic groups and this was used to reinforce ethnic divisions for political projects. However, the survival of derogatory words associated to black phenotype and Creolity are still used in the Kreol language to describe their social exclusion. Eriksen's research distinguishes how the dark-skinned Creoles were seen to form the poorest and 'ugliest' social classes of Mauritian society, whereas light-skinned Creoles are seen as 'Franco-Mauritians' francophones and 'beautiful' (Eriksen 1986; Eriksen 1988).

Facial features such as the nose and hair were ethnic markers in the grapple for Creole social mobility and this has remained important in terms of Creole economic and political mobility. 'Lascar' (Muslim) and 'Malbar' (Hindu) were accepted ethnonyms during slavery (Teelock and Alpers 2001). The majority of Asian seamen (termed 'lascars') were Muslims working in the East Indian Company (Robinson-Dunn 2003, p.41).

This study agrees with Hitchcock (1999) that in this sense; ‘Ethnonyms can also become separated from their place of origin as a result of national boundary changes’ (Hitchcock 1999:24).

In fact, they can be reinforced by such national boundary changes. The campaigns for nationalism and Kreol failed because of an emphasis on ethnic divisions and Creole stereotypes. Recent qualitative research with Creole families found that ‘sévé crépi’ {*tight curly hair*} was found to be a reliable ethnic boundary and a point of discrimination and abuse (Laville 2000, p.281).

Accounts from travellers and poetic verses from the Western World in the 17th and 18th centuries discuss the laziness and dishonesty of the Black Creole in exotic zones such as Mauritius (Benoit 1985:19). ‘Bar Bar’ {*Barbarian*} is still used as a term to describe Creoles, along with colloquial references towards being lazy and deserving of their unemployment and their poverty (Mauritius Research Council 1998a). The etymology of the Latin word ‘barbaros’ means to be foreign or strange (Harper 2012).

The Mauritian Census System reinforced socio-political acceptance of the black ‘other’ by labelling them with the vague and ambiguous political term ‘General population.’ In the fourth Census (1871) the General population represented any ‘other’ as ‘other inhabitants of the island, irrespective of descent, birthplace or nationality...’ (Dinan 2002, p.17). In contrast, the ‘Indian’ ethnic group was changed to represent two new classifications in 1891; Indo-Mauritians and ‘Other Indians’, whereas the General population still represented ‘the rest’ (Dinan 2002,p.17).

The Mauritian Census (1871) failed to adapt in order to identify the heterogeneous black community. It displayed an ‘absorption of the so-called African class into the general population’ rather than distinctions in its social identity. This amalgamated the African population with other Negroes and Creoles born in Mauritius, Franco-Mauritian and ‘free coloureds’ from apprenticeship and the Abolition of Slavery (Dinan 2002, p.37).

Benoit (1985) describes that during the social stratification under a British colonial system the 'third class' Creoles were separated from the 'fourth class' slaves from Africa. The third class as a mixture of non-African, French and other nations were perceived as 'worthless and dangerous' and causing dissension between the English and French (Benoit 1985, p.9-10).

This pattern in Mauritian Census classification did not change until post-1972 when the Mauritian populations were represented by their religious preference rather than their ancestral origins, particularly the Indian ethnic group; i.e. Christianity and Buddhism. However, a critique of Dinan's (1986) analysis on Census material from 1952-83 argued that this assumes that an individual would be devoted to only one religion which is not necessarily the case in Mauritius (cited in Lambek 1994, p.289). A common proverb of tolerance in Mauritius is 'Sakenn prie dan so fason' *{Each one prays in his own way}* (Eriksen 1988:7).

2.4. Conclusion

From this discussion, it is clear that the social order in Mauritius was created largely from the impact made by French colonisation and through this the Creole identity emerged and was defined. The first stages of the Creole identity within Mauritian society were therefore linked to African ancestry, slavery and the derogatory views held towards the Creole slave.

The French social system along with its cultural norms and values lay the foundation to what were the beginnings of a Mauritian society and colonised peoples. It identified and categorised settlers, slaves and freemen and indentured labourers – they added to this hierarchical list in a similar position to slaves.

The reinforcement of the existing social order during British colonialism could be seen through the dominance of the French minority throughout the abolition, apprenticeship and indentured labourer schemes therefore forming Mauritian society with historical connections to slavery,

spice and sugar trade. It also shaped the way ethnic groups viewed Creoles within Mauritian plantation economy during the beginnings of its national development.

Therefore, a study of a Creole community and its development today would still need to provide a historical analysis of the Creole ethnic group and the relevance of its segregation from the early stages of the plantation economy to post-independence as the Creole identity formed, adapted and changed over time.

This Chapter explained how the plural society concept can be applied to Mauritius as the Creole population became a complex amalgamation of inter-ethnic identities which did not fit into this theory. An exception to this theory is the case of the Chagos islanders who were socially excluded and did not fit within the three distinct ethnic groups under a definition of a plural society (Stealing a Nation 2004).

In summary, a research study on the Creole community must be sensitive to the development of the Creole identity where social boundaries have become blurred through generations of Creolisation, intercommunal intermarriage and concubinage. This poses questions on the etymology of Creole and the Creole identity and what this means in terms of being native, Creole and 'Mauritian' when we develop a project for community tourism in a sensitive area such as Chamarel.

The following sections will take a closer look at the tourism industry in Mauritius and the relevance of these themes towards the development of Chamarel. It will also explore approaches to tourism planning and how the south of Mauritius, in particular Chamarel, was featured in tourism promotion. The following Chapter will discuss the new approach towards community tourism development in Mauritius within the Creole village of Chamarel.

3. CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM TRENDS IN MAURITIUS

3.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this Chapter is to discover and discuss the trends in tourism in Mauritius. It will introduce the geography of the country to set the research context and highlight the main natural and man-made tourism attractions. It will establish a chronology for the thesis by identifying the significance of international tourism in Mauritius c1970-2013, outlining trends by looking at tourism arrivals, gaining an insight into the profile of the tourists who visit i.e. their source countries, trip purpose and revenue. In this way the Chapter outlays the foundation of following Chapters where we discuss the significant change of tourism over time. This Chapter will also bring the study up to date with current trends in Mauritian tourism between 2004 (time 1) with 2014 (time 2) i.e. sustainable tourism.

This Chapter will take a look at the approach towards tourism promotion as the Government began to diversify their tourism product. It will then discuss how the country fits into Butler's (1985) TALC model and whether it has reached saturation according to its change in tourism product.

A considerable amount of research has been done on Mauritian tourism but less on specific locations like Chamarel. Similarly, Mauritian tourism in terms of economic trends have been examined but less attention has been paid to the social aspects and impacts of this industry, particularly in poorer communities such as Chamarel. This study aims to fill the gaps in both areas of the literature including the gap in existing literature on the relative position of tourism development in Chamarel within this time period.

3.1.1. Mauritius in geographic context

Mauritius is a tropical island located 500 miles east of Madagascar, covering a total area of 2,040 sq km. The World Factbook (2011) recorded a population of 1,331,155 where 68% are Indo-Mauritians, 27% Creole, 3% Sino-Mauritians and 2% Franco-Mauritians (World Factbook 2011). The main languages spoken in Mauritius are Creole 86.5%, Bhojpuri 5.3% and French 4.1%. It is interesting to note that although English is the official language it is spoken by less than 1% of the population. The main religious groups in the island are Hindu 48.5%, Roman Catholic 26.3%, Muslim 17.3%, other Christian 6.4%, and two unspecified 'others' at 0.6%, and 0.7% (World Factbook 2011).

Jones (1993) identifies Mauritius along with other small islands such as Fiji, Trinidad and Jamaica as a small island demography characterised by low fertility, low mortality, high rates of migration to developed countries, combination of high population density and restricted space (Jones 1993, p.161). He describes Mauritius as a 'plantation-island demography' characterised by large-scale crop production and labour immigration resulting in an ethnically diverse proletarian society (Jones 1993, p.162). Indeed, Mauritius has a long history of slavery and sugar plantation economy which has made the population totally reliant on external countries import of goods and the cultivation and processing export of sugar.

However, the economy started to diversify after the National Development Plan (1971-1975) towards other industries namely sugar, tourism, textiles and apparel, and financial services. Within the region of Southern Africa, Mauritius was commended for its economic development with regards to tourism development (World Bank 2002). Tourism contributes 30% of Mauritian Gross Domestic Product (GDP) - the highest according to Prayag (2010). In 2008 there were tourism arrivals 930,456. The room capacity was 11,102 with 22,530 beds. The average room occupancy rate for the first 9 months of 2009 was 58% and bed occupancy rate averaged 52% (Prayag 2010). Government statistics state that 22% of the labour force is working in trade, restaurants and hotels (Statistics Mauritius 2014). Total number of people employed in the tourism industry as of March 2009 was 22,922 as stated in Bank of Mauritius (2009) (cited in Prayag et al. 2010, p. 699).

3.1.2. Mauritius natural tourist attractions

Natural Tourist Attractions	Brief Description
Warm tropical climate	Dry winter (May to November). Hot, wet, humid summer (November to May).
Sensitive ecological environment	Volcanic origin and is surrounded by coral reefs. Endangered and rare species of flora and fauna, wildlife and animals.
Beaches	Particularly in the northern coastline where is calm and safe for tourists to swim. Grand Baie and Flic en Flac being the most popular.
Gabriel Island	Accessed via catamaran cruise from Grand Baie incorporating neighbouring visits to Tamarin for dolphin swimming.
Troux au Cerfs	Dormant volcanic crater in Curepipe.
Ile aux Aigrettes	Small coral island off the south-east coast near Mahebourg (location of the airport). Popular for its indigenous and unique plants and animals such as the Pink Pigeon. Popular nature tours and marine glass-bottom trips as part of Blue Bay Marine Park.
Ile au Cerfs Island	Known as Deer Island, famous for its sandy beaches and lagoons. Accessed via speedboat from the mainland on the east coast of Flacq.
Pieter Both	Pieter Both Mountain in the north-west, alongside La Pouce and Signal Mountain are well known hiking areas to view the capital and Moka. Charles Darwin being the first to climb La Pouce makes this a popular attraction.
Flic en Flac	Originally fishing villages. This area has grown into a top destination on the west coast, second to Grand Baie not far from Black River.
Black River Gorges National Park	The largest National Park in Mauritius. Popular with hikers. Located in the south-west near Chamarel.
Waterfalls	Alexandra, Tamarind, Chamarel and Rochester.

Table 3.1. Mauritius natural tourist attractions

Chamarel natural attractions	Brief Description
Chamarel Falls	Located within the dense vegetation of Black River Gorges and formed by the St. Denis River. This waterfall has a height of 83m (272ft) which tourists can view from an upper deck at the Chamarel Seven Coloured Earth Reserve. They can follow a trail to swim at the bottom of the falls.
Seven Coloured Earth	Main tourist attraction in Chamarel since the 1960s. A natural phenomenon of seven-coloured sand dunes.
Ecologically sensitive area	An ecologically sensitive area which includes the Ebony forest. Chamarel Falls is included in the 'Black River Gorges Natural Park Hike' which is home to rare and unique endemic bird species such as the Mauritius Flycatcher (Coq de Bois) Mauritius Merle (Merle Charpentier) Mauritius Grey White-eye (Oiseau Pic-Pic) and Mascarene Swallow.

Table 3.2. Chamarel natural tourist attractions

Chamarel is an ecologically sensitive area which was lesser-known apart from domestic tourism. It remained a remote and secluded inland tourist attraction until the 1970s. Chamarel does not have a local beach which can be exploited therefore tourists are more likely to travel to and from Le Morne and other resort areas near the coastline. Its climate is less humid than the North such as Grand Baie and has greater rainfall which sustains the rich flora and fauna in this area. It does not have the developments to match the other tourism hubs found in places like Grand Baie and Flic en Flac with beach resorts, hotel shopping complexes and a variety of tourist water and sightseeing activities. However, this started to change post 2004 and the development of new man-made attractions were established as briefly listed below. This is by no means an exhaustive list, as many new heritage sites are being added as this grows in popularity.

3.1.3. Mauritius man-made tourist attractions

Man-Made Tourist Attractions	Brief Description
Casela Nature Park	A nature and adventure park located near Rempart Mountain, south-west Mauritius.
Mauritius Aquarium	Located in a small coastal village of Pointe aux Piments in the north of Mauritius 20 minutes drive from Grand Baie.
Crocodile and Giant Tortoises Nature Park	Famous national reserve with crocodiles, monkeys, fish, an insectarium, deer, wild huge land tortoises.
L’Aventure du Sucre (Sugar Museum and Factory)	Tourists discover the history of sugar, taste local products, tour the museum and have lunch.
Chateau Labourdonnais and orchards	Located on the road to the North at Mapou, the Château de Labourdonnais the museum exhibits how inhabitants lived in the colonial era.
Balaclava Ruins	The ruins of the old Balaclava Estate can be found a few metres away from Baie aux Tortues, which 17th century sailors named after the many tortoises in the area. Visitors will be able to see the sea walls laid down by Governor Bertrand-François Mahé de Labourdonnais.
Port Louise and Flacq Markets	Port Louis market features locally-made products and textiles. The Flacq Market is the largest outdoor market in Mauritius.
Eureka Creole House	Not far from Moka is this old Creole-style house. Built in 1830 and reputed to be the largest house on the island. It is now renovated into a Museum.
Mauritius Botanical Garden	The botanical garden was originally opened as a private garden 300 years ago for a French Governor. Later to become the National Botanical Garden of Mauritius.

Grand Bassin { <i>Ganga Talao</i> }	A lake situated in a secluded mountain area in the district of Savanne, popular with tourists as well as pilgrims.
Blue Penny Museum	The Blue Penny Museum is a stamp museum at Caudan Waterfront in Port Louis, which includes the rare 1847 Blue Penny and Red Penny stamps.
Port Louis (The Capital)	18 th century French colonial buildings. Champ de Mars horsetrack (second oldest race club in the world).
National History Museum, Port Louis	Oldest stuffed specimen of the native Dodo.
Le Morne – Aapravasi Ghat (UNESCO)	The first World Heritage site of Mauritius, symbol of indentured labourer and slavery.

Table 3.3. Mauritius man-made tourist attractions

Chamarel man-made attractions	
Parc Aventure	The Adventure Park Chamarel is a rope adventure park with viewing platforms overlooking Chamarel Valley and Black River. It features botanical walks, net walls, zip lines, trapezoids, swings and crossings.
Tables d'hôtes	The table d'hôte is different from a restaurant as it is usually a guest house or local home. It features Mauritian authentic cuisine and the ideal of experiencing Creole hospitality and traditions with local families.
Old Chimney / Old Fireplace { <i>La Vieille Cheminée</i> }	The site is located in a small mountainous region of Chamarel that overlooks the South and West coasts of the island. Tourists stay in individual cabins and participate in horse-riding, trekking and hiking the local area.
Rum distillery { <i>Rhumerie de Chamarel</i> }	The Rum Distillery is near the Seven Coloured Earth of Chamarel. Guided visits of the distillery and rum tasting and meals at 'L'Alchimiste' à la carte restaurant.

Table 3.4. Chamarel man-made tourist attractions

3.2. International Tourism to Mauritius

The first tourists could be argued as French visitors who wanted to visit Île de Maurice during the 1800s as a place for ‘rest and relaxation’ (Seetaram 2012, p.314). In 1768 the writer and botanist Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre visited Mauritius and it inspired for his famous 1788 novel *Paul et Virginie*. Record of a tourism industry in Grand Baie is speculated to go as far back as 1859 where a writer named Henri Plon stayed at Hotel Le Fort, Grand Baie (Nujjoo 2007, p.150). There are also records of Charles Darwin visiting Mauritius in 1836 on the HMS Beagle and Mark Twain in 1896.

There are records of the first mass tourist arrivals in 1954 where 1,803 tourist arrivals visited Mauritius and by 1963 this went up to 10,000 tourist arrivals. (YeugLamKo 1998). The first route to Mauritius was provided by Qantas Air in 1952 where Mauritius was a transit point between Australia and South Africa. South African Airways joined in 1957 and Air Mauritius in 1967 and this boosted routes between neighbouring the Islands (Seetaram 2012, p.314). By this time the concept of a luxury hotel started to appear with the opening of ‘X Club’ in 1955 by the Lyndurst family and Île de France by George Coombes, followed by Hotel Merville, Club Mediterranee, Royal Palm and Le Mauricia (Nujjoo 2007, p. 150).

Unfortunately, the potential of the tourism industry for the economy was not made in subsequent national reports such as the Meade Report (1967; 1968). It was not until the post-independence with the burgeoning problems of unemployment rates that the Government recommended diversifying their economy towards tourism.

Therefore, in the case of gaining accurate statistics on tourist arrivals this Chapter starts its analysis at 1970. This is when the First Development Plan recognised the value and potential of the tourism industry as a focus for national development (GOM 1971-75).

Tourist arrivals were recorded as 18,000 in 1970 (Mauritius Attractions 2014). However statistics between 1970-1982 cannot be located on Government statistics (CSO). Tourist arrivals recorded on the Government of Mauritius Statistics website only go as far back as 1983. I had to find these from other sources and writings although these figures may have been accessible in the past in written or published format. This means that I had to painstakingly research any data from numerous sources to piece these together and fill in the gaps between 1970-1983.

In particular, it was difficult to obtain an official Government figure for the first tourist arrivals in 1970. I have referenced an article which estimates 18,000 tourist arrivals but does not give the official source for this figure. On the other hand, Ratsimbaharison (2011) states that there were 27,650 tourist arrivals in 1970. (Ratsimbaharison 2011, p. 133).

In terms of tourism receipts and earnings, it appears that after lengthy research there is not an official figure for 1970 tourism receipts or earnings. Authors such as YeungLamKo (1998) started his record at 1971 and Seetanah et al. (2010) started at 1972. It was a challenge to locate tourism earnings from 1970 onwards apart from one source which recorded gross earnings from 1971-1982 (YeungLamKo 1998). The tourism earnings for the subsequent years were taken from Government statistics which started at 1983.

It is difficult to plot an accurate chart on international visitors during 1970-2014 as there are conflicting statistics on tourism arrivals. There has been a near ten-fold increase between 1975 and 2002** according to Seetanah et al. (2011). However, when calculating the tenfold increase the figure for 1975 is from a different source so it does not reach the same total as Government figures for 2002 (CSO).

Another example is in 1985 where Seetanah et al. (2011) reports 150,000 total tourist arrivals, whereas the Government 'Statistics Mauritius' state this was 148,860. Again, the same author claims there were 291,550 tourist arrivals in 1991 and 570,000 in 1998 but the Government

states that actual figures were 300,670 in 1991 and 558,195 in 1998 (Statistics Mauritius 2014). It has also not referenced as to where specifically the author gleaned this information for us to be able to ascertain its validity.

Ramsamy (1998) reported that in 1997 tourist arrivals reached 536,125 and foreign exchange earnings from tourism was 504 million US\$. It was estimated that by the year 2000 Mauritius would receive 700,000 visitors and 1.4 million by 2020. (Ramsamy 1998, p.79).

The estimate was quite accurate, however the statistics were again different according to the source. In 2000 Mauritius Attractions (2014) reports 656,456 tourism arrivals whereas the Central Statistics Office (CSO 2009) states that official figures was 915,200 (Mauritius Attractions 2014). There are other examples where figures were rounded up or down in certain sources and this did not present an accurate account of tourist arrivals if one was looking to tabulate them. Zafar (2011) states that tourist arrivals reached 240,000 in 1988, 400,000 in 2000, and 900,000 in 2008 but these figures did not match Government statistics (Zafar 2011).

Clearly, one can question how reliable statistics are when numerous sources do not concur and cannot, therefore, all represent an accurate account of tourist arrivals. The following table therefore attempts to portray an accurate as possible a picture of international tourism c1970-2013.

Table 3.5. Tourist arrivals c1970-2013

Year	Tourist Arrivals	Tourist receipts (Rs Mn)
1970	18,000 (Mauritius Attractions 2014) 27 (Kassean 2010, 23), 27,7000	No figures
1971	36,400	39
1972	48,800	52 (also confirmed by Seetanah et al.)
1973	68,000	83
1974	72,900	111
1975	74,597 (Seetanah et al. 2011, 96). 74,600	135
1976	92,600	184
1977	102,500	210
1978	108,300	225
1979	128,400	260
1980	115,100	361
1981	121,600	421
1982	118,400	450
1983	123,820	503
1984	139,670	630
1985	148,860	845

1986	165,310	1,190
1987	207,570	1,786
1988	239,260	2,381
1989	262,790	2,796
1990	291,550	3,630
1991	300,670	3,940
1992	335,400	4,655
1993	374,630	5,362
1994	400,526	6,415
1995	422,463	7,472
1996	486,867	9,048
1997	536,125	10,068
1998	558,195	11,890
1999	578,085	13,668
2000	656,453	14,234
2001	660,318	18,166
2002	681,648	18,328
2003	702,018	19,415
2004	718,861	23,448
2005	761,063	25,704
2006	788,276	31,942

2007	906,971	40,687
2008	930,456	41,213
2009	871,356	35,693
2010	934,827	39,456
2011	964,642	42,717
2012	965,441	44,378
2013	993,106	40,557

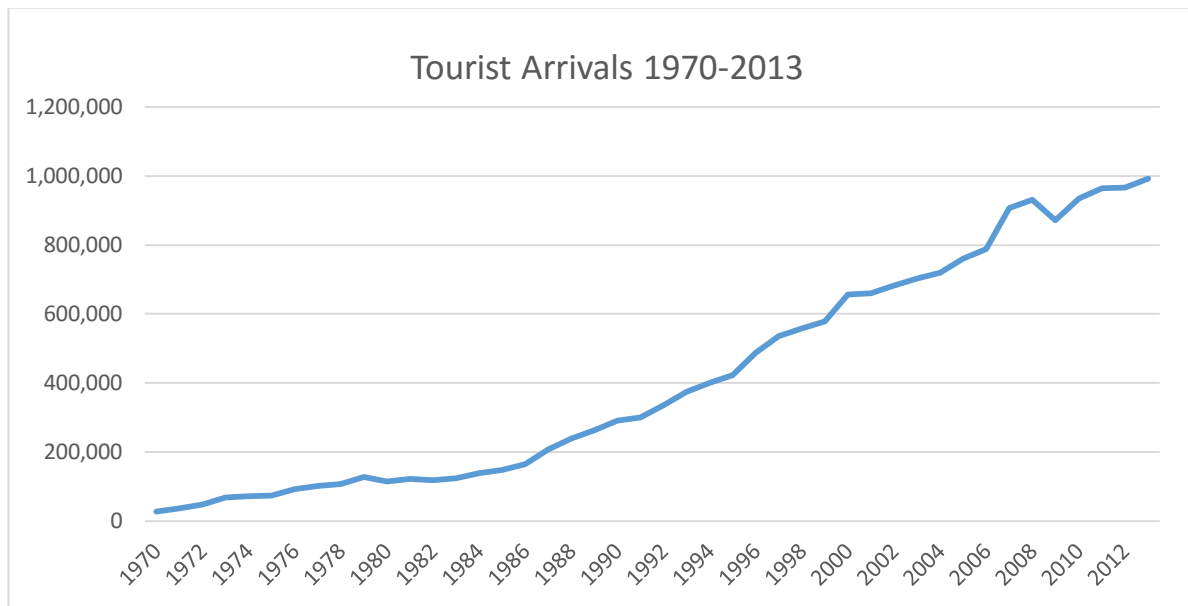
Note: Sources for 1983 to 2013 are taken from the Statistics Mauritius website (2014).

*Mauritius Attraction (2014)

**Seetanah et al. (2011, 96 -97)

***CSO (2009)

Fig 3.1. Chart of tourist arrivals c1970-2013



Looking at these figures tourist arrivals experienced ups and downs during the Oil Crisis in 1973. Tourist arrivals increased from 681,648 to 761,063 between 2002 and 2005, representing an increase of more than 11%**, and a large increase of nearly 200,000 tourist arrivals between 2006 and 2007. There was a record high for tourist arrivals in in 2009* but figures show that there was a dip in arrivals and the year after was actually the highest on record*** (CSO 2009). European tourist arrivals were falling particularly from the French main market as a result of the Eurozone crisis in 2009.

However, precise figures on tourism arrivals are difficult to obtain and sometimes pose problems with accuracy. The data above shows irregularities according to different sources. One can only make a reasoned guess as to the accuracy of some figures.

In order to assess the importance of tourist arrivals one can look at the value of revenue it brings nationally or the GDP. Mauritius Attractions (2014) quoted CSO statistics, stating that in the past two decades tourist arrivals increased at an average annual rate of 9 % with an increase of about 21% in tourism receipts contributing about 14% of Mauritius GDP. It was estimated

40,000 Mauritians are in full direct employment in the tourism sector. (Mauritius Attractions 2014). Minister Yeung Sik Yuen claimed that the contribution of the tourism industry to economic development was high as it provided 6.9% of Mauritian GDP and an estimated 100,000 direct and indirect jobs. (African Money 2014).

It is challenging to locate figures on Chamarel tourism arrivals in order to pinpoint its relative development according to this time period c1970-2013. Tourist arrivals are not segregated according to geographic area. National statistics were not followed up by further breakdowns of tourism statistics per geographic area.

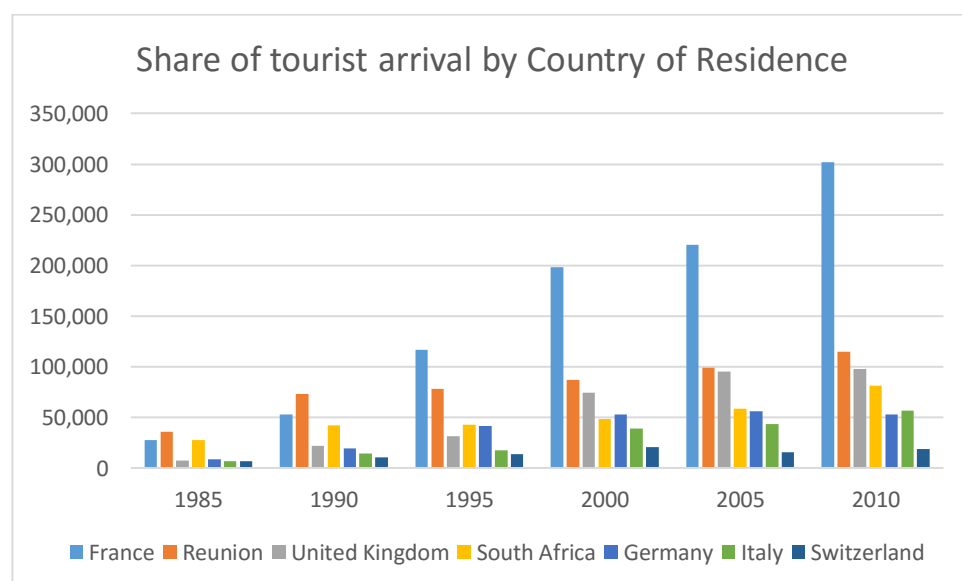
In regards to source countries, the Government of Mauritius Statistics home page includes data about international travel and tourism, however the tourist arrivals by country of residence only date back to 1985 (Statistics Mauritius, 2014).

There are conflicts between other sources such as the statistics on Mauritius Attractions (2014) and the Government (CSO) websites. For example, United Kingdom is positioned with a greater market share than Italy and Switzerland (Statistics Mauritius, 2014). The following table has been adapted and shows the figures in five year increments from the main source countries.

Table 3.6. Tourist arrivals per source country c1985-2010

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
France	27,420	53,170	116,701	198,423	220,421	302,185
Reunion	35,630	73,310	78,431	86,945	99,036	114,914
United Kingdom	7,110	21,920	31,324	74,488	95,407	97,548
Republic of South Africa	27,410	41,860	42,653	48,683	58,446	81,458
Germany	8,920	19,680	41,637	52,869	55,983	52,886
Italy	6,830	14,180	17,384	39,000	43,458	56,540
Switzerland	6,480	10,740	13,815	20,473	15,773	18,577

Figure 3.2. Chart of tourist arrivals per source country c1985-2010

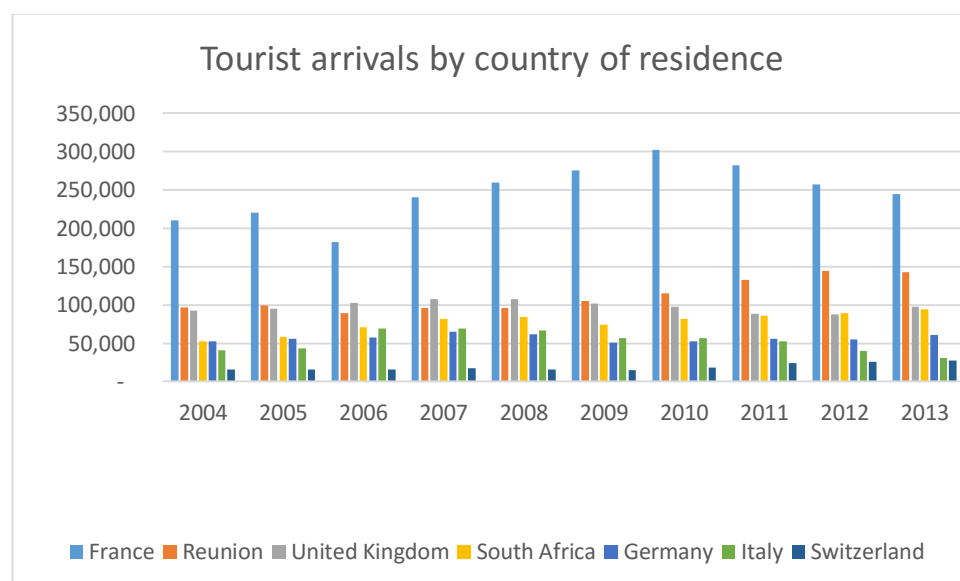


(Adapted from: Statistics Mauritius 2014).

Table 3.7. Tourist arrivals per source country c2004-2013

Country	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
France	210,411	220,421	182,295	240,028	260,054	275,599	302,185	282,469	256,929	244,752
Reunion	96,510	99,036	89,127	95,823	96,174	104,946	114,914	132,535	144,340	143,114
United Kingdom	92,652	95,407	102,333	107,297	107,919	101,996	97,548	88,182	87,648	98,017
South Africa	52,609	58,446	70,796	81,733	84,448	74,176	81,458	86,232	89,058	94,208
Germany	52,277	55,983	57,251	65,165	61,484	51,279	52,886	56,331	55,186	60,530
Italy	41,277	43,458	69,407	69,510	66,432	56,736	56,540	52,747	40,009	31,205
Switzerland	16,110	15,773	16,161	17,546	16,037	15,349	18,577	24,362	26,002	27,756

Figure 3.3. Chart of tourist arrivals per source country c2004-2013



(Adapted from: Statistics Mauritius 2014).

Table 3.8. Tourist arrivals per source country c2011– 2012

Total Arrivals to Mauritius in 2011 and 2012

Country	Tourist Arrivals		
	Year 2011	Year 2012	% Change
France	302,004	262,100	-13.2
Reunion	113,000	139,169	23.2
Republic of South Africa	86,232	89,058	3.3
UK	88,182	87,648	-0.6
India	53,955	55,197	2.3
Germany	56,331	55,186	-2.0
Italy	52,747	40,009	-24.1
Other countries	212,191	237,074	11.7
Total	964,642	965,441	0.1

(Source: Mauritius national statistics)

(Source: Mega, 2013c).

In recent years the source countries of tourism arrivals have remained in majority from Europe with the exception of Republic of South Africa and Reunion. The trend has been in majority European source countries. However, on the charts above France holds the greatest share of tourism arrivals. Reunion comes second, United Kingdom third, South Africa and then Germany (2009).

Mauritian tourism industry had experienced drastic growth in the last decade. The year of 2009 has been a record year for Mauritius having the largest number of visitors to the island. During 2009 Mauritius reinforced its place as a leading destination for the French people (from France and Reunion) with a strong progression (Mauritius Attractions 2014).

However, in the last few years tourism has started to show stagnation and potential decline. Tourism arrival figures in 2012 only grew by 0.1 percent, and failed to reach the target mark of 1 million (Thome 2013a). Tourism Minister Michael Yeung Sik Yuen (2011-2013) reported that Europe represented until recently up to 60% of all tourist arrivals but market shares were declining as European markets suffered economic recession. France – the largest source market with a share of 27% of all arrivals, declined by 13.2% in 2012. Mauritian tourism experienced stagnation with very low growth of only 0.1% (965,441 tourist arrivals) (Mega, 2013c).

Mauritius received 871,356 tourist arrivals in 2009 which represented a progression from 6 % to 9 % compared to the year 2008. France contributed 275,599 tourists and 104,946 travelled from Reunion (Mauritius Attractions 2014). During recent years about 67% of the tourist arrivals were European with France holding the largest market share. Reunion was the most important short-haul source market accounting for 13% of total tourist arrivals (Mauritius Attractions 2014).

More recently the Government has issued the first quarter highlights for 2014 which shows a downturn in numbers of tourist arrivals from its core European market. The number of tourists visiting Mauritius from Europe, particularly from France fell again by 4.3 percent (Reuteurs 2014). This left Mauritius second to the Maldives which took over the leadership in terms of tourism arrivals for the Indian Ocean islands. There was demand for a clear strategy and re-focus due to tensions between the Government's interests and private sector on tourism development which lead to this failure (Mega 2013). There were also demands for changes in the industry in terms of attracting different tourist and consumer profiles; 'There is an urgent need to diversify our tourism markets. Both the Government and the private sector need to agree on this fact' (Mega 2012).

3.2.1. New emerging markets: BRIC

The tourism industry has suffered stagnation and decline in recent years with a free fall in the traditional markets. There was an emergence of three potential new source countries; China which had doubled in figures, Russia and India (Statistics Mauritius, 2014). Out of a total of 964,642 tourist arrivals 81,312 tourists (8%) visited Mauritius from India, China and Russia in 2011. A target was made for 120,000 Indian tourists, Chinese and Russian tourists to visit Mauritius in 2012. (Mega 2012).

Minister Yeung Sik Yuen feels that the priority is to target BRIC tourists (Brazil, Russia, India and China tourism markets) where Chinese travellers in particular will help diversifying tourist arrivals sources and compensate for a weak performance of the French market (Mega, 2013c).

The Chinese numbered more than 70 million in global travel in 2011, representing growth of 22.4% from 2010 and a further increase of 19.5% for the first 5 months of 2012. The number of trips taken by the Chinese is expected to reach 100 million annually by 2020 (Mega 2012).

In terms of world tourism development the strength of the BRIC nations are growing at a greater rate than traditional inbound markets in the Eurozone and the U.K. which are experiencing 'a decline or stagnation.' These rapidly growing BRIC middle and affluent classes are expected to be the primary force of tourism growth in the next five years (Amster 2013).

Minister Yeung Sik Yuen recommended that Mauritius follow in the footsteps of the Maldives who has targeted the China tourism market (Dunbar 2013). Mauritius is following the new trend in tourism to attract the Chinese tourism market to make up for shortfalls in visitors from Europe and America after the global financial crisis (Reuters 2014).

Therefore, the Government started to take action to reach the Chinese market. The MTPA presented the destination to tourism and hospitality stakeholders in Beijing to heavily promote Mauritius as a holiday destination and established permanent offices for Air Mauritius in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (Mega, 2013b.). This created further awareness and marketing presence for Mauritius to compete as a Chinese favourite destination alongside the Maldives, Hawaii and Bali (Mega, 2013c).

A bilateral air services agreement was confirmed with China in 2012 for the launch of regular flight services. By July 1st more direct flights to mainland China were established using the national carrier Air Mauritius. This included one flight from Beijing, two in Shanghai, three in Hong Kong and three more via Kuala Lumpur (Mega, 2013b). The first actual flight took off for Beijing on 6th July 2012 (Mega, 2013a; Mega, 2013b). Since January 2013, Air Mauritius has been operating two weekly flights to Shanghai and regular charter flights to Beijing once a week and now covers different parts of China with connections to the Chinese domestic markets through China Eastern, Cathay Pacific and Dragon Air (Mega, 2013b.) China Southern Airlines became the first international airline to serve both Mauritius and China. By 2014, Air

Mauritius had eight flights per week to China with plans to add another direct flight to Beijing. (Mega, 2014).

The success of these diversification strategies were reported as the number of tourists from China increased dramatically over the last three years (Mega, 2014). 15,133 Chinese visited Mauritius in 2011 and in 2012 this increased to 20,885 - an increase of 38%. 41,913 Chinese tourists were recorded in 2013 with an increase of 100.7%. Growth targets of the Chinese market were set to double, arrivals reaching 80,000 (Mega, 2014). Tourism rose 2.4% in the first half of 2014 compared to 2013 due to an increase in visitors from China (Reuters 2014). Between January to May 2014, the island received 430,252 tourist arrivals with 26,965 tourist arrivals from China. (African Money 2014). Total tourist arrivals rose by 4% to 490,697 with a growth of 86.9% in Chinese tourists. The Mauritius Statistics Agency expected arrivals to increase by 3.7% to 1,030,000 and earnings to rise by 9.7% to Rs 44.50 billion Mauritian Rupees (Reuters 2014). Raj Deenanath, Director of Air Mauritius confirmed that Shanghai flights had an average occupancy rate of 80% and due to its success there are plans for a third flight (Mega, 2013b).

With regards to the other BRIC markets and their relevance to Mauritian tourism, the African market has expanded due to renewed efforts by Air Mauritius to strengthen connections. In July 2013, it started to operate two direct flights to Durban (Mega, 2013a). The Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority (MTPA) is developing a strategy to target African countries with strong economic growth such as Kenya, Malawi, Gabon, Namibia and Nigeria. (African Money 2014).

The policy of diversification of markets according to Raj Deenanath also includes India where Air Mauritius operates seven flights per week with an average occupancy rate of 80%. The average filling rate for the whole Air Mauritius flights to destinations is between 78% - 80% (Mega, 2013b.) Mauritius appeals to the Indian market due to its close proximity within the Indian Ocean and its Indian community. India was the fifth largest market for the island according to Mega (2013) article. It has started to become a potential destination for wedding

and honeymooners from India. (Mega, 2013c). The Bollywood film industry also generates awareness for the island due to its natural resources and exotic scenery (African Money 2014).

Russia alongside India and China are expected to increase in outbound tourist trips of more than 1 million in the next five years. Russia represents an expanding market which non-Asian countries such as the USA are starting to recognise and exploit (Amster 2013).

In summary, recent trends in Mauritian tourism revealed a dip in tourism figures which caused the Government to diversify the tourism product away from its traditional markets and attract new tourist profiles. The changes in tourist profile can be identified by looking at the publication and promotion of the island in its main tourism markets, which will be discussed in the following section. We can also identify new tourist profiles through the diversification strategy that Mauritius is currently developing from 2013 till present.

3.3. The tourist profile

Promotion of tourism for long-haul, high-spend tourists has been the objective of National Development Plans since the Four Year Plan for Social and Economic Development 1971-75 (Ministry of Economic Planning 1971). This ensured that Mauritius was promoted as a luxury tourism destination and established a tourism ceiling (the amount of tourists to enter the country) and prevent mass ecological damage (Seetaram 2012, p.320). The main types of Mauritian tourism were therefore focused on the luxury, weddings and honeymoon markets during the beginnings of tourism development. This approach continued throughout the 1980s National Development Plans as the key means to 'sustainable tourism.' Destinations such as Mauritius have attracted the classic tourist typologies of 'wanderlust' and 'sunlust' who are motivated by cultural and heritage attractions, and this type of tourism has helped to overcome seasonality problems in sustainability (Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2010b, p.39).

However, national newspapers criticised Mauritius as a ‘victim of its own success’ as hotels were crammed along the coasts in the tourism hubs at Grand Baie and Flic en Flac similar to southern Spain (Turner 2000, p.2). The Ministry of Leisure and Tourism created new attractions towards sustainable tourism and ecotourism in order to differentiate the Mauritian tourism product and position it inland. The Government Tourism Master Plan and Action Plan (2002-2005) limited the number of tourists as mass tourism was affecting the ecology and social fabric of Mauritian society. Its Policy Reform Paper supported ecotourism as a valuable source of foreign investment and the key to economic development without increasing tourist numbers. The strategy views protecting the environment as ‘sound business policy’ (St Pierre 2005).

Mauritius is now one of the most exclusive eco-vacation designations in the world where ‘Eco-chic boutique resorts’ are being used to promote areas of outstanding natural beauty (Luxury Destinations 2015). The World Trade Organisation appears to take an active role in promoting Mauritius for ecotourism ‘encouraging the Ministry of Tourism to propose a greening programme for the three main tourist villages of Mauritius: Grand Baie (North), Trou d'Eau Douce (east) and Flic en Flac (west)’ that would also be working with private sector and NGOs (WWTC 2013). Specific areas are promoted such as Black River Gorges National Park Pamplemousses Garden Trou Aux Cerfs and Bassin Blanc, is an old volcanic crater found in the mountain range of Savanne on the south-west of the island. Regarding ecotourism the Government seeks all stakeholders in general to be involved but is not clear who these are.

The concept of adventure tourism in Mauritius can be seen in MTPA (2015b) promotions. Tamarin and Le Morne are promoted as adventure tourism areas for kite-surfing and deep-sea fishing. Tamarin is the surf centre of Mauritius and Le Morne is a main fishing centre. (MTPA 2015b).

‘Vision 2020, The National Long-term Perspective Study’ (NLTPS) encouraged visitors and local residents to take pride in preserving the environment for future generations towards environment sustainability (Government of Mauritius 2012). The National Strategy for

Sustainable Development 1999-2005 was produced later to realise the hopes in the Vision 2020. The Minister of Tourism and Leisure states in the strategy that ‘Mauritius, which is of very high quality, is very vulnerable to damage, in particular from the effects of economic development, which generates waste, pollutes air and water and produces increasing emissions of greenhouse gases. Market forces provide no mechanism for protecting the environment (Government of Mauritius 2012). The National Physical Development Plan provides the basis for future land use and is believed to be later accompanied with a new Town and Country Planning Act and a National Land Information System.

Recent tourism marketing strategies have focused on moving tourism inland and therefore attracted ‘allocentric’ tourists according to Plog’s (1974) theory of the population as psychographic types (Plog 1974, p.56). It attracts self-confident and adventurous tourists who enjoy discovery and ‘off-the-beaten-track’ tourist destinations (Plog 1974, p.57). Chamarel has gained attention as an ecologically sensitive area which would suit ecotourism initiatives and has subsequently seen the development of the first ecotourism adventure park (Mohit 2012). The promotion of ecotourism in Chamarel caters for tourists who are searching for authenticity and experience with local indigenous populations which is not covered specifically in the marketing strategies for ecotourism in Mauritius. However, MTPA publications (2004) for ecotourism destinations in Mauritius still exclude Chamarel (MTPA 2004, p.28-29). Celebrations for heritage placed Le Morne in the press spotlight during the first Conference for Slavery (Lesclav nou L’heritaz 2004) but did not include Chamarel. The Prime Minister visited Le Morne residents on the celebration of the 178th anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in Mauritius which excluded people of Chamarel (Le Mauricien 2013a).

The marketing strategy at present particularly stresses upon protecting marine life by using the Environment Impact Assessment (EIA), however it claims to be ‘encouraging promoters to create tourist attractions based on environmental and cultural interests’ and to motivate a ‘mix of harmonious development in line with the interests of the population’ (Deloitte and Touche 2002). It is not clear whether the Ministry of Tourism has surveyed the local population concerning this or how the benefits of tourism expenditure reaches the local population as resorts are mainly restricted to coastline areas.

Wilson (1994) study on the changing tourism image of the Seychelles relates how historical literature referred to a tropical paradise during the French colonial occupation in 1770s, similarly to that of other Indian Ocean Islands (like Mauritius) through a process of colonisation, slavery, plantation economy and indentured labour which bound it indefinitely to European metropolitan countries (Wilson 1994, p.766). Images of the African identity and Creolity were therefore became visible including the ideology of a 'paradise' that had been lost and now rediscovered (Wilson 1994, p.766). MTPA has also followed by encouraging a 'paradise lost' image which Prayag (2012) survey results found that was still a successful promotional image amongst European tourists (Prayag 2012, p.11). Echtner (2002) argues that as a result of the promotional images used to satisfy the needs of the metropolitan, stereotypes portray the indigenous population as unchanged in order to keep its authenticity (Echtner 2002, p.414).

Planning and policy for community tourism would therefore need to consider sociological aspects of tourism development and the portrayal of an authentic Chamarel tourism product. Tourism planning in Mauritius is not specific on what groups or activities are recommended in order to improve the environment and has ignored qualitative methods in evaluating its social carrying capacities (MRC 1998). Recent research into tourism impacts still focus on quantifiable results to understand the perceptions of local communities (Ramkissoon and Nunkoo 2011a) and research into community support for integrated resort projects in Le Morne tested a hypothesis to evaluate a model on community satisfaction (Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2011b).

Therefore, it is important to contain a qualitative aspect in community tourism research as 'different groups have different interests' which can conflict and influence a project's success and these perceptions are not easily quantified (Turner 2000, p.2). Haywood (2006) and Papatheodorou (2006) argue that the agendas of planners can intervene and conflict with stakeholders in a balance of power between competing entities (Haywood 2006, 34; Papatheodorou, 2006: 67-82):

'As geographic regions are subjected to colliding events and forces, tourism areas contain, as well as interact, in pluralistic worlds of stakeholders with differing values and agendas. These worlds compete as well as cooperate with each other in their individual struggles for survival' (Haywood 2006, p.37).

3.4. Further diversification of the tourist profile

Mauritius is attractive as a business tourism destination as it has a reputation of being politically stable. This quality has been promoted within its diversification strategy to attract foreign investors into the new Integrated Resorts Scheme (IRS) where they could purchase property in Mauritius (Mauritius Attractions 2014). It has been promoted as an emerging destination for Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Events (MICE – meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions – segment). Mauritius received 25,460 tourists from India visiting for event tourism. (African Money 2014). The average growth rate for MICE over the past five years has been around 5%. Mauritius offers a range of facilities for the business community concentrating on its strong luxury hotel and restaurants profile.

Another key area for diversification is shopping tourism. Traditionally shopping tourism has been a focal point in Grand Baie. However, this has changed and started to include lesser known areas in the south of Mauritius, namely Rivière Noire which is located near Chamarel. The MTPA advertises Ruisseau Créole shopping complex in La Mivoie, Black River (MTPA 2015b).

The recent trend in Chinese tourists to Mauritius has changed tourist demands. A growing number of Chinese travellers are looking to escape the routine of urban life by seeking different travel experiences, such as adventure, ecotourism, health or medical tourism. There is a growing popularity for therapeutic travel and destinations focusing primarily on the beauty of the natural environment and space; three features increasingly rare in urban China. Mauritius can be added to the portfolio of destinations used by the Chinese such as Bali, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Hawaii (Mega 2012).

There have been several attempts to copy festival and carnival tourism which has been successful in the Seychelles (Thome 2013a). Thus, Mauritius tourism events are in direct competition to the Indian Ocean Vanilla Islands Carnival that is staged annually in the Seychelles.

The MTPA was criticised for copying a carnival which has been taking place annually in the Seychelles on the Vanilla Islands Calendar of Events (Eturbonews 2013b). Tourism Minister Michael Sik Yuen stated that he was organising the Festival of the Sea *{Ganga Snan}* as part of tourism promotions (Eturbonews 2013b). However, the Ganga Snan already exists as a traditional festival celebrated each year amongst the Hindu population.

The Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority (MTPA) and the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) confirmed that they will not be staging a second edition of their Shopping Fiesta and Carnival. The original event was organised in 2012 but it required complex organisation and Mauritius did not benefit from added visibility through the event (Eturbonews 2013a).

Mauritius National Assembly Member Kavi Ramano asked what would be happening to the Mauritian Shopping Fiesta Lottery. The lottery had already been postponed on two occasions. It was initially scheduled to be drawn in December 2012 before being postponed to May 31, 2013. The Mauritian Minister concluded that the lottery cost the Ministry Rs 14 million Mauritian Rupees (Eturbonews 2013a).

The MTPA has also been advertising cultural and heritage tourism via its website (MTPA 2015a). In particular, the national dance of Segga features 'rhythmic, lively music and colourful Creole lyrics which expresses freedom and 'joie de vivre'. (MTPA 2015a). It acknowledges that the Segga originates from the painful memories of slavery in Mauritius. The Segga was originally a local spontaneous gathering around a bonfire in a remote village, but it has changed

to become a feature of entertainment in commercial establishments from hotels to shopping malls using modern instruments (MTPA) 2015a.

3.5. The application of the Tourism Area Life Cycle model (TALC) to Mauritius

The TALC model describes the pattern and process of development in tourist destinations as an evolutionary process. Butler's two volume study (2006) of his original theory (1980) places the origins of the Tourism Area Life Cycle within the flows and patterns of tourism at the time (Butler 1980; 2006). A destination launches from an exploratory phase in which ad-hoc and rapid planning is encouraged and through it the saturation of a mass tourism market (Butler 2006, p.45).

Mauritius has evolved from an exploration to a development stage. It has consolidated key markets in France, Germany and Italy. It is believed that when tourist numbers are still increasing and exceed the number of permanent residents this indicates the later stages of the Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC) that can end in market stagnation and decline (Cooper et al., 1993:115). Regarding the destination of Mauritius, Carlsen and Butler (2011) applied the TALC and found that Mauritius had gained considerable financial benefit from the tourism industry – however, it is now experiencing stagnation (Carlsen and Butler 2011, p.160).

Mauritius is following a spatio-temporal tourism development highlighted by Weaver (1988) as a 'plantation model of tourism development' based on the Carribbean where they experienced colonisation, were dependent on agriculture and exports and now the development of tourism (cited in Oppermann and Chon 1997, p.52).

Weaver (1988) model is true to Mauritius as development starts in the town centre and spreads to isolated resorts on the coastline until they become clustered, leaving the inland areas fairly untouched (cited in Opperman and Chon 1997, p.56). By 1995, hotel development affected the

majority of landscape and available land in the North. Most of the South and inland areas were non-tourism zones (cited in Opperman and Chon 1997, p.57).

However, Haywood (2006) criticises the notion that tourism areas or destinations pass through a life cycle and asks if this covers social cultural impacts as well as economic and environmental factors. He dismisses the model as simplistic but recognises that it can be used as a blue-print for tourism areas or as a self-fulfilling prophecy (Haywood 2006, p.30).

Authors criticise TALC as not sufficient on its own for planning and marketing purposes (Haywood 1988). The model does not take into account organisational behaviour as the cycle matures (i.e. mergers and acquisitions). Each stage will reveal different carrying capacity levels and require separate policy responses (Martin and Uysal 1990). An island such as Barbados, for example, is split into different market segments, which are at different stages in TALC – one area is in decline while another is still in the growth stage (France 1991).

Butler (2006) acknowledges that TALC has been criticised as too simplistic, although he argues that there are many reasons for its present day application as it is easy and simple to use and has been adapted and modified. Butler asserts that in order to apply TALC to destinations which want to be sustainable there needs to be a study of a wider range of constraints on tourism – social, cultural, ecological, environmental, economic, political, legal, technological and temporal (Butler 2006, p.32).

Therefore, a life cycle of tourism development should integrate a sociological framework (Bianchi 1994; Butler, 2006, p.34). This sociological analysis would identify certain social perspectives such as the belief and habits of action in response to local circumstances and new experiences (Bianchi 1994; Butler, 2006, p.34).

Butler (2006) indicates the social aspects of collective bargaining within tourism development (which allows groups to avoid confrontation and gives each group the opportunity to mediate and manage social conflict). However, he assumes that potential conflicts amongst the interested parties would be mitigated to achieve a higher level of awareness (Henderson 1971, p.84).

3.6. Tourism planning and policy

3.6.1. Sustainable tourism in Mauritius

There is a plethora of books and journal articles about sustainable tourism, however this Chapter seeks to present the existing literature on sustainable tourism in the light of community tourism issues and its implementation. We would need to look briefly at Mauritius as a Small Island Developing State (SIDS) and how tourism, in particular the definition of sustainable tourism has been applied to the country.

A Small Island Developing State features unique natural resources, economies and culture but is economically vulnerable due to its ‘small size, insularity, remoteness, proneness to natural disasters, social isolation and external dependency’ (Nunkoo et al. 2010, p.676).

‘Island destinations are characterised by small size and population, remote location, limited resource base, lack of revenue for imports, high transport costs, lack of local markets and lack of infrastructure’ (Wilkinson 1989 cited in Prayag et al. 2010, p. 687).

Small islands are also characterised by ecologically sensitive ecosystems and culturally unique features which means that environmental and socio-economic benefits for communities favour small-scale and limited tourism development (Prayag 2010, p.687). There are concerns on Small Island Developing States (SIDS) such as Mauritius being prone to environmental

problems and over-reliance on the tourism industry as its main economic revenue (Prayag 2010, p.697).

Many Small Island Developing States are undeveloped with few economic development options due to the declining value of traditional exports, declining domestic food production and increasing imports but they have cultural and natural resources which are valuable for tourism (WTO 2004, p.23). 'Making tourism work for Small Island Developing States' (WTO 2004) feels that the tourism industry is a less disruptive development option as it offers the opportunity for these countries to diversify and link to other sectors such as agriculture, fishing and transportation (WTO 2004, p.25).

A classic approach towards achieving sustainable development is placing limitations on carrying capacity, where exceeding a specific number will determine if the area has avoided mass tourism and become sustainable development (Butler 1996, p.15). However, it is recognised that tourism itself increases pressure on the environment and the local communities. This poses challenges for islands to adapt their tourism policy. For example, the Seychelles and Mauritius revised their tourism policies to raise the quality of their tourism product by focusing on environmental carrying capacity and sustainable tourism. However, there was not a clear approach towards community capacity (WTO 2004, p.41).

The Bellagio Principles were set into place as a general set of guidelines to implement sustainable development strategies. Tourism was seen as a holistic, system-based approach using a smaller workable set of indicators, however there is the assumption that there will be openness and participation between the stakeholders and 'appropriate ongoing monitoring procedures' (Weaver 2006, p.32). A closer look at principles six to nine places emphasis on the accessibility of communication and data with participation at grass-root level and adaptive systems with ongoing assessments (Weaver 2006, p.32). Indeed, elements six to nine stress sociocultural aspects of tourism development in the sense that decision-making is made within the community.

The discussion on sociocultural aspects of sustainable tourism development also takes place within WTO's conceptual definition, guidelines and practices of sustainable tourism development. Sociocultural carrying capacity 'represents the maximum number of tourists that a community is capable/willing to accept without disturbing its (traditional) social habits and way of life.' (WTO 2004, p. 62, 64). The fourth WTO core indicator for sustainable tourism, however, seeks to specifically measure social impacts defined by the ratio of tourists to locals (peak period and over time) and the tenth WTO indicator measures local satisfaction based on questionnaires. (Weaver 2006, p.31).

Denoi (1981) summarises alternative tourism as a community generating direct revenue, improved housing conditions and less environmental degradation. Alternative tourism would focus on a home industry or family business with the income going directly to the inhabitants and so there would be no alternation to the existing area. However, it is not clear how local people would be trained towards development of the accommodation Denoi is relating in his writing, such as a guest-house or hotel where the locals would require training and financial resources that are not always readily available in developing countries for poorer local communities. Denoi (1981) believed that housing issues and upgrades would be supported and financed by banks or the Government, charitable organisations and various UN branches such as UNESCO (Denoi 1981, p. 254, 257).

Graci and Dodds (2010) discuss the reality of community decision-making as an innovation of sustainable tourism stating that; 'If communities are able to participate in decision-making about tourism development they need first to understand tourism development processes, tourist needs and wants and the variety of development options' (Graci and Dodds 2010, p.173). They need to be educated on tourism rather than just entrepreneurship or livelihoods.

Choi and Sirakaya (2005) acknowledge the plethora of existing literature on community sustainable tourism and review them in their paper as community-driven development with resident benefits of recreational facilities, community reinvestment funds, promotion of local business and local participation Sustainable Community Tourism (SCT) would also minimise

negative social and cultural impacts, environmental concerns. In particular, SCT would ensure ‘full community participation’ which the authors define as ‘leadership roles, active participation in decision-making, collaboration, information and communication’ (Choi and Sirakaya 2005, p.228).

A definition of Sustainable Community Tourism (SCT) by Butler (1993) proposes the key components of ‘community-based tourism, long-term planning, management policy, natural and human resource protection, acceptable scale of development, limited or optimal economic benefits, and an ethical attitude towards overall environment’ (cited in Choi and Sirakaya 2005, p.227).

Discussion on the socio-economic benefits of SCT ‘aims to promote fair distribution of economic benefits among community residents’ through Government support on training programmes, low-interest loans, fostering local, regional and national Government agencies industries and NGOs and residents (Choi and Sirakaya 2005, p.229). However, SCT must protect and improve the community and environment regardless of how much money is being made through these endeavours:

‘For tourism to be truly sustainable, it needs to protect local and national culture, improve social and individual well-being, and conserve/preserve the surrounding environment.’ (Choi and Sirakaya 2005, p.230).

Berry and Ladkin (1997) argue that sustainable community tourism can be full of ambiguous goals and concepts which confuse and lack exact and precise. In particular, there needs to be clarity on how community residents would derive advantages from tourism development. The paradigm of community tourism should integrate policy and planning, monitoring progress social learning within the community. Active participation of the community would be viable if it involves well-developed communication channels with ‘receptive Governments’ (cited in Choi and Sirakaya 2005, p.227).

Redclift (2008) criticises the ideals of sustaining cultural systems and peoples as part of tourism development. It ignores the practical reality of implementing strategies which cannot sustain their livelihoods long-term. He argues that without involvement of the people in the design and implementation of sustainable development they would be unlikely to take responsibility or ownership for the project (Redclift 2008, p.122). Poorer communities may have no choice but to prefer immediate economic gains over insecure livelihoods which they cannot sustain without financial or vocational support. Therefore, the natural environment suffers conflict between the immediate needs and long-term interests of the developers. Redclift (2008) reminds us that in reality, trade-offs and difficult choices have to be made rather than 'simply occupy the high, moral ground' (Redclift 2008, p.122).

Research on resident identities and their support for tourism confirmed, that different facets of identity relevant to small island communities are likely to influence attitudes and support for tourism. The authors argue that most studies which examine tourism impacts and community attitudes have been carried from the perspective of industrialised economies and that the findings are less valid for small islands. There is the challenge of identifying the unique factors which are responsible for change in the local context and policies developed in one destination that should not be considered as applicable and relevant to other places (Nunkoo et al. 2010, p.675). The same could be said for ecotourism and community-based tourism destinations where a project may not be successful in one or the other.

However, it is argued that communities in SIDS should be empowered to 'determine' policy that safeguards their cultural and heritage resources (Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2010b, p.39). Snaith and Haley (1999) argue that there should be an emphasis on the 'Mentifacts' or attitudes of the host community on their support for tourism (cited in Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2010a, p.40). Choi and Sirakaya (2005) recommend that residents should be the focal point for development in terms of cultural and heritage tourism within Small Island Developing States (SIDS) (cited in Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2010a, p.40).

The WTO (2004) believes that tourism in protected land areas such as Chamarel can help their sustainable development as local residents realise its value and want to preserve it (WTO 2004, p.33). Chamarel can be included under the broad definitions of WTO's eleven indicators which cover specific environments and sites such as coastal zones, mountains, urban areas and small islands (Weaver 2006, p.31). Chamarel is located within a mountainous area as well as being accessible from the coast via Le Morne and the main 'Royal Road' {*Route Royale*}. Under the World Heritage Convention, World Heritage sites such as Chamarel have been deemed to be of 'outstanding universal value' and their natural and cultural properties would need to be protected. It is confirmed as an area of ecological sensitivity (WTO 2015).

Within this is the ideal that not only the natural heritage but also the cultural heritage of community traditions will be protected. The interests of the tourists would enhance economic opportunities by increasing local jobs while protecting the natural and cultural heritage (WTO 2004, p.33). Tourism would focus on community and local development needs for improved infrastructure, education and literacy, training such as vehicle maintenance, food hygiene, healthcare and medical services (WTO 2004, p.34). In short, tourism in protected areas should be a tool to help empower communities maintain, improve and raise their living standards and quality of life (WTO 2004, p.34). Krippendorf (2008) paper discusses a more balanced tourist development concept, where development policies pay special attention to tourism promotions that will economically benefit the host population without adversely affecting their quality of life. It should include a detailed report on the effects, such as a cost/benefit analysis, and social and environmental effects before implementation (Krippendorf 2008, p. 234).

The WTO state that sustainable tourism in Small Island Developing States (SIDS) therefore needs to adapt initiatives towards their stakeholders namely the local population through participatory action and sense of ownership (WTO 2004, p.43):

'All stakeholders and, in particular, local communities and the local business sector should be involved in the definition, planning and implementation of the sustainable

tourism development policy and plan, including in the establishment of carrying capacities.’ (WTO 2004, p.64).

What is important is the sense of ownership over the tourism development process for the community stakeholders. Local villagers should be able to tailor-make a development proposal towards their needs. Hall and Jenkins (1995) recommend adapting the ‘right’ policies, to achieve ‘right goals’ – but what is defined as ‘right’ and for whom or by whom? Tourism policy is influenced by several factors; the stakeholders, socio-economic or environmental forces and the political system of the country. ‘Public policy cannot remain independent of the political process and cannot be value free’ (Hall and Jenkins 1995, p.2). Tourism is a ‘chosen’ policy, it is not created in a political vacuum and is maneuvered by political pressures where a select elite take the decisions (Richter 1982, p.108)

A study of Mauritian tourism policy therefore needs be sensitive to the political characteristics and understand the consequences of public policy decisions (Dye 1992, p.2). Hall and Jenkins (1995) recommend that a study of tourism policy should examine various topics; public participation in the tourism planning process, the sources of power in tourism policymaking, and the perceptions, values and ideologies of participants and distributions of power (Hall and Jenkins 1995, p.5).

Lorenzi (2006) reviews ‘Power: a radical view’ by Lukes (1974) and its re-issue (2005). He states that we need to understand the constraints on power such as when a minority adapts to the power held by a dominant group either by coercive or non-coercive action according to their interests. Therefore the ‘conception of interests’, the values and views of power, can be pluralist and multidimensional interests (Lorenzi 2006, p.88, 89).

Public policies on tourism can represent value choices in the sense it is assumed that there is a collective core of shared values, norms which would automatically regulate tourism policy. An

analysis of policy would therefore need to be aware of these institutions as they can influence decision-making and constrain the outcomes (Simeon 1976, p.574).

According to Hall and Jenkins (1995), an institution can be defined as the following:

‘...an established law, custom, usage, practice, organisation, or other element, in the political or social life of a people; a regulative principle or convention subservient to the needs of an organized community or the general needs of civilization...’or ‘as an intricate web of rules, procedures and roles, require that people think about who they are, and what is appropriate for them to do in terms of a given situation’ (Hall and Jenkins 1995, p.21, 25).

A ‘two-dimensional view’ of power according to Lukes (1974) acknowledges power in overt and covert conflicts within decision-making (cited in Lorenzi 2006, p.89). On the other hand, an analysis of policy is largely prescriptive, demonstrating how policymaking should occur according to normative models, pre-established standards or an ideal situation. It lacks empirico-inductive research on the values of the participants (Mitchell 1989). Therefore, an analysis of tourism planning would need to be descriptive in its construction, documenting the way in which public policy actually occurs and explaining what happened during the decision-making and policymaking process using inductive techniques (Mitchell 1989).

A flexible framework for the study of tourism policy should incorporate a multidimensional focus in its methodology. The first stage is to understand the historical background and evaluate macro and micro levels. The next step is to link the theory to the ideology and values of the participants (Hall and Jenkins 1995, p.95).

It is argued that what is really needed is an assessment of the lines of responsibility, roles and functions of various individuals, bodies and institutions within a tourism plan or policy rather than just an economic impact study on its effectiveness (Hall and Jenkins 1995, p.27). It is

believed that a clear analysis should take into account the individual interests, beliefs, ethnics, biases, attitudes, traditions, morals and objectives. These factors can change with time and can influence power conflicts (Henning 1974, p.515). Plural society theory can also be assessed in the sense of how that power can be dispersed where institutions are open to a wide range of interest groups. Decisions are made through a process of bargaining, negotiation and compromise. Different or 'multiple' centres of power negotiate and minorities can choose to either veto or vote a decision (Dahl 1967: 24).

An application of plural society would also raise notions of representation and community participation in tourism planning and policymaking at a grass-root level, and highlight inequality of access, control of resources, and how these affect opportunities and ability to exert pressure towards grass-root decision-making (Moodie and Studdert-Kennedy 1970, p.71)

'The application of models of community participation in tourism planning, which assume the pluralistic allocation of power within a community may unwittingly serve to reinforce existing power structures to the exclusion of oppositional and contrary perspectives' (Hall 2003:111).

Richter (1982; 1993) analyses land, tourism development and policymaking in the Philippines assesses the changes and continuities in policymaking in the context historical analysis of land reform, and evaluates how historical structures are reaffirmed by tourism policy, such as the Feudal agrarian structure, unequal division of wealth and citizens divided by their ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity within the participation process (Richter 1982, p.6).

Richter (1982) analyses historic land reform – discussing 'landlordism' in the form of chiefs and 'sirdars' (Muslim local headmen / Creole headmen). They owned territory and allotments of land and their holdings remained intact post-British colonisation (Richter 1982).

This resulted in ad-hoc, haphazard tourism policy in certain areas as it was difficult to determine who had a legal right to the land. Most tenants fear the costly fees for land conversion, solicitors, surveyors and licensing. They also may need to pay land tax, resume responsibility for any cooperative membership fees and may not have access to credit facilities and the landlord services (Richter 1982: 54, 111). Far too often tourism is analysed from economic or marketing perspectives when what is needed is a socio-economic view on the distribution of wealth. The historical factors still influence the ownership of land and distribution of wealth in tourism enclaves.

A closer look at the concepts and debates surrounding community tourism are presented in the following section.

3.7. Community Tourism – a new approach in Mauritius

3.7.1. The concept of community tourism

Tourism development has been described as an evolutionary process. Destinations start at an exploratory phase where ad-hoc planning and rapid development is encouraged until it reaches saturation (Butler 1993, p.27-43). However, Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle lacks in-depth analysis on the social capacity of destinations at the saturation phase of tourism development.

A linear pattern of destination development was described by Krippendorf (1982) following three phases in development, ultimately leading to negative environmental and sociocultural impacts. The first stage is the launch of tourism using an economic approach but the environmental effects of tourism development become clear (Krippendorf 1982, p.141-142).

The second stage reviews and rectifies environmental issues. For example, controls on future unplanned building, settlement and destruction of flora and fauna which affect the quality of

life. These factors culminate at the third stage where a sociocultural approach towards tourism development is recommended (Krippendorf 1982, p.141-142).

Unregulated growth in tourism development without holistic planning can result in significant social and environmental disadvantages. The costs of such development such as congestion, noise, crime, price inflation, visual pollution and the economic over-dependence on tourism, would need to be compared to the short-term gain from economic revenue (Keogh 1990, p.44). It has been argued that these negative tourism impacts outweigh its economic benefits (Krippendorf 1982, p.135).

The social effects of tourism on the local population have been categorised as stages such as in the Doxey Irridex (Doxey 1975, p.195-198). Tourism development is perceived negatively in a range of tourism impact assessments discussing the social consequences (Mathieson and Wall 1982). However, impact assessments tend to focus on collective consensus rather than group differences.

Indian Ocean islands have been proactive in restricting ad-hoc and unregulated rapid growth that may damage their ecological environments. The Seychelles, Maldives and Mauritius have followed a pattern of spatial tourism development with designated tourism zones and have set a ceiling on tourism numbers to attract high-spend European tourism markets (Brown 1997). However, this has encouraged dependency on tourism as a pillar of the national economy in these islands. Mauritius has tried to diversify its national economy by introducing several economic pillars from sugar exports, manufacturing (export processing zone), tourism and information technology (Wing 1995).

There was social upheaval for tourism development in the Maldives where local inhabitants were displaced and segregated in tourism atolls to constrain the physical and social interrelations between host and guest (Zulfa and Carlsen 2011, p.216-217). The lack of grass-root level employment was exacerbated by the recruitment of Sri Lankan expatriate workers in

the hotels, clubs and bars serving alcoholic beverages. This caused conflicts and resentment within a predominately Islamic community. Research into the impacts of the economic crisis on tourism employees in Maldives found that 44% of the employees in hotels and resorts were low-skilled workers from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Phillipines and India (Steiner et al., 2011a, p.19). The ratio of tourism employment shows the levels of dependency on the industry as one in every 1.7 Maldivians are employed in tourism according to World Travel and Tourism Council (WWTC 2006) figures (cited in UNESCAP 2013, p.33).

Crukier (2002) critique of studies on tourism employment argues that in most cases only direct tourism is analysed and that it is difficult to quantify the benefits of tourism when employment is seasonal (Crukier 2002). Sinclair and Sinclair (1997) book on Gender, Work and Tourism found that the benefits for tourism can present ideological conflicts according to how it impacts traditional norms in a local community, particularly between genders with power can be negotiated and re-constructed through tourism employment. For example, the Japanese weaving activities which empowered women to achieve independent careers and personal incomes (Sinclair and Sinclair 1997, p.3

The environmental impacts of tourism spurred an interest in tourism development that would sustain resources for present and future generations as referred to in the Bruntland Report 1987 (Mowforth and Munt 1998, p.24). Alternative labels have been linked to the sustainable notion of tourism development such as 'green tourism' and 'ecotourism' (Butler 1992, p.36).

The difference between the concept of ecotourism and sustainable tourism is the focus on the community as the beneficiary of development. Murphy (1985) argues that community tourism is an evolution of the tourism product. It offers a revitalisation of local community through tourism that is ecologically sensitive and community centred. Tourism development would be for the common good and future generations (Murphy 1985, p.37). However, this assumes that there would be intergenerational equity.

Wheeller (1994) argues that ecotourism provides an ego boost for tourists wishing to appear community or ecologically sensitive only to an extent that keeps them socially acceptable or physically comfortable (Wheeller 1994, p.652). It is believed that the concept of alternative tourism favours middle class tourists who are 'highly educated, affluent, mature and probably white' (Butler 1992, p.40).

Community tourism has been viewed as a positive approach towards tourism development which allows potential members to become innovative participants and leaders of development. Further development would be sustainable when it receives public support and is directed towards community goals (Murphy 1985; Blank 1989). Murphy (1985) refers to a 'Community Tourism Product' that would be sold alongside the traditional packages for mass tourism. He argues that tourism thrives and exploits the community as a resource and therefore reinvestment should be made (Murphy 1985). Getz (1983) study on the capacity to absorb tourism and its effects, described the community as a tangible commodity that could be manipulated for economic benefits (Getz 1983, p.247).

The positive benefits of 'alternative tourism' would provide an opportunity for direct contact between hosts and guests and 'relationships' would develop from this rapport. Innovative leaders would rise amongst the community to spearhead their interests (Haywood 1988, p.111; Blank 1989, p.180-181). De Kadt (1979) felt that the social impacts of tourism could only be community controlled and planned if it revolved around their interests. Otherwise 'alternative tourism' approaches would not maximise social benefits for the indigenous population (De Kadt 1979, p.21, 32). Therefore, there would also be a need to decentralise tourism planning to integrate the community and involve their aspirations for tourism development.

3.7.2. Planning for community tourism

Impact assessment studies started to criticise the limitations of mass tourism as insensitive to environmental and social aspects. Thus, the community tourism concept became popular from the 1980s. Impact assessments allow generalisations between countries to be made on the 'basic effects' which can be found in all destinations such as the demonstration effect promoting mistrust and aggression amongst the native population. The effects of acculturation can also result in the loss of traditional customs for the host population (Krippendorf 1982, p.142).

Three schools of thought evolved amongst the studies on the social impacts of tourism. The main focus was to reduce the disadvantages of ad-hoc or integrated planning. Baud-Bovy (1982) argued that the cause of social and environmental impacts was the lack of integration in the tourism industry to involve socio-economic policies and relate these to sociocultural traditions. If these traditions are ignored, tourism policy can cause alienation, modernisation of social patterns and the erosion and decline of traditional cultures. Baud-Bovy (1982) recommends that all parties responsible for tourism must be integrated (Baud-Bovy 1982, p.309).

The terms 'integrated' or 'comprehensive' planning have been used to recognise the complexity and interrelations within the tourism industry. Integrated or comprehensive tourism planning theoretically ensures that the socio-economic aspects are included in national development plans. Comprehensive planning was an attempt to integrate the community in all its institutional elements; facilities and services, accommodation, promotion, attractions and transportation (Inskeep 1991; Gunn 1994). Chadwick (1971) believed integrated or integrative planning was similar to comprehensive planning as it included tourism in the overall country or regional development strategies (cited in Getz 1986, p.28).

Incremental planning (Baud-Bovy 1982; Getz 1986) and collaborative planning allow flexibility to include social input in the planning process. However there is predictability on

the outcomes of these stages (Gunn 1994; Dowling 1993; Getz & Jamal 1994; Jamal & Getz 1995). Collaborative planning aspires to permit and encourage all stakeholders in tourism to participate in the decision-making process (Timothy 1998, p.52). Collaborative planning does not resolve the issues in equity and participation for differing stakeholder groups while community-based and incremental planning may recognise this weakness.

It is difficult to integrate such a diverse network of products and services in tourism. Planning models assume that cooperation between tourism sectors will exist. Different levels of Government agencies and autonomous polities of public and private sector can grapple as they seek to achieve their own goals. Holistic approaches towards tourism planning can also be limited by the lack of expertise and training available, particularly in Third World countries (De Kadt, 1979, p.21).

Community-based planning is focused on locally-defined goals and local development actions (Murphy 1985, 1988; Prentice 1993; Simmons 1994, Timothy 1998, p.52). The development of this product would be according to the desires and customs of local people and include social and cultural considerations (Murphy 1985, p.37).

Attitudes towards controls on tourism are difficult to quantify as they can change over time, either through adaptation due to changes in the population demographic makeup (Getz 1983, p.247). It is vital to discuss the notion of community to both insiders and outsiders in the sense of who can make decisions and participate as community members. Community tourism decision-making can be made by a few outside promoters who regard the local population as landowners and reserve labour. They are not considered decision-makers (Krippendorf 1982, p.142). Therefore, it is important to ascertain the meaning of 'community' and its function in tourism development.

3.7.3. The notion of community and community participation

The notion of community is 'based on a sense of shared purpose and common goals' encompassing the geographical nature, heritage and cultural values shared by all members (Joppe 1996, p.475). However, the concept of community is more complex than this and can include different political and religious groups, genders and ethnicities. The community can be an inconsistent amalgamation of different constituencies highlighting their conflict and competitiveness.

Smith (1990) stated his notion of community as:

'A community implies a coherent entity with a clear identity and a commonality of purpose. The reality is that communities, more often than not, are made up of an agglomeration of factions and interest groups often locked in competitive relationships' (Smith 1990, p.164).

Molotch (1979) examined the notion of community as a number of smaller exclusive or 'nested' communities each competing with each other to maximise their own vision of land potential (cited in McKercher 1992, p.469). This indicates that there are subgroups of residents with similar perceptions of tourism impacts that are coexisting within the community who could express a contrary aggregate view. These groups can differ according to their native-born status and knowledge of tourism impacts on the state (Madrigal 1994: 88).

Individualism and competitiveness can question the extent of cohesiveness between ethnic group members in a community. Tourism development policies are prone to assumptions that all parties can have an equal measure of participation and decision-making, and that these would also match Government policy preferences. Taylor (1995) referred to tourism development as the cause of a previously homogenous community to diversity into groups of conflicting response (Taylor 1995, p.489).

Community tourism can provide educational opportunities for the local population to prepare or boost their interest in tourism (Joppe 1996, p.477). Haywood (1988) paper on 'responsible tourism planning' in the community is a positive outlook on the ability of those communities who have acquired 'political will' to assess the benefits of their involvement and how tourism can impact their community (Haywood 1988, p.108). However, not all communities will have 'political will' where development occurs. Government decisions can be taken without consultation, or consultation can be in the form of a token gesture (Joppe 1996, p.478)

Despite recognition of the plurality in public opinion on tourism development, promotion of the tourism industry will collapse internal diversity and replace it with a familiar community stereotype to fit into a simple marketing statement which can be messaged to the international market (Taylor 1995, p.489). The social representations held by each member on the notion of community can be varying. Social representations theory recognises the plurality and diversity in society within everyday life and experiences. Pearce et al (1996) monograph on 'tourism-community relationship' recognised the importance of understanding social representations when analysing the opinion of host communities on tourism, perceived benefits and how they respond towards its development (Pearce et al., 1996, p.31).

3.7.4. Tourism for community development

Murphy (1988) examines the link between tourism and community development. He believes tourism develops the community through employment, the use of local and traditional resources, and the conservation of local heritage. Murphy (1988) feels that tourism can only be regarded as a facilitator of community development if the scale and pace of development is appropriate to local conditions, thus providing a distinctive tourism product (Murphy 1988, p.97).

Tourism is labour-intensive and requires limited capital therefore many developing countries look favourably on tourism a vehicle for economic revitalisation in rural communities (Joppe 1996, p.477). Frank's (1996a) appraisal of his own work (1963) originally titled 'The

Development of Underdevelopment' (first published in 1975 as 'Capitalist Underdevelopment') revisits some of his concepts and asks if promoting economic growth equals 'development' and vice versa (Frank 1996b, p.19, 21). The meaning of progress for Third World countries was believed to be their ability to follow the same pattern of development as the Western countries such as United Kingdom and United States of America moving from tradition to modernity (Frank 1996b, p.19, 21). However, Frank (1966b) argues that Third World countries are trapped in a downward spiral of 'underdevelopment' characterised by an exacerbation between wealthy (and sometimes minority) and the poor (Frank 1966b, p.32). Frank (1966b) relates to the classical political economist Marx who was concerned with equity distribution and its allocation within development (Frank 1966b, p.32). In his concept of underdevelopment he connects notions of development with the ownership of major industries held by a few (the minority), resulting in the forming of metropolitan centres and peripheral satellites (Frank 1966b, p.32).

Britton (1981) writing on 'Tourism, Dependency and Development' argues that the tourism industry perpetuates pre-existing inequalities between the local population and the tourist generating countries and that this historical process has led to their underdevelopment (Britton 1981, p.5). Britton (1983) monograph on tourism and underdevelopment in Fiji argues that the reliance of Third World countries on the metropolitan causes 'peripheral tourist industries' where they are dependent on foreign capital and imports. This results in a high degree of foreign ownership and foreign exchange leakage (Britton 1983, p.5). Third World destinations reinforce 'inequitable relationships' through the 'structure of the tourist industry' and the 'dependent role in the international system' (Britton 1983, p.5). Tourism marketing strategies, airlines and hotel companies for example are constructions of the metropolitan-tourism generating countries (Britton 1983, p.6).

Britton (1983) links the dependency between peripheral destinations to their metropolitan countries through their colonial legacy where they either provided materials or other resources i.e. slavery to the metropole in the first foundations of a process of 'underdevelopment' (Britton 1983, p.7). A process of 'underdevelopment' can be the result of the interaction between societies affected by imperialism and colonialism, where relations between rich and poor

nations are seen as beneficial to the latter and ‘destruct’, ‘hinder’ and ‘distort’ colonised countries from their own development (Barnett 1991, p.40). De Kadt (1979) also mentions local perceptions of ‘internal neocolonialism’ where local representatives use outside officials to present forceful views on community benefits when tourism investment is made by ‘outside elites.’ Planning needs to define what are local powers for tourism (De Kadt 1979, p.24). Otherwise community tourism exacerbates social disparities;

‘To the extent that policies in any sector, such as tourism, reflect the existing socio-economic situation, the development of the sector is likely to reinforce the position of the more powerful classes, confirming existing social patterns’ (De Kadt 1979, p.32).

Individuals with community-based business ventures and enterprises may not be local residents. They could be foreign investors from international or neighbouring countries, from other municipalities or communities. Foreign investors can be perceived as non-native and alien to the local community. This would encourage high imports and leakage of tourism revenue away from the local community and also exacerbate the relationships between insiders and outsiders.

The community may appear homogenous to outsiders, but internally the disparity in unequal economic benefits can highlight divisions of social class. The disparity in the financial benefits of tourism means that they are held by a small proportion of the local residents (Taylor 1995, p.488). Joppe (1996) notes that the ‘defenders’ of tourism development are minority elite groups who are within the indigenous population (Joppe 1996, p.473).

3.7.5. Equity in participation

A definition of community participation is given by Haywood (1988) which involves all parties in shared decision-making:

‘Community participation in tourism planning is a process of involving all relevant and interested parties (local Government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people, and planners) in such a way that decision-making is shared’ (Haywood 1988, p.106).

It is important to identify the purpose of public participation. Benwell (1980) feels participation encompasses two themes; public participation to enhance greater efficiency and democratisation, or to serve as a continuum between participation and representation (Benwell 1980:72). Equity in participation is defined as ‘the extent to which all potential opinions are heard’ (Simmons 1994, p.99). Arnstein (1969) created a typology of public participation called the ‘participation ladder’ where there are sequentially three levels; ‘non-participation, ‘tokenism’ and ‘citizen power’ (Arnstein 1969, p.216-224).

Benwell (1980) argued that formulating typologies or classifications such as Arnstein (1969) participation ladder are problematic as they cannot represent the range of notions on what constitutes the ‘public.’ Forms of communication can also be more complex. The communication dimension can be either one-way or two-way involving binary answers (Yes/No) or more open and complex responses (Benwell 1980, p.74). It is difficult to generalise patterns of response and host perceptions towards community development (Simmons 1994, p.100). It is assumed that there would be a synergism that is mutually beneficial to both public and private parties with a consensus of awareness, knowledge and expertise.

The public dimension can include ‘major elites’ as public bodies or major commercial stakeholders and these are split into two groups: ‘minor elites’ as interest groups and

‘individuals.’ In this case, individuals are not within an interest group but respond to general communication and can be representative of the general public as a whole (Benwell 1980, p.74).

Participation classifications also fail to recognise the relationships of power and role. The process of participation would involve a pattern of communication and information exchange, sets of roles and associated authority amongst the actors involved. The style of participation will be influenced by their assumptions on the roles, function and authority of community members in the planning process (Benwell 1980, p.71, 76).

As previously mentioned, integrative and comprehensive planning was an attempt to involve different levels of community into the planning process. However, Governments would find it time-consuming and idealist to involve all grass-root level communities (Haywood 1988). The costs of social impact assessments requires specialist manpower to appraise existing economic, social and environmental conditions with further costs on human resources and external consultants if these are unavailable internally (Haywood 1988, p.107).

There would also be differing perceptions on the duration of qualitative time spent with citizens to educate them as ‘outsiders’ for specialisation in the industry and to improve negotiating skills in a way that would not encourage bad publicity (Haywood 1988, p.107). Therefore, the problem of alienation from the centres of decision-making suggests that further scrutiny is needed to help establish what role the community has in tourism planning alongside the local authorities and industry representatives.

3.7.6. Issues in the process of public participation

The formal planning process shown as stages in several planning models and participation concepts does not take into account that community members may be strangers to each other before these briefings and have not met before to encourage this kind of openness and agreement about tourism development goals. This can be exacerbated by the inconsistency or mismatch in private and public actions towards tourism development which strain cooperation initiatives (Curtis 1992, p.118, 120). There can also be persistent social conflict from different subjective views and the level of awareness on the objectives between interest groups.

The implementation of community tourism using a top-down approach is idealised by Haywood (1988), where individuals have good access to information and are fully informed with brief meetings. The participation process would be one of ‘conciliation, mediation, arbitration and the establishment of superordinate goals’ (Haywood 1988, p.109). He later acknowledges that the planning process can be based on speculation and utopian ideals but believes that progress is possible if the community is alerted of market and technological breakthroughs (Haywood 1988, p.111).

A static equilibrium is suggested by these planning models where conflicts in values between groups who have anti-tourism interests can be solved by transferring and spreading this power in order to establish equitable decision-making. It is believed that this would create opportunities for conflicts to be debated and evolve into eventual consensus. The long-term planning of a community tourism destination involves a range of stakeholder groups. Therefore, this can be a process of trial and error as each group needs to be aware of their interests and share information with each other (Haywood 1988, p.112).

Public participation also involves a process of collective bargaining. In its essence, collective bargaining would identify common agreements held between the parties and expand on these assumptions for further negotiations (Henderson 1971, p.84). Collective bargaining allows groups to avoid confrontation and gives each one the opportunity to mediate and manage social

conflict. Potential conflicts would be mitigated to achieve a higher level of awareness (Henderson 1971, p.84). This reflects the structural functionalism school of thought where group conflicts are mitigated so that an equilibrium is maintained for a common good (Burns 1999, p.75-76). Connolly (2010) gives an illustration of pluralism in America where a 'balance of power' is maintained between different groups with each one possessing a voice, allowing for collective bargaining in the political sphere. Thus, society would benefit from a political stability as a collective whole (Connolly 2010, p.3, 4).

However, Connolly (2010) goes on to discuss how a plural society can have a 'one dimensional political framework' which hinders collective bargaining. Groups may have articulation in the political sphere but the Government could 'slice' the group within the decision-making process causing conflicts within the collective bargaining process (Connolly 2010, p. 17). A plural society in the extreme case would reflect a non-democratic policy where a minority holds complete political control as one group dominating the others. It ensures the oppression of collective bargaining between the groups in the political sphere or utilises violence as a vehicle to maintain an equilibrium (Smith 1960). The political history of Fiji as a previously military controlled Government is an example of such a plural society which prevented collective bargaining between ethnic groups (Connolly 2010, p. 17).

Henderson (1971) recognises the difficulty of subgroups entering the discussion meetings if they do not agree or have negative perceptions of Western development; 'These alienated groups tend to shun hierarchy, structure, and leadership so as to better resist what they see as 'co-option into the system' (Henderson 1971, p.86).

Davidoff (1996) believed a method of 'inclusion' was needed to ensure citizens participate in the planning process:

'Inclusion means not only permitting citizens to be heard. It also means allowing them to become well informed about the underlying reasons for planning proposals, and to

respond to these in the technical language of professional planners' (Davidoff 1996, p.307).

The planning process can be a form of tokenism. Governments inform locals of development plans that have already been approved by outside agencies and negotiation would be impossible for a member who did not possess the technical knowledge, awareness or recognition by the dominant group. It is necessary to establish the notion of citizenship and the power of citizens in tourism planning.

As previously discussed, there are many variables which affect the rights of citizens to participate in tourism development. Marx (1843) criticised the concept of universal suffrage and the significance of individual rights when societies were class-divided and individuals did not possess the practical ability to exercise their rights. His argument of capitalist society was that individuals were perpetuated by distinctions based on birth, rank, education and occupation (Crompton 1993, p.141).

The definition of citizenship has been debated in depth to include different classifications of citizenship (Marshall 1963; Darendorf 1988; Marshall 1992). Citizenship was categorised by Marshall (1950) using an historical analysis of 17th and 18th century Britain when civil rights were established by a series of political and social events e.g. abolishing slavery, political rights for minorities, recognising trade unions.

3.7.7. The citizenship dimension

Marshall's (1963) historical analysis pinpoints three different types of citizenship according to British history. His essays titled 'Sociology at the Crossroads', identified these as 'civil', 'political' and 'social' citizenship in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively, and each category contains its characteristic institutions (Marshall 1963, p.67-127). These were clearly defined categories in his later publication 'Citizenship and social class.' In this study the civil element is the right to freedom of speech, thought and ownership of property and criminal courts of justice. The political element allows the right to exercise political power or have political authority and opportunities for political participation. The social element is the right to economic welfare and equal share in social heritage. Provisions in education provision are central to social citizenship where the working class are integrated into capitalist society thus reducing class conflict (Marshall 1992, p.8).

The notion of citizenship as an evolutionary model culminates as a welfare state that promotes the strength of social citizenship and social rights unifying ethnic groups (Crompton 1993, p.140). Marshall (1992) felt these three strands of citizenship were amalgamated during the feudal period when status allowed entry into society. It is not clear at this point how a national sense of citizenship actually came about as much of his work is devoted to the eighteenth century (Marshall 1992). It also Anglocentric, where the ordered sequence found in Britain is assumed to be replicated universally. Turner (1986) argued that this could not be applied to citizenship in modern societies which lacked a feudal past and where transition had been violently achieved by dramatic events such as defeat in war (Turner 1986). Giddens (1982) also believed that changes in the notion of citizenship developed through struggle and was the result of massive shocks to the social system such as war (cited in Crompton 1993, p.144)

Analysis needs to be conducted on what constitutes a citizen in tourism planning and how to obtain membership of a community - who should be offered the status and the conditions of this offer (Bulmer and Rees 1996, p.16). What constitutes a resident of the local community can be interpreted differently by group members. Citizens can be native-born, long-term or short-term local residents, expatriate workers, or foreign hotel and private landowners.

Bulmer and Rees (1996) argued that Marshall (1963) view of citizenship did not analyse the ownership and control of industry, and the distribution and redistribution of income and wealth (Bulmer and Rees 1996, p.13). In terms of ownership, it is vital to focus on which groups are involved in the ownership and usage of tourism facilities, whether these are dual usage or restricted access. This also includes accessible road networks and infrastructure for local communities in surrounding areas or areas further away from tourism zones.

Globalisation and the competitive market can reinforce social barriers and maintain inequality for the working classes due to their lack of resources. Darendorf (1988) described the conflict between ‘provisions’ (economic growth and material plenty) and ‘entitlements’ (citizenship rights). He believed that a certain degree of inequality was required to stimulate economic growth (Crompton 1993, p.144). Alfred Marshall asked if this hypothesis of a basic human equality associated with full community membership was possible when there was economic inequality and these economic inequalities were enriched by the status of citizenship. He asserted that citizenship and the economic system were interlinked (Marshall and Bottomore 1992:45).

‘Today, when social class is commonly seen as a waning force both as an integrator and divider, and citizenship is often sanitized of overt class connotations’ (Bulmer and Rees 1996, p.6).

Marshall (1965) defined citizenship as where everyone is treated as a full and equal member of society in a democratic welfare state with equal civil, political, and social rights, including the minority groups (cited in Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p.354). However, this was criticised by Barry (1960) as reducing minority groups as they become dependent and focused on ‘entitlements,’ and obtain ‘passive citizenship’ without responsibility (cited in Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p.355). Lister and Pia (2008) argue that Marshall’s definition of citizenship ignores gender and race issues within minority groups and that citizens are granted ‘rights’ passively (Lister and Pia 2008, p.14). Whereas, communitarianism and citizenship

acknowledges the obligations an individual owes to the community (Lister and Pia 2008, p.14, 15).

Plural societies would demand plural plans and research by several special interest groups. Within this mixture of groups are three sets of organisations. The first set of organisations are political parties and political organisations which are believed to be detached in their ability to establish programmes for their communities and consider master plans as advantageous political platforms (Davidoff 1996, p.312).

The second set of organisations are labour organisations and anti-poverty groups usually restricted to only a consultative role. The third set of organisations 'ad-hoc protest organisations' in opposition to a proposed policy, such as neighbourhood groups against zoning. Davidoff believes that it is this third set that represents the interests of the citizen (Davidoff 1996, p.313).

However, each group has different interests and the pace would be uneven between commercial groups who are looking for return and profits on their investments (McKercher 1992, p.471). National Government would also appreciate the knowledge and expertise these companies may possess to drive economic benefits forward for small communities who lack these skills themselves. The pace of tourism development in a community can therefore be one-sided and promoted by economic benefits.

Haywood (1988) acknowledges that the planning process is influenced by political constituencies. For a destination to succeed in community tourism it requires formal and informal network building and the bargaining of policies to ensure an ideal 'fit' between the dominant ideas or values of the tourism industry and community expectations simultaneously. The dominant power holding the ownership of the tourism industry may not be representative of the communities in the areas where they control tourism development. As previously mentioned, these can be due to the economic factors that reduce the power of citizenship in

participatory planning, but there are other factors also that are not discussed by Haywood (1988) such as the rights of differing ethnic and cultural citizenship and if these influence power in tourism planning. The concepts of ethnicity and how this affects community tourism are discussed in the next Chapter.

3.7.8. Consultation and decision-making for community tourism

Obstacles involved in the full representation of the community include the fragmentation of interests in regional and local Governments to prevent their collaboration. Haywood (1988) identifies different constituencies on systematic levels determined by their short-term and long-term political aspirations; career and job creation, tax revenue and prosperity at management level, achieving strategies and profits at corporations level, and ensuring a quality of life for present and future generations for society (Haywood 1988, p.114).

The aspirations of these differing groups can conflict each other and cannot be served equally. Therefore, it is important to identify who decides the constraints and the selection of objectives, particularly in developing countries with limited financial resources. It is believed that the diversity of interests eventually dilute the effectiveness of tourism planning which becomes ad-hoc or non-existent (Haywood 1988, p.107).

Without regulatory agencies to ensure a platform for community participation, it is difficult to construct uniform standards that will be agreed upon and practised at grass-root level. De Kadt (1979) confirms that not only do these small communities lack the technical expertise to provide input in decision-making but also the legislative power to aid innovative or specific plans that would help their communities (De Kadt 1979, p.23). The Government can consider local hoteliers over local community members as adequate to manage community interests where there is a lack of expertise or licensing.

Murphy (1985) and Blank (1989) argued that community tourism development would be driven by Government interests and viewed it as small groups or an individual who brought improvement to the local area (Murphy 1985; Blank 1989). This shows a level of rhetoric around the community involvement that does not include the many biases in the system (Joppe 1996, p.475). For example, Madrigal (1995) criticised that there has been insufficient resident impact studies on tourism and their attitudes towards to the local Government role in tourism development (Madrigal 1995, p.87).

Public representation would ideally reflect the diversity of perceptions and opinions of tourism development in the local community. As discussed, local communities can be represented at the consultation stage via external agencies and interest groups. External interest groups may not be local and can be international agencies unaffiliated with the community. Therefore, informal groups such as those mentioned where members do not need formal membership may not be unified in their interests or represent the communities involved.

There is a need to discuss the power of ethnic and cultural citizenship in planning for tourism, particularly in terms of the degree of consultation and decision-making (Madrigal 1995). For example, the leaders of formal groups involved in tourism development may not be native to the majority ethnic group in the area to be spokespersons or representatives of public consensus. In a plural society where the dominant group holds political power there can be an elite ethnic minority who controls subordinate but diverse ethnic (Smith 1960, p.773).

Social representation would also need to include the disadvantaged and marginalised groups of society. It would result in an integration of the 'untouchables' in society (Dumont 1998, p.67). Local representation is a series of trade-offs between selecting individuals who comply with industry standards and those the community would elect. This also raises questions on the issue of election and voting for community spokespersons and representatives which has repercussions for the consultative role in planning tourism development.

Within the studies which support community tourism development there is insufficient discussion to distinguish between consultation and decision-making. Consultation would allow informal and formal groups to be included in the planning process for research and promotional purposes. However, decisions are made by higher levels of local authority or National Government and reduces local groups to a passive non-consultative role.

Pretty (1995) typologies of community participation present the different levels and types of involvement in the development process. 'Passive participation' is where a top-down approach is used to notify the locals of decisions without their consultation. More importantly, the information is retained within external agencies (cited in Cornwall 2008, p.272).

The Government can influence the development of tourism by repositioning its international image. It can form connections with business and special interest groups (historical, cultural and environmental) to promote that it has gained 'community support' or 'community consultation' to the outside world (Joppe 1996, p.477). This can compromise and conflict with the wishes of small non-governmental organisations or informal community groups who are not represented in the political sphere. Public participation becomes a form of tokenism to ensure commercial interests.

On the other hand, it is believed that the consultation stage would replace the social bargaining or openness between strangers of the community described by Haywood (1988) and Murphy (1988). The diversity of views would create an opportunity to address the needs of groups within the community (Taylor 1995, p.488). However, it would be problematic to address all community needs within a static time frame as their perceptions and needs could change in a year, a month, a week or even a day. This can be relevant to politically volatile developing countries.

It is believed community participation in tourism can be rational and sequential with an emphasis on the educational benefits and experiences for communities (Haywood 1988, p.110;

Blank 1989). The decision-making process encompasses a set of stages as a sequenced pattern. A series of judgements will dictate the stages in the decision-making process rather than a single decision. In practice the boundaries between these judgements would be difficult to distinguish (Benwell 1980, p.73). There is a need to identify between a local group or spokesperson within the decision-making process and whether they are in a consultative role or an advisory role. If they are in an advisory role there would be an opportunity for deliberation and negotiation on how development is achieved and measured.

The tourism stakeholder map by Sautter and Leisen (1999) displayed the complexity of formal groups which would need to be considered such as national business chains, Government and activist groups. Tourism planners use a historical analysis to formulate these groups. However, the category 'residents' is vague as it is divided between one group for 'local businesses' and another for 'competitors' (Sautter and Leisen 1999, p.315). It must be acknowledged that a local community in a developing country for tourism is rarely resourced sufficiently for it to be considered an equal partner at the roundtable of decision-making (Jamal and Getz 1995; Joppe 1996, p.476).

3.7.9. Implementing the community tourism concept in Mauritius

Nunkoo et al (2010) argues that the research examining community attitudes has been conducted in developed and industrialised economies with only a few cases carried out in developing countries such as Mauritius (Nunkoo et al. 2010, p.673). The Head of The Association des Hôteliers et Restaurateurs de l'île Maurice (AHRIM) was concerned that the Strategy for Tourism 2020 did not discuss how the community would participate in tourism development (Ramsamy 1998, p.80).

Ecotourism has been defined as nature-based travel experiences which will enhance the ecological value of the site while understanding the sensitivity of human resources. There needs

to be a regulatory framework where locals are trained to plan and monitor ecotourism development (Ramsamy 1988, p.82-83). This would need to be included within national tourism planning and policy. Mauritian tourism literature lacks discussion on how national tourism policy has changed and how this was reflected in MTPA promotional campaigns.

Kowlessur (1998) states that ‘community involvement and endorsement’ is part of a ‘Mauritian tourism experience.’ The community element within Mauritian tourism has been promoted as ‘Unity in diversity,’ emphasising cultural and religious tolerance, democracy and political stability (Kowlessur 1998, p. 120).

The Chamarel Community Tourism Project (2004) was the first community-based tourism project in Mauritius before. It signified a new approach towards tourism development utilising community participation (UNDP 2004).

Tourism planning in Mauritius has ignored qualitative methods when evaluating its social carrying capacities. Research into tourism impacts still focuses on quantifiable results, testing hypothesis and models to understand the perceptions of local communities such as the Integrated Resorts Projects in Le Morne (Ramkissoon and Nunkoo 2011; Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2011b).

Therefore, the nature of the Chamarel Community Tourism Project (2004) presented an opportunity for qualitative enquiry which had not been undertaken in this area of Mauritius. For example, there are gaps in literature on the sociological aspects of tourism development in a Creole community, the portrayal of an authentic Chamarel tourism product, the notions of community, differing interests and stakeholders and how this all fits into the nature of planning and policy for community tourism in Mauritius.

3.8. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can see that the tourism industry has changed in Mauritius during the period 1970 to 2013. In particular, there has been significant change in the approach towards sustainable and community tourism. There is a gap in literature on Chamarel's relative position on tourism through this time period and this would offer a new contribution to the existing literature on this area. It was a challenge to locate a clear strategy for community tourism in Chamarel or tourist figures to obtain an accurate historical benchmark.

The European markets were the main focus of the first development proposal (GOM 1971-1975). However, it needed diversification in order to compete with the other Indian Ocean islands and to rectify unemployment problems. The European markets started to decline and the emergence of the BRIC markets demanded alternative forms of tourism, such as ecotourism and community tourism.

The tourism industry needed rejuvenation through new tourist profiles. The Mauritian tourism diversified from the traditional luxury, honeymoon and weddings markets to events, carnivals and festivals, heritage and cultural tourism. This was also a rejuvenation where previous saturation and declining markets were replaced with ecotourism and community tourism.

Ecotourism raised environmental and cultural awareness for ecologically sensitive areas like Chamarel. It was also recommended that social aspects of tourism were investigated in Creole communities. The national changes in tourism development were reflected within Chamarel as the area was promoted alongside the Rivière Noire District. There is the potential to exploit new tourism markets through ecotourism, community tourism, adventure and cultural tourism.

A study on Chamarel would fill the gaps in existing knowledge within Mauritian tourism literature which lacks discussion on tourism development in this unique area and the social-cultural aspects of community tourism (Wing 1995; Brown 1997; Durbarry 2001).

Tourism development plans omit social impact assessments and vice versa social studies omit tourism development (MRC 1998). More recently, Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012). Quantitative studies attempted to hypothesise and verify the experiences of community for Integrated Resort Schemes (IRS) in Le Morne using models and surveys. It lacked qualitative method on the experiences and views of the local people (Nunkooa and Ramkissoon 2010, p.260; Nunkooa and Ramkissoon 2011a, p.968).

4. CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to explore qualitative research methods and why a multimethod approach has been selected for this case study. The content of this Chapter will discuss both quantitative and qualitative methods and the suitability of qualitative techniques in order to achieve the research aim and objectives. The research strategy will be discussed with attention to the validity and reliability of the selected methods, with a view to triangulation and interpretation of the results. It will be followed by a summary of the challenges which were overcome during the fieldwork and what it means for future research. It will conclude with a summary of the research methodology.

4.1.1. The need for a study on Chamarel

Chamarel is a Creole community in the south-west of Mauritius. There are other Creole settlements in the south-west and south-east of the island, however Chamarel has a history of tourism visitors with both natural and man-made tourism attractions. It is also the first village in the southern region to be selected for a Community Tourism Project and was placed firmly on the map for ecotourism. Chamarel is a small settlement but the uniqueness of this project presents a justifiable and valuable research opportunity for gaining knowledge on Mauritian tourism and understanding how community tourism fits within the larger context of tourism development in the country. This is particularly relevant as the Government changes its approach from a traditional upmarket luxury image towards a more individual, personalised and eco-friendly tourism destination.

A study on Chamarel contributes to the existing knowledge on this geographic area and bridges the gaps in literature which interlink social aspects of community tourism development in Mauritius with planning and policy. Studies on Mauritius have been focused on economic

impacts and benefits of tourism but they have ignored sociocultural impacts (Wing 1995; Brown 1997; Durbarry 2001). Tourism development plans also omit social impact assessments (Cleverdon Steer 1992). Alternatively, social assessments did not include tourism (Mauritius Research Council 1998a; 1998b - Social Fabric of Mauritius Papers I and II). Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010; 2011; 2012) quantitative studies attempted to hypothesise and verify the experiences of community support for integrated resort schemes in Le Morne using models and surveys (Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2010a, p.260; Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2011b, p.968).

However, the use of qualitative methods are being applied more recently in the areas of marketing research on Mauritius. A recent study by Prayag (2011b) uses content analysis and range of methods such as thematic patterns from interviews and diaries to identify the relationships between branding and destination image (Prayag 2011b, p.40). Another study on tourist loyalty and the influence of destination image evaluates the role of nationality in 'push and pull factors' towards tourism destinations (Prayag 2012). Prayag and Ryan (2011a) also utilise a variety of techniques to experience the world of the sample population as an 'insider' (Prayag and Ryan 2011a, p.125).

The use of qualitative techniques in Mauritius is beginning to become more recognised as a valuable approach for understanding tourism development. Therefore, this case study is relevant with the current demand for research which not only discusses social aspects of tourism but also uses a multimethod approach to provide an original and multifaceted story of the perceptions, views and opinions on tourism (MOT 2004).

This case study examines the complexity of community tourism in Chamarel. It tests the hypotheses and verifies the data, whilst ethnography and rapid participatory appraisal evaluate the multidimensional value of this social phenomena. It is original in its use of qualitative methods to understand a subgroup of Mauritian society which has not been conducted in national development projects, proposals or social plans.

4.2. Quantitative versus qualitative research strategy

4.2.1. Positivism and quantitative research design

The use of the positivist method to study sociological phenomena can be seen in Emile Durkheim (1897) study of suicide which was inspired by August Comte and Henri de Saint-Simon (1750-1825) ideas on the evolution of society through stages of rational and scientific order. They viewed human development as a linear progression through three historical phases. The positivism approach to research is based on discovering what 'true' knowledge is. It assumes that research can be unbiased and impartial. Progress in society can be rationally measured (cited in Pirie, 2009).

Durkheim's work was also influenced by Talcott Parsons functionalist perspectives which he connected to concepts of social integration and cultural consensus, system integration and social order (cited in Alexander and Smith 2005). It was believed that society could be regulated and the rules for the sociological method could measure and present social facts. Durkheim analysed society using official statistics to correlate between suicide rates and situations. He applied logic to the reasons where rational action identified meanings and positivistic methods would bring results to represent the truth in any case (Garfinkel and Rawls 2002). However, this did not take into account the psychological variables which can be interpreted subjectively, such as when Durkheim analysed the role of religious backgrounds and notions of society which prevented suicide (Alexander and Smith 2005).

Fenton et al (1984) study was set during a time when the importance of science and its application was causing social upheavals. The industrial revolution provoked writers such as Karl Marx and Max Weber to explain a rational social order of social classes. The social classes were seen to have the commonality of being producers together in the task of industrial production. Therefore, equilibrium and peace could be maintained (Fenton et al 1984). Karl Marx (1818-1883) viewed progress in society through a series of jumps rather than stages, which resulted in economic development. He followed positivism and Darwin's evolutionary

theory but he believed that changes were made through violent, revolutionary conflict and sudden upheavals. He coupled 19th century capitalism with mass production and the oppression of workers as a result of religious exploitation (cited in Pirie 2009, p.154). Max Weber (1864-1920) also linked social classes to the Calvinism religion. His studies connected religious reformation to economic prosperity and the success of the industrial revolution as an approval from God. What was interesting in Weber's analysis was his use of '*Verstehen*' (interpretative understanding) and interpretive methods which allowed for subjective meanings and construction of the world from an actor's viewpoint (action theory). However, Weber still held a positivist approach as he expanded on 'working theories' to establish an 'ideal type' that could be later proven as an absolute truth (Pirie 2009, p.154).

Friedman (1999) discusses how an 'anti-positivism' movement led by Moritz Schlick (1882–1936) at the University of Vienna founded the concepts of neo-positivism or 'logical positivism' which rejected early interpretivist methods. It was part inspired by mathematics and Albert Einstein's relativity theory. This rejected hypothesis and the notion of an absolute variability principle (Friedman 1999, p.20). The variability principle was therefore a rejection of metaphysics, religion and ethics in a quest to test an observation as an absolute truth. Research findings were of value if they were tested and deemed to be either true or false. Neo-positivism had a short existence and ended when the group dispersed around the time of the Second World War due to its failure to recognise realism and how observations can be subject to human error (Bung 1996, p.317). Popper (2002) criticised neo-positivism as he disagreed that assumptions on data should be 'variable and falsiable.' This removes natural science from research where experiences cannot be systematically tested because 'an absolute truth is not attainable' and our own perspectives shape the experience (Popper 2002, p.317).

Despite these issues, there remains a desire for quantitative methods leading verifiable results, as can be seen in Karl Popper (1959) 'The logic of scientific discovery' and 'All life is problem solving' (1999). He uses the context of evolutionary theory to argue that scientific theory is a method of trial and error, repeated observations and proven experiments ('inductivism') which can be conducted until one is found that supports the hypothesis. He presented the example of Darwin's theory of evolution and how this encompasses a three-stage model of 'the problem, the attempted solution, and finally the elimination' (Popper, 1999).

In Popper's lecture in Zurich (1985) he criticised positivism as a quest for an 'approximation to the truth' and stated that scientific knowledge consists of conjectures or hypothesis for those who wish to have a certainty but not the truth; as no number of tests can prove a theory true, but one result can disprove it (Popper 1999, p.38). Kuhn (1962) also criticised positivism in his book 'The structure of scientific revolutions' where he talks about the priority placed on scientific paradigms to determine rules. Scientists became dispassionate towards the social aspects of scientific experiments (cited in Popper 1999). He argued that their success depended upon 'tacit knowledge' such as the norms, value and belief systems, acquired during the research practice itself. He recommended that these factors should be included into a framework for research methods (Popper 1999, p.38). Jurgen Habermas attacked positivism in his books 'Towards a Rational Society' (1971) and 'Theory and Practice' (1973) as a method for science to control what is presented as 'truthful' to society either for political agendas or commercial reasons. This increased competitive status amongst scientists and allowed interpretations to be influenced by political systems (Habermas 1973). He felt that scientific research should not be controlled by experiment, but should be free from the constraints, open to situations and uninterrupted dialogues. In other words, there needs to be a more naturalistic method of enquiry that is reflexive to take into account the norms, value orientations and personality structures of the actors. It is recognised that one could not remove the researcher from taking part in the research process (Habermas, 1971).

As a result of the anti-positivism movement, post-positivism and an acceptance of realism which required an interpretive approach emerged. Findings were 'imperfectly understood' (Ryan 2005, p.125). Grounded theory can be seen as an interpretive approach that reviews the broader sense of meanings and interpretations of texts and social events. It also relates to Weber's notion of '*Verstehen*' in social science research (Jamal and Hollinshead 2001, p.67).

4.2.2. Perspectives on qualitative research design

Weber's '*Verstehen*' method for social sciences discovered the meanings for human action and gave recognition to scientific methods which were interpretive (Mehmetoglu, 2004, p.177). An interpretivist paradigm recognises that the social world is not a predictable universe, and that human social behaviour cannot be patterned or generalised. It is therefore a subjectivist approach where the researcher is part of the research design (i.e. participant observation and ethnography which will be discussed later in this Chapter). In contrast to the positivist approach, interpretivist methods do not seek generalisations or absolute truths which can be tested or replicated. It is 'emic' and humanistic in design as it seeks to examine the 'reality' of some phenomena in all its complexity (Finn et al., 2000:8).

Wagner (1970) suggests that Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) was influenced by Weber's 'ideal type' when he wrote 'the phenomenon of the social world.' In his concept of 'Phenomonology' he analyses interactional relationships and included the interpretation of the world from subjective experiences in daily life. Therefore, researchers will bring their own values and interests to the methodology and study (Wagner 1970, p.12). He was concerned with the lives and worlds of individuals and argued that a researcher must not neglect the human character of social interactions and perceptions but understand participants from their own frames of reference (Wagner 1970, p.242).

Pernecky (2012) explores 'constructionism' in tourism research, whereby the interpreter is part of the research construction and re-affirms his or her role and relationships within tourism spaces. The interpreter interacts simultaneously with the research process to construct tourism realities (Pernecky 2012, p.1127). Pernecky and Jamal (2010) looked at how realism from the post-positivistic method had generated into constructivism where realities exist in the form of multiple social and mental constructs different to each individual experience (Pernecky and Jamal 2010, p.1062). A study on community tourism in Chamarel would require a similar onotology which is 'emic' in method. It allows reflexivity and space for individual experiences and voices to be articulated within the findings. Theories emerge naturally during the process of enquiry (Lincoln and Guba 1985). In any case, the goal of the researcher is to ensure

reflexivity with a minimal amount of distortion from political influences. The data remains flexible to change throughout the research process (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, p.21).

Cohen (1979), refers in 'Sociology of Tourism' to the emic research strategies used by Leach (1973) and Pi-Sunyer (1977) to study the Trioband islanders as their lifestyles and attitudes changed towards tourists (Cohen 1979, p.30). Emic research does not generalise the tourism 'reality' but seeks to discover the different perspectives from each of the parties involved in the process (Cohen 1979, p.32). Fredline and Faulkner's (2000) article on host community reactions states that the 'emic approach recognises the complexities of community representations of phenomena. The role of social networks in their development relies on the community to spontaneously generate its own constructs' (Fredline and Faulkner 2000:778). Stronza and Gordillo (2008) study on community views on ecotourism demonstrates how emic research can include participatory observation and narratives which are 'meaningful to the actor' and culturally specific (Stronza and Gordillo 2008, p.455).

The grounded theory method developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) connects positivistic approaches with qualitative techniques. It allows interpretation and flexibility for theories to emerge from the data collection. The findings are generated from initial research questions in order to discover and develop a theory. Connections can be made between the concepts with identification of a main core and a series of categories (Glaser 1992; Glaser 1993).

Strauss (1998) explains the ambiguity of the data and level of abstraction exceeds a priori theory and generalisations to encompass multiple realities and transactions:

'It is not that the researchers do not want to pin things down analytically, but the urge to avoid uncertainty and to get quick closure on one's research is tempered with the realization that phenomena is complex and their meanings not easily fathomed or just taken for granted' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.6).

Grounded theory recognises the complexity of phenomena and how people take action on the basis of meanings. These meanings can be defined and refined through their interactions with the researcher as part of the research process. The self is an instrument in the data collection

and environment connected to the people and how they see their world. The researcher develops richness in the data by identifying critical issues and examining these against each other to discover several meanings and interpretations to many situations. Therefore, the research can be an idiographic fit to the situation encountered. It can be responsive to contextual values and sensitive to the words and actions of respondents as the natural events unfold (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) allows for the researcher to stay close to the data using an inductive approach to test out themes and develop patterns (cited in Easterby-Smith et al 1991). This is based on the assumption that the selection of people and instances cannot be predicted at the start of the research process. This method of data collection is tolerant of ambiguity and contradictions. It looks for alternative explanations and interpretations of concepts and identifies these by categorising, cataloguing data, dividing the data into units and establishing themes and relationships. Explanations emerge from the data and these can be developed into new concepts (Denscombe 1998).

Early anthropological studies by Bronislaw Malinowski used conventional ethnographic methods acquired over long periods of intensive study. His account of the Trioband islanders in New Guinea (1922) was undertaken over a period of two years through participant observation. The researcher uses social interactions during ceremonies and rites. He immerses himself within the community by speaking the native language or uses an interpreter.

He describes not only the everyday life of the locals but their motives and feelings, such as their religious beliefs, magical practices, mythology and folklore which were seen as vital to the success of an individual in the community (Malinowski 1922, p.vii, xvi). There was the belief that case studies could still be generalised, replicated and tested from one setting to another with success. They were nomothetic by deductively testing theories in order to predict human behaviour (Marshall and Rossman 1995, p.4).

4.2.3. The justification for qualitative methods in Chamarel

It was vital to use qualitative assessment with a local population whose first language was native Kreol was not completely standardised or recognised as the official language of Mauritius. It was not until 2004 (at the beginning of this study) that Mauritian law raised the school leaving age to 16 years old. Therefore, the Afro-Mauritian community members of Chamarel who are included in this study may not have received further schooling facilities post primary level. They may find it difficult to participate in surveys and questionnaires due to low levels of literacy and a basic understanding of French or English.

The research design also had to take into account that inhabitants may be working long shifts and would have been reluctant to read or fill in a questionnaire and find casual conversations easier. Ethnographic techniques such as casual conversations did not pressurise or intimidate participants to read, write or converse in either French or English.

Therefore, learning the local dialect and Kreol phrases was very important particularly colloquial terms. The Kreol text for these colloquial terms and phrases has been translated into English which is provided in italics. The use of prompts such as ‘Whytes hierarchy’ helped put respondents at ease and gradually built a rapport where they could express their opinions with confidence.

4.3. The research strategy for this study

4.3.1. The selection of the research methodology

The research strategy was inductive in that it explored a question or set of questions rather than test, falsify or verify a hypothesis. It drew on theoretical underpinning from the concepts drawn out in the literature review and built on this theory from the case study. The research methodology needed to fit not only the type of research but also the context and environment where it was undertaken. The research strategy was therefore driven by the epistemology which would need to utilise qualitative techniques to draw on subjective experiences to the situation or phenomena i.e. the Community Tourism Project and their reactions to the research questions.

It would be appropriate therefore to use mixed methods to ensure a rich and in-depth enquiry within a natural setting and everyday environment in an in-depth study of community tourism in Chamarel village.

4.3.2. The case study

The case study method is useful for understanding community organisations and the complex interactions between a phenomenon and its context. It is not restricted to either quantitative or qualitative enquiry. The case study uses a variety of methods and focuses on the richness of the data collected from more than one time period and duration (Yin 1993, p.1, 10).

Yin (1993) argues that case studies are an appropriate research method when attributing the relationships between a phenomenon and its context (Yin 1993, p.31). For example, the Community Tourism Project in Chamarel (phenomenon) is part of a large-scale tourism development in the South (context) and a catalyst for community interactions. The study has used a variety of qualitative methods to ensure a richness of data on this subject area comparing two periods – which are named Time 1 (2004) and Time 2 (2014) as a means of understanding the change of tourism over time.

Symonds (2015) argues that the value of the case study research method has gained further recognition in the last three years as a complementary and superior research methodology. Hill and Ackiss (1945) view of the in-depth case study ‘bridges the gap between the stereotyped, factual community survey, and the personality-culture community study’ (cited in Symonds 2015, p.15). The single case study can report extensively on one particular type of subject over a longitudinal period (Symonds 2015, p.19).

However, misunderstandings on case study research have been written extensively by Flyvbjerg (2006) who argues that every scientific discipline needs practical examples and the use of the case study therefore strengthens social scientific research. In order to progress on a subject from basic human learning to expertise one requires tacit or ‘intimate knowledge’ of the subject (Flyvbjerg 2006, p.1, 5) which he describes:

‘..the most advanced form of understanding is achieved when researchers place themselves within the context being studied. Only in this way can researchers understand the viewpoints and the behaviour, which characterizes social actors.’
(Flyvbjerg 2006, p.20).

The point of the case study is to investigate a question or problem in-depth where themes or ideas emerge demonstrating a priori models and theoretical conceptualisation made at the start of the study (Farquhar 2012, p.95). The case study should appeal to its phenomenology which can refer to a descriptive science such as ethnography. A case study provides descriptions of the phenomenon under observation. It uses subjective viewpoints rather than generalisations of the world (Kenny and Grotelueschen 1984, p.101).

Tourism is a ‘complicated phenomenon’ which requires multidisciplinary perspectives such as ethnographic techniques, rapid participatory appraisal and documental media research (Gunn, 1994, p.5). A multimethod case study would be relevant to Chamarel as it is a geographical area new to academic literature in tourism. Recent heritage studies such as Boswell (2005a; 2005b) indicate the need for further research into heritage and identity in Creole villages such as Chamarel and Le Morne.

Finn (2000) remarks that there are trade-offs when viewing the characteristics of both approaches in definition and relation to each other. The quantitative researcher can reach large numbers of people by oversimplifying reality, whereas the qualitative researcher deals with the complexity of reality with limited numbers (Finn et al., 2000:8). It is important to select the most efficient methodology to investigate the research questions. It needs to take into account the time frame and funding limitations where it would not be possible to use every quantitative and qualitative method. In this section we have confirmed that qualitative methods are vital to understanding the views and experiences of the local people.

4.3.3. Ethnography

Ethnography is a form of social research which seeks to understand the routine or ways in which people make sense of the world in everyday life (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, p.2). Goodenough (1981) defines culture as a 'system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting.' This includes the rules and symbols of interpretation and discourse, the material and symbolic artefacts of behaviour – such as belief systems (i.e. religion), conceptual ordering of social arrangements (ideology) and pre-existing structural (formal organisation) and material (tools) attributes, or what Karl Marx called the means and mode of production – upon which cultural meanings are recreated and maintained (Goodenough 1981:110).

However, contemporary ethnography as a culture studying another culture uses its own subjective views. Researchers are immersed within the community and become part of the phenomena in an attempt to learn and interpret the way the social world is viewed by a community member (Spradley 1979, p.10-11). Ethnographic methods focus on the manner people interact and collaborate in their natural setting and everyday lives without seeking to generalise a case study within a wider framework. It attempts to uncover and examine what members take for granted and the meanings and expectations that motivate their course of action (Gill and Johnson 1991, p.93 94).

Ethnographic studies should include a historical background of the culture or subculture under study. Van Maanen & Barley (1985) describe culture as 'a set of solutions devised by a group of people to meet specific problems posed by situations they face in common...' By using culture as a living and historical product, one can study any group, society, family organisation or its segments by means of an ethnographical approach (Van Maanen & Barley 1985, p.33).

A number of scholars have pointed out the benefits of using a combination of data collection methods to produce a holistic picture of the phenomena and interpretation of the variables. Tourism research requires multidisciplinary methods and the emphasis depends on the topic, sample and the initial information needed (Bryman, 1988, p.137; Graburn and Jafari 1991; Gunn, 1994, p.5).

Marcus and Fisher (1986) cultural critique acknowledged that the questions and purposes of anthropological work emerge through the social interactions with the actor in the study. The study can therefore present multiple truths (cited in Denzin and Lincoln 2005, p.1104). Urry (1990) argues that generalist views on national histories are being replaced by multiple views and multiple perceptions of reality as seen from different viewpoints of gender, class and ethnicity (cited in Jamal and Hollinshead 2001:67).

Precise measuring instruments or statistical techniques do not make one discipline more scientific than another. In ethnography there is an acceptance of a range of methods which explore the issues in a research topic rather than validating, falsifying or testifying a problem or phenomena.

Thomas (1993) study on the Critical Ethnography recommended that the qualitative method must be critical, rigorous, meticulous and as accurate as possible. However, he explains that ethnography can still be seen as a science:

‘Ethnography, after all, respects the same basic rules of logic (laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle, replication, validity, reliability, theory construction), and other characteristics that separate science from other forms of knowledge’ (Thomas 1993:16).

Ethnography acknowledges the multifaceted dimensions of human cultures and conflicting perspectives in social phenomena. A range of qualitative techniques can be used to gather an in-depth understanding on the complexity of the society or phenomena under study. These can be drawn from covert and overt participant observations, casual conversations, life histories, social and religious events, semi and unstructured interviews. The methods of contemporary ethnography focus on collating as much qualitative cultural description from these methods as possible. It does not seek to test or verify a hypothesis, but to accept multiple ways of seeing and observing social reality from the views of the community member or individual. The ethnographic method does not seek to represent the ‘truth’ of a social phenomena as with the positivistic method (Fetterman 1998, p.5).

A critique written by Miller and Glassner (1997) discussed the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of finding realities in interviews. They compare the ‘mirror-like’ reflection of positivistic methods to the narrative versions created by participants who represent the ‘truth’ in their social world (cited in Fetterman 1998, p.5). Ethnographic techniques such as narratives and life stories can offer partial truths rather than finding an absolute or universal truth.

The historical, social and economic detachment of the Afro-Mauritian community in Chamarel is discussed later in this Chapter. It requires ethnographic techniques to understand in-depth the underlying issues of their perceptions, views and opinions of community, subgroups, and the insiders and outsiders for tourism development. Ethnographic methods frame this study as a means of embracing multicultural perspectives because it accepts multiple realities (Fetterman 1998, p.5).

4.3.4. The Chamarel community as a sample

This study used a ‘snowball sample’ technique so that the researcher could identify relevant phrases, key topics and factual data which emerged naturally from the research process. The data was investigated from different angles with new informants (Fetterman 1998, p.2). The snowball sample was time-consuming as it involved building a rapport with local residents and establishing the trust needed to exchange information. This created a list of key informants and actors as well as local support for the research.

Farquhar (2012) suggests that a ‘snapshot’ presented by a project certainly needs definition within boundaries and parameters. A snapshot however can be both illustrative as well analytical (Farquhar 2012, p.146). Indeed, every research study is a snapshot as it is bound by the time and circumstances unique to the data design, collection and interpretation of its results. A research enquiry cannot be indefinite but this study demonstrated how a data set can be extensive (2004-2014) to include further density and cross-referencing in order to understand the world narrated through the experiences of the villagers.

The sample size for the recorded conversations was selective and was bound by the constraints presented in the fieldwork which I have discussed at the end of this Chapter. However, it does offer a valuable source of experiences, expressions and views on heritage, community and community tourism within this area. Many of the views shared and recorded by the elderly were a valuable testimonial to their experiences and these respondents may have passed away so this data cannot be replicated. The sample size does not represent the entire village but it does represent views that may have not otherwise been captured through quantitative surveys. Many respondents could not read or write fluently to participate in complex questionnaires and they found interviews which were highly structured as awkward and daunting. In summary, it was important that the research strategy was appropriate for the research aims, questions and the circumstances at the time of the Community Tourism Project.

The use of qualitative methods as a scientific approach to understand social phenomena is discussed by Serle (1995) paper 'The social construction of reality.' He explains that qualitative research interpretations can be used for in-depth analysis of value and belief systems, the intentional and non-intentional use of language, or what he calls an individual's 'background' - a set of neurophysiological capacities which can be non-intentional or pre-intentional i.e. their abilities, dispositions and tendencies (Serle 1995: 129). We construct reality through mediums. Also, the interactions are governed by the consensual norms, socialisation, and education, family reciprocated by two acting subjects and given meanings through their language communication (Habermas 1971, p.91-92).

Paradigms are constructed in the quest to find out the 'truth' of a social subject. This can include a logical set of rules that enable explanation and prediction. It can be an elusive truth, a metaphysical truth or a 'logical truth' based on a belief, moral or professional conduct (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p.14, 15). These paradigms investigate what is the ontology or nature of reality within research. The positivist researcher depends on a single reality which can be divided into variables and processes to be studied independently but the result will be predicted and controlled. The result is value-free and used as a generalisation to produce nomothetic statement. The naturalist researcher allows multiple constructed realities to be studied holistically but can raise more questions than it answers. A level of understanding ('*Verstehen*') can be achieved but the results are outside prediction and control (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p 37).

4.3.5. Rapid Participatory and ethnographic Appraisal

Rapid participatory appraisal (RPA) was chosen because it uses ethnographic techniques intensively during a specific time frame. Similarly to ethnography, rapid participatory appraisal uses semi-structured and informal interviews with key informants and direct observation, as well as desk research to cross-reference primary findings (Hampton 1998; 646). Rigorous fieldwork and desk research were needed due to the constraints in time and funding for this study. The techniques were used in combination with a subjective cultural experience, resulting in an intensive exploration that draws out a multifaceted and rich ethnographic account on the topic of enquiry. It is argued that the 'closeness' between the researcher in ethnographic technique can also be gained from rapid participatory appraisal. For example, Dearden and Harron (1992) study on commercial treks illustrates how there can be a greater frequency of participation, interaction and 'close contact' with informants through rapid participatory appraisal (cited in Michaud 1995: 681).

Rapid Participatory Appraisal (RPA) is a subset of ethnography and can provide a rich account of a small community within a short time. It can utilise both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Secondary and primary material were gathered simultaneously within the research process which provided a comprehensive picture of tourism development. For example, Michel Picard (1996) studies used a wide diversity of sources including newspaper articles, policy documents and interviews. A similar approach was adopted in this multimethod case study of Chamarel where a diversity of sources were collected to give insight on tourism. This rich in-depth account of community tourism in Chamarel captures viewpoints of how tourism developed according to the local residents compared to national and business stakeholders.

The methodological approach pioneered by Michel Picard (1996) study of Indonesia in 'Bali Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture' looked beyond the positive and negative impacts to the greater cultural implications of tourist development; 'The real issue, though, is to understand, elucidate the actual cultural implications of the touristification of societies' (Picard 1996, p.24).

In a similar fashion, this study looks into the complexity of community tourism in the greater picture of national and local tourism planning by external participants, decision-makers and consultants. Data collection included tourism policies, planning documents, White Papers and National Development Plans.

Another example of a multimethod study is Hitchcock and Dharma Putra (2005) investigation of the Bali bombings undertaken during two visits which were only one month duration. The study utilised semi-structured interviews, formal and informal sector, through spontaneous questioning and desk research in local media and popular newspapers (Hitchcock and Dharma Putra 2005: 64). Participatory rural appraisal as a 'first and dirty' method describes the speed of which ethnographic techniques are in shorter durations (Michaud 1995, p.682).

Brown et al. (2006) used Rapid Participatory Appraisal (RPA) to identify how a community could challenge its healthcare by using specific ethnographic techniques to build a relationship with the community members and service providers. It is argued that a 'rapid' method is a valuable insight into the research problem in a relatively short time frame and can be used as part of a future longitudinal study when time and funding permits (Brown et al 2006). Information on the community can then be collated, providing a picture of the community's social structure, its needs and the role of an industry such as tourism (Brown et al 2006). Rapid Participatory Appraisal (RPA) in northern Mali was conducted during short time frames lasting up to three months at a time through household surveys and community meetings with local officials and minority groups. The multimethod approach of both qualitative and quantitative methods ensured that smaller minority groups in the community were able to be represented (Christiaensen et al., 2001, p.5).

It is important to determine the boundaries of a longitudinal study such as the time frame and sample. A longitudinal study can bring new information to the field but extensive investigation can require flexibility in the initial research objectives and research design. The questions are the time frame chosen for the completion of such fieldwork and the most suitable environment which will reap substantial information to meet the research objectives. In terms of a study on Chamarel, research into the impacts, perceptions and experiences of the pioneering Community Tourism Project was significant at the time of its implementation in 2004. According to the UNDP Community Tourism Project, the organic farm was established and providing local

employment. However, a further study on the economic benefits of community tourism can be made in the future. At the time of the Rapid Participatory Appraisal two IRS golf and spa resorts were still at the proposal stage for Chamarel and therefore it was unfeasible in terms of time and funding to include these within a longitudinal study. This study is a rapid and intense ethnographic appraisal which focuses on the perceptions of community tourism development. It can be used for further research such as economic impact or development studies in the future.

This study uses rapid participatory appraisal techniques which can be part of a further longitudinal study according to allowances for time and funding (Hampton 1998: 645). A longitudinal study would be more appropriate post 2010 when hotel developments have been completed in Chamarel to allow a comparative study of local villages, such as employment figures and a review of the position of Chamarel village on the National Relative Development Index (RDI). A study which included further insight into racial and ethnic boundaries and notions of tourism ownership could be developed. It can be compared to changing political policies and tourism development plans as they incorporate social aspects. A reappraisal can be made on the Community Tourism and Organic Farming Projects to see if this involved community participation, consultation and decision-making.

4.3.6. Interviews – the Mauritian intelligentsia

Picard (2005) discusses his access to the ‘Balinese intelligentsia’ which he defines as academics, civil servants, consultants who live in and around the capital. A similar intelligentsia exists in Mauritius whose views are reflected in this study. The research does not only comprise of interviews, it offers a valuable multifaceted approach to understanding Mauritian tourism development from national and local levels of data, company Government information, consultants, TV, radio, poetry, music and promotional literature (Picard 2005).

Similar approaches to tourism planning and policy analysis have been used in Picard et al (1997) study of Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian Pacific Societies and Richter (1982) Land Reform and Tourism Development policymaking in the Philippines. Richter assesses the changes and continuities of policymaking and how conflicting social claims affect resources.

She questions the growing disproportion of tourism development in terms of wealth of distribution and the employment of a semi-skilled workforce (Richter 1982, p.54). A common theme between Richter (1982) work and this research is the historical roots of a highly centralised Government. There are intergenerational problems with land ownership, conversation and heritance due to the history of slavery and ‘landlordism.’ Interestingly, it also implies problems of corruption in power exchange where decision-making processes are highly centralised excluding community participation. ‘Traditional pressures’ for ‘friendship, kinship and previous obligations’ were similarly found in the analysis of community decision-making in Chamarel (Richter 1982, p.186).

Information gathered from Picard (1996) approach cross-referenced secondary sources with local stakeholders and villager views to present a thoroughly multifaceted case of the implications in community development.

Picard used interviews with ‘consultants’ on a variety of topics such as Government and World Bank issues, Balinese society and culture and the implications of tourism. However, his citation of Balinese locals is implied in some parts of the study such as ‘although the Balinese hardly speak of...’ and ‘Bali what they were saying’ without specific background or indication of these key informants to protect their confidentiality (Picard 1996).

4.3.7. Documental research – history, archives and policy documents

Picard used publication material from the Tourist Bureau for Bali. This included illustrated tourist guides and short guides, monthly tourism bulletins, tour operator pamphlet tourist board surveys and figures. His rich account of Balinese history was informed through writings, paintings, photographs and films used for tourism promotion (Picard 1996, p.24-25, 27). Other sources of information were the first books of English travels in Bali, anthropologists and economist accounts, Balinese photographic themes, travel accounts and letters on perceptions and impressions of touristic culture. In terms of illustrations he used French weekly magazines, tourism posters, writing pad illustrations, covers and adverts by hotels and tourist boards and travel magazines. Picard also analyses five year Development Plans, Tourism Development

Policy and World Bank publications. Reports and plans feature heavily alongside surveys and interviews on perceptions.

4.3.8. Netnography

This study applied research methods which would be typical of the netnographic approach. Netnography is an emerging method which applies ethnographic techniques within an online environment (Kozinets, 2010). This style of participant-observational research was utilised in Björk and Kauppinen-Räsänen (2012) examination of discussions regarding the risks of travel to foreign destinations and the resulting impact on destination image. The travel community website TripAdvisor was the subject of their particular study, specifically communities linked to the cities of Helsinki, Madrid and Cape Town. The language and themes within individual blogs were used to examine the different categories of risk associated with each destination (Björk and Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2012).

Netnography typifies examinations of data posted publicly and is commonly used with regards to online blogs and message threads. A sample of the latter formed the basis of analysis in Janta et al (2012) study into migrant social networks, wherein the most popular websites all written in Polish were analysed via means of passive observation (Janta et al., 2012). The applications of netnography were demonstrated in Kozinets (2010) introduction to the practice, drawing parallels to ethnography in its adaptability, immersion and descriptive nature whilst emphasising its focus on cultural insights and context (Kozinets, 2010). A netnographic approach allows for varying levels of participation. It uses a passive and covert approach to data collection such as Aarsal et al. (2010) and Langer and Beckman (2005) studies (cited in Björk and Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2012). The ongoing discussions are not interfered with and the study subject is not influenced. Through this approach, neither consent nor a need to communicate the research interest is an overriding concern due to the public nature of the information (Janta et al., 2012).

This thesis draws together information from a range of separate online sources bringing together the ethnographic and netnographic approaches. However, it does not completely explore the full range of research techniques contained within the netnographic approach. Due to the level of technological development Mauritius is not a fully connected society in the online sense. However, the Government and its assorted institutions maintain an official series of websites which act as a source for reports and statistical information. The opinions and personal accounts featured in this thesis were obtained by more traditional ethnographic methods, such as Rapid Participatory Appraisal (RPA) and the use of interviews and casual conversations. It is therefore important not to devalue the significance of methods employed within an RPA framework and the work of academics such as Picard (1996) when examining societies with a less prominent internet presence.

4.4. Data collection

Data can be collected from multiple sources of evidence concentrated on the same set of issues (Yin 1993, p. 32). Yin (1993) argues that case studies are past just ‘exploratory’ stages of research. The author refers to the single case study such as Whyte’s (1943) ‘Street Corner Society’ which is descriptive in nature. However, Whyte’s study was used to generalise on individuals, groups and social structure in different neighbourhoods. The objective of a single case study would be to provide an ‘explanatory’ position with ‘competing explanations for the same set of events and to indicate how such explanations may apply to other situations’ (Yin 1989, p. 15, 16).

The strength of a case study is that the phenomenon can be studied in its natural setting and it is focused on the complexity of ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions. It is more concerned with ‘naturally occurring features or variables in the context’ which are used to ‘theorize through enfolding the literature’ (Farquhar 2012, p.8).

There were a variety of data collection methods used within this case study such as rapid ethnographic appraisal, interviews, documental research and media netnographic research. Data collection from secondary research also included company reports, projects, plans,

cabinet meetings and notes that were unavailable to the general public. To ensure confidentiality the individuals, groups and organisational identities were protected by the use of codes or fictitious names, such as the key actor ('Mi' the taxi driver) who had to refer to different names depending on the situation and ethnicity of the person he was talking to. Some Government officials who did not wish to reveal their identity and preferred to be assigned an alias or a code.

Key actors were allocated a two-letter name, and interviews and these were coded from A1 to A24. Casual conversations were coded from B1 to B15 (see appendix for general questions, themes, venues contacts – an RPA schedule). Kreol words or the translation of phrases were italicised for stress and brackets. It was necessary to indicate the nationality of the respondent as themes became interlinked with the perceptions of ethnicity and the rights to be informed, consulted, participate or make decisions in tourism development.

Therefore, the ethnic identities of respondents were also protected by this use of coding or fictitious names due to the sensitivity of the data. Community members voiced their opinions of ethnic groups of themselves and others in everyday conflicts and confrontations which included negative comments, derogatory terms and Kreol language.

Informal settings and secluded or isolated regions were the environments for casual conversations amongst villagers, whereas semi-structured interviews were held at local businesses and the premises for quasi-governmental organisations such as the National Handicraft Promotion Agency (NHPA) and Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority. Other stakeholders in the Community Tourism Project were the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Steering Committee, the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) and Town and Country Planning Board.

As previously discussed some of the informal and secluded or isolated regions for research were made unavailable to the researcher due to gender issues. The researcher can face similar complexities found in 'women's invisibility' which can deter interviews with males or prevent the researcher from entering male dominant spaces (Housee 1999, p.146).

A breakdown of the materials gathered during the fieldwork, the sources, locations and key topics are provided later on in this Chapter. The originality of the study meant that locating secondary research on Chamarel (which was rare) was time-consuming particularly where it involved sensitive Government and company findings. However, the researcher has endeavoured to provide a rich account of the data using a range of historical, archive, newspaper, museum, and conference and media materials to support the fieldwork. This netnographic approach extended the research beyond the period of intense fieldwork to subsequent years and allowed the data to be re-evaluated and updated with progress in Mauritian and Chamarel tourism studies.

4.5. The validity of the research methodology

4.5.1. Generalisability

It is a conventional misunderstanding that the single case study can only be a pilot or exploratory first stage towards a larger-scale study and that it would require a number of similar case studies to make a generalisation. It was assumed that the case study was only reliable if it verified or falsified a hypothesis through a large number of cases (cited in Flyvbjerg 2006, p.2). Ethnographic research on a small community can be generalised if it is carried out in some number. However, the single case study can be ‘multiple’ in the sense that the ideas and evidence are connected and examined on many different angles (Flyvbjerg 2006, p. 2, 19).

The single-case study has been used as a reliable method to test scientific enquiries since Aristotle where a single-case study could falsify or testify a theory. Karl Popper (1999; 2002) famous single case study of a Black Swan to falsify his general proposition that all swans are white is another example of the reliability of the case study in scientific studies (Flyvbjerg 2006, p.8, 11). Validity actually depends on the case and the situation. The choice of the method should be dependent on the problem and the circumstances involved.

A methodology can be positivistic in nature by seeking out a verification from an ‘absolute truth’ or a set of universals, preconceived or predicted theories. The case study should not seek

to prove anything but rather contribute in-depth knowledge to existing literature in the subject area. It should add to the experiences and learning within this area. 'That knowledge cannot be formally generalised does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society' (Flyvbjerg 2006, p. 7, 10).

Generalising can be a limitation particularly when looking at a new phenomenon which has not been previously researched. It is important to be open to new discoveries which are hindered by systematic and ridged enquiries. Oversimplifying the case study can be misleading and overlook new paths for future research or omit multiple realities in an attempt to generalise the results. In the case of Chamarel, it is in the southern region where other settlements of Afro-Mauritian exist. However, Chamarel is unique as a long established tourist area. Its ecologically sensitive forests and the Community Tourism Project make generalising this to other Creole areas impossible as they do not share the same developments or experiences. This study does not seek to generalise or represent the Creole community but to present multiple truths and realities. Community tourism did not succeed in the Creole village of Chamarel but it cannot be generalised that it would not be successful in other Creole communities. They could have different variables unique to the village, the individuals themselves and the specific period of time. The uniqueness of what was happening in Chamarel in time 1 (phenomenon) and its connection to how tourism has changed through time in Mauritius nationally through to time 2 (context) provides a case which cannot be replicated in other settlements.

This study does not seek to generalise truths about tourism and its impact on the community of Chamarel. It allows the themes to emerge from the data which can lead to the discovery of conflicts, issues and problems within tourism and community development.

The use of alternative methods such as netnography, documented policy, planning and media data collection through to time 2 (2014) provided a greater level of detail on the complexity of community tourism and where this concept lies within the other tourism approaches in Mauritius. The case study allows the reader to delve deeper into the 'causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur' (Flyvbjerg 2006, p.13).

4.5.2. The level of bias within the data

Bias within the research data is inherent in all methodologies because they still include the human element and the design and results require human intervention and interpretation. Within the use of media and netnographic data collection the researcher needs to be aware of possible influences from the social and political situation of the time. For example, at the time of the RPA, the history of slavery in Le Morne and Chamarel was commemorated and this gave attention to the area in the media. There was an acceptance of African heritage in mainstream television. This is a valuable insight into how the national media was starting to promote Chamarel. It provided further material on slavery which had not been readily available previously, and it gave villagers a platform to voice their heritage and cultural expressions. This allowed a level of density in the case study and as explained by Peattie (2001);

‘The dense case study, according to Peattie is more useful for the practioner and more interesting for social theory than other factual findings or the high-level generalizations theory’ (cited in Flyvbjerg 2006, p.22).

However, within the fieldwork a researcher is faced with a series of responsibilities to ensure integrity of the data collection and presentation in a way which is sensitive to the concerns of the participants (Ryan 2005, p.9, 12). A case study can have its own rigour with the added advantage of being close to the data as the phenomena unfolds (Flyvbjerg 2006, p.19).

A study using a qualitative method is considered ‘subjective’ because researchers attempt to display the viewpoint of those they study, but it can also be objective. This does not mean the absence of bias or a researcher’s perspective or blindly accepting a subject’s reported psychological state of mind. Objectivity simply means taking the intellectual risk of being proven demonstrably wrong (Kirk and Miller 1986:10).

In opposition to the view on objectivity, Feighery (2006) writing on reflexivity and tourism research assumes that the researcher can also become responsible by ‘making oneself the object of one’s own observation’ (Feighery 2006, p.270). The researcher reflects on their own actions, values and empathy as an active participant within the research process (Feighery 2006, p.271).

Texts are shaped by researcher's viewpoint where they must evaluate the tension between the topic and their own position while re-telling narratives. Therefore, transcriptions are a complex challenge to ensure that the researcher's 'voice' is not granted privilege over the others in the text. This ethical responsibility is a move towards reflexivity (Hollinshead & Jamal 2001, p.73).

4.6. Data analysis

4.6.1. An emergent data analysis

During the fieldwork, research analysis and data collection are undertaken simultaneously. The noting and recording begins when the ethnographer started learns the native language, kinship ties, census information, historical data and the basic structure and function of the culture under study (Fetterman 1998, p.8). A fieldwork diary was used to record what happened in the setting, how people were involved and saw each others actions in the context which they took place (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, p.5). Ethnographers must enter the field with an open mind about the group or culture they are studying and allow themes and patterns to emerge from the data (Fetterman 1998, p.1, 8).

Interesting quotes, phrases and factual data were noted when it was permitted by the respondent or after casual conversations at informal environments. This created a snowball sample which developed as themes, key words and patterns. These were followed up with the same or a new informant. Thus, the researcher gained a greater in-depth understanding of the conflicts and debates that arose from tourism development in Chamarel.

The selection of informants in this study used an emergent framework based on the individual's status, position, or reputation in a group, society, or culture. For example, Johnson (1990) studies on social networks and commercial fishing villages in Florida used similar emergent frameworks to analyse the effects of urbanisation and the organisation of commercial fishing. He studied the impacts of zoning, leisure and tourism industries and increased social stratification on the commercial fishermen of the area (Johnson 1990, p.69). It also highlighted that there is the danger of being associated with a 'marginal' informant upon entry into the field

(Johnson 1990, p.55). Therefore, asking guidance from contacts or key informants can assist on selecting an entry point which is safe and appropriate for the research (Johnson 1990, p 56).

The reader would also become involved in the analytical process as they make different interpretations regarding the questions in the case study. Some readers may be drawn to certain facets and resist others as they follow their own path, meanings or 'truth' as to what they see inside the case study (Flyvbjerg 2006, p.23). 'Presenting narratives is an offer to the reader of analysis of the situation as the object emerges out of this analysis' (Farquhar 2012, p.146). The reader therefore plays a part in their own interpretation of truth on the data. The reader is encouraged to find his way and feel familiar with the social world as a native insider rather than being presented a systematic list of facts and results. The case study itself would be the result. (Flyvbjerg 2006, p.24).

4.6.2. Writing as a native and insider

The combination of qualitative methods would involve 'immersion' into the Chamarel community. The style of writing is descriptive from the viewpoint of a native or 'insider.' Descriptive narratives discuss events and activities through overt and covert participation or observation (Silverman 2000, p.9). This can take the form of 'thick description' as used by Geertz (1993). For example, thick description records the life stories, local carnivals, religious gatherings or social events important to the daily lives of villagers.

The viewpoint of an insider or native can be likened to an investigative reporter. The researcher weighs the credibility of each opinion and looks for ties to special interests and organisations (Fetterman 1998, p.1). An example of this undercover role was the narration of 'Endless Pressure' on the West Indians who arrived in Britain during the 1980s. It is a detailed study of the social and cultural origins of the West Indian community in Britain using anthropological techniques. The book examines individual personalities through a series of narrative accounts and life stories. Pryce (1986) uses these life stories to understand what kind of impact these individuals had on their immediate surroundings. He also conducts some interviews by joining groups in casual surroundings (Pryce 1986, p.39, 52).

Pryce (1986) gained entry as an insider using ethnographic techniques despite being perceived as originating from a differing socio-economic group. This produced an in-depth account of the inner tensions between the two generations - the children born in Britain and the older generation of immigrants as they reminisced about the West Indies. Thick description resulted in rich accounts on the perceptions of black men towards European women versus coloured women as suitable wives (Pryce 1986, p.52).

This epistemological position is based on the expectation that these kinds of settings, situations and interactions will 'reveal data' that is relevant for analysis. It enables the researcher to change from an outsider to an insider or a 'knower' as well as an 'experiencer', observer, or participant observer (Mason 1996, p.60-63). The native language in an ontological-based enquiry can provide understanding to covert and overt interactions, actions, and behaviours of people in a way that is sensitive to the nature of the setting (Silverman, 2000, p.37). It also includes the way people interpret their daily routines, conversations, language and rhetoric, verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Documents and texts in certain settings such as a festivals can encapsulate the notion of community and community development. In a similar approach, a study of community should incorporate documents and texts which are available to describe community events. A study of community tourism can use participant observation and record social events such as the Maha Shrivratri festival.

An example of a detailed investigation on the views of insiders and outsiders in tourism development is Waldren (1996) study of the Spanish village Deià. Waldren uses descriptive observation to present the setting, the people of Deia and the events which occur in the village. Her descriptive approach builds a narrative account of the life and events in Deia which makes it like a story and enjoyable to read. Waldren expects the conclusions of her study to become apparent through her open-ended enquiry and exploration (Waldren 1996, p.vii).

Waldren uses qualitative and inductive research techniques to gather information. The theme of her book uses examples of everyday cultural and social life. The main methods stated were 'observation, participation, and experience' (Waldren 1996, p.vii). Her primary sources of information involve being an observer as participant (her identity is revealed with limited participation), or as a participant as observer (she takes part, her identity is revealed and she

has the advantage of asking questions about what is going on). In some instances she was a complete observer to receive this information on social and cultural patterns directly.

Modes of inquiry such as participant observation and interviewing techniques are part of her ethnography based on socially acquired and shared knowledge. Waldren (1996) focuses on how people react in what she identifies as noticeable, observable and regular ways. It is an 'intensive study and immersion in a well-defined locality involving direct participation with some of the members of the organization,' or in this particular study it is the village community (cited in Gill and Johnson 1991, p.92). Waldren's ethnography 'is based upon the belief that the social world cannot be understood by studying artificial simulations of it in experiments' (Waldren 1991, p.93). Waldren points this out herself by stating that the book 'has developed from the perspectives of local informants and intended to shed some light on the 'world of experience...'(Waldren 1996, p.xiv). Therefore, the author gives a descriptive account of Deia with a reliance on qualitative techniques such as observation and unstructured interviews rather than documents and surveys.

The relevance of the Rapid Participatory Appraisal (RPA) is the use of similar ethnographic techniques as seen in Waldren (1996) research which provides an ethnographic exploration within a short time frame. It also offers a rich account of Mauritian intelligentsia via narratives, casual conversations and participant observation. The relevance of this explorative study is that it was conducted when the Community Tourism Project appeared to be still ongoing. However, for greater understanding and impact analysis, a longitudinal study can be undertaken in the future and the findings can be compared with this study.

Waldren used participant observation when she attended the funeral of the famous poet Robert Graves (an 'outsider'), where she heard the men remark sentimentally of his death (Waldren 1996, p.105-106). She was a participant observer to identify the true feelings of the villagers on outsiders indirectly rather than question them directly via survey or questionnaire. Robson (1993) identifies this as one of the major disadvantages of quantitative research where there are 'discrepancies between what people say that they have done, or will do, and what they actually did or will do' (Robson 1993, p. 190).

Interestingly, Waldren's purpose of writing is to persuade the reader that unlike many other villages in Mallorca, contact with outsiders such as through tourism had improved the villager's way of life. Outsiders had 'enabled Deianencs to define, develop, and sustain their sense of belonging to community' (Waldren 1996, p. 247). This was achieved as the Deianencs reinterpreted the categories of insiders and outsiders to fit with the changes in their society. They had not lost their social relations as a consequence of the changes brought by outsiders but had reinterpreted them socially and economically to preserve their history.

The relevance of Waldren (1996) techniques is that by using a similar approach to research tourism in Chamarel village it can be seen through the eyes of the community members as the researcher immerses herself in their world and way of life.

Crick (1994) study of international tourism in Kandy, Sri Lanka spanned a period of only six weeks duration on one visit and then a longer visit of seven months. His study discusses the images and representations of tourism in Kandy from different viewpoints, such as the opinions from the town hall, the schools and views from the streets. The brief period of time in the field allowed the researcher to acquire only a basic level of the colloquial Sinhala language. The researcher worked almost exclusively in Kandy. He did not work in the village or in the coastal resort and based his study mostly within the informal sector in the realm of unlicensed guesthouses and street guides. Crick argues that the informal sector would give insight on the world not shown in glossy brochures; the beggars, cheap cafes and semi-literate culture brokers (touts) as part of 'real tourism' in Third World destinations such as Sri Lanka.

The study focuses on how Sri Lankans speak and perceive the tourist. This was defined as the 'native voice.' Crick (1994) mostly used observational methods to gather cultural meanings about foreigners and the 'other.' He gathered the voices (opinions and observations) of local bystanders on tourism in different circumstances via observation and social events. Some small-scale entrepreneur opinions were gathered by means of participant observation or sometimes covert observation in local shops, markets and cheap cafes. Views from the poor were expressed during a seminar organised by the county town hall (Crick 1994, p.56). Student opinions were accessed by organising a writing exercise in several local schools. Street corners let the poorer sectors of Kandy society (guides, prostitutes, beggars and street lenders) tell their

own story and this became an important base for research and for contacting his key informant 'Ali.'

The relevance of Crick (1994) study in Sri Lanka is the use of language to gain entry into communities. He uses a key actor, in this case 'Ali' (and in this study, 'Mi' – who was a taxi driver). The taxi driver, 'Mi', has played an important role in this study. Mi acted as a guide and as a representative keeping in touch with everyday events and ongoing research in Mauritius. The key actor there had a wealth of personal and local knowledge of the areas in Mauritius, including the regions where females would not be welcome i.e. the harbour, bars and pubs at night. He also could keep up to date with local news and community events.

Before the fieldwork was attempted, Crick (1994) conducted an empirical analysis of the historical, political, economic and cultural framework and how the development of the tourism industry fit into the Sri Lankan society. The author attempted throughout the book to locate the overall development of the tourism industry in Sri Lanka. He mentioned that it was difficult to gather usable empirical data on the social structure of Kandy in terms of national statistics or literature (Crick 1994, p.12-14). Therefore, a chief informant and key informants are valuable to gain entry into groups, organisations and communities where less empirical data is available. Crick's chief informant, Ali, shared local views of those who believed that tourism had a positive impact on Sri Lanka and this data provided the themes underlying his study of cultural 'pollution' and the sociocultural ramifications of the tourism industry.

In contrast to Waldren (1996) study in Mallorca, Crick (1994) analysis concluded that international tourism brings a whole host of cultural themes about the values of society, tradition and cultural change. There are a number of voices on public issues and these can be different and even conflicting viewpoints to evaluate tourism (Waldren 1996, p.vii).

4.6.3. Triangulation

Triangulation can be used to collect data on the same phenomena to validate findings from different times and places (Gill and Johnson 1991, p.166). The approach looks for convergence in the findings where different types of data can support each other (Farquhar 2012, p.95). The use of triangulation in researching community relationships and tourism can be seen in Sett and Liu (2014) study of a wildlife sanctuary in Myanmar. It refers to Denzin (1970) definition of ‘methodological triangulation’ as the use of more than one method and both primary and secondary information to study a single problem (Sett and Liu 2014, p.28).

The triangulation of a range of qualitative methods was used so that a rich account of significant themes, conflicts and problems could be drawn out from the data and provide insight on the community tourism development in Chamarel. Semi-structured or casual conversations ensure that the locals are not restricted by time or intimidated by formal environments. Tape-recorded and transcribed interviews can fail to record apparently trivial, but often crucial, pauses and overlaps (Spradley 1979).

The analysis of the findings would therefore need to be interpretivist to present the vast range of opinions and experiences. An interrogative template or framework would be developed in order to categorise and identify patterns within this data. The vastness of the size of the data that needed to be analysed spanned from 2004 to 2014. Newspapers catalogues were in hard copies from 2004-2014. Electronic copies were periodically collected up till 2014 with recent review in 2015. Data from field notes using Mauritian intelligentsia from my own observations and informants from time 1 (2004) and at time 2 in (2014) included hard copies, notes from casual conversations, and transcriptions from interviews. Up to date netnographic data was triangulated from media sources spanning a variety of newspaper forum comments, blogs, travel sites and journals with reference to Chamarel, community and tourism planning in Mauritius.

An interrogative template was created to summarise and catalogue the vast data collection and to sift through the data, identifying and organising patterns and themes. A thematic framework was created after analysing and reviewing the transcripts and documents and media information. It presented the key variables (themes) from the study in 2004 (time 1) and over

time this evolved and modified the data collection towards 2014 (time 2). This facilitated consistency throughout the data analysis.

Triangulation involves a multimethod approach where interrelated findings could be cross-checked on the same subjects or themes (Opperman 2000, p.142). Therefore, observational error and human bias would be prevented (Page 2010, p.47). Opperman (2000) states that triangulation can be a multimethodological approach but cross-validation is limited and it does not reduce bias. Methods should be combined with consideration as to what will present a 'full picture' or further insight to the field of study as it is impossible to obtain 'the truth' about a subject with full objectivity (Opperman 2000, p.142).

Decrop (2004) discusses the trustworthiness of data through informant triangulation and multi-level triangulation with the difference that multi-level triangulation compares the informant data with data sets from other research activities. Longitudinal triangulation can add credibility as the findings are checked at multiple sites over period of time (Decrop 2004, p.162, 163).

However, the research instrument is subject to a number of imperfections. Longitudinal triangulation assumes that the reliability of the results would be the same if the research was repeated at a later date with a different sample of informants. It assumes the research findings would be identical without taking into account human imperfection, changes in behaviour and group composition such as demographics (Veal 2006, p.41). In terms of Chamarel, the composition of the community may have changed and affected the attitudes and perceptions of what is community and community tourism.

4.7. Overcoming challenges in the fieldwork

The north of Mauritius, in particular the Grand Baie area, is the hub of tourism for the country. Therefore, the south (including Chamarel) has been less studied in tourism research. Chamarel is geographically isolated, with only one road according to the UNDP, but there were no road names or signposting which caused confusion amongst inhabitants and the researcher. Local

fruit trees (i.e. ‘pied coco’, ‘pied mangue’, or ‘pied banane’) were used to locate contacts and places of residence.

The rationale of this study is original in many aspects and presented the researcher with the challenge of locating secondary data. There is a lack of recognition and knowledge about Chamarel in Mauritian society and it is rare to find historical material, biographical, novels or newspaper articles on the area. If found it can be inconsistent to cross reference due to the lack of material available. Archive and newspaper articles were also written in 17th to 19th century French or differing Kreol grammar which lacked standardisation and consumed time in translation.

The demographic composition of the Chamarel community as Afro-Mauritian led to a series of difficulties to gain entry in the field which were eventually overcome. The researcher had to improve on their proficiency of the native colloquial Kreol language and also used a translator who was the taxi driver and key actor in this study. A rapport was built with the key actor to assist with social networking, semi-structured interviews and casual conversations. The use of a ‘Mi’, the taxi driver, was costly but allowed the researcher to rapidly pick up locations, local phrases, and local knowledge on the etiquette and customs of Chamarel. ‘Mi’ was therefore instrumental to negotiations especially within areas which were inaccessible to a Mauritian female. The secluded or inaccessible regions of Chamarel away from the tourism attractions such as the poker places, dart rooms and similar pub or bars were compromising environments for a female to conduct research. They were regarded by natives as male-dominated leisure spaces and it would generate a negative reputation for a female to be present and also obstruct further cooperation amongst the villagers. Therefore, some environments for research were regarded as unsafe for the researcher. Women alone or unaccompanied in these areas was considered as inappropriate. The ‘tifi anglaise’ {*young/small English girl*} was perceived as a vulnerable and easy option to give information in exchange for favours which insulted the taxi driver who took it upon himself to protect the researcher from confrontations.

Gaining entry to the black community was difficult for a ‘stranger’ from an Indian ancestry as it made several informants unapproachable due to their perceived lack of common ground in

religion and culture. The villagers were not forthcoming to having an Indian-looking girl within their midst and therefore the nationality of the researcher's parents became a point of contention. Whereas, the Afro-Mauritian community were more acceptable of the taxi driver as his appearance of darker complexion and 'Ma's' Chinese facial features led them to believe they were Creole or Creole-Sinois. This enabled the researcher to open up communication barriers with certain informants. The confusion on what was actually 'Creole' allowed 'Mi', the taxi man, to say he was 'Creole' – based on his skin colour 'noire' {*black*} and 'ti-lackey' {*curly hair*} to gain access. However, it also led to confrontations when Afro-Mauritians insulted Indian groups with words such as 'imbecile' (as Mi and Ma were both of Indian origin).

Perceptions of the researcher as 'en tifi anglaise' challenged the cooperation of some respondents as they initially felt embarrassed due to their lack of educational background in order to converse in English or French. In some cases, individuals were more receptive to a 'school project' for a small study at 'school', rather than a PhD-based study at a university. Others participants felt antagonised by the idea that they were being investigated by an English person or were suspicious that they were being investigated by a reporter. The President of the Women's Association, for example, would not meet with the researcher because she felt reporters should pay. Gossip and rumours spread in the village of a 'journalist' and the opportunity to make money in exchange for information.

Therefore, the implementation of ethnographic methods was invaluable, particularly covert participation, observation and casual conversations until a rapport had been established. Ethnographic methods were conducted intensively within a specific time frame and this was a unique opportunity to examine the first Community Tourism Project in the country where little had been written on previously. The research process itself was extended further into subsequent years using a wide range of methods, including netnography and inspiration from Picard's (1992) approach. This enabled the inclusion of material and findings from more recent discoveries in the geographic area, particularly on Maroon heritage and Le Morne which were previously unexplored.

4.8. Conclusion

In conclusion the objective of this Chapter was to clearly indicate how the use of qualitative methods would be effective for a study on community tourism, in particular a case study using a multimethod approach with rapid ethnographic appraisal, documental and netnographic research. This progresses onto a discussion on the validity and bias within data collection and interpretation. It also demonstrated how multimethods such as casual conversations, semi-structured interviews and participant observation can be part of a rapid ethnographic appraisal within a short time frame. However, it can provide a rich account of community tourism in a Creole village and how tourism has developed.

It is important to consider that one method is not more important than the others. All methods contribute to our knowledge of understanding community tourism, Chamarel and Mauritian society. In the case of Chamarel, it was important to ensure the methods chosen fit the distinctiveness of the area and the context of the subject matter. Qualitative methods were vital within Chamarel due to its unique demographic characteristics and the sensitivity of the community issues. This Chapter has explored the use of qualitative methods and how rapid ethnographic appraisal was appropriate for a study on community tourism in Chamarel village. A netnographic approach extended the research process from the fieldwork in 2004 into recent findings in 2014 and the study was continually updated as the project progressed.

The data collection was extensive, however, each source was useful for background and context to the themes drawn out in the data. There was a large collection of primary findings from ten years of newspapers, company and Government reports, notes from casual conversations and interviews. Each data type is catalogued in the appendices and gives an insight into how the data was collected and recorded.

This Chapter has discussed the practical implications of research in a village which can present obstacles to the fieldwork. It concluded that a qualitative approach using a rapid ethnographic appraisal would fit the purpose of the study. This was combined with the data from desk research, Government and company reports and media material to provide a rich account of community tourism development in Chamarel.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: TOURISM PLANNING IN MAURITIUS

5.1. Introduction

This Chapter analyses the findings from Government documents and development plans in Mauritius. It offers a detailed and comprehensive report that fills the gap in knowledge on Mauritian policy and planning, in particular community perspectives in Mauritian tourism development. It presents the chronological time frame 1970-2013 established in Chapter Three to position Chamarel's tourism development over this period of time.

There is a gap in existing literature on specific policies and plans for Chamarel. Therefore, it has been a challenge to piece together the early stages of development in Chamarel on an equally linear timeline to national tourism trends. Early information of Chamarel in terms of development reports was not available. It was not an area that was recorded with readily available public information on statistics, figures, and development changes. Therefore, there was a vital need for the research method to be extended using in-depth netnographic investigation. This expanded the data outwards in order to discover and explore new facets of information.

The fieldwork included the collection of Government sources that were not available or inaccessible to the general public in the United Kingdom such as National Development Plans and the First Tourism Development Plan. However, beyond time 1 (2004) newspapers and netnographic media have provided valuable insights on the development of tourism and policies up to time 2 (2014).

This Chapter presents a framework using National Development Plans to analyse if there were changes in Chamarel towards new trends for tourism as discussed in the literature review in Chapter Three. It is after the millennium that we can see significant changes in Chamarel tourism development. As there are clearly pull factors that are encouraging tourism demand to Chamarel, this Chapter will analyse how the tourism picture has changed considerably in Chamarel looking at time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014).

In particular, the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) published its First Tourism Policy in 2002 where it recommended the use of qualitative methods to examine tourism in Creole communities. Therefore, the findings in this Chapter from community tourism in Chamarel are relevant to the Ministry of Tourism during a time when qualitative research could be used to create development plans.

5.2. 1970-1980s: Tourism industry as a response to crisis

Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam published the First Plan for Social and Economic Development (1971-1975). It gave significant importance to the tourism industry as a means of diversifying from over-reliance on sugar exports. It was the first report to acknowledge the fragility of the economy based on monoculture crop production. A series of crop failures and cyclones during the previous years had resulted in an unemployment crisis. Sir Ramgoolam focused on tourism revenue as one of the ‘pillars’ of the economy to resolve national deficit and high unemployment (Government of Mauritius 1970).

Therefore, there was a dramatic change for the first time in Mauritian history following hundreds of years of colonisation and plantation economy (detailed in Chapter One and Two). This had an impact on the landscapes of Chamarel and Creole settlements as their daily lives changed and their need to travel for employment was vital. For example, the sugar factories were at the epicentre of Creole culture and livelihoods. The Belle Ombre sugar factory was the nearest to Chamarel and renowned through the botanist Charles Telfair and in the famous novel ‘Paul et Virginie’ (Heritage Resorts 2015). The sugar estate was closed in 1998 and the area rejuvenated by an Integrated Resort Scheme (IRS) for tourism development. Within the findings from confidential company reports Chamarel was an area expecting two major IRS developments during 2004-2005. The impact of such IRS development is discussed in the next Chapter.

Findings from the National Development Plans up till the 1980s shared the hope that tourism development would still create employment during the oil crisis (Plan for Social and Economic Development 1971-1975; White Paper on Tourism 1988). Indeed, this was the main theme

throughout the 1990s where National Development Plans recommended tourism development as a solution for unemployment (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1998).

However, the findings generated from development reports, plans, tourism policy and newspapers spanning 1970s-2000 discovered that the employment crisis was not completely resolved via tourism development due to other factors. Findings from the Development Plans revealed that despite efforts made to diversify the economy with tourism, the unemployment crisis had worsened. Unskilled labourers could not find work in tourism which resulted in large-scale emigration during 1983-1990 and caused the Government to recruit workers from abroad (The National Development Plan NLTPS 1992-1994).

The Mauritius Vision 2020 (NLTPS) provided evidence of a national demographic change where an ageing population had not worked in industry (EPZ) for over 30 years. They also did not have the training and skills to work in the tourism sector (Ministry of Economic Development and Regional Cooperation 1997, p.151). It was difficult to locate specific plans as to how the population would be trained and acquire the necessary skills to find a job in the tourism industries. This also does not take into account the lower literacy rates in poorer areas like Chamarel where fieldwork data located only one local primary school and villagers were unable to gain local access to secondary education (A19).

It was proposed that local enterprises for communities would economically benefit by using handicraft training as sustainable businesses. The National Handicraft Centre was set-up to coordinate handicraft activities and train local people to become craftsmen (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1985, p.120). However, fieldwork informants complained that lack of reliable local bus transport and accessibility were major deterring factors in securing hotel employment on the south coast (A1; A17; A18).

A confidential report revealed that these smaller enterprises became obsolete as shops and National Handicraft Centres were privatised (see Appendix). Any training programme had to be enlisted with the private sector. There were only two training institutions - the Government

Hotel and Catering School at Curepipe and the IVTB Hotel and Catering School in Ebene. However, it was unclear if villagers like those in Chamarel with only primary school education could gain access to training. This presented unrealistic targets and oversubscribed waiting lists. It was assumed that every citizen could afford a place on such courses without Government assistance.

5.3. 1980-1990s: The need for a human dimension in tourism planning

5.3.1. Recognising the social function of tourism

The findings from Development Plans during the 1980s showed that the Government wanted a human dimension towards tourism planning but was not specific as to how this would be implemented. For example, both the National Development Plan (1984-1986) and the White Paper on Tourism (1988) discussed the importance of equity in development which would elevate the standard of living for vulnerable groups in Mauritius such as in Chamarel.

The White paper on Tourism (1988) was the first publication to state the importance of a 'social function of tourism' in the development process highlighting social preservation next to ecological and cultural preservation (Ministry for Employment and Tourism 1998). Interestingly, the Plan claims that tourism would be seen as the common factor in peaceful relations between social classes and ethnicity alike; 'Tourism policy should guarantee in the future a reduction of social disparities and broaden social advantages for the benefit of all social strata' (Ministry for Employment and Tourism 1988, p.6). It also indicates an approach where all sections of communities would participate in the planning process and be able to 'share fully in the benefits of development' (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1985, p.4). This will be considered in further detail in the following Chapter.

The findings from the National Development Plan (1988-1990) offers an insight into how Mauritian tourism will change in the future. It advocates a 'human dimension' to tourism planning that would place the individual at the centre of the development process. (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1998). However, this was not a focus on participation

but on employable skills training and vocational courses. The Development Plan (1988-1990) received press attention because it criticised the ideology of previous Plans as being frozen in time with a lack of understanding that development was an ongoing process. It stressed the need to consider the social dimensions of planning. The Plan advocated the need for a more comprehensive approach which included 'all aspects of society' and encouraged social awareness within development (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1998).

The Development Plan (1988-1990) acknowledged that the ownership of tourism enterprises and conflicts of interest contributed to social conflict and deterioration. Due to the multiplicity of interested parties there were conflicting responsibilities for different aspects of development (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1998, p.18). For example, conflicts from affidavits and inheritance of land in Chamarel caused implications on the notions of citizenship, ownership and rights to make decisions on historical and public-owned land versus legally state-owned land. This prevented the local villagers from building businesses to profit from tourism development.

Six years later, a Social Study (1995) was the first to discuss the impact of development within poorer Creole communities, particularly in the South such as Le Morne and Chamarel. The socio-economic impacts of tourism in the South were discussed in an article on the South-East Coastal Tourist Zone Planning Study in 1995, where local residents protested against the IRS in Le Morne (Le Weekend 2006). Development was against the wishes of local residents who were determined to protect the environment and historical value of Au Morne Mountain and the surrounding areas. Construction of hotels such as Beachcomber were used to exploit sand extraction without authorisation to the detriment of local fishermen in Le Morne (Le Weekend 2006). According to the article 72% of local residents did not wish hotels to be constructed directly on the beach (Le weekend 2003, p.16). Locals were able to prevent the development of the resort due to their protests and this emphasised how it was vitally important for the Government to consider the social aspects in tourism development in Le Morne and Chamarel.

5.3.2. One dimensional sustainability

The National Plans throughout the 1980s and 1990s stressed that sustainable tourism would be achieved as long as the country was marketed exclusively to Western European markets as a luxury tourism destination. This approach would prevent mass tourism arrivals (National Development Plan 1971-1975). The use of the term 'sustainable tourism' was seen as achievable purely through the promotion of a luxury image. It was not specified how targets would be met to achieve conservation and protection of the physical environment in areas of ecological sensitivity like Chamarel.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s Development Plans failed to examine the social impacts of tourism. The White Paper on Tourism (1988) did not include a social assessment. Findings from the Cleverdon Steer Report (1992) illustrated how the Government believed that a 'tourism ceiling' was sufficient means of environmental sustainability but this did not include a 'social ceiling' (Cleverdon Steer 1992).

A tourism 'ceiling' on tourist arrivals was approved in the White Paper on Tourism (1988) but this had escalated from 325,000 in 1992 to 400,000 by the year 2000 (Cleverdon Steer 1992, p.29, 32). There was a pattern of increasing tourism arrivals by modifying the 'tourist ceiling' number.

The Cleverdon Steer Report (1992) went into greater detail than the National Development Plan (1984-1990) by stating that the visitor carrying capacity would be established through management plans, zoning plans and monitoring procedures of the ecological environment; namely coral reefs, lagoons, national parks and biosphere reserves (Cleverdon Steer 1992, p.58). There was not a specific tourism policy that identified objectives and measurements for tourism development. There was also no time frame on how the South or any other regions would be sustainably developed and protected.

Another method used towards sustainable tourism was limiting the impacts to enclaves and concentrating development in specific areas such as in Grand Baie. This area was already established as a tourist destination from the 19th century (Nujjoo 2007). As Grand Baie reached saturation point natural resources were unavailable and public beach spaces were privatised. The Government needed to find inland destinations like Chamarel that would provide larger spaces for IRS villa resorts and luxurious hotel complexes.

The Government's focus on inland areas did not necessarily reflect a high standard of beaches for exploitation but it provided unspoilt and untouched forest scenery in Chamarel for large-scale constructions. For the first time the Government turned its attention towards the South for tourism development in Wolmar, Balaclava, Le Morne and Belle Mare. Chamarel came within Le Morne's surrounding District of Rivière Noire. However, despite the ecological sensitivity of Chamarel sustainable tourism was not planned to protect the area. The Plans only ensured natural resources were preserved by relying on a national tourism ceiling and this was not tailored to Chamarel's ecological uniqueness.

During the time of the fieldwork the serving Prime Minister, Mr Paul Berenger, was succeeded by Dr Navin Ramgoolam (son of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam) after the national election of 2005. Dr Ramgoolam's speech entitled 'Shaping the Future' focused on combining the tourism industry with other leisure products. The goal was to receive two million tourists by the year 2015 (Veillien 2011). This was also predicted to be accomplished by the year 2020 in the Mauritius 2020 Vision Paper. The new Prime Minister also stressed the need to increase carrying capacity, diversifying the sources of visitors and bringing down the costs of travel to Mauritius through greater competition. However, it was not discussed how this will inevitably decrease the value of the luxury tourism image.

The findings reported increased tourist arrivals which reflected an unwanted mass-tourism image based on lower quality. It was acknowledged that there was a lack of legal framework to regulate the 'third' or informal accommodation sector (A15; A20). As a result, there was an unregulated amount of unlicensed private accommodation which did not ensure a safe environment for the consumer in the South. The need for diversifying the economy from the three pillars becomes greater as ecotourism (nature or green tourism), spa and well-being

tourism caused further downgrading of quality (Ministry of Economic Development and Regional Co-operation 1997). The National Development Plans do not discuss how the rapid expansion of the accommodation sector would affect environmental capacity. There has been an over reliance on a 'tourism ceiling' to ensure environmental conservation (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1993, p.154).

This can be identified in future plans where tourism ceilings were merely focused on the numbers of luxury tourists as suitable means of ensuring high quality, environmentally-friendly tourism regardless of social capacity (Deloitte and Touche 2002). It was vaguely stated within the MOT First Tourism Development Plan (2002) that an 'acceptable limit' would not pressure the environment while maximising tourist earnings. A question that was not raised; 'What is an acceptable limit to maximisation of tourism and by whom?' Despite the awareness of social impacts in the previous White Paper on Tourism (1988), the First Tourism Development Plan (2002) did not discuss to what extent local communities would be involved, the ownership of development and the interests of the stakeholders.

It was reported that the Government aims to attract more than 1,200,000 tourist arrivals by the year 2020 (News on Sunday 2005, p.3). Social capacity had not yet been discussed and accepted as a crucial part of the conservation process within tourism development. At the turn of the millennium, a significant target of 'one tourist to every resident' was published in newspaper articles by the MTPA (News on Sunday 2005, p.3). The population is currently 1,339,827 (CIA 2015) so this is a serious concern for sustainable tourism in the country without a social capacity assessment. Tourist arrivals would soon match its current figure of 1.2 million citizens (News on Sunday 2005, p.3). It was also predicted a further increase to 1,800,000 tourist arrivals would be possible. Caution is needed in terms of demand and limits of 'feasible capacity' to avoid a 'mass destination image' (News on Sunday 2005, p.3).

The findings from Development Plans in the 1990s-2005 revealed how the development of the Mauritian tourism industry had not progressed from the Cleverdon Steer (1992) report recommendation that development policy and strategy should assess sociocultural impacts.

Future tourism plans should be ‘socially acceptable’ as well as being environmentally sound (Cleverdon Steer 1992).

Cleverdon Steer (1992) criticised previous National Plans as obtaining ‘very little hard evidence on the sociocultural consequences of tourism... most studies have focused on the economic aspects’ (Cleverdon Steer 1992, p.1-11). There was a vital need for social research on tourism in Mauritius so that tourism policies and strategies could be ‘multifaceted’ impact assessments. Hence, this study on Chamarel uses qualitative methods and offers a multifaceted exploration to fill the gaps in our existing knowledge on this area. Cleverdon Steer (1992) recommends qualitative methods in Mauritius to understand perceptions and responses to tourism which requires a range of in-depth analysis. Reviews of social history, policy, programmes, media and resident surveys provide context for this type of study (Cleverdon Steer 1992).

The Cleverdon Steer (1992) report recommended tourism development that involves ‘community aspirations’ and ‘community input into tourism planning.’ It refers to Murphy (1985) view that there is a need for community input as it is used as a resource and sold as tourism product. Direct planning is recommended ‘at each level – national, district, village’ with the objective of ‘improving resident’s participation in tourism planning and the outcomes of its development’ (Cleverdon Steer 1992). The representative channels to achieve community input in tourism plans would be National Development Units, youth officers and village councillors. However, the findings generated the question; ‘Can tourism development successfully promote inclusion of a community especially a plural one such as Mauritius?’ This will be discussed in the next section.

5.4. 1990s-2004: Community perspectives in national plans

5.4.1. Mauritius – a harmonious plural society for tourism

In the literature review it was discussed that Mauritius is a plural society and the findings from tourism promotions reflected this through the advertising of ‘plural’ and ‘multicultural’ society and ‘unity in diversity.’ Mauritius was described as ‘...a model of racial harmony and social cohesion is presented to the outside world’ (A22; A20; Brown 1997). The Mauritius Research Council called this a ‘postcard view of our multiculturalism’ presented to tourists that was unrealistic and covered the ethnic tensions beneath the surface (Mauritius Research Council 1998a, p.204). Multiculturalism has been used by the MTPA to promote ‘unity in diversity’ where diverse ethnic groups could form part of a homogenous identity or ‘Mauritianess’ (Jagatsingh 1981).

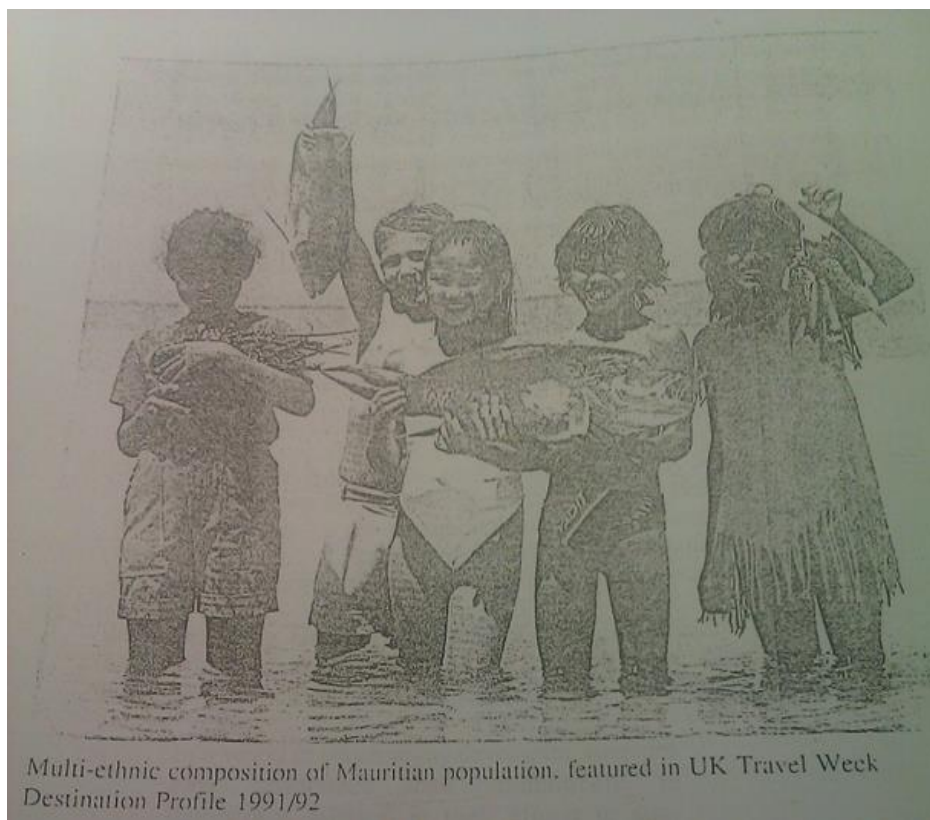


Fig.5.1. Multi-ethnic composition of Mauritian population in tourism promotion. Source: Deloitte and Touche (2002) *Tourism Development Plan for Mauritius, Main Report*, Mauritius: Ministry of Tourism and Leisure.

The data gathered on the views of Mauritius in marketing illustrations during the 1990s such as the example above represented each ethnic group as a postcard view of a tolerant multicultural country which provided the stability for growth in the tourism industry.

This was found to be a long standing image used by the MTPA as the ‘multi-ethnic composition of Mauritian population’ (Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority 2002). The hospitable and welcoming nature of the Mauritian people portrays a safe destination on the international market that would welcome all nationalities. Plural society in Mauritius has been defined as a melting pot of different ethnic groups living together harmoniously (Addison and Hazareesingh 1993, p.78). The reputation of Mauritius as politically stable and peaceful attracted foreign investment in tourism (Board of Investment 2003, p.16).

The emergence of ‘Mauritianess’ through such tourism promotion was later found to be questioned as either a unifying bond or an exacerbation of ongoing ethnic problems in Mauritian society (Mauritius Vision 2020). Therefore, this poses questions on the notion of community as a united whole and promotion of ‘unity in diversity,’ cultural and ethnic tolerance. The Plan defines ‘Mauritianess’ as a national identity encompassing the notion that all cultural groups share the same views of commonality in development. ‘Mauritianess’ is seen as a ‘polycultural identity, drawing on the strengths of all the different cultures, a single nation in which each individual identifies with and is enriched by the different elements in the common heritage’ (Mauritius Vision 2020, p.180).

The MTPA defined diversity and unity as a peaceful coexistence within the plural society which characterised Mauritius post-independence (A22). Mauritian citizenship is defined as an ‘individual enjoying equal rights as a citizen living in a free, democratic and secular state’, and that despite cultural differences there were not any ‘conflicting interactions’ (Mauritius Vision 2020).

However, the data gathered from MRC reports (1998) found that following post-independence celebrations ‘no-one viewed themselves as ‘Mauritians.’ Ethnic groups were distinct but not isolated. The workplaces were integrated but few members chose to leave their identity group e.g. through intermarriage (MRC 1998, p.22). This confirms Furnivall (1948) and Smith (1965)

concepts of a plural society where despite progress in industrialisation ethnic groups perceived each other as segregated and separate from each other.

Sociopolitical tensions hidden beneath the surface were visible at key social or political events such as in the riots during the 1990s recorded by Carroll and Carroll (2000a; 200b). In the fieldwork, the feelings of resentment towards outsiders and external decision-makers were voiced via ethnic and derogatory terms between community members of the same ethnic background who viewed their historical roots and self-identity differently. This will be discussed in the following Chapter.

Data gathered from archival reports such as the Meade (1960) and Titmuss and Abel-Smith (1960) 'Social Policies and population growth in Mauritius' describe the first studies of community where Mauritians accepted various conflicts between ethnic groups particularly relating to their division of labour and perceptions of each other.

An important finding from the use of qualitative methods in Creole communities was that residents argued that Creoles were seen as responsible for their plight, they did not want to save money and that they were responsible for their culture of dependency (A1; A11; A16; B1; B10; MRC Social Fabric Study phase I, p.21). Exclusion of Creoles as generally 'lazy' workers were revealed in daily language during the fieldwork to identify the black 'other' and African culture. It also revealed the lack of Creole participation in tourism businesses (B10). Cultural stereotyping of Creoles reinforced the historical context of the Creole identity which is still present in local derogatory views as discussed in the literature review.

The *Le Mauricien* newspaper article (2011) celebrating Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam as 'Father of the Nation' and Indo-Mauritians as builders of modern-day Mauritius triggered a response from Afro-Mauritians and Franco-Mauritians who criticised the article and the Mauritian education system as being 'Indo-centric' (*LeMauricien* 2011). The ethnic divisions and perceptions of progress and development (discussed in Chapter One) had remained unchanged. Creole fisherman complained of discriminatory practices when it came to support

for development where they are seen as inferior to Hindus – ‘Creoles don’t get the same treatment’ (MRC 1998, p.60).

Government reports highlighted the segregation and exclusion felt by the Creole population when it came to the equal distribution of benefits. In particular, the use of heritage and cultural tourism would build on its cultural diversity and integration. The Mauritius Vision 2020 Plan admitted that ‘Mauritius does not have a well-defined and planned cultural policy’ and just used the slogan ‘unity in diversity’ to define a plural-ethnic and polylingual society (Mauritius Vision 2020, sec 1.17).

Ethnicity as a factor within tourism development in the South had yet to be discussed in tourism policy and planning. A key finding from Social Fabric Study Phases I and II (MRC 1998) was with respects to writings on prosperity and relative poverty – emerging inequalities and competition within development tends to revive ethnic divisiveness (MRC 1998, p.16). ‘Prejudice, discrimination and ethnic conflict, mostly of a latent nature are present in Mauritian society’ (Mauritius 2020, p.17). Therefore, this study on Creole experiences of community tourism development fills a vital gap in knowledge in this area. This Chapter has analysed national level findings and this will later be discussed at a local level in Chapter Six.

5.4.2. Perceptions of tourism in Creole communities

The Social Fabric Study Phase I (MRC 1998) was an important turning point in Government social studies as prior to the 1990s they were occupied with demographic statistics. It was the first to implement qualitative methods to understand Creole communities. It is unique in the sense that it used focus groups and qualitative interviews to express the opinions of several poor black communities in the south of Mauritius such as Au Morne Village.

Findings from qualitative research in Creole fishing communities discovered negative views of tourism due to waste from hotels and factories poured into the sea, hotels blocking the coast and detours to reach their boats to sustain their livelihoods. Conflicts formed between fishermen and hotel sand miners for coast space. The authorities favoured the Indian sand

miners which produced hostile attitudes between Creoles and Indo-Mauritians and disrupted social relationships in village life (MRC 1998, p.63).

Study phase II (MRC 1998) related similar findings at Le Morne where there was a lack of infrastructure to benefit from tourism development. A villager quotes; 'The young people where I live cannot afford to come to this community development centre, it is too far, we need transport – there is a lack of it even to get to hospitals!' There were a few taxis but to travel to work for hotels is too expensive on a low disposable income to survive (MRC 1998 Study Phase II, p.96). Another villager adds; 'The big bosses only recognise us in times of election, then they quickly forget about us. One of them promised me a job. Now when I go to see him, he is never there...' (MRC 1998, p.96).

A young girl from one of the poorest Creole neighbourhoods (Bambous Virieux) raised the subject on the lack of facilities in the South; 'It is not really fair, in fact it is disgusting that we are living as if we are in the 1960s where we have to use petrol stoves and candles! The government doesn't care. We are left to our own means. Because we are poor, we have to live in these conditions. During elections, the politicians visit us and promises are made, then they forget us' (Study Phase II, p.92).

The MRC (1998) stated that there are new socio-economic problems emerging in tourism due to poverty and social exclusion. In the Paper it was found that tourism was the cause of 'undesirable effects' where the growth of the tourism industry was linked to an increase in gambling, prostitution, drugs and soft crimes in Creole neighbourhoods such as Chamarel (MRC 1998, p.17). It also highlighted that this was partly caused by the lack of investment in youth and children facilities, basic infrastructure to provide electricity for leisure items (e.g. TV and playground facilities) which in turn increases the crimes which feed off tourism in deprived areas. 'With no access to TV, boys roam the streets with drug dealing and alcoholism' (MRC 1998, p.75). In the fieldwork, Hindu informants held derogatory perceptions of Creole women – a reoccurring opinion was that Creoles were responsible for their problems as they were not respectable. This reinforced the perceptions of Creoles (discussed in the literature review) which originated during the colonial period as lazy and unentitled to development (B1; MRC 1998, p.87).

It is therefore appropriate to ask; ‘Can tourism represent a common interest as community membership changes with tourism development policies?’ Chamarel was primed as part of an IRS scheme to create large-scale resort villas and complexes. The Board of Investment promoted an Integrated Resort Scheme (IRS) enabling ‘high net-worth foreigners’ – namely, those who constructed or purchased luxury villas and amenities to be automatically granted ‘resident status’ along with their spouse and dependents (Board of Investment 2003, p.29-31). Foreigners were legally able to apply for Mauritian citizenship, including expatriate workers who intermarried. More importantly, all external investors gain resident status. ‘It has been possible for foreign investors to buy their way into Mauritius since Independence. What is new is this is now no longer a covert practice, the Government is aiming at wealthy individuals...’ (Lee 2000, p.7).

The ‘Invest in Mauritius’ Schemes which include hospitality and property development can start-up companies in rented premises within three days, including a permit to work and live in Mauritius for investors and professionals. An authorisation is given to acquire property for business purposes and permits foreign retirees to claim citizenship (Air Mauritius 2007, p.66). The findings discovered that these ‘citizens’ were perceived as outsiders to the community and participated in the decision-making process (A1; A15: A22).

The Mauritius Citizenship Act and the Immigration Act have been amended to allow any one investing a minimum of US \$500,000 to buy permanent residential status (Lee 2000, p.7). Fieldwork informants expressed that this was provoking sensitive social issues on citizenship and entitlement to participate and take decisions on tourism development. Further discussion on perceptions as a community member and community participation have been analysed in the next Chapter.

5.5. The first dedicated tourism development plan for Mauritius

The First Plan dedicated towards Mauritian tourism development in 2002 was to ensure that the tourism industry would create socio-economic benefits for Mauritian citizens and use inland areas such as Chamarel. This was the First National Tourism Plan in Mauritius that recognised the social dimensions in tourism. It advocated local participation and proposed that the ‘entire island’ should be ‘informed and participating in tourism planning’ (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.16, 20).

A ‘tourism social conscience’ has been defined as local access to beaches, career paths, ownership, sustained livelihoods, and interestingly, the ‘differential treatment’ of ‘second class citizens’ (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.29). At this time, six ‘tourism zones’ were identified, including three identified in the south of Mauritius giving the geographic area more prominence in future projects (Chamarel is geographically located in the first two zones listed). These were the ‘South-West Tourism Zone’, ‘South-West Natural Zone’ and ‘South Coast Heritage Zone’ (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.23). The focus of these zones would be on heritage and community tourism such as ‘discovery routes’, ‘speciality tours’, heritage trails, national parks and the Chamarel UNDP Project in 2004. (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.29).

Cascade Chamarel {*waterfall*} and The Seven Coloured Earth were listed as ‘key tourist locations’ in the south tourist zone (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.80 fig.8.1). Unfortunately, under the seven areas listed in this zone Chamarel village itself was not recognised and had no area action plan in this document despite being seen as one of Mauritius’ wonders and a main tourism attraction (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.87, fig. 8.4-8.5; Zarzycki 2013).

There was a focus was on ‘village tourism’ as a cultural concept that would ‘specialise in providing traditional Mauritian hospitality, preferably in the ownership of village or local residents providing local transportation, hiking, guide services, handicraft production, fishing and boating’ (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.94). ‘Involving the community’ would be through the creation of community-based products, nature sites, joint ventures between community and

heritage sites handicraft businesses and the participation of locals in ‘discovery-route planning’ (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.100).

The report stated that the promotion of ‘real events’ such as festivals and attractions should include the Creole-style ‘mansions’, military fortifications and temples in future plans for cultural tourism in Creole villages like Chamarel (Deloitte and Touche 2002, p.128). This matches the tourism trends for cultural and festival tourism in National Development Plans discussed in the literature review in Chapter Three.

5.6. 2004-2014: Findings on Chamarel’s tourism development

In the literature review it was discussed how the tourism industry evolved and diversified. In this Chapter the findings from the data gathered in Tourism Plans from 1970-2014 display this diversification. The methods used to locate this information included qualitative observations, focus groups and interviews. This was particularly relevant to Chamarel as the use of qualitative methods was seen as vital to understanding the complex nature of Creole communities. The data in this Chapter can be used to inform future National Plans to include the development of these communities.

It was noticed that there has been significant change in Chamarel and that its development is a reflection of national changes in tourism trends in Mauritius. The years 2002-2014 showed significant change as previously there was stagnated development in tourist attractions and facilities. The multimedia and netnographic methods used in this study have expanded the data set to include from 2005-2014 to capture its change. An initial one or two year data set in 2004 would have missed this valuable opportunity to gain knowledge on Chamarel’s change over a period of ten years.

The findings from company reports and Government plans in 2004 recorded that new strategies were emerging to incorporate Chamarel. The area was still not included for major development and the focus remained on the tourism hub of Grand Baie despite the area gaining international awareness from Royal visits in the 1970s (Mauritage 2014a; 2014b).

The findings from data gathered in published material and media show this change in tourism strategy where the South became a spotlight for ecotourism and community-friendly development. The Government of Mauritius started to use Chamarel on its main promotional page and for the first time Chamarel was being given national importance on marketing campaigns on an international scale (Government of Mauritius 2015).

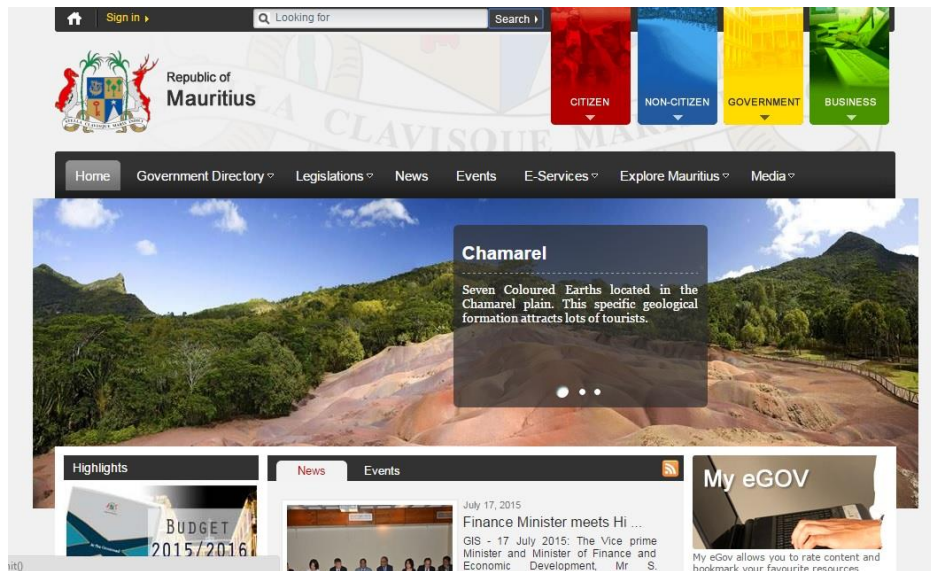


Fig 5.2. Chamarel promotion on Government website. Source: Government of Mauritius 2015

In particular, the Black River District and Chamarel were added to marketing campaigns for this type of environmentally-friendly tourism. This has been reflected in mainstream tourism guides to Mauritius connecting Black River with Chamarel. For example, The Lonely Planet (2013) features Chamarel with its recommendation to visit the Black River Gorges for its dramatic scenery, endangered birdlife, exceptional views and hiking trails. It also mentions the gastronomy and Rum Distillery in Chamarel as tourist attractions (Mega, 2013d).

It was a challenge to pinpoint the relative position of Chamarel's tourism development due to the rarity of published material on the area. Therefore, multimethod and media coverage became important as the data set was expanded to glean as much information relevant to its development. In particular, this data could be gathered than the initial fieldwork visit where local knowledge was lacking on certain topics. The Government does not conduct separate surveys or reports on tourism by geographic location or separate tourism attractions so that we can assess specific statistics on Chamarel tourism. Therefore, this Chapter fills this gap in

knowledge. It takes the concepts and literature on Mauritian tourism and society and uses these contexts to evaluate Chamarel's development through its recent diversification in tourism.

Applying the findings from the data in National Development Plans (in the earlier sections) we can obtain a greater understanding of how these had an impact on Chamarel between the two time frames in 2004 and 2014. The diagram below is the view of Chamarel in 2004 which had experienced limited change from previous years. It focuses mainly on its natural tourism attractions with a lack of public and local infrastructure facilities.

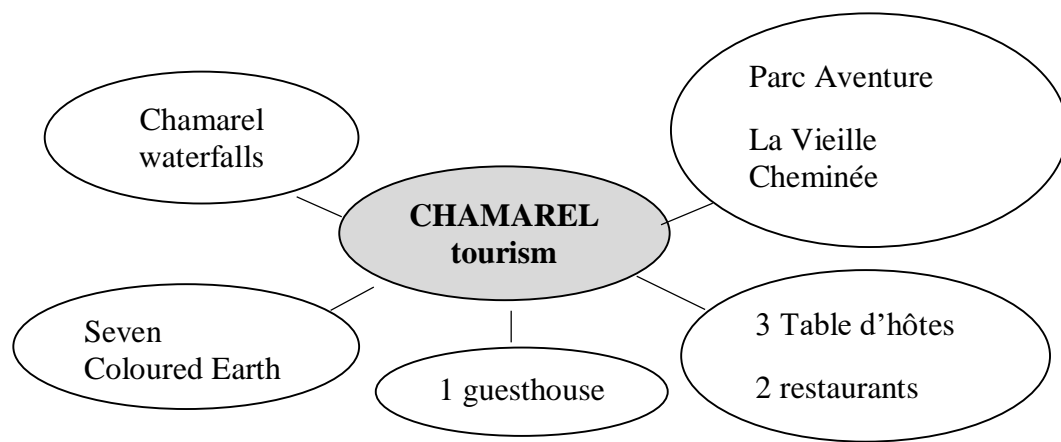


Fig. 5.3. Overall picture of Chamarel tourism in time 1 (2004)

The next diagram shows the diversification of Chamarel tourism in 2014. It displays how the diversification of the tourism product in National Plans have influenced Chamarel. In other words, the national changes in tourism trends and Tourism Plans have been reflected in Chamarel's tourism development and diversification. Analysis of this diagram will be discussed in the following sections.

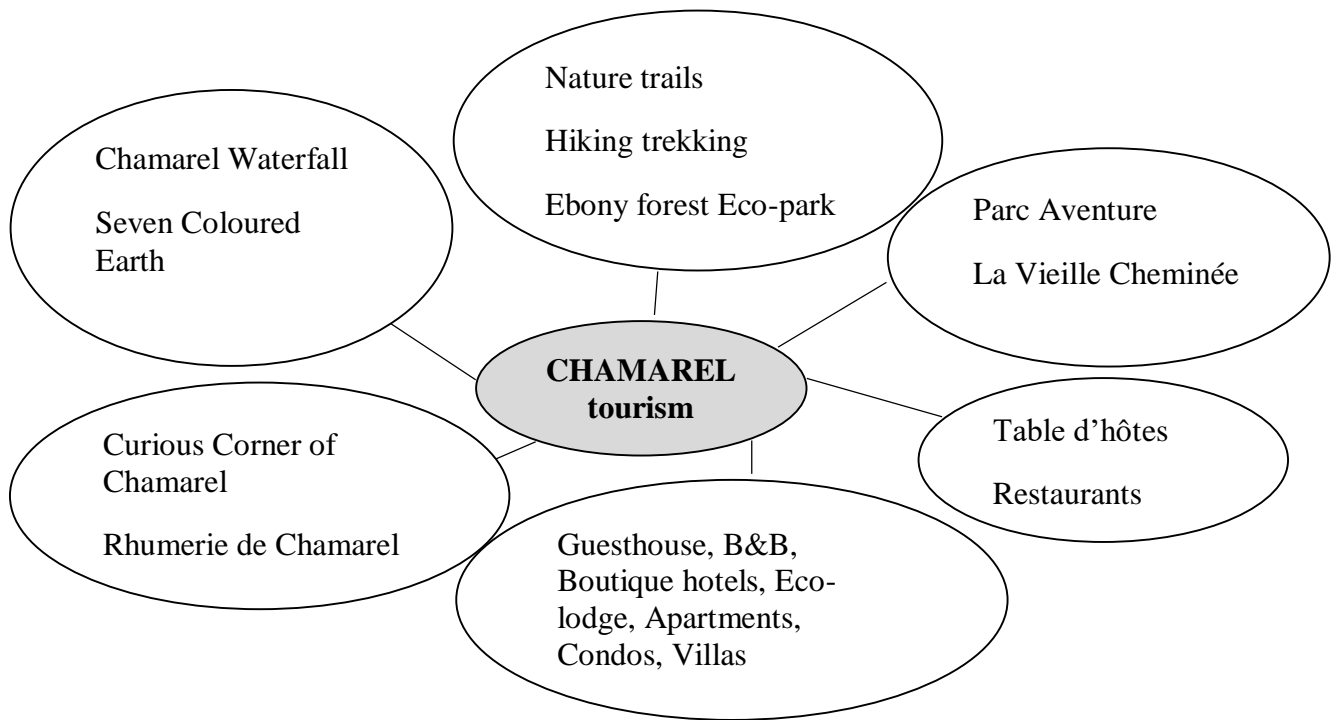


Fig. 5.4. Overall picture of Chamarel tourism in time 2 (2014)

In the literature review it was discussed how Butler's TALC theory (1980) recognised that Mauritius had stagnated in its traditional markets (honeymoons, weddings and luxury) and its market share (France and Europe). However, the BRIC market shows potential of rejuvenating the tourism industry particularly from Asian and Russian tourist arrivals. The findings from the data gathered in newspaper articles, forums, blogs, interviews and National Plans between 2004 and 2014 present a significant change in the Mauritian tourism product. The Plans advocated alternative tourism as 'green' or 'ecotourism' focusing on inland and ecologically sensitive areas like Chamarel. There needs to be further specification as to how the Government intends to protect and conserve ecologically sensitive areas with regards to the sustainable tourism concept where the industry would not alter the physical environment for future generations (Butler 1996).

Analysis of the approach taken so far throughout National Tourism Plans shows that sustainable tourism development in Mauritius has lacked specific guidelines apart from carrying capacity. Since the amount of tourists would equal the population it presents concerns for small villages like Chamarel which depend on tourism but whose ecological environment

is vulnerable to negative impacts such as erosion, overcrowding, mass construction and commercialised Integrated Resort schemes.

The tourism trends reported in Chapter Three have been reinforced by the findings from Development Plans discussed in this Chapter. Alternative tourism has started to emerge nationally and tourism development focused on inland areas like Chamarel. Therefore, the findings from netnographic data such as company websites, travel forums and blogs up till 2014 have shown that the change in approach towards tourism development caused diversification of the tourism attractions and accommodation services in Chamarel as the village transformed to cater for ecotourism and community tourism.

5.6.1. Diversification of tourism attractions in Chamarel

The south-west regions of Mauritius such as Black River, Le Morne and Chamarel were undeveloped despite four decades of National Development Plans. Tourism in Chamarel relied on the exploitation of natural resources. In time 1 (2004) there was a limited number of pull attractions in Chamarel. Findings from the fieldwork discovered that the area was relying heavily on passing trade from tourists who visited the two natural attractions; La Terre Sept Couleurs (Seven Coloured Earth – appendix photo C19) a natural phenomenon where a dune of volcanic earth was weathered and transformed into seven colours and La Cascade (Chamarel Waterfall) a cascading waterfall found upon entry to the Chamarel region (appendix photo C17).

Photos from the early 1950s-1970s exhibited how this natural resource was not protected in and was exposed to erosion and litter (Mauritage 2014a; 2014b). A travel media website states that Chamarel was known as a tourist area circa 1960 (AFAR 2015). Cars could be parked onto the natural phenomenon and domestic tourists walked on it without restrictions (Mauritage 2014a; 2014b).

As time progressed from 2004 there have been attempts to diversify and capture increased tourist arrivals. For example, an analysis of photos acquired at time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) discovered that Chamarel had developed more tourist facilities (Zoover 2015).

Data gathered from traveller photos showed how barriers were erected around the phenomenon itself and a viewing platform was built on one side. Tripadvisor (2013) and online travel blogs such as AFAR (2015) displayed these changes during 2013-2015 where multiple viewing areas and a café were built. A forum photo by a member on the travel site Tripadvisor shows such viewing platforms (ClammyShell 2013). Alana (2015) blog on Chamarel for the AFAR Travel Magazine reports fencing and platforms (Alana 2015). Travel blog photographs (2014) of Chamarel and Black River (2014) illustrate viewing platforms and a café area at the Seven Coloured Earth attraction (Mark 2014). However, data revealed from travel forum comments expressed how the venue was overcrowded, overpriced and offered non-authentic food (Tripadvisor 2015a).

Chamarel has lost its appeal due to an over reliance on its two main tourism attractions (Seven Coloured Earth and Chamarel Waterfall). A journalist travellers 'tip' in a Telegraph article (2012) commented;

'Many people don't find the coloured earths of Chamarel that impressive, although the recently-opened Rhumerie de Chamarel (rhumeriedechamarel.com) and the new house of illusion, Curious Corner of Chamarel (curiouscornerofchamarel.com) gives more than one reason to visit the highlands (Grihault 2012).

A travel blog on the journey inland from Curepipe to Chamarel confirmed that the attraction can be 'underwhelming' compared to the Grand Canyon or other attractions in the country (Jo 2014). She also felt that the Rs 200 Mauritian Rupees entry was overpriced and overrated. Wagner's travel blog (2014b) expressed disappointment on the miniature landscape compared to those of Lanzarote Park 'Timanfaya.' The blogger claimed that the Seven Coloured Earth

had been altered from a flat, even space to create artificial wave-like patterns to appear more attractive (Wagner 2014a).

Therefore, these findings in time 2 (2014) revealed how Chamarel had diversified. The following map shows Chamarel in time 1 (2004) where passing trade was reliant on natural attractions. The village was segregated from the visitors who were travelling to and from Le Morne.

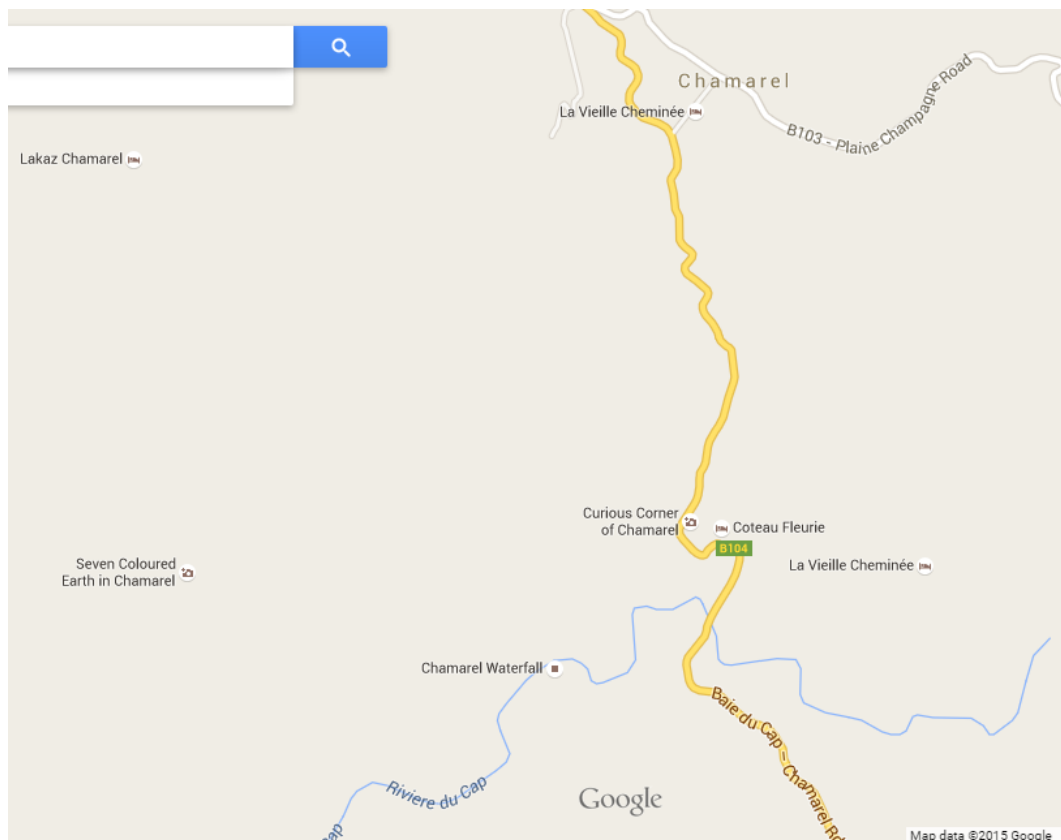


Fig 5.5. Map of Chamarel. Source: Google maps (2015)

The next map shows Chamarel in time 2 (2014) where new developments caused increased passing trade as they were located nearer to the main road. However, it was discovered that Google maps (2015) have not yet recorded the area in greater detail, such as the residential roads, the village and the main road with table d'hôtes. This map therefore presents new evidence of this area and affirms the vital need for investigation and updated maps of Chamarel so that we can position developments with greater accuracy.

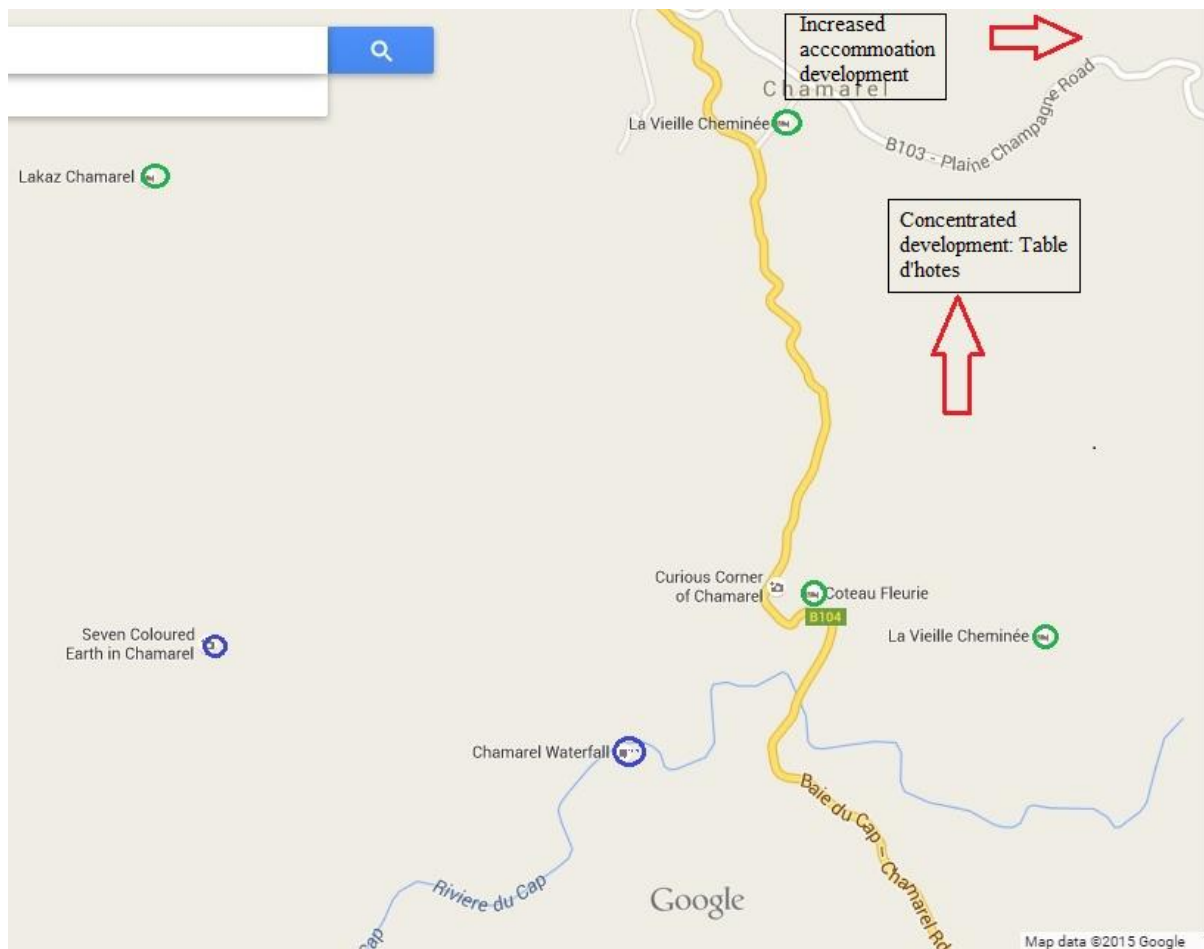


Fig 5.6. Map of Chamarel locating tourism development in 2014. Source: Adapted from Google maps (2015)

The adapted map above presents significant findings in understanding how the village of Chamarel and the rural landscape have changed from tourism development. The netnographic findings included multimedia ‘artefacts’, images, photos, travel blogs, forums and company webpages. These findings discovered a significant change towards the diversification of attractions in Chamarel. This allowed the data to be compared between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014). The following table compares the changes in local tourist attractions between the two time frames.

2004: Tourism attractions (natural and man-made)	2014: Tourism attractions (natural and man-made)
Chamarel Falls { <i>Cascade Chamarel</i> }	Chamarel Falls
Seven Coloured Earth { <i>La Terre Sept Couleurs</i> }	Seven Coloured Earth
Parc Aventure	Parc Aventure
Tables d'hôtes	Tables d'hôtes (increased)
<i>La Vieille Cheminée</i>	<i>La Vieille Cheminée</i>
	Rum Distillery { <i>La rhumerie de Chamarel</i> }
	Café Chamarel
	Chamarel Trail
	Curious Corner of Chamarel
	Ski-Nautique Nightclub

Table 5.1. Tourist attractions in Chamarel 2004-2014

There has been an increase in tourism attractions since 2004. The two most recent attractions are The Rum Distillery ‘La rhumerie de Chamarel’ set-up in 2008 and the ‘Curious Corner of Chamarel.’ The Rum Distillery is a popular feature on travel blogs (Tripadvisor 2015; Routard 2015) and sells its own tourist products, features a café and à la carte restaurant named ‘L’Achimiste.’

The restaurant promotion in L’Express newspaper (2013) via its Youtube channel claimed that it served home-made local produce and local food (L’Express 2013a; 2013b). However, it is à la carte where tablescapes and presentation are distinctively Continental (Rhumerie de chamarel 2015). New innovations in vanilla rum and liqueur cafés were not intrinsic to Chamarel identity or heritage and apart from the use of sugar cane not much more was used to connect it to the area as a tourist attraction (Le Mauricien 2011a; 2011b; 2011c).

An obstacle for the development of Chamarel tourism was that visitors to the Rum Distillery who chose to dine at the à la carte restaurant did not receive an authentic experience of Creole hospitality or cuisine. This will be discussed further in the following sections and in Chapter Six from local viewpoints.

Another tourist attraction is the ‘Curious Corner of Chamarel’ set-up in 2014 which features a gallery of curious illusions and activities for families and kids (Curious Corner of Chamarel 2015). It aims to be an educational amusement venue. It is located opposite Seven Coloured Earth with its own café which segregates its trade from the local village table d’hôtes (Tripadvisor 2015a). The attraction features ‘Romanesque,’ ‘Gregorian’ architecture which is disconnected from local heritage or culture. The attraction could be placed anywhere in the Island regardless of using Chamarel in its name (Le Mauricien 2014; Tripadvisor 2015a).

5.6.2. Changing accommodation trends

In 2004 there was limited tourism accommodation in Chamarel as the table shows below. The change in national development towards an ecotourism image is represented by an increase in private apartments, condos and informal accommodation.

2004: Tourism accommodation	2014: Tourism accommodation
1 Table d’hôte guesthouse – Les Palmiers	Several undefined table d’hôtes
Nearest chain hotel – Le Morne	Nearest chain hotel – Le Morne
<i>La Vieille Cheminée</i>	<i>La Vieille Cheminée</i>
	Condos
	Private apartments
	Eco-lodges
	Lakaz Chamarel exclusive lodge / boutique hotel
	Les chalets en champagne
	Chamarel vacation rentals
	Chamarel boutique lodge
	Coteau Fleuriac Creole villa / boutique bed and breakfast

Table 5.2. Tourism accommodation in Chamarel 2004-2014

The most significant trend in Chamarel was the change from luxury hotel resorts and IRS (pending approval in 2004 - 2005) to smaller informal accommodation such as guesthouses, self-catering, private apartments and independent residencies.

Data from Tripadvisor (2015) recommends the local accommodation as tailor-made, approachable and relaxed. It advertises holiday rental homes in Chamarel and surrounding areas instead of chain hotels and luxury brands (Tripadvisor 2015). The national trend for guesthouses and independent accommodation to inspire backpacker and adventure tourists has greatly impacted on Chamarel as the accommodation profile diversified to include mountain condos and private apartments (Mauritius Guesthouse 2015). The data gathered in time 1 (2004) where tourism planners estimated the growth of the informal sector was confirmed in time 2 (2014) from the netnographic findings (A22; A15).

Further new data gathered in 2014-2015 showed that Chamarel diversified into the spectrum of eco-lodges, mountain condos and estates which can be found online offering VIP villa service, 24-hour butlers and luxury facilities (Tripadvisor 2015d; 2015e; ElegantDestinations 2014).

‘Lakaz Chamarel’ *{house in Kreol}* is heavily featured as one of the main accommodation venues in Chamarel. The venue promotes itself as an ecotourism lodge which combines luxury with green tourism surrounded by 12 hectares of land in the Black River and surrounding Chamarel Mountains (Lakaz Chamarel 2015). A promotional film by Flyovergreen-Flyoverhotel (2013) on Youtube (2013) records how the villas are located in a secluded area away from the village. Lakaz Chamarel offers accommodation, spa facilities, well-being treatments and how it is focused on secluded surrounding uninterrupted by the villagers and the outside world (Flyovergreen-Flyoverhotel 2013).

Other travel websites have branded Lakaz Chamarel as either an ‘eco-lodge,’ ‘boutique lodge’ or a ‘boutique hotel.’ It advertises that it is managed like a guesthouse but with the standard of a five-star luxury hotel with infinity pools, exotic spas and massage treatments for well-being tourism (Planet Travel Ltd 2014). Lakaz Chamarel boasts that it represents an ‘ecotourism flagship’ hotel in Mauritius (News On Sunday 2014).

A promotional film for Lakaz Chamarel on Youtube (2013) shows guests lounging by infinity pools away from the local villagers and their businesses. In-house chefs are already stationed at the venue (Avakumovic 2013). Lakaz Chamarel offers its own restaurant and dining rooms with set menus and à la carte options (Scott Dunn 2014). The company website boasts that chefs will cook ‘couma la cuisine d’antan’ {*like traditional food from long ago*}. However, the menus are continental five-star food displays which do not resemble Creole curries and they are not served the traditional way on banana leaves (Lakaz Chamarel 2015).

Interestingly, the only information on the local area is a film on the Seven Coloured Earth. Guests are encouraged to stay inclusively in the complex and the locality is not featured (Avakumovic 2013). Naomi Johnson’s travel blog for Blue Bay Travel (2014) mentions how guests take a 7km bike ride to the Seven Coloured Earth or Chamarel Waterfall rather than using local taxi services or guides (Johnson 2014; Johnson 2014). It was not clear how the UNDP proposal for community tourism using eco-guides would fit into the existing market and this should be considered in a future project.

The same problems were found with the long-established La Vieille Cheminée which featured horse-riding in the forests and chalets isolated from the village. La Vieille Cheminée is following the new trend in Mauritian ecotourism as it rebrands itself as an eco-lodge. However, it does not include interaction with the local community (Mungur 2012; 2013).

Commodification of Creole style can be seen at the newly established Lakaz Chamarel advertising itself as luxury in ‘Creole-style cottages,’ using ethnic influences from China, India and Africa. However, this appears as ‘Mauritian style’ rather than Creole heritage or culture (WHL travel 2010). It also advertises commercialised Seggae performances rather than bringing the tourist outside of the resort so that they can experience a traditional bonfire and Seggae dance with the natives.

Le Coteau Fleurie is promoted as an affordable, low budget, boutique bed and breakfast located in Chamarel. A stay in one of its 'Creole style villas' costs only 40 EUR per night (Le Coteau Fleurie 2006). It is criticised for being situated in the mountainside and as it provides dinner it takes trade away from local businesses (Permondo 2014). On the other hand, the sponsor of Lakaz Chamarel, felt that this was the first luxury hotel that respected the ecological sensitivity of Chamarel which values heritage, respects ecological and social values and involves local inhabitants in its development (Le Mauricien 2013b; 2013c; 2013d). The venue was permitted to build on the side of the mountain as featured in Scott Dunn (2014) promotion and this was seen negatively by the villagers who felt the mountains were symbolic as they were in Le Morne of their ancestry and heritage (A6; A7). Tourism construction was felt to be unregulated and without regard for local sense of belonging and culture.

Specialist and independent tour operators such as Scott Dunn (2014) and Elegant Destinations (2014) have emerged in the tourism market offering environmentally-friendly, 'Creole-style' and 'rustic-feel' accommodation in Chamarel. The change in tourism demand is reflected as tour operators start to promote inland areas like Le Morne, La Gaulette, Rivère Noire and Chamarel (Scott Dunn 2014; Elegant Destinations 2014). Tour operators have diversified from mainstream luxury holiday packages and offered tailored holidays for discerning travellers and adventure tourists who wanted 'lifetime adventures' in smaller, lesser-known boutique hotels and lodges (Scott Dunn 2014).

Property development company Jade Group (2013) opened 'Les chalets en champagne' mountain lodges in the Chamarel forest. It includes all mod-cons such as Jacuzzis, fireplaces, air-conditioning and kitchens. It offers 'rangers' who accompany tourists on hiking and trekking in the forest and through Piton de la Petite Rivière Noire to the Chamarel Waterfall (Jade Group, 2013a; 2013b).

Therefore, the change in accommodation variety and profile in Chamarel is a direct reflection of the National Tourism Plans which were implemented through 2002-2005 towards

ecotourism and inland adventure tourism. An analysis of this significant change is in the next section.

5.6.3. Eco and adventure tourism

Chamarel was officially recognised on the MTPA tourist map in 2002. The tourist map labelled ‘la carte verte’ {*green card*} introduced Chamarel alongside other areas of natural outstanding beauty displaying nature trails, tea valleys and green tourism attractions (Chapter One, fig.1.1). This developed new approaches in ‘green tourism’ or ‘ecotourism’ which exploited the south-west coast of green and ecologically sensitive areas like Chamarel.

The diagram below illustrates how Chamarel diversified following trends in Mauritian National Plans. Data between 2004 and 2014 revealed how the area became a destination for alternative tourism such as green tourism, inland tourism, ecologically-friendly, ecotourism and adventure tourism.

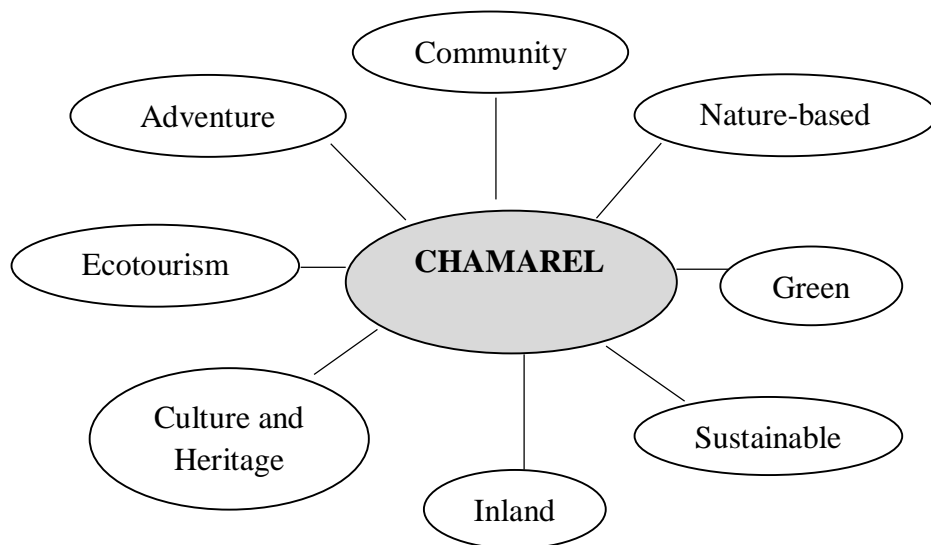


Fig. 5.7 Diversification of the Chamarel tourism product in 2014

The following diagram shows how tourist attractions were also diversifying in Chamarel in 2014.

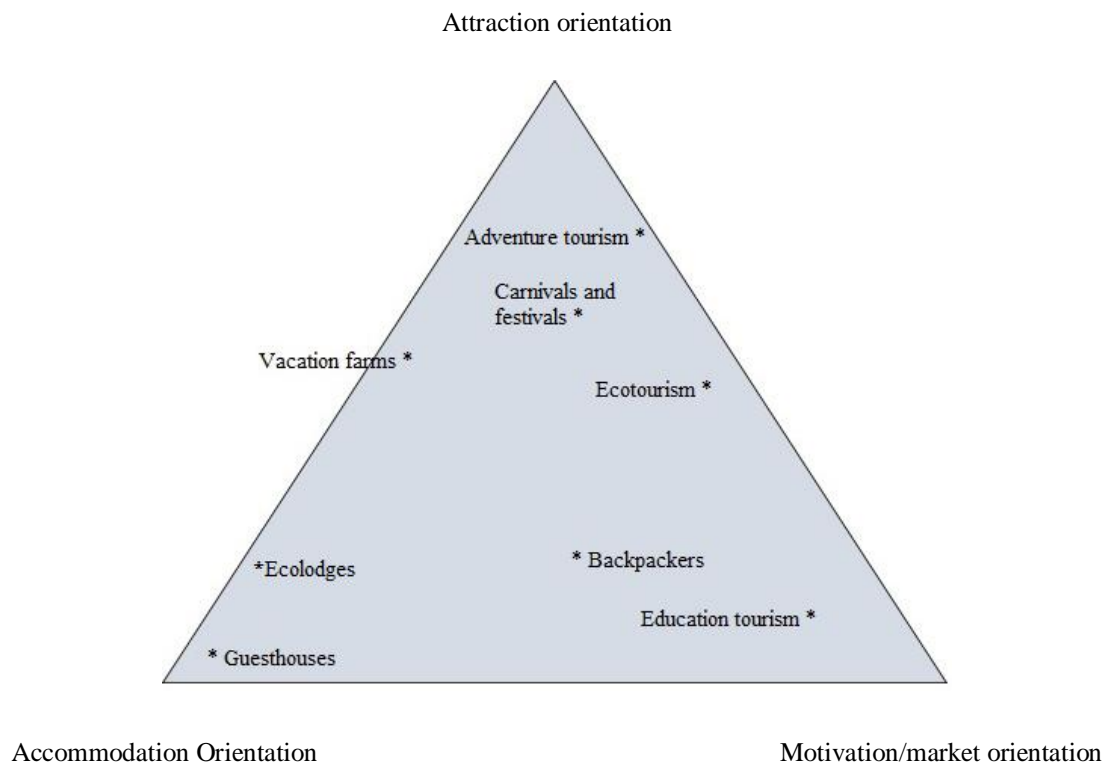


Fig. 5.8. The alternative tourism concept in Mauritius. Adapted from: Weaver (2006) Sustainable Tourism, p.40

The diagram positions these concepts within community tourism in Chamarel. For example, the UNDP Community Tourism Project recommended organic farming tourism, attracting backpackers for nature trails, guesthouses through table d'hôtes and adventure tourism through Chamarel Parc Aventure.

Weaver (2006) suggests that alternative tourism is complex and there are not clear boundaries. The boundaries between ecotourism and mass tourism become blurred when a chain of luxury hotels is marketed as alternative tourism. It depends on the context as one subtype can be placed at different positions on the diagram (Weaver 2006, p.40).

Chamarel was discovered as a potential area for ecotourism with a focus on wooden cottages and Creole authenticity, and green and adventure tourism at the Chamarel Waterfall (Chan 2012a; 2012b). The area has become popular destination for day trips in the South especially in the German and British tourism markets (Tripadvisor 2015b; Wagner 2014a). The first

French online backpacker guide ‘Routard’ promotes Chamarel as an ideal destination for backpacker and ‘wanderlust’ tourists (Routard 2015).

The findings on ecotourism and adventure tourism reposition Mauritius on the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) as it has experienced rejuvenation from this product diversification. We can place Chamarel at this rejuvenation stage towards the upward part of this cycle as it gains awareness and development through different tourism approaches i.e. ecotourism, community tourism, cultural and heritage tourism. Therefore, in time 1 (2004) where Chamarel was stagnating it is now rejuvenating in time 2 (2014).

A tourism advisor suggested the idea of ‘tourist villages’ where he believed ‘the whole Mauritian population will be able to benefit from the industry.’ Minister Duval argued that was for the ‘creation of small enterprises’ (News on Sunday 2006, p.15).

Significant changes in tourism development in Chamarel have reflected National Plans pushing for green and ecotourism which focus on inland areas of outstanding natural beauty and ecological sensitivity. The following table shows changes in this area in time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014).

2004: Eco and adventure tourism	2014: Eco and adventure tourism
Chamarel Parc Aventure	Chamarel Parc Aventure
<i>La Vieille Cheminée</i>	<i>La Vieille Cheminée</i>
	Ebony Forest Ltd
	Southern nature trail
	Southern hiking and trekking
	Ecotourism park

Table 5.3 Eco and adventure tourism in Chamarel 2004-2014

Chamarel was advertised as a ‘Green tourism’ and heritage tourism destination on a new ‘Green Map’ depicting nature trails, ‘route de thé’ {*tea trail*}, reserves and national parks catering for the ‘soft’ ecotourist (Butler 1996; MTPA 2005).

Chamarel has changed from time 1 (2004) where it was an additional stop for tours from Le Morne and the South to achieving a spotlight on its own where tour operators are specifically dedicated to this area. 'Mauritius Delight' was set-up by Lodd Inc (2009) and advertises 'hopping across the south coast' such as from Ile aux Benetier to Chamarel and Plaine Champagne to Bel Ombre and Chamarel (Mauritius delight 2009). Chamarel has used its natural resources to attract adventure tourists through sports activities. Dreamescapes (2015) promotes adventure tourism in Chamarel offering a 'full day tour of scenic south' covering Curepipe to Grand Bassin, Plaine Champagne, Chamarel and Casela Bird Park.

Findings revealed that adventure tourism is also promoted with game culling in the south-east where tourists can hunt stags and boars in Chamarel's tropical forests. The main tour operators of the island have included this in their packages as the 'nature' element in adventure tourism. A variety of other sport activities promote Chamarel with former world cycling champion Patrick Haberland (Yemaya Adventures 2010). Tour operators advertise Chamarel as an 'invigorating' experience using the natural resources such as mountain climbing and trekking the waterfalls. Chamarel is promoted as having breath-taking views on foot, on bike or kayak, trekking through fields, rivers and forests on quad bikes (Yemaya 2014). In time 2 (2014), media via Youtube (2014) recorded how the Mauritian south west coast is a key tourist destination for trails and races. An article by Mega (2012) reported the popularity of the 'Chamarel Trail' and 8km or 16km races (Mega 2012a).

Chamarel has transformed its tourism product to include sporting activities such as hiking, water rafting, and other watersports. Nature activities such as bird watching, horse riding and walking holidays show how there was a significant change from time 1 to time 2 where these activities did not exist in Chamarel tourism apart from horse-riding at La Vieille Cheminée. This also fits in with its new brands of adventure tourism but La Vieille Cheminée excludes host and guest interactions with the local people. Promotion of the Chamarel villagers are limited to Sega dancing, markets and handicraft sellers.

Le Mauricien (2012a) reported that Chamarel was now recognised on the tourist map for its authentic approach to tourism which was previously stagnating. The efforts to apply an Integrated Development Scheme (IRS) caused an acceleration in growth and change in Chamarel which is expected to expand with community tourism and ecotourism. New developments from Ebony Forest Ltd are the creation of a new ecotourism park expected post 2015 (Le Mauricien 2012a).

5.6.4. Cultural and heritage tourism in Chamarel

The National Development Plan (NLTPS 1992-1994) recommended the diversification of the tourism product to offer inland tourist attractions, cultural tourism and ecotourism next to its main wedding and honeymoon products. (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1993, p.151). Natural resources were seen as opportunities to ‘exploit’ such as lagoon and coral reefs, fishing and rock climbing. The relevance of this Plan to this study is that the South (Le Morne, Chamarel etc) was given media attention again in order to promote its sociocultural aspects (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1993, p.153). The creation of inland tourism activities, included attractions revolving around the many festivities characteristic of the multi-ethnic Mauritian society (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 1993, p.152).

Le Mauricien (2014b) reported that Café de Chamarel provided employment but it actually has less than ten employees (LeMauricien 2014b). Café de Chamarel boasts locally-grown coffee, roasted and sold in Mauritius but it is located at Case Noyale away from Chamarel and belongs to the Bel Ombre Sugar Company. An informant mentioned that his father used to feature in the coffee commercials playing his violin (A1). In time 1 (2004) the UNDP programme reported that coffee was a redundant industry in Chamarel. However, findings in time 2 (2014) discovered that coffee picking still thrives as a local industry between May and September which offers the local people seasonal employment (Munger 2014). A website created for Café Chamarel features recipes, café discovery route for visitors and lunch at Le Chamarel Restaurant (Café de Chamarel 2013). Café Chamarel’ was expected to be incorporated into

Community Tourism Project and this gained recognition but the businesses were abandoned without an explanation (UNDP 2005, p.2). It would be a valuable industry to consider as there is still an annual input of 10,000 tons of coffee distributed to supermarkets by Scott & Co Ltd (le Mauricien 2014b).

The findings from Chamarel during time 2 (2014) revealed that the trend in carnivals and festivals tourism such as ‘Festival Kreol’ has gained momentum and increased awareness for the national Segga music and dance and Seggae music found in Creole communities (MTPA 2014; Festival Kreol 2014). A film on the Chamarel area shows how Rastafarian culture has become more accepted due to the popularity of Seggae music in contemporary Mauritian music (L’Express 2013a; 2013b). However, the findings in Chapter Six findings will reveal how this is more complex when it comes to representation of the local people (L’Express 2013b, Le Mauricien 2013c). The following diagram illustrates the conflicting sense of Creole culture represented in community tourism and it is discussed in the following sections.

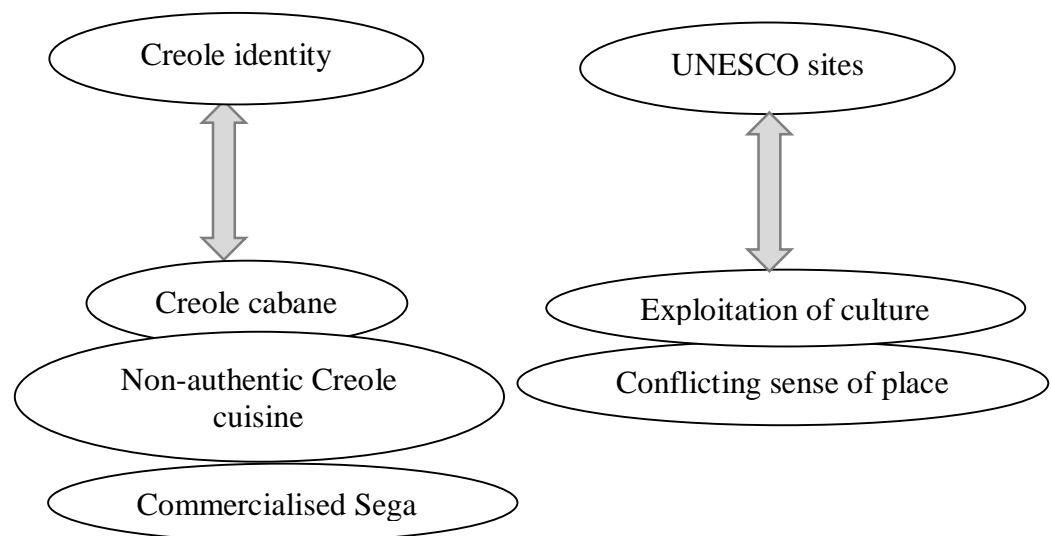


Fig. 5.9. Rejuvenation of Chamarel tourism with cultural and heritage tourism 2014

5.6.5. Festivals, music and dance

In the literature review it was identified that the Mauritian Government identified new ways to compete with the Seychelles by introducing carnivals, festivals music and dance to its tourism products. Chamarel and Le Morne were promoted by the Government in the data gathered from TV broadcasts and conference material as areas of solidarity and national importance due to their shared history of slavery (MBC 2005; Conference on Slavery 2004) Chamarel is demographically an Afro-Mauritian community, with genealogy that can be traced to African ancestry and slavery in Chamarel (Societe de l'histoire de l'île Maurice 1943). As previously discussed in Chapters One and Two, the Chamarel and Au Morne Mountains were known to be the areas where 'Esclave Marron' {*runaway slaves*} would escape and hide. Some of them hid in caves near the Chamarel 'Cascade' {*Waterfall*}. They were hunted by a party of slaves hired by the French to recapture runaways. Au Morne Mountain symbolises the punishments that caused many runaway slaves to take their own lives by hurling themselves from the Mountains. Consequently, Chamarel holds sentimental value and a sense of place for local residents as the descendants of slaves. However, during this period of the fieldwork (in time 1) the history was celebrated and the area was being seen as a destination rejuvenated by cultural and heritage tourism.

The literature review discussed how the national dance of Sega music and dance served as a visible indication of black slavery and Afro-Mauritian heritage. The Sega was invented by the slaves as a way of forgetting their everyday conditions. The African elements of Sega music are associated with slavery including the dance styles and Creole lyrics. It is now performed with sophisticated contemporary influences and instruments using modern, electrical instruments in luxury hotels as performances for tourists.

Famous 'Segatiers' include Roger Clency, a Creole who sang on the humourism and parables of Creole suffering and who went on to perform in hotels. He also found that the Sega music enabled political power as it could include other ethnic languages such as Bhojpuri (Antoine 2011, p.19).

Sega using traditional instruments (such as the drums ravanne, the maravanne and the triangle) still has an avid following. Legendary ‘Segatiers’ and poets such as ‘Ti-Frere and ‘Serge Lebrasse’ were inspired by the ‘tough and real’ everyday lives of Creoles in Mauritian society, their lack of employment opportunities, love and marriage and politics – this has been termed ‘Creole malaise’.

The MTPA actively used Sega dance and music as part of national symbols in Mauritian ‘culture and arts’ in tourism brochures depicting Creole dancers in bright traditional costumes, cropped trousers and tops, ragged trousers and straw hats dancing around a bonfire on the beach (Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority 2004, p.5, 71). However, traditional instruments are still used in hotels as part of a ‘Sega show’ (photos C49 C50). On other occasions the music had changed with electric guitars and synthesising equipment. In data from time 2 the MTPA is still advertising cultural and heritage tourism via its website (MTPA 2015a). In particular, the national dance of Sega as ‘rhythmic, lively music and colourful Creole lyrics’ has changed from its original melancholic expressions to fun and ‘joie de vivre’ (MTPA 2015a). It has now changed and become an entertainment in commercial establishments from hotels to shopping malls using modern instruments (MTPA 2015a).

Ethnicity is also depicted as a ‘tropical mosaic’ of festivities and celebrations such Diwali the festival of lights, wealth and good fortune, Pere Laval {*Father Laval*} and pilgrimage, Ganesh Chaturthi {*Ganesh God of success*}, Holi festival of coloured water and powder for good luck, {*ougadi*} Telegu New year and Chinese spring festival and Cavadee (photos C55, C58, C59; Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority 2004, p.21).

In contrast, since time 1 (2004) there has been marked publicity and celebration on the history of Mauritian slavery and this has placed Chamarel in the spotlight. Findings in Time 1 (2004) were generated from a landmark year of events celebrating Creole heritage; Commemoration of Slavery, TV broadcasting of Chamarel and Le Morne, celebrated Creole poetry and a platform for Creole solidarity which created awareness for Chamarel.

2004: Culture and Heritage attractions	2014: Culture and Heritage attractions
Commemoration of Slavery	Commemoration of Slavery
Sega music and dance	Sega music and dance
	Festival Kreol
	Seggae - Rastafarian
	Café Chamarel

Table 5.4. Culture and heritage tourism in Chamarel 2004-2014

Therefore, the historical context of Chamarel still holds importance in present day tourism development as it is used to rejuvenate the area and place it on the national tourism map. According to the TALC model Chamarel appeared to be in a period of rejuvenation as it changed its tourist profile and subsequently its tourism attractions and accommodation facilities towards community tourism and ecotourism.

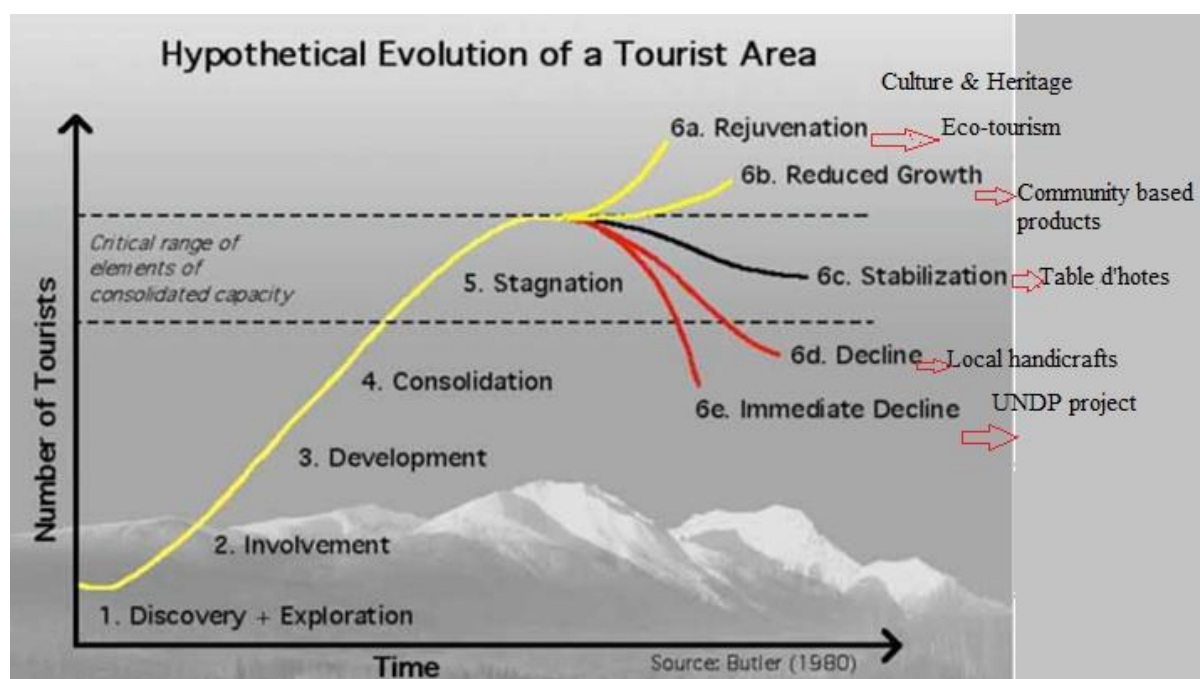


Fig 5.10. Source: Adapted Butler (1980) TALC model for Chamarel

The first Commemoration of Slavery took place during time 1 in 2004 (Lesklavaz Nou Leritaz 2004-Appendices). It was to coincide with other events such as the Conference on Slavery {*Lesklavaz Nou Leritaz*} and other national celebrations. At the end of the conference there was a recitation of Creole poetry in both Mauritian Kreol language and French. The researcher

discovered a book of Sedley Richard Assonne's poems presented at the conference. Within Assonne's works are descriptions of slavery as Mauritian heritage and the mythical and ideological value of Au Morne and Chamarel in the arts (Assonne 2002, p.9).

Another example is the Segga (native song and dance) performed by D. Francois broadcasted during time 1 (20014) on MBC public television channels to commemorate slavery for the first time in Mauritius (MBC 'Le Morne' song 2004). Creoles were urged to 'take your identity' and revisiting Smith (1965) plural society theory it could be suggested that national music is a platform where the ethnic groups can intermingle, converge and be seen as a different entity. As Ericksen (1988) mentioned, ethnic groups can converge in EPZ and tourism spaces (Ericksen 1988) as in Chamarel where cultural and heritage tourism spaces merge Creolity and 'Mauritianess.'

Recent findings discovered that young people in Chamarel now favour another form of music specific to the area where local Segga rhythms have been mixed with Reggae to form 'Seggae.' Chamarel Seggae as a unique phenomenon has changed the national dance of Segga and through this its symbolic interpretations to include more variety from its previously melancholic and historical sentiments of Creole everyday life. However, one could also argue that through this change the Creole heritage in national music and dance is slowly fading in order to increase its popularity (MTPA 2015a).

5.6.6. Promotion of Creole cuisine

From 2004 there was significant change in the number of table d'hôtes and restaurants available in Chamarel. Originally three table d'hôtes and two restaurants appeared visible during the fieldwork, however, two more table d'hôtes and three more restaurants were established in time 2 (2014).

2004: Table d'hôtes – Creole cuisine	2014: Table d'hôtes – Creole cuisine
Les Palmiers	Les Palmiers
Chez Pierre Paul	Chez Pierre Paul
<u>Palais de Barbizon</u>	Palais de Barbizon
	Chez M
	Chez Ruben

Table 5.5 Creole Table d'hôtes in Chamarel 2004-2014

The 'table d'hôtes' of Chamarel initially gained recognition as part of cultural tourism and tourism verte *{green tourism}* in the south-west tourism zone. It was defined as 'an authentic Mauritian cuisine especially introduced by the table d'hôtes in Chamarel' *{'Une cuisine authentiquement mauricienne et proposee par les tables d'hôtes de Chamarel'}* (Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority 2004, p.71).

The 'cosmopolitan cuisine' has been referenced in media publications and airline booklets as a visible representation of Mauritius as a peaceful and cultural diverse society (Air Mauritius 2007). However, there is a lack of promotion on local Creole cuisine and everyday life so as to deter visitors from straying from hotel facilities. The three table d'hôtes in Chamarel emphasised authentic Creole cuisine using local produce served by local people.

Reports of taxis choosing to drop off tourists at either the Le Chamarel, Varague sur Morne or Citronelle Restaurants instead of local authentic table d'hôtes generated a lot of negative reviews on forums where guests felt they were being deliberately conned this way as the food was non-authentic and very expensive (Tripadvisor 2015). Sugar Beach Hotel travel blog (2013) describes their Citronelle Restaurant as a 'café' which serves Italian food rather than Mauritian or Creole cuisine (Sugar Beach Hotel 2013).

In time 1 (2004) there were three established table d'hôtes; Chez Pierre Paul, Palais Barbizon and Les Palmiers. Les Palmiers was the only table d'hôte offering accommodation and food but it was Indo-Mauritian cuisine. In time 2 (2014) Chez Pierre Paul was recorded by the travel guides 'Petite Fute' (Lonely Planet 2105) as also offering traditional Creole cuisine such as stews, curries and vindayes.

Les Palmiers is listed by Petite Fute (2015a) as Indo-Mauritian cuisine using locally sourced fruit and vegetables (Lonely Planet 2015a; 2015b). Forum comments on Tripadvisor (2015) review it as an affordable family-run business in the heart of the Chamarel village serving Mauritian equivalents of Indo-cuisine such as {*farata*} instead of Indian 'roti' (Tripadvisor 2015). Comments left by 'Saintlysiner' (2014) on the Tripadvisor website remarked how the table d'hôte host would pay taxi drivers to drop off customers at her table d'hôte as it was competing with the restaurants further away such as Varangue Sur Morne leaving her business at an unfair advantage.

Findings in Time 2 (2014) discovered new table d'hôtes such as 'Chez M' which received very negative reviews on Tripadvisor (2015) as dirty, unhygienic, poorly made and burned food, overpriced at up to RS 1500 rupees per head. Comments on the forum also described how taxis drivers would tell passengers that there were no other restaurants nearby so as to encourage them to stop at these restaurants. This confirms the concerns of the Tourism Planner in his interview in time 1 (2004) on the lack of regulation and monitoring of informal accommodation and unlicensed table d'hôtes (A1; A22).

Capery (2012) reports another table d'hôte named 'Chez Ruben' as a large venue seating 260 with European and Indian grill boasting that the chef was an expatriate from India rather than employing local villagers to cook local Creole cuisine (Capery 2012; Chez Ruben 2015).

In time 1 (2004) Palais Barbizon was already established. Data gathered in time 2 (2014) revealed how the local table d'hôte concept was becoming distorted as it adapted to competition from external restaurants. For example, restaurants such as Palais Barbizon can be positioned in both columns as a restaurant. Palais Barbizon has succeeded as a local business and praised

in mainstream travel guides (Lonely Planet 2015; Routard 2015; Carillet and Presser 2010). Therefore, a network or shared meeting space where other table d'hôtes can learn and exchange ideas would be recommended for Chamarel village.

Comparison of time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) showed an increase in restaurants which had started to use the internet and digital technology to create awareness. For example 'Domaine du Cachet' restaurant opened in 2007 and used Facebook to promote pictures of the surroundings and their cuisine (Domaine du Cachet 2015).

2004: Restaurants	2014: Restaurants
Varange sur Morne	Varange sur Morne
Le Chamarel Restaurant	Le Chamarel Restaurant
	La Citronnelle Restaurant
	L'Alchimiste Restaurant – Rhumerie de Chamarel
	Domaine du Cachet

Table 5.6 Restaurants in Chamarel 2004-2014

Travel logs such as Gauthier (2013) describes how hotel establishments on the south coast of Mauritius mislead customers by advertising locally-grown Mauritian food but it is imported from Mozambique. She also expressed her concerns that Creole authenticity was lost in five-star continental displays and cuisine with Anglo-African influences. There is a lack of traditional Mauritian cuisine *{biryani, bouillion, satini, zasar}* in these restaurants.

At the time of the fieldwork in time 1 (2004) Varange sur Morne was established as the main restaurant in Chamarel. Mingfatsai (2015) forum comments on Tripadvisor (2015) mentions that the menus can cost up to \$120 per head, and as a result, customers are starting to become aware of the more affordable and authentic local table d'hôtes away from this venue in the valley below (Tripadvisor 2015g). This illustrates how tourist tastes and awareness is changing in Chamarel.

In terms of the restaurants the à la carte venue offers a more luxurious atmosphere and ambience. The marketing of such establishments emphasise five-star cuisine such as the plate settings, tablescapes and experienced chefs. Therefore, this questions if the type of development we are seeing in Chamarel is authentic to Creole cuisine, culture and heritage.

5.7. Conclusion and summary of the research findings

The main aim of this study was to analyse and discuss how the tourism industry in Mauritius has changed over time using a chronological guideline between 1970 to 2013. It reviews the findings with regards to the existing data on tourism trends discussed in Chapter Three. New data collection through multimedia and netnographic methods corresponded with published data discovered during the fieldwork. Relevant emerging themes were expanded providing fresh insight and update on current tourism trends during 2013-2015.

This Chapter provides an in-depth understanding of the macro-level decision-making in tourism and how it affects the local community at grass-root or micro-level. An analysis of the Government policy and Tourism Development Plans for Mauritius have highlighted several recurring themes. First, that early Development Plans remained ambiguous as to how the achievement of sustainable tourism would be fulfilled using a ‘tourism ceiling.’ It lacked discussion on social capacity or how tourism would ensure equity and equal distribution of the benefits in the southern region which was underdeveloped between the 1970s-1990s.

This Chapter fulfils the objectives by analysing National Development Plans and policy to identify changes over time in the tourism industry. This Chapter has presented the findings from Government policy and reports which were collected during the fieldwork in Chamarel. It is in addition to the findings from company reports and documentation relating to the development of the area. The second half of this Chapter fulfils the objectives as it discusses these national changes and how they were reflected in Chamarel at a local level. This will be discussed in further detail from the experiences of the local people in Chapter Six.

In summary, the findings from the data collected has confirmed that the National Development Plans have changed their approach towards tourism and its geographic development in the country. Tourism development has become more concentrated in the South and inland areas such as Chamarel. There were significant changes during 2002-2005 after the First Tourism Development Plan was published and this gained impetus from the variety of tourist accommodation and attractions discovered between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014).

In particular, the findings have identified that Chamarel is experiencing rejuvenation according to Butler (1996) TALC model. Chamarel has been able to apply the national trends in the Mauritian tourism industry towards ecotourism and adventure tourism.

The tourist profile changed according to Plans wanting to attract more adventurous and environmentally conscious travellers looking for local experiences, local accommodation instead of resorts, authentic cuisine and cultural attractions. Therefore, Chamarel has also seen significant changes as it has diversified its cultural attractions and tourist accommodation to cater for the ecotourist.

The tourist profile in Chamarel has changed from ‘allocentric’ tourists (Plog 1974). Tourists seek more adventure, self-catering accommodation and eco-lodges. However, the eco-lodge in Chamarel is still branded as luxury with mod-cons and Continental cuisine similar to a five-star resort in Grand Baie.

In some cases, Creole identity is commoditised and confused with misconceptions on authentic local food and customs such as commercialised Segga dancing performed for guests, expatriate chefs cooking Western food rather than local table d’hôtes. In particular, table d’hôtes suffer from lack of passing trade as taxis drop off tourists at restaurants which are located away from the main road. Tourists may not go further and venture into the local area where their businesses are located. À la carte restaurants, in turn, present a completely different image of what is Creole food and hospitality. On the other hand, IRS developments and ‘tourist villages’ give the sense of enclaves within Chamarel where facilities and shops are on the premises. Tourists

do not need to venture out towards local table d'hôtes which prevents greater inclusion and distribution of wealth from tourism at a grass-root level.

The promotion of cultural tourism through music, dance and festivals has given Chamarel further media attention enabling it to diversify its brand from other Creole settlements. It has used its heritage from slavery and sugar plantations to rejuvenate the area i.e. Rhumerie de Chamarel and Commemoration of Slavery, Festival Kreol and Seggae. In this way, Chamarel has created a competitive market by exploiting the historical context discussed in Chapter One. The history of slavery and Creole identity has become an empowering factor in tourism development and rejuvenation of the area.

The next Chapter will present the findings from National Plans as they changed to focus on the individual and the need for a comprehensive approach to planning which includes social research. This period in the 1990s paved the way for diversification of the tourism product to evolve into community tourism, pioneering tourism for the first time in Chamarel as a community friendly, community benefit driven industry. This Chapter advocates the use of qualitative methods to research sensitive areas like Chamarel for tourism development. The findings therefore contribute towards potential social impact assessments and Community Tourism Projects in the future.

The emerging themes will be analysed in greater detail in the next Chapter. It will discuss how other factors affected community tourism development in Chamarel. It will look closely at Chamarel within the context of national development and the significant changes within the village. It will present tables to display the triangulation of the data and recurring patterns from a thematic framework.

6. CHAPTER SIX: COMMUNITY TOURISM IN CHAMAREL

6.1. Introduction

This Chapter presents the analysis of the findings at a local level on community tourism development in Chamarel. Triangulation of the findings with an expanded and categorised data connects it with a range of different sources on key themes. Thematic tables were used to identify patterns in the data from the larger thematic framework. This Chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the findings in Chamarel Village from the experiences of the local people. It continues the discussion and debates from the previous Chapter Five and will connect the findings to the literature view in Chapters One to Three.

Netnographic research was integral to access information on current trends in this remote, exclusive and iconic area of Mauritius. In most cases, the villagers were unaware and uninformed on current and future developments. This Chapter presents a closer look at the concepts and debates on community participation from Chapter Three and fills the gaps in our existing knowledge on community tourism in Chamarel. It discusses the many factors which influenced tourism development in Chamarel.

Community tourism was a pioneering new phenomenon in terms of tourism development approaches in Mauritius. However, there was not a specific assessment of the area available to the general public before the Community Tourism Project was approved and implemented. Community tourism in Chamarel was the impetus behind two projects, one involving two private companies in an 'Integrated Resort Scheme' (IRS) and the other as a separate UNDP 'Chamarel Organic farm and Community Tourism' Project. This Chapter discusses how these Projects served as a catalyst for underlying factors in Chamarel's development.

6.2. Community tourism in Chamarel

There were two IRS resorts confirmed during 2004-2005 for development in Chamarel (A23). According to the Town and Country Planner the companies were excluded from the land conversion tax (Rs 1 million Mauritian Rupees per arpent) as Chamarel is a conservation zone with high landscape value. The resort designs received an investment certificate from the Board of Investment. They received concessions and a Hotel Development Certificate to convert Government land for commercial use (A14).

In 2004, the UNDP Community Tourism Project was expected to include local participation through the planting of an organic farm to cultivate vegetables, handicraft and medicinal plants for sale. These would include sales to local tourism businesses such as table d'hôtes and hotels. One of the flaws of this Project was that there were no hotels in the local village in time 1 (2004) which the UNDP stated would benefit from the Project. The nearest hotel was located in Le Morne.

The objective of the Project was to create future employment via 'table d'hôte operation; craft village; amphitheatre; nature trail; organic farming and physical upliftment' (Wilson 2004, p.5). Findings from time 1 (2004) could not locate specific plans for table d'hôtes as they were already established in 2001 (A15). Unfortunately, we could not locate strategies for handicraft outlets or grants to assist local villagers establishing their own local businesses.

It was argued that the 'Project' was 'a training programme of sorts' and then the individuals were left to establish and run their small enterprises without further assistance (A21). The only specific employment paths mentioned were the training of '5 community leaders, 15 youth planters, 7 artisans / farmers, and 3-5 eco tourist guides' (A22; UNDP 2014). Data from local members of the community showed that they were unaware of such employment. One respondent remembered that a tourist guide was trained but had moved away from Chamarel and only one villager remained who was struggling to make a business from handicrafts but she lacked business and financial knowledge to establish it successfully (B4).

There was not a specified time frame for the start of the Community Tourism Project, its duration or finishing times. Photos later acquired from the MOT taken throughout the Project estimated that training was only a few days and this was later confirmed by local residents as unhelpful as they could not absorb the information and put their knowledge into practice (photos C31-33). During lengthy interviews on the Community Tourism Project it was concluded that the Project was unsuccessful (A13, A21).

It was discovered that insider and outsider tensions, community conflicts and different perceptions of the Project were some of the issues which may have affected its success (A1; B5). Local participation was restricted and it was unclear which stages of participatory planning had been undertaken and what degree of participation was required; informative, advisory, consultation, or decision-making. These issues will be discussed in the following sections.

6.2.1. Tourism and the environment

Theme: Local planning						
Sub-issue: EIA and SIA						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	The need for an Environmental Social Impact Assessments (EIA, SIA).	x	x			x
Finding 2	Villagers unaware and not informed of land conversions, eviction and new constructions.	x	x		x	
Finding 3	Autocratic top-down approach on removing ecologically sensitive land for tourism development.	x	x		x	x
Finding 4	Lack of sensitivity in culturally significant and heritage sites of high community value.	x	x	x	x	x

Table 6.1. Themes from tourism and the environment in Chamarel

Findings from the last Chapter showed how the strategy for sustainable tourism was based on attracting a luxury tourism market and creating a ‘tourism ceiling.’ It was gradually expanded until it reached an unsustainable equivalent to the national population. This questioned the sustainable tourism concept in the literature review and this concept presented conflicts within the community.

Data from the Town and Country Planning Office in time 1 (2004) revealed the lack of guidelines and regulations for alternative tourism and ecotourism to protect the Mountain and valleys of Chamarel (A12). Data in time 2 (2014) found that there were already developments on the mountainside such as the Lakaz Chamarel eco-lodges and Coteau Fleurie boutique hotel.

Attracting the luxury market was insufficient to ensure the prevention of damage to the natural resources. For example, data from confidential Government reports revealed that IRS was set-up to help the sugar industry convert land and build large-scale complexes. Procedures to protect the ecological sensitivity of the land in Chamarel could not be identified.

Findings from the Ministry of Tourism discovered that they did not agree to the IRS; 'We have this type of mainstream development in Mauritius. Neighbours – Bel Ombre – already has three IRS established. This is like mass tourism. There is no difference.' Bel Ombre in Rivère Noire would directly affect a large area of the south coast and surroundings such as Chamarel (A15). Large-scale IRS developments would duplicate villas and apartments for tourism and destroy and remove green spaces. It would directly affect sensitive ecological habitats in regions like Chamarel where the wildlife is seen as rare or becoming extinct. UNESCO recognised Chamarel as a protected area but this was not considered in the plans for IRS developments. The MOT were concerned that the IRS concept would set a precedent and that ecologically sensitive areas like Chamarel should not be affected by such large-scale constructions (A22). The Economist voiced how quasi-governmental organisations and the Board of Investment had taken a decision on IRS in Chamarel without realising the consequences of the 'informal sector accommodation' on future land use and the ecological sensitivity of its environment (A22).

Ministry of Tourism Planners (MOT) were in conflict with cabinet decisions which approved two identical golf and spa resorts in Chamarel without any consultation or voting on its sustainability. There was a contradiction found in these documents that Chamarel was not considered an ecologically sensitive zone but would be of 'high landscape value' to demand higher taxes on land conversion. This caused arguments between several interest groups. It ignored that this area held local sentiment and value to local residents. Therefore, the historical context described in Chapter One and Two is still relevant to the development of areas like Chamarel in order to understand how the local people view tourism either positively or negatively (A1; B5; B12).

Despite the publication of the first tourism policy in 2002 a member of staff in the MOT commented that the land in Chamarel was state-owned and that the Ministry was therefore ‘powerless’ (A21: A23). He strongly voiced his concerns; ‘We need landscape corridors, we need green spaces but the Government owns the land in Chamarel so we cannot argue. There is nothing we can do about it. The special topography means that we need consultants not just a proposal on paper.’ It was interesting that he mentioned the MOT would receive a final confirmation of projects without consultation or discussion on how the plans would be implemented. Projects required logistics and long-term monitoring by the MOT. The new trends found for ecotourism and well-being tourism were seen as potentially suitable for the Chamarel landscape but despite requesting that projects were scaled down to relieve environmental pressure the representative of MOT felt ‘very pessimistic that it will happen as they have ignored us before’ (A22).

The lack of regulation resulted in hotel development which was ‘laissez-faire’ or what Creoles would say as a ‘laisse-tomber’ {*let it go / never mind*} matter in Mauritius. Hotel designs should integrate the local topography and environment. Planners admitted that regulations were weak in restricting development in the private informal sector. Permission should be obtained by the relevant authorities before hotel co-operations remove beach rocks. There should be guidelines to prevent hotels dumping materials on the beach and the construction of causeways and artificial islands (A22; A24; A25).

An economist questioned the sustainability of the tourism product in general as sugar estates were being converted to private villas and bungalows. There was a saturation of the existing private informal accommodation sector and this had caused the luxury product image to decline (A15). Sugar estates in Bel Ombre were converted to IRS leaving the area with small guesthouses of mixed and low quality where foreigners or VFR (domestic tourism) bought their own villas to stay from one month to a year and left it vacant or rented it out privately. It was argued that the Government struggles to monitor and regulate this accommodation sector effectively. Over 30% of tourist arrivals were reported as backpack and adventure tourists and as a result Chamarel would require this type of lower budget accommodation (A15). As discussed in Chapter Five, Chamarel changed to reflect this trend in its accommodation

portfolio. The MTPA warned this would create ‘camps’ of informal villas which would ruin the marketing image of Mauritius (A20).

The MTPA representative saw the informal accommodation sector as contradicting national policy for high-spend tourism (A20). He felt that lower-grade accommodation was a direct result of ecotourism initiatives in Chamarel; ‘I want a product which is authentic and Mauritius needs to be positioned differently, development and planning must not be so distorted. It should protect and conserve the sites and heritage to fit with Chamarel’ (A20). A member of the National Steering Committee answered that community tourism was ‘an external concept and not recognised by National Development Policy – it is just a word...’ (A13).

The Economist believed that the informal sector was unregulated – omitting rules on electricity, sanitation and water hygiene. He noticed how the accommodation sector was rapidly-growing through private villas and bungalow developments and the Mauritian hotel industry had stagnated. This poses problems to the Mauritian international marketing image if it remains unregulated and unlicensed (A15; A20).

A spokesperson for the Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority (MTPA) assumed that ecologically sensitive areas like Chamarel were vulnerable due to a lack of regulation on hotel construction. The Tourism Planner admitted that there were no limits to inland hotel construction and no regulatory body to enforce regulations. He revealed that ‘construction may be limited by the EIA in theory but in practice we encourage inland tourism which will affect our forest bio diversities’ (A20).

The Economist and the Tourism Planner expressed similar concerns when addressing the sensitivity of the ecological landscapes found in the South (such as in Chamarel) which were being used for informal sector tourism. They provide the example of Ferney Forest in the South where an autocratic approach to development had changed the environment.

The clearing of Ferney Forest to make space for a new motorway was an example of how the Mauritian society was aware of the ecological implications from development and how the top-down approach was criticised via local community action. In time 1 (2004) there were ongoing protests from a local neighbourhood group and Mauritian environmental pressure groups such as 'Nature Watch.' Nature Watch launched a 4600 signed petition against a highway between Bel Air to Plaine Magnien cutting through Ferney Forest (Karghoo and Chinnapen 2005, p.11). Protests from local factory workers and the local community in Mahebourg voiced concerns about favouring tourism development over the environment (Alexandre 2005, p.5).

A 600m tunnel through the Mountain was approved without consideration on the sensitivity of a 'Conservation Management Area.' It did not have local consultation or support and destroyed up to 116,208 endemic plants with 73 species in danger of extinction. Rare birds such as the locally known 'Oiseau Manioc / Pic Pic' {*Mauritius Grey White*} may not survive (Week-end 2004, p.8; Frivet 2005, p.19). Similarly to Chamarel, Ferney shares historical value and was named during the Dutch occupation. The mangroves harbour an array of tropical wildlife and rich ecological systems including some rare and nearly extinct plant species (St Pierre 2005a, p.7).

Ferney Forest along with the Chamarel area and Le Morne in the south of Mauritius contain the only remaining two percent of indigenous forests which were seen as 'high landscape value' (Patel 2005, p.40-41). The community resentment that the Government could face in Chamarel if 'integrated' development does not involve local residents or meet with their approval has been publicised. It was an ongoing disruption for the local community (St Pierre 2005b; 2005c). The destruction of Ferney forest for a super highway triggered community protests and brought greater awareness on the environment, particularly in the South. It also demonstrated the centralised autocratic approach of Government proposals which ignored local opinions on development.

Chamarel residents were concerned that they too would become part of a national dispute on land ownership and hotel construction as many did not have legal ownership of their land (A11;

B12; B17) They had grappled for any piece of land they could possess, handed down to them over the generations of ancestral slavery. A table d'hôte owner was unaware that in the IRS proposals her land would be removed and part of her private property had already been approved for demolition without her acknowledgement. This appeared to be standard practice claimed a patient waiting at Mamta's clinic. He launched into a debate on the forced removal and conversion of his property. He could not obtain legal aid to represent his case in court. The other patients furiously nodded their heads and agreed that the Creole had no rights 'when a French man is in power. It goes back to 'Ancien Regime' {*the time of slavery*} (B8).

Villagers were aware that tourism development could destroy their environment and that the example of Ferney Forest was a warning of its impacts. The village representative added his views on tourism development planning in Chamarel; 'Just to destroy our land, that's what tourism will do in Chamarel. All these doctors giving us plans. What does a doctor know? - 'ti dimoune conne ki bon pour Maurice {*the small person - the Creole person knows what is good for Mauritius*}...Chamarel will lose.' Referring to the ethnicity of developers perceived as Indo-Mauritian descent he adds; 'Met chaque dimoune dans place côte li bizin {*put each person in the place they should be*}' (A1).

While driving along the south coast towards Chamarel, 'Mi' the taxi driver pointed out a restaurant on a cliff and how he felt the French were destroying the environment with no regard to its historical and sentimental value (B1; B2; photos in appendix C43-48). He expressed his opinion that the affluent expatriate French built three storey houses into the mountainside but the poor remained in corrugated iron shacks. They were living together but clearly tourism reinforced the poverty divide. He argued that 'there was one law for the Mauritian people who were natives and no law for the French expatriates - Why is there not a revolt against the French developers who use the mountains for restaurants... so where is ecotourism, then the Government talks about protecting the environment?' (B1).

Tourists were seen as outsiders, particularly in areas of the South where Creole heritage was loaded with historical and sentimental meanings in Le Morne and Chamarel. Significantly, the

expatriates (private bungalow and villa owners who chose to settle in Mauritius) were shown particular resentment as a ‘law unto themselves’ with special privileges to build what they wanted and subsequently destroy the heritage of Chamarel (B12).

Another example was in Le Morne where local residents protested against IRS and tourism development. Le Morne was referred to several times by informants of how local protests could prevent Government plans to exploit natural resources through Integrated Resort Schemes (A1; B5). Respondents used the example of Le Morne as a warning on how the power of the citizen can prevent IRS development. Locals protested against Le Morne hotel developments and it was eventually terminated. The local fisherman and villagers also staged protests at Le Morne District Council over the destruction of mountain ranges for an IRS and the decline of their fishing trade due to the hotel industry (B12; St Pierre 2005c, p.9,11).

A member of the Le Morne District Council explained how the Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund Board was established in September 2004. The attached sentimental and historical sense of place were the reasons why the Council representative was working to prevent tourism development. The Councillor related how the villagers had to form their own group to stop the construction of hotels, restaurants, golf courses and a Sky tram. He stated that they collaborated with UNESCO and L’Apraavasi Ghat heritage groups (B12). His main objective was to protect the caves where the slaves hid deep inside the mountain which were considered sacred by the locals. The Au Morne Mountain is symbolic of where slaves committed suicide by jumping from the mountain to escape recapture into slavery. (St Pierre 2005b, p.9; Savripene 2005, p.2). He also believed that the national flower emblem of Mauritius *{Boucle d’Oreille – Trochetia Boutoniana}* originated from Au Morne Mountain (B12). The first Commemoration on the Abolition of Slavery attracted media coverage at Le Morne and Chamarel in recognition of its heritage as part of the Mauritian national identity (MBC 2005).

His connection with the historical context and how it was reflected in present day tourism development was interesting; ‘Au Morne is the place where our ancestors died for their freedom. The French just can’t take everything they want now like they did back then like in

slavery time' (A2). It was noticeable during this part of the conversation the change of language from French and English to Kreol for further in-depth discussions. Respondents often reverted to their Kreol native language to express their self-identity and perceptions of each other.

Therefore, the findings discovered that it was important to understand the local perceptions and social importance of environmental and heritage conservation in the South. The scenarios in Le Morne and Ferney Forest revealed that Creole areas held negative views on tourism and protested against tourism developments. Therefore, during an interview with Tourism Planners it was suggested that a Social Impact Assessment (SIA) should be conducted with an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) (A21; A24).

The current EIA initiatives did not take into account the cultural sensitivities of Chamarel such as incorporating lifestyles, customs or perceptions on tourism development. It was admitted that Mauritian sustainability policy was flawed as it did not involve the local community or taken into account the unique environmental and cultural aspects of areas like Chamarel. Tourism development needed to be sensitive to the historical context of these areas and could not be ad-hoc and unplanned tourism like that of Grand Baie and Flic en Flac where a mismatch of man-made buildings overpower the beach front areas (A15; Dinally 2012, p.26).

6.3. Community Participation

6.3.1. Community tourism: Reinforcing power relations in community

Theme: Local participation						
Sub-issue: Reinforcing power relations in community tourism						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Integrated development did not involve local participation.	x	x		x	x
Finding 2	Stakeholders are business investors and are not local residents.	x	x		x	
Finding 3	Les Amis seen as outsiders of the community.	x	x	x		
Finding 4	Members representing Community Tourism Project rejected by villagers as unrepresentative of Creole views.	x	x			

Table 6.2. Themes from community participation in Chamarel

Theme: The notion of community						
Sub-issue: Belonging as a community member						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Les Amis were seen in a derogatory perspective and not representative of the community.	x	x	x		

Finding 2	Community as fragmented and not heregoenous.	x	x	x		
Finding 3	Expatriate and tourists obtain Mauritian citizenship via land and business acquisition.	x			x	x
Finding 4	Representatives of community tourism seen as ‘outsiders’ and ‘strangers.’	x	x	x		

Table 6.3. Themes from the notion of community in Chamarel

The GEF Small Grants Programme ‘Les Amis de Chamarel’ an SGP grantee won the award of the ‘Community Tourism & Organic Farming at Chamarel’ Project (SGP 2012). It was publicised as the ‘2nd best community project’ in 2003 (SGP 2012). No references were specifically made to local residents as stakeholders apart from ‘Les Amis’ which theoretically involved twelve unnamed members of the community. However, the findings discovered that this excluded local businesses such as the ‘three recognised table d’hôtes.’

The Grant recipient was the group called ‘Amis de Chamarel’ (ADC). Les Amis de Chamarel received the largest amount of funding from the UNDP (RS 1.3 million) for the Community Tourism Project. Other key players identified in the Community Tourism Project and seen as ‘stakeholders’ were labelled as ‘business ventures’ -‘La Terre Sept Kuler’ {*Seven Coloured Earth in Kreol*}, ‘Chamarel EcoTourism and Handicraft Cooperative Society.’

A key finding from the qualitative data was how the Creole villagers expressed that ‘Les Amis’ did not represent them and they regarded the group as outsiders to the community (A1; A3; A6; A17; A18). It was found that Les Amis was a self-identified Rastafarian group who were employed by representatives of the UNDP to create an organic farm. They were also identified as ‘Group Natir’ a musical group promoting Rastafarian music and lifestyle. Photos gathered from a confidential report (2004) showed this group working on a field that was assumed to be located in Chamarel. Several visits were made to identify where this was located as there were not any signs or directions. Local villagers including the village representative were not

informed where this was located for them to benefit from the Project (A1; confidential report 2004).

More importantly, villagers held derogatory views of the Rastafarian culture and did wish to be identified with its heritage or culture. The group 'Les Amis' brought ridicule from some villages who had conflicting views of Creole ethnicity as they viewed themselves of French heritage (A1) and others of African heritage (A13). Respondents did not identify with the Rastafarian group and they were surprised that they were selected as leaders for tourism development in Chamarel. They could not understand why Les Amis was chosen to represent the community as they were outsiders to their village, were segregated from the community and there was no contact between them. Members of the local Women's Association who were participants of the Community Tourism Project did recognise the UNDP representatives 'Les Amis' (A15). Interviews with the participants of handicraft activities from the Community Tourism Project also could not identify who were 'Les Amis'.

The wife of the village representative who was previously a member of the Women's Association had quit her position and would not participate in community tourism. She felt resentment that Group Natir and Les Amis de Chamarel appointed male leaders. She could not identify how it would benefit the Women's Association whose aim was to encourage women to become independent through work. Group Natir and Les Amis de Chamarel was not viewed as a centre for tourism activities as the UNDP Project had proposed. The organic farming business was rejected as part of the local business community from the findings with table d'hôtes respondents.

Community participation was found to be limited to external boards mainly represented by members of Indo-Mauritian descent at the Board of Investment, NGOs and local council. Local villagers did not have a regulatory platform to elect, contest or negotiate tourism development. Community tourism reinforced power relations controlled by the dominant group. According to the villagers; these were Indo-Mauritian civil servants, Franco-Mauritian land and business owners. As discussed in Chapter One and Two, the hierarchy of power held by the dominant

minorities were reinforced in the planning for community tourism (MG Smith 1965). An elderly villager commented how Creole communities are ignored in this sense; ‘All the projects they make for development, it doesn’t really concern us. They say there are small meetings with all the villages, but we weren’t involved. Why would we be? I didn’t meet anyone really... why would we be important enough? (A7).

Community tourism had been supported by the UNDP to unite and inspire members to seek their own business opportunities (UNDP 2004). However, in the findings it had created conflict between external and outsider leadership. This was visible to the Tourism Planners who admitted that power at every stage of the planning process for community tourism was not held by the Creole community. They did not have a role in community tourism in an advisory, consultative or decision-making capacity (A22). Participation was limited to the selection criteria of the UNDP and Government agencies on who would implement tourism initiatives and lead development without a roundtable for local negotiation. For example, the proposal meetings of IRS were managed by a ‘committee’ or ‘work group’ consisting of Government departments: the Town and Country Planning Board, Planning Division, Ministry of Housing, Board of Investment, National Parks and Conservation, Ministry of Environment and Black River District Council (A1; A22; confidential documents in appendices).

Findings from interviews and casual conversations revealed that community representatives and local villagers were not informed of new the projects that had been approved by the Board of Investment and this also included the land conversion of local business owners without their knowledge (A8; B5) Findings from casual conversations and interviews found that neither local nor national level stakeholders were informed about these plans or the approval of new IRS resorts. Development for community tourism did not differ from ad-hoc planning or top-down approaches to decision-making found in National Development Plans during the 1970s-1990s. As discussed in Chapter Three literature review, the community tourism concept was the continuation of a familiar autocratic approach.

IRS meetings named the Board of Investment as the acting mediator to liaise between the authorities and the developers. However, there was no mediator or arbitrator for the community members who had issues with the development. Chamarel was represented politically by the Rivière Noire District Council but the villagers were not made aware of the plans or outcomes of meetings with the Council.

6.3.2. Consultation and decision-making

Theme: Local participation						
Sub-issue: Consultation and decision-making						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Consultation and decision-making did not involve local participation from the villagers of Chamarel.	x	x		x	
Finding 2	Tourism planners were not consulted before development of the community tourism proposal.	x	x		x	
Finding 3	Lack of communication and contact at both national and local levels of planning for community tourism.	x	x		x	
Finding 4	Planning for community tourism did not include previous business, environmental and social assessment.	x	x	x	x	

Table 6.4. Themes from consultation and decision-making in Chamarel

Findings from the interviews with the Tourism Planners, the Chief Economist and staff at the Ministry of Tourism highlighted a lack of communication among several national levels of decision-making on community tourism, in particular between the Ministry of Tourism and other Government departments on land conversion for tourism in Chamarel (A21, A24; A24).

This had resulted in an autocratic top-down approach in community tourism with the local villagers completely excluded from the consultation and advisory roles in the planning process.

For example, the Ministry of Tourism were not consulted or involved in the design of the Community Tourism Project in Chamarel. Interviews with representatives at the MOT found they were against the IRS concept. They argued that it should be vital for the BOI to incorporate them in the planning process. The IRS did not gain the support of Ministry of Tourism Planners who were responsible for its implementation. Their specialist knowledge and opinions on the community being part of the planning process for the Project to be practically sound were disregarded. There was a general feeling of distrust and complacency as a result (A15; A22).

An interview with a staff member assisting the Board of Investment (BOI) confirmed that the cabinet took decisions on proposals without consultation with the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) or local representatives for Chamarel (A23). Another discussion with the MOT found that their role was reduced to an 'advisory' position and that they felt the democratic process in Mauritius was useless as the plans were already approved for construction (A23). This was also reflected at grass-root level with a lack of contact and communication between these agencies and the local representatives of Chamarel Village. The village representative claimed that he had not been informed on the Community Tourism Project or IRS either by written or verbal correspondence (A1).

Chapter One described the historical importance of the land in Chamarel due to its heritage from slavery and sugar plantations. The history of Chamarel still has significance in the present day as affidavits (discussed in Chapter Five) caused disputes on local land and had a direct effect on the villagers enabling them to build their own tourism businesses. Planners also confirmed that they had expressed their concerns that they could not appeal against the decision on tourism development because the ownership of state land was a state decision (A24; A14; B17). The MOT was not involved in the design of previous ecotourism plans and the Community Tourism Project. They believed that tourism development in Chamarel was implicated by private French landowners and the Government (A22). The ecologically

sensitive area needed MOT intervention. At the time there was not an ecological pressure group or national trust to protect Chamarel and the Tourism Planners and Economist expressed how they were expected to implement sustainable tourism in this area as recommended in the Millennium Report ‘Vision 2020.’

6.4. Creole heritage and tourism

6.4.1. Carnivals and festivals for tourism

Theme 3: Cultural tourism						
Sub-issue 1: Festivals and Carnivals						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Festivals are used to promote the concept of harmony and ‘unity in diversity.’	x		x		x
Finding 2	Festivals reinforce power struggles between Creole and Indian groups.	x	x	x		x
Finding 3	Festivals seen as a ‘tourist show.’		x	x		
Finding 4	Creole’s stigma as lower class than Indians.	x	x	x		

Table 6.5. Themes from cultural tourism in Chamarel

An informant at the Ministry of Tourism expressed his opinion on the promotion of religious festivals as providing a sense of harmony for the Mauritian people (A20). More interestingly, this repeated the concepts expounded by the MTPA where it claimed that the promotion of religious festivals display Mauritius to the world as a ‘melting pot of cultures.’ He believed that the promotion of Creole identity through African TV programmes would add to this sense

of harmony and cultural tolerance for African food and culture (MBC 2005). The AHIRM predicted a 5-6 year demand for shows which promote African food (A20).

It was noted that African culture was promoted through Swahili and African cooking programmes on mainstream television channels as part of the Prime Minister's (Paul Berenger) plans to unite Mauritius with Africa through trade agreements and encourage 'unity through diversity' (A24; MBC 2005). Every religious festival was encouraged to combine as a national holiday. This resulted in the Chinese New Year, Diwali and Holi festivals along with many others being celebrated alongside Christian holidays which was the legacy of French and British colonialism in Mauritius.

The 'unity in diversity' concept was questioned during the Maha Shivratri (Hindu Festival) and Cavadee (Tamil festival) which theoretically any Mauritian citizen can celebrate. The Creoles participating in Hindu events, however, were seen as inferior and least deserving at a religious festivity called Cavadee (B10). The Maha Shivaratri Indian religious festival is performed once a year and is the largest pilgrimage made by the Hindus in Mauritius from Grand Bassin, a lake that the Hindus believe is a drop of the River Ganges.

We decided as a group ('Ma', 'Mi', 'An' and her child) to walk along the procession (photo C55-C57) of Hindus carrying floats of Gods on their heads, supported by bamboo. Women and men wore pink scarves. As a sacrificial pilgrimage men and women's bodies and sometimes their tongues were pierced with needles. Fruits such as lemons were attached and the weight caused further bleeding. They were closely followed by children, family and friends singing religious hymns or reciting from their religious texts. At various intervals they would support the float carrier from fainting in the heat or to give them water. The procession was made barefoot causing them unbearable pain on the dry tarmac. The temperature around this period was, on average, 40 degrees. A small van reciting prayers on loud speaker also pumped water out on the tarmac to provide relief to the participants.

Tourists could not be seen throughout the procession. They did not appear to intermingle and kept to the sides of the procession clutching onto their camcorders. A few tourists climbed to the top of the highest rock and recorded the passing crowds below them. 'An' felt insulted as she felt it was a sacrificial and very sobering process to go through the pilgrimage ordeal. She observed that the religious event had become a 'big tourist show' which had lost its original intention and meaning (B10).

After a few hours of walking some of the participants encouraged me to take photos of their sacrifice (C58-C63). The crowd consisted of Hindus and Tamils (C56). 'An' could not identify Chinese or Muslims in the procession despite it being promoted as a 'multi-cultural' event. It was remarked that although Creoles attend the event they did not participate (B10).

The researcher was informed that everyone from tourists to 'strangers' could take part in the procession and it was safe to do so. An explained: 'Everyone takes part, oh there are no conflicts. We are multicultural' (B10). It was not until the last few metres towards the temple a great crowd of Creoles were gathered together. Stereotyping on the reasons that they were there; 'An' grunted and shook her head 'Because of the free food (isnt it?!/ typically)' (B10).

It was explained that the people who were throwing themselves onto the tarmac to be stepped over by the procession participants were ill or their children wished to be blessed and healed (C64). A Creole lady wanted to pass her baby under a float bearer. An Indian attendant who was handling the crowd asked her to move away from the procession path. The police presence seemed far away from this event in the procession finale. There was an invisible acceptance that the Creole community could not participate or they were outnumbered. They could walk along but not participate in the procession.

'An' became aware of her contradiction on multiculturalism and mentioned; 'each person prays in their own manner but we all worship the same God' (B10). This phrase was used several

times when there was an argument between two people of differing ethnicities. It was mentioned on several occasions by different people in different situations.

It appeared that the Creoles were in acceptance of their treatment and this underlined the sense of their community possessing a number of conflicting perceptions on who deserved to participate in social events. The perceptions of 'being black' were not only held by the Indians, but were reinforced by the Creole community members themselves.

The Indo-Mauritian participants viewed themselves on an equal social standing with the Frano-Mauritians. Darker skin represented an inferiority of beauty and class (B10). Unity propaganda did not change perceptions of the self and the 'other' between these two ethnic groups. The 'insider' and the 'outsider' was reinforced through history, daily life and even tourism development. One of the first conversations we had in Chamarel was with a local man who perceived himself a 'Rastafarian' which disassociated himself from Chamarel, Afro-Mauritians and poverty altogether. It empowered him with a stronger symbolic meaning of his heritage within Mauritian history (B5).

Creoles were in acceptance of their treatment according to a local historian (A11; A12). This emphasised how the Chamarel community had a number of conflicting perceptions on who deserved to participate and benefit from the tourism industry. These ideologies were maintained by the decision-makers for Chamarel tourism as it was an alternative top-down approach.

6.4.2. Commoditising Creole sega

Theme: Community tourism and authenticity						
Sub-issue: Commoditising the Creole identity						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Westernised cabaret performances portrayed as Sega authentic.			x	x	x
Finding 2	Sega music changed to fulfil entertainment purposes.		x	x	x	x
Finding 3	Creole identity stigma as second class.	x	x	x		x
Finding 4	Seggae from Chamarel changes Creole Sega		x			x

Table 6.6. Themes from commoditising the Creole identity in Chamarel

Creole identity was deconstructed and reconstructed to ‘stage’ interactions between the ‘native’ and the tourist for their entertainment. The commoditisation of Creole identity through Sega music has been replaced with ‘Sega tipic’ as a westernised and ‘sanitised’ cabaret performance to entertain hotel guests (Lee 1990, p.8).

Sega was commercialised and has been described as a ‘modern dance form... a far cry from its origin and purpose’ (Lee 1990, p.8). Sega was based on the life of slavery and used rudimentary musical equipment. The tone and direction of the dance were determined by beating on a goat-skin drum called the ‘ravanne’ accompanied by a small metal triangle and the shaking of a box containing small stones known as a ‘maravanne.’ Contemporary Sega music has changed dramatically as discussed in Chapter Five. The chorus and tempo have increased and the dancing has become more erotic and sexually provocative. The mood has transferred from a gentle melancholy to a frenzy of passion. The audience maintain the tempo by clapping their

hands and stamping their feet. Pillay (1997) criticises the Sega performance as an erotica exhibition with suggestive movements which are avoided by the educated classes (Pillay 1997, p.8). In the hotels, however, the Sega is presented as the national dance of Mauritius and part of the national folklore. It encompasses all classes; the rich, poor, educated and non-educated ethnic groups, the tourists, both Creole and non-Creole (photos in appendix C49-53).

6.4.3. Conflicts on table d'hôtes and Creole representation

Theme: Creole identity						
Sub-issue: Conflicts on table d’hôtes and Creole representation						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Distorted and conflicting images of Creole cuisine and heritage.	x	x	x	x	x
Finding 2	Unregulated and duplicated businesses.	x	x	x	x	x
Finding 3	Non-authentic food served by restaurants.	x	x	x		x
Finding 4	It is not locally sourced or authentically cooked and served.	x	x	x		x

Table 6.7. Themes from conflicts on table d'hôtes and Creole representation

Another finding from community observations and conversations with local villagers is the authentic promotion of tourism businesses in Chamarel. An Economist and the MTPA both suggested that the inclusion of culture and customs was a key part of the new tourism product (A15; A20). It was recommended that the villagers should use their customs for Community tourism and the MTPA could exploit what the villagers specialise in such as Creole food, Creole music and handicrafts (A15; A22).

A 'table d'hôte' is defined as a local villager who opens his or her home for visitors to eat in a café environment. They aim to provide a hospitable and authentic experience of Creole cuisine and lifestyle (Confidential report 2004 p.5, 13). The tourists can tour the home and stay the night if there is a room vacancy. During time 1 (2004) only one table d'hôte was available but in time 2 (2014) there were several undefined table d'hôtes which could provide both catering and accommodation services.

The Tourism Planner stated that the aim of table d'hôtes development in Chamarel was to promote local talent and authentic Creole cuisine (A22). This topic on authenticity and Mauritian cuisine as a career path for tourism sparked several conflicting debates on nationality and original Mauritian food. It also questioned who had the right to represent this image of Mauritianess to outsiders and tourists (A1).

A local owner defined his table d'hôtes as 'a small place like ours serving the real Creole food, fresh organic typical food of the area with the local coffee Café Chamarel' (A1). He presents a leaflet from 2002 with an advert showing his father pictured drinking coffee and as a famous Mauritian violinist used to promote Café Chamarel (A1). He was disappointed that he was not included in the advertising for the Café Chamarel. He was led to believe that the manufacturing of Café Chamarel had discontinued despite the findings in time 2 (2014).

Table d'hôte restaurants should allow visitors to glance into the secluded and inaccessible areas of Chamarel, the local lifestyle and social world, and thus enhance an outsider's perception of Mauritian cuisine and living. An informant believed this was not being delivered as part of community tourism in Chamarel. Tourists were not tasting authentic Mauritian food such as locally-sourced fruit and vegetables like the villagers consume in their daily diet (A1). The owner of another table d'hôte confirmed that the local custom would be to eat like a 'real Mauritian house where you are served your food on banana leaves' (A3). The village representative went on to say that the restaurants in Chamarel were all 'fake table d'hôtes' as they did not serve food in the Mauritian style on banana leaves with original 'Café Chamarel' (A1).

Local business owners who were specified earlier in this study as the table d'hôte owners experienced problems from unlicensed competitors. The MOT confirmed that there were only two licensed table d'hôtes in Chamarel in time 1 (2004) (A22). This was also confirmed by a community representative (A15). Photos of the new table d'hôte used by UNDP were not recognised by the MOT and the existing table d'hôtes owners. However, it was approved by UNDP as a visible representation (Confidential report 2004). It appeared to be an unlicensed table d'hôte that was not recognised by the MOT and local business owners. There were only two licensed table d'hôtes according to the MOT but three table d'hôtes were recognised in the Community Tourism Project (Confidential report 2004). However, it was the unrecognised 'table d'hôte' that was used by the UNDP for the Community Tourism Project (photo C22). Only one of the three table d'hôtes which was not given recognition during time 1 (2004) had succeeded as a local business and gained publicity in tourist guides in time 2 (2014).

One of the table d'hôte owners believed that her business was unique and later discovered that she was not informed about her competitors. Another table d'hôte owner recognised that two other table d'hôtes existed. Both existing table d'hôte owners did not know that the new table d'hôte was part of the UNDP Project. It was not accepted by the village representative as a reputable or recognised table d'hôte (A1).

Unlicensed premises had sprung up and exacerbated an existing problem of duplication. There were already three table d'hôtes and local business owners were struggling to sustain their main incomes. Local unlicensed cafés increased competition for trade. This caused an unregulated mismatch of catering establishments without hygiene, safety or construction standards. It was believed to be damaging the image of table d'hôtes in Chamarel and their reputation for authentically Creole hospitality and cuisine (A1).

'When there are problems with fake table d'hôtes nothing can be done. We are not with any group, there is no group involvement.' There was no platform where local business holders could voice their concerns with the local District Council or tourism developers (A1; A3).

The village representative was dissatisfied by other table d'hôtes who served Indo-Mauritian food and in his opinion this did not represent Creole cuisine (A1). Another point made by a villager was that the family who ran the new table d'hôte supported by the UNDP Project were also Indo-Mauritians (photos C24-C25). Mamta criticised the food in one of the table d'hôtes as it offered Indian cuisine rather than Creole cuisine which consisted of Indian masala curries and not native 'carrie poison' {*curry fish complete with bones and head*} and 'zasar mangue' {*green mango pickle*}.

The local perception of ethnicity and 'Mauritianess' was a pattern found in the data from interviews and casual conversations on table d'hôte cuisine. The MOT Planner defined table d'hôtes as businesses using local produce but he also recognised establishments owned by French expatriates in the community tourism concept (A23). This presented distorted and conflicting views on what was community tourism in Chamarel.

The MOT claimed that training for the local people was provided by private hotels and the Hotel and Catering School. However, this resulted in cooking methods and serving styles which changed from traditional Creole customs to European haute cuisine. Food was served in the style of the luxurious hotels found in Grand Baie and Flic en Flac. A table d'hôte owner admitted that these schools had influenced her business. She avoided serving authentic Creole cuisine and offered Indian cuisine that would be more familiar to European tastes.

Table d'hôte owners resented the idea that restaurants in Chamarel had non-local owners who were using the village name such as Le Restaurant Chamarel and were serving French cuisine. This did not introduce Creole cuisine to international tourists. Community tourism had not revitalised Creole food or culture by using local produce or local villagers as chefs to distinguish it from typical Mauritian cuisine.

6.5. Development for the ‘community’?

The following sections will present the analysis from interviews and casual conversations with the local villagers, observations and multimedia. The tables in this Chapter will show a concise view of triangulated data as the patterns and themes emerged and were developed from a thematic framework.

Chamarel is isolated from the main towns in particular the capital of Mauritius (Port Louis) in the North and Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam International airport at Mon Plaisance Mahebourg in the south-east. A confidential report (2004) states that public transport was operating regularly to Chamarel in 2000. However, it was reported that the villagers would still walk to the nearest village of Case Noyale located at the foot of the Chamarel Mountains (as shown on the map in Chapter One) which is approximately a one-hour walk (Kallee 2012a; 2012b).

The intention to visit the Chamarel area was received by Mamta’s relatives (Indo-Mauritian origin) with raised eyebrows and stunned faces. This was a frequently recurring response amongst the local Port Louis residents – the stunned expressions figuratively saying ‘why would you want to go there?’ Mamta privately argued that the Mauritian perception of Chamarel was that it was isolated in the ‘jungle’ or ‘wilderness,’ it was a dangerous area and its remoteness did not appeal to the key actor in time 1 (2004). This corresponds to data found in Chapter Two and Chapter Five where Creole areas were perceived as dangerous. A local villager employed at Lakaz Chamarel relates how other Mauritians (of other ethnicities) perceive that Chamarlians are just ‘living in the woods’ implying their lack of development and civilisation (Le Mauricien 2014a).

The taxi service was an important source of trade for local businesses and source of information for the research. The driver became a key informant on daily and local news. The taxi driver ‘Mi’ was a friend of Mamta and the choice of taxi was a valuable one as it allowed key insider information on private roads, short cuts, local knowledge about the Chamarel area, its history and its inhabitants. ‘Mi’ the taxi driver became a key contributor in locating venues where there

were no directions or signs in the wild unknown regions of Chamarel. The option to travel by car was a safer means of transport in secluded and unlit areas at night. He assisted in translation with his friend Mamta and ensured that the researcher could investigate regions of Chamarel which were unsuitable for travelling alone. It also allowed a degree of flexibility so the researcher could visit local residents after their working hours or on the weekend when the bus routes were not in service.

Mauritius is developed for tourism but the culture is conservative. Women standing alone or walking in pairs after 6pm in some areas, for example, could be perceived in a negative way by the local people. Women were also unwelcome in certain café cultures where men drank alcohol, played cards and darts. Rural workers would carry machetes in case of attackers or stray wild dogs in the evenings. On a side note, it is common practice in Mauritius for families to keep a wild dog as a security protection rather than a pet. It was a local perception that to cage an animal and treat it cruelly would ensure that it aggressively keeps intruders out of the house. Unfortunately, one can come across stray and disabled dogs in the Capital or their rotting corpses in the fields where they were dumped or slain by a worker on his way home at night. 'Mi's neighbours kept twelve vicious dogs which were let loose when everyone had gone to bed.

6.5.1. Accessibility and facilities for tourism

Theme: Accessibility to Chamarel Village						
Sub-issue: Road accessibility						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Dangerous roads without barriers for safety.	x	x	x	x	x
Finding 2	Tourists and locals at risk of accidents.	x	x	x	x	x
Finding 3	Lack of access to further inland locations.	x	x	x		x
Finding 4	Chamarel perceived as a dangerous place.	x	x			x

Table 6.8. Themes from development for the community - accessibility

The key finding from interviews and casual conversations was on the transport in Chamarel. Villagers could not travel for employment in hotels and attractions or receive imports for local businesses. This is a pattern in the data continuing from the findings in Chapter Five.

The data found emerging patterns with informants and media coverage on the lack of reliable transport to and from Chamarel to neighbouring areas and main bus stations. Travel to Chamarel can only be made by car as a reliable means of transport. The area does not have fixed transport connections and this will be discussed later. Citizens take buses as there is not a rail or train service in Mauritius. Time 1 (2004) data found that buses to Chamarel were criticised as dirty and poorly maintained, reminiscent of the 1960s caravans identified by their orange bases and round tin roofs (B1; B4).

Media coverage in time 1 (2004) (appendix photo C14) displays how the steep roads in Chamarel were without barriers and safety measures had not changed in time 2 (2014). The journey to Chamarel involves a steep, long, spiralling road through the nearest village of Case Noyale at the foot of the Chamarel Mountains. It is known as a dangerous journey of twists and turns with some cliffs accommodating only a small car or van. It was observed that on some areas of the road a wall estimated at a foot in length acted as a barrier from travellers driving off into the uncultivated lands below (photo C14). Fatal accidents were not uncommon where drivers in oncoming vehicles could not see each other around the tight corners. It is therefore impossible to see the oncoming vehicle or a pedestrian. Despite it being the only route tourists could access the attractions – ‘Who cares’ was the title ironically given to a photograph depicting the dismal lack of safety maintenance in Chamarel (L’Express 2005).

The lack of safe public roads kept the more cautious taxi drivers and tourists away from the dangerous journey leading to Chamarel. It was a local custom for a taxi driver to take his foot off the brake and let the car run downhill in order to economise on petrol (in one case this caused a near-miss collision with a truck from a nearby plantation). ‘Mi’ the taxi driver would press his horn down to warn any oncoming vehicle around the corner of the cliff as there were no road fences to prevent the car from overturning down the cliff.

A newspaper article reported the ‘anger of Chamarel’s inhabitants’ on how the transport situation has not changed in Chamarel from time 1 (2004) to time 2 (2014) (Antoine 2011). Residents still wake up at 4:30am to catch the only bus available to reach the nearest towns Vacoas and Quatre Bornes (Antoine 2011). A late or broken-down bus is a daily occurrence and despite a local petition to the main company the transport conditions had not improved. Only 40 seats on the bus were permitted but this rule was ignored by the larger coaches carrying tourists and guava pickers. ‘Dangerous bends, bad roads and faulty buses are some of the dangers for road users at Chamarel’ (Antoine 2011). The bus crash in April 2011 in Chamarel resulted in 55 wounded due to a brake failure (Rose 2013). Dangerous conditions such as brake delays and engine failures are common and this lack of safety in reliable bus travel has caused the villagers to close the local roads themselves so that tourists could not access the area and enable the Government to send assistance. A key informant reported that the main road to

Chamarel was blocked for six months in 2013 so that visitors could not travel to and from Chamarel.

The lack of development was a key factor for local villagers who could not travel to the new resorts for employment in the South such as the Le Morne Heritage Telfair. Data from local council electives and business stakeholders confirmed that between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) bus networks were either unavailable, infrequent or dangerous due to disrepair so that the local people travelled a long way by foot to and from work (A1; Dodd 2004; Mega 2011). There was a consensus that problems with access to this isolated village still remained a key hindrance to finding secure employment. The village representative was cynical that tourism could bring development in the sense of better transport facilities as this had not changed with the Community Tourism Project (A1).

Secondly, it was identified that Chamarel did not have the infrastructure to look after the villagers and tourists. It was concluded over the last 50 years the tourism industry had not changed Chamarel in terms of infrastructure, modernisation via public facilities or educational opportunities (A1; B5; A11; A14). In time 1 (2004) there were only two bus services which ran irregularly each day to Quatre Bornes at its furthest point. There was not a local hospital, emergency medical care or ambulance service. Electricity was introduced in the 1990s but the villagers were too poor to afford it. The existence of the local post office and local facilities were credited to the nuns at the local church (A3). Tourism did not result in the development of crucial services according to local opinion (A1; A3).

The local people believed that they would have similar problems with tourism development as experienced in Le Morne. However, Le Morne was perceived as offering more opportunities for employment and access to public facilities. A respondent claimed that he had requested for clean running water several times but priority was given to development elsewhere (B5). A table d'hôte owner also talked about the importance of clean running water which was not installed until 1995 (A3). The village representative was passionate about his fight for roads to

enable residents to gain employment outside of Chamarel at Le Morne hotels and educational opportunities at other schools for the next generation (A1).

The only phone available was at the village church until 1995 (A1). A health centre and a post office was established by 1985 also through the Convent. In time 2 (2014) the key actor confirmed that there still was not a hospital. A villager noted; 'What are they (the Government) doing for us with tourism? Nothing, nothing at all.' (A1). The only ambulance was available at 3pm and the nearest hospital was at Rivière Noire District Council which only provided basic treatments and first aid (A3). A local table d'hôte owner related that while she was pregnant, she had to walk down the long, winding roads. 'I was terrified but had no choice. You cannot see around the bends. If a bus hits you! You must take the risk that there is no hospital in Chamarel. I had to walk down to Case Noyale (the nearest village) for treatment' (A8).

Mamta was astonished that Chamarel had not changed for over three decades since when she visited as a child in the 1960s. During time 1 (2004) there was still only one bus per day going to Case Noyale and this was not regular. It was not clear where the bus stop was located.

6.5.2. The need for education

Theme: Education and Training						
Sub-issue: Education and illiteracy in Chamarel						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	The need to be trained in skills for tourism industry.	x	x		x	
Finding 2	The need for a Tourism Employees Welfare Fund.	x	x	x		
Finding 3	Unemployed and unskilled EPZ workers.	x	x	x	x	x
Finding 4	Chamerelian villagers as agricultural workers were disadvantaged due to lack of skills in tourism sector.	x	x	x	x	x

Table 6.9. Themes from The need for vocational training in Chamarel

In Chapter Five it was discussed how the landscape of Chamarel and livelihoods of the villagers were changing as the tourism industry developed. Further data corresponded to this as Ministers warned that the price of sugar would ‘threaten the already precarious livelihood of our poor farmers and workers who do not have an alternative source of income’ (Bhuckory 2005b, p.10). These would include the Chamarel villagers and other regional Creole populations in the South. The 39% price cut would result in lower sugar prices and entail further impacts on the Mauritius economy (Bhuckory 2005b, p.10). The devastating impact of price cuts on countries like Mauritius would be too fast for them to recover or build stable alternatives such as the tourism industry (News on Sunday 2005, p.15).

Diversification from sugar to the tourism industry in Chamarel was seen as a good option to provide employment which was less seasonal. It would encourage entrepreneurship from small traders, artisans (handicraft) and planters with emphasis on training and re-skilling local

women. (News on Sunday 2006, p.17). However, in Chapter Five a Chief Economist related how the closure of EPZ factories had caused problems for the older workforce where age and skill training barriers had led to unemployment (A13). It is interesting that training barriers were mentioned and this is relevant to Chamarel's inhabitants. Due to low levels of literacy some respondents struggled to converse and read in both French and English and felt comfortable using only native Kreol.

The low literacy levels in Chamarel prevented local villagers from securing employment in tourism. Contrary to the CIA and official figures the country still faces issues with illiteracy. Chamarel is located in the poorest district in Mauritius – Black River {*Rivière Noire*} which came fourth in a league table with 11.7% illiteracy. At village level the illiteracy rate is at a much higher level (Hilbert 2012). For example, in Gros Cailloux three in ten (32.6%) are illiterate, in St-Hubert, the percentage is 32.5%. In Quatre Soeurs it is 29% and Baie du Cap 25.6%. Creole Villages such as Bamboo, Chamarel, Quartier-Militaire and Bel-Air-Rivière are 21.2%, 21.8%, 18% and 18.5% respectively. Among the Mauritian population who cannot read or write 323,000 Mauritians admitted they only understood Mauritian Kreol and 615 in Indian Bhojpuri (Hilbert 2012).

As previously discussed, political agendas to enforce Kreol as an official language were unsuccessful. Primary school education in Chamarel reflected the national curriculum where Creole history, slavery and the Kreol native language were omitted in time 1 (2004). There were discussions in 2004 to include Kreol into the primary school curriculum. Between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) this would have had a direct benefit for the Chamarel community, however this was criticised and it received a lot of negative press on the radio and in newspapers (Boswell 2006, p.6). Creole identity and history was still a point of contention in mainstream education.

Education was not compulsory in Mauritius till 2004 and this gives some insight into the level of literacy of the local inhabitants. Therefore, in this disadvantaged area a high proportion of villagers had studied no further than the local primary school. During the fieldwork, some

natives had low levels of literacy in both French and English to interact, train or work in leisure and tourism venues such as luxury hotels and restaurants where they would need to be bilingual (IRS Presentation to the BOI 17 June 2003, p.5).

A teacher at the local primary school argued that the problem with illiteracy in Chamarel was due to the lack of school facilities (A19). Without an education the inhabitants had less opportunities to be employed in skilled work within the tourism industry. She argued that for the past twenty years the local children still needed to take the only bus at 4:30-5:30am to Quatre Bornes to go to secondary school and that they must return at 6:30p.m or they would be stranded. She states that 'In Chamarel there was no school in my time. We couldn't afford it. It used to cost Rs 50 Mauritian Rupees a month to go to school... well, nothing has changed. Many cannot afford it and I let the local children in for free otherwise they will get no education at all' (A17). Another respondent also commented 'How can we provide what the workers need? This is a poor place. We need funding for the children's education. At the moment, school kids between one to three years old must pay out of their own pocket. This is Rs 250 Mauritian Rupees per month. People in Chamarel cannot even afford this much, so how about the rest of the education they need?' (A19).

Chamarel is still identified in time 2 (2004) as an area in extreme poverty that needs assistance. Social integration continues to be a problem due to poverty in the younger generations. The Government planned in 2002 to open Social Centres for children in the poorest neighbourhoods and Chamarel was included along with Kennedy Residences, St. Catherine, Anoushka, Barkly, Goodlands, Roche-Bois and Baie du Tombeau (Dinally 2012).

On the other hand, the fact that Chamarel was educationally disadvantaged provided some decision-makers with the argument that the local villagers did not need to be involved in community tourism planning because they would lack an understanding of its concepts (A13). Casual conversations with a key informant concluded that the local people were illiterate and therefore could not make a sufficient contribution (A21).

In time 1 (2004) The Chamarel Development Project stated that it would protect and empower the Chamarel people who were 'economically disadvantaged' and who would soon suffer future job losses from the closure of the nearest sugar estate Bel Ombre and the re-zoning of agricultural land for business. The UNDP allocated \$46,93500 towards the Small Grants Project for 'Community Tourism and Organic Farming in Chamarel' in recognition of the social and economic detachment of this area as one of the least developed rural regions in Mauritius (UNDP 2004; Confidential report 2004). The IRS were also believed to integrate the local community by providing employment opportunities.

Chamarel was the first area in Mauritius to pilot community tourism. It was seen as a new 'type' of tourism and a unique approach to tourism development. As previously mentioned, research into community tourism in Mauritius was therefore a new subject area. The social implications of such development had not been investigated (A15).

It was proposed that the Project would provide 500-1000 direct and indirect jobs for the local community (Confidential report 2004). Considering the local community was officially 700 residents at the time 1 (or 850 residents according to the village representative's estimation) at first impression this would appear a positive impact. However, the findings discovered key problems in training, education and support services to secure the success of such a Project. Unfortunately, there was no follow-up to understand why the UNDP was not visible to the local villagers. It was not a success as it did not have an impact on those who were interviewed. The findings therefore present valuable insight into why the Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project may have not been successful in eyes of the community residents.

6.5.3. The need for vocational training

Theme: Finding employment after the programme						
Sub-issue: Lack of apprenticeship training and infrastructure development						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	The need for Government assistance to fund apprenticeship and training schemes.	x	x	x		
Finding 2	The need for vocational training due to low levels of literacy.	x	x	x		
Finding 3	Training was seen as irrelevant and not up to date or current with business knowledge and technology.	x	x	x	x	
Finding 4	Insufficient time to learn from project ‘training.’	x	x	x	x	
Finding 5	Lack of contact and follow-up from ‘trainers.’	x		x	x	
Finding 6	Accessibility is a key problem to travel for training and employment.	x	x	x		x

Table 6.10. Themes from the need for vocational training in Chamarel

According to villagers their 'training' in the Community Tourism Project were visits to a glass factory, some 'driving around' and pointing out national landmarks, playing a guitar, games night, Sega, and receiving a few bars of chocolate which they could not use as business enterprises (A15). The 'training' on 'how to weave a basket' and 'how to play a guitar' lasted for one or two days (photos C31-C33). There was no further contact from the 'trainers' as they had disappeared (A17). Members of the local Women's Association had forgotten what they had learned because the 'trainers' did not make contact again (A17; A18).

The village representative argued that this was money sorely needed for development. He accused the Tourism Planners of wasting this money due to his own self-perception that Creoles were seen as undeserving of development; ‘zot malbar’ *{those Indians}* in their lifestyle – why would they give it to us Creoles?’ (A1).

Vocational training is a key issue for the future of the local people for tourism development, particularly when there are low literacy levels. Training can be from public and private enterprise but neither was offered to the local people when data was gathered in time 2 (2014). A Tourism Planner voiced his concern that tourism businesses had not included local initiatives to provide on-site training programmes. He recommended apprenticeships for an agricultural workforce who did not have qualifications. He stressed that local business owners needed on-site training in tourism and use of technology in order to compete on the international market (A20).

Data in both time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) confirmed that education on tourism is still a new phenomenon in Mauritius. There is a Hotel and Catering School with limited places. It is located in the north of Mauritius and unaffordable to the Chamarel villagers. The Mauritian Tourism Promotion Authority (MTPA) recognised that the chances of the villagers finding work in the industry were poor as it was still difficult for the average Mauritian citizen to acquire the skills necessary for work in Grand Baie and it was seen as impossible for the villagers to meet this level of skill without Government assistance (A18).

Without the cooperation of hotel resorts towards educational and vocational training it was causing a leakage of tourism revenue away from the village via domestic and expatriate workers. However, in time 2 (2014) new accommodation venues such as Lakaz Chamarel were creating jobs and recruiting the local people as part of the ecotourism concept (Le Mauricien 2014a; 2014b).

As previously mentioned, the Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project proposed 500-1000 direct and indirect jobs in Chamarel. However, the designated spa and well-being facilities offered in IRS facilities such as ‘traditional Ayurvedic’ practices, hydrotherapy, thalassotherapy and cosmetic surgery suggested that a highly skilled and qualified workforce were needed. The Creole community did not view Indian practices such as ‘Ayurvedic’ as part of their local heritage. Surgeries and other treatments would demand a highly skilled and qualified workforce which Chamarel residents cannot provide without vocational training. There were huge expectations for the people of Chamarel as an unskilled agricultural community to find direct employment within IRS and the Community Tourism Project.

6.5.4. Stagnating community tourism businesses

Theme: Project activities						
Sub-issue: Local participation						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Confusion on the time frame and action plans for specific parts of the Community Tourism Project.	x	x		x	
Finding 2	Lack of awareness on the geographical context and infrastructure of the village.	x	x	x	x	
Finding 3	No contact and communication after the activities and permits.	x	x		x	
Finding 4	Training programmes are vague and lack substance to assist small business enterprises.	x	x	x	x	

Table 6.11. Themes from community tourism in Chamarel

Analysis of the data in Chapter Five alongside the fieldwork data in this Chapter show how between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) some community tourism businesses were stagnating. Handicrafts were previously viewed as sustainable tourism businesses in the Community Tourism Project but they were in decline and could not be located in Chamarel. Informants did not know about the 'ecotourism guides' program. It was unsuccessful in empowering young women in the village to become self-employed through tourism. The UNDP informant admitted that there were no ecotourist guides and they had migrated out of the area (A21).

There was also a 'nature trail' proposed in the Community Tourism Project. The UNDP stated that there was a nature trail and eco-guides but the local village informants had no knowledge of a tourist or nature trail. Later it was discovered that the trail had not been constructed and was still in tender (A15). The locals also did not know about an 'amphitheatre' proposed by the Project and were unaware of its location.

In the fieldwork only one villager was identified as still making handicrafts after the Project had been terminated. She did not have business premises and needed to use a small space in her porch. At the back of her house she kept the embroidery and weaving work but she had not been able to sell it in over a year as there was a lack of passing trade. Tourists rarely ventured further than the Seven Coloured Earth attraction into the village (A18).

In time 1 (2004) it was only the table d'hôtes which were viable businesses to set-up in the neighbourhood but by time 2 (2014) as explained in the findings in Chapter Five this market had become saturated. There was confusion on which businesses had permits and those with lower standards were giving a bad reputation for Chamarel tourism. Women in the village initially hoped that the handicraft training would provide a source of self-employment and give them independence to start their own businesses. There was a lack of vocational and business training to enable female members of the community to generate their own incomes. Some local women had given up on the idea that community tourism would help them become independent. A villager related her disappointment with the tourism industry; 'I'll probably only make Rs 10 Mauritian Rupees every month from this. When I think that Rs 50,000 to Rs

100,000 Mauritian Rupees was given to a Community Fund. Only some of us got a bit of money to set-up a tourism business like selling handicraft. But this had to be paid within six months with 8% interest. I was named as one of the women entrepreneurs but I had to buy all the materials myself!’ (A18).

The villagers felt neglected as they were asking for technical advice and resources but they had no further contact from the representatives of the Community Tourism Project (A15; A18). It was not specified how the locals could ensure sustainable livelihoods out of only handicrafts and table d’hôtes from a two day training programme. Local businesses were not monitored and they were without financial assistance and professional or vocational training.

Although there was insufficient trade available for the locals to set-up sustainable businesses using handicrafts, the National Handicraft Promotion Agency (NHPA) still decided to go ahead building a small handicrafts shop near the local primary school. This would result in business duplication and competition for the local artisans. The promoter claimed that there were not profitable tourist attractions in Chamarel and that the NHPA building would hire caretakers and salespersons from the village and train them to become self-employed. However, this would not diversify the tourism product - it was duplicating a business venture that was proving unprofitable for local inhabitants.

The NHPA building was still under construction in time 1 (2004). A key actor later confirmed that it was still there in time 2 (2014) but it did not sell local handicrafts made by the villagers and employed only one person for demonstration purposes only. Between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) Mamta confirmed during her visit to Chamarel in 2007 that she had found one local person employed in the NHPA building which was used for display purposes. The handicrafts were based on imports rather than local artisans.

There had not been an investigation into what business support or funding the local people required. They had already lost their own investments in selling handicrafts at either La Terre

Sept Couleurs or as part of their private businesses (B4; A18). An NHPA representative admitted that he had not visited Chamarel before the building was approved and did not make plans to do so in the future. Despite the villagers being separated from the area where the handicraft building was situated he felt that it would be successful in generating local revenue (A16). He assumed that the locals could make a profit from handicraft. He also confirmed that he had not discussed the effectiveness of the NHPA building with the Ministry of Tourism. In comparison, the Women Association members who had tried to use handicraft {*artisana*} as a means of self-employment had not heard about the NHPA building which could provide employment or direct competition (A17).

A source at the UNDP confirmed that the Chamarel Community Tourism Project would be an ‘add-on’ by boosting pre-existing handicraft opportunities (A21). She held a strong opinion that the local people were already selling their handicrafts at hotels in Le Morne but that they were not selling the appropriate merchandise to gain profits. However, when questioned later she mentioned that she had never visited Chamarel as part of the Project. A representative had not visited Chamarel to meet locals or to assess what existing businesses required to survive (A21). In contrast, table d’hôte owners and participants at the Women’s Association who were involved in handicrafts as part of the Project replied they had not met the Project organiser. Participants could not locate the organic farm as part of the UNDP Community Tourism Project in time 1 (2004). The key actor could still not locate the organic farm in time 2 (2014).

When it was suggested that the UNDP proposal was to ensure employment could be gained at hotels such as Le Morne it brought an outcry among the Women’s Association. They protested that there was not a direct transport connection for them to reach Le Morne and this could not be the case (A17). Villagers argued that they could not travel to Le Morne for lack of transport to make handicraft a sustainable business venture. They argued; ‘what would a *grand noir* {*a proud man / outsider*} understand about hard life, someone who hasn’t lived in Chamarel or even visited, where people are poor and their ancestors all came from poverty?’ (A15; A18). They protested that if the organisers stopped being {*grand noire*} and actually visited the local people they would see that the infrastructure has always been a key problem in Chamarel to travel and secure a job in tourism.

Further information and local knowledge between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) revealed that recently the table d'hôte owners and Les Amis (UNDP) were not participating in the NHPA building or activities. It did not have a function within community tourism employment. Tourism from La Terre Sept Couleurs, Cascade Chamarel and even the newly built Parc Aventure and Restaurant Chamarel had not resulted in positive development for the community according to the local business owners (A1; A3; A8). The table d'hôtes had existed before the UNDP Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project.

6.5.5. The need for business support

Theme 4: Sustaining local tourism businesses						
Sub-issue 1: Lack of support services and facilities						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Need for knowledge and vocational training.	x	x	x	x	
Finding 2	Contact points, trouble-shooting, mediation and platform to voice ideas or network.	x	x	x		
Finding 3	Financial assistance with funding, resources and marketing.	x	x	x		
Finding 4	Duplication causing conflict, competition and decline.	x	x			x
Finding 5	Training programmes are vague and lack substance to sustain small business enterprises.	x	x		x	
Finding 6	Lack of monitoring on small businesses.	x	x			

Table 6.12. Themes from the need for business support in Chamarel

Participants in the Community Tourism Project were told to pay Rs 2000 Mauritian Rupees each for subscription and setup of a local Women's Association that would be part of community tourism activities. After this was established the local women did not hear from the representatives again (A17). The ongoing lack of contact between the project developers and the villagers was discussed several times amongst locals as proof that there was no 'local participation.' Therefore, they could not establish businesses without any support or guidance on stock, financing, networking and marketing.

A table d'hôte owner mentioned that a Government official visited Chamarel in 2001 and actively encouraged the locals to set-up cafés or restaurant businesses. Once the permits were purchased there was no further communication on how to run their businesses (A1; A2; A3). Another table d'hôte owner expressed how there was no contact or mediation with other organisations to help her set-up and run the business sustainably. She went without further financial support or grants to buy resources and to enable her to market her business. There was no further contact from either the MTPA or MOT (A8).

A different table d'hôte owner recounted how a Government official visited in Chamarel in 2001 but he did not offer financial assistance to build the premises. His permit cost RS 2,000 Mauritian Rupees and in return he was promised that there would only be three permits given in the area so that there would not be unfair competition. However, the increased number of restaurants such as Restaurant de Chamarel were competing with his business. Another table d'hôte owner described the same experience, comparing how the new Government official was not actually making visible impact in Chamarel or recognising that as an Afro-Mauritian community they faced numerous difficulties to run sustainable businesses. They felt that they were not acknowledged unless there was a national election when Government officials would take the opportunity to visit Chamarel as part of their media campaigns (A6).

It was reported that stakeholders 'buy-in' to a community concept, for example the local residents in Chamarel were given incentives to develop family businesses (Kassean 2010). Community tourism participation was defined as employing local people and locally sourcing

food and services from the community. It advertises the community through traditional festivals and local cuisine (Kassean 2010). However, data gathered in time 2 (2014) from informants in Chamarel discovered that there was little promotion on local Creole cuisine and businesses in the local village as taxis were paid to deter visitors straying from hotel resorts and their restaurant facilities. This correlated with the findings in Chapter Five.

A table d'hôte owner who migrated to Chamarel described how shops were not successful in the area because the locals could not afford stable construction with bricks and mortar and favoured cheaper 'toll' { *corrugated iron* } which looked unappealing to tourists. He argued that they were too poor to afford a fridge freezer for the fish and meat. He only spoke Kreol like the majority of the inhabitants in Chamarel. This was a challenge for his tourism trade which sometimes required bi-lingual or multi-lingual staff (A6).

Even at national levels of decision-making, a source at the UNDP made striking comments that she had not received any contact about the Project from the new Government officials and they had not met to discuss community tourism (A21). She was uninformed about the local trade and businesses which already existed and this caused further conflict and failure of duplicated businesses. Even though there are only a few table d'hôtes licensed in time 1 (2004) by time 2 (2014) this market was experiencing a saturation of unlicensed table d'hôtes competing for trade in the area. This confirmed the findings in Chapter Five. It was unidentified within UNDP and company projects that the Project would cause duplication and competition for local businesses. The Ministry of Tourism looked to increase identical business ventures in the area, but without distinction between them, the competition generated further conflicts and squeezed local owners out of the market (A19). It was unclear how the UNDP Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project would generate profit for the locals if the IRS resorts already included their own 'gardens' and 'farms' to encourage tourists to spend within the premises. Handicrafts were sold at the existing La Terre Sept Couleurs venue and inhabitants had expressed their problems selling handicrafts due to the lack of passing trade. The NHPA initiative to construct a handicraft shop in Chamarel would be a further duplication of a failed business venture. Further discussion of the findings on the IRS concept in Chamarel is in the next section.

6.5.6. Integrated schemes for tourism

Theme: Integration						
Sub-issue: Defining ‘integration’ in community tourism						
Major Findings	Elements/dimensions identified	Source of data				
		I	C	O	D	M
Finding 1	Planning and development did not involve local participation.	x	x			
Finding 2	Integration concept does not recognise residents as stakeholders.	x	x		x	x
Finding 3	Tourist villages all-inclusive and do not utilise local community resources.	x	x		x	
Finding 4	Expatriate and foreign ‘citizens’ were not perceived as integrated community.	x	x	x		

Table 6.13. Themes from integration in community tourism

Integrated Resort Schemes (IRS) gained newspaper coverage and became visible as a new approach to national tourism development (Chateau 2005a, p.7). The features of the IRS concept were characterised as large-scale villa developments focused on luxury, spa and well-being resorts within scenic areas in the south of Mauritius such as Chamarel. IRS were aimed at foreign investors (Chateau 2005b).

The findings on the Integrated Resort Schemes (IRS) proposed for Chamarel correlated with the data on integration with community tourism and sustainable tourism. The IRS concept was to construct large villa complexes by converting what was previously sugar estate land into tourism resorts. They would provide employment and be seen as 'tourist villages' (A22).

It was detailed in Chapter Three how tourism was recommended to rectify the employment crisis from decreased sugar and EPZ manufacturing but it was unsuccessful. An informant at the Ministry of Tourism confirmed that the IRS promotion coincided with national demand for tourism to help ‘economically disadvantaged’ areas such as Chamarel. The IRS scheme was believed to ‘integrate’ the community by providing employment opportunities for local agricultural workers (A25).

Conversations and interviews with informants at the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) discovered that two Integrated Resort Schemes (IRS) had been confidentially approved for construction in Chamarel (A21). The Project proposals assumed that local villagers would support their initiatives due to the economic benefits but community members were unaware of the land destruction that was necessary in order to convert it to IRS (A1).

An economist at the MOT was amazed when it was suggested that the IRS could involve community participation. He revealed that the Government’s viewpoint of ‘community’ were the business stakeholders not the local residents of Chamarel; ‘Integrated Resort Schemes are not about communities, it’s just about integrating stakeholders, operators and owners’ (A15). The stakeholders were not seen as members of the local community in Chamarel. The Town and Country Planning Board representative was also surprised and he added that there was not a social component to the Community Tourism Project (A14).

It was discovered that the stakeholders in the IRS developments were external to the local area. For confidentiality reasons the names cannot be published here, but they represented the Mauritius Sugar Producers Association, Chamber of Agriculture and La Participation Mauricienne as ‘small-scale planters’ of Indian ethnicity. However, the local people and the labourers who have historically worked in sugar plantations particularly at Bel Ombre were not represented (Bhuckory 2005b).

It was found during interviews with Tourism Planners that the term ‘Integrated’ development in Chamarel would not use the community or local residents in the tourism planning process (A22). It was revealed that there was not consultation or participation with the local community at all. The community were excluded from the tourism planning process. Information on the progress of IRS Projects, their design and sponsorship were strictly confidential. The general public and, more importantly, the villagers themselves were not aware of these Projects in Chamarel. However, after building a positive rapport with Ministry of Tourism officials some rare documents were shared with the researcher including future plans for the Chamarel area.

The village representative confirmed that the local villagers were not employed in IRS hotel developments and he argued that this was due to their poor education and lack of transport which correlated with the earlier findings in this Chapter; ‘There are three hotels IRS constructed in Bel Ombre. They take people from Grand Baie, not locals. They won’t educate the children in this area so that we can get jobs. Our handicrafts are not selling in Le Morne as they say. There is only one hotel school, it is so far away and they won’t decentralise. How do we pay the transport to send kids to school or to work in tourism?’ (A1).

IRS had saturated land in Bel Ombre with three five-star resorts (Le Telfair, Le Voile d’Or, Heritage) including hundreds of villas and duplexes (Le Defi Plus 2004, 19). Plans were still being improvised to combat local protests in Chamarel against the construction of a similar IRS in the area. The term ‘Integrated’ alluded to commercial integration of land rather than community integration (Chateau 2005a, p.7). This correlates with the findings in Chapter Five. The villagers argued that tourism would damage their forests and destroy their cultural heritage. Respondents to a newspaper article voiced concerns on the portrayal of Creole slavery heritage by the design of Le Telfair as a colonial sugar estate. Heritage resorts were advertised as ‘lodges et les villages africains’ which they felt mocked their history of slavery and suffering (Week-end 2004, p.38).

The Ministry of Tourism (MOT) defined IRS as a new concept of villas integrated as one all-inclusive ‘village’ (A22). A key problem with large-scale tourist villages such as the IRS

resorts is that they are all-inclusive worlds. The IRS was seen by the MOT as a separate 'community'. However, the enclave would exclude the local residents and would be situated outside of the local village and community. In effect, what could result are two communities segregated by class and status with the affluent expatriate and foreign visitors who either stay in Mauritius long-term or visit throughout the year on one side and the local poorer community of Chamarel villagers on the other.

The MOT representative explained that the motive of IRS developments by the Government was to generate revenue from large sections of barren sugar estate land (A22) This was confused with conversion for land to tourism, however it can be argued that building five-star villas for expatriates is not the same as providing land for local residences and enterprises.

Another problem is that IRS for community tourism would limit the mobility of tourists and therefore there would be less need for roads rather than a greater need and host-guest interaction would be limited even further. IRS as all-inclusive resorts meant detachment of the local businesses as they would contain their own farms, restaurants, shops and commercial centres. The geographical detachment of the local village from the tourist resorts already established in Chamarel (La Terre Sept Couleurs, La Vieille Cheminée, Parc Aventure) would be exacerbated by two all-inclusive IRS where tourists do not need to venture outside to meet the host population.

According to the objectives of confidential IRS plans the resorts would boost a 'green' or 'ecotourism' marketing image for Chamarel thus diversifying the tourism product inland (St Pierre 2005a p.9). It would do this exploiting its natural resources for international golf courses and establish international awareness of Mauritius for golf tourism (St Pierre 2005b). The Chamarel area was recognised by an IRS plan as one of outstanding natural beauty and high landscape value where 211 hectares of land can be exploited for tourism (IRS - confidential Report, p.10). In terms of tourism promotion the IRS intended to exploit the remoteness, seclusion and natural beauty of the Chamarel forest. It was surprising that although Chamarel was recognised as a sensitive ecological zone it was not safeguarded by any organisations from

these large-scale IRS constructions such as in the UK with the English Heritage or National Trust.

There would be marginal host-guest interaction due to the difficulty of finding local employment in the resorts. The IRS included their own garden spaces and farms for ecotourism. Locals who became stakeholders in the UNDP Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project had not been informed how their community farm would be used by the future developers as they already included farms and garden centres on the premises.

The findings in this Chapter correlate with the data Chapter Five and earlier where ecotourism and community tourism were perceived as a downgrade in standards. In particular, local accommodation and table d'hôte standards were implicated by a lack of regulation and monitoring. Ecotourism and community tourism catered for the 'hard' ecotourist such as a backpacker and adventure seeker who wanted to taste local food and live in local accommodation. However, this would encourage host-guest interaction and economic benefits for local businesses and this conflicted with the objectives of the IRS. The Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project was also not successful in meeting these objectives.

In this sense, community tourism in Chamarel catered to the 'soft' tourist – high net worth individuals who preferred environmentally-friendly tourism which did not forfeit luxury and comfort (Butler 1992). As Wheeler (1994) suggested ecotourism is an 'ego boost' for tourists who wish to appear community and ecologically sensitive whilst remaining in reasonable physical comfort (Wheeler 1994, p.652).

It was argued that there should be corporate responsibility towards the social development of communities like Chamarel to help the local residents benefit from tourism. A member of the MOT recommended that there needs to be a legal framework so that tourism employees can sustain themselves such as a Pension Fund or Welfare Fund (A15). The MOT demanded a 'Social Fund' but there was not any specific information about this Fund and what it would

entail for local residents. The Economist and Tourism Planner recommended that a donation should be made by private investors (i.e. landowners, factories, hotel chains) to a Government 'Social Fund' in return for incentives such as tax rebates on land conversion, investment certificates and other concessions. However, they stated that in the case of the Bel Ombre sugar estate the Fund enabled them construct and link roads between their resorts. It did not involve the community of Chamarel (A15; A22).

According to the village representative community tourism had not developed Chamarel in terms of community and tourist facilities, local business and employment opportunities. There was widespread local disappointment that any Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project in the future would not change this situation. They were a Creole neighbourhood and it was common knowledge amongst the locals that Creoles did not benefit from 'any' development (A1). Tourism reinforced the power relations where outsider minority groups held the power over the planning and implementation of community tourism and its financial benefits.

6.6. Conclusion and summary of the research findings

Chapters Five and Six analysed the findings in time 1 (2004) and the netnographic and multimedia findings in time 2 (2014) to discuss the many factors influencing tourism in Chamarel village and community development. The themes and patterns which emerged from the data were analysed as they progressed from time 1 (2004) to time 2 (2014) to give a rich account of community tourism development in Chamarel.

In summary, there needs to be research in Chamarel before the formulation of National Development Plans and it must take into account the practical reality of implementing tourism in a Creole Village like Chamarel which is geographically isolated, holds cultural significance and is an ecologically sensitive area.

In terms of employment, it was identified that basic skills training is not sufficient for the older generation who previously worked in the EPZ as they may not be able to physically achieve the workload or possess low levels of literacy. Skills training may not be successful with local agricultural workers who may possess lower levels of literacy to become suddenly bi-lingual as tourism hotel receptionists and waiters. It is important that the locals are provided vocational courses and apprenticeships so that they can obtain hands-on practical experience to help them understand and set-up their own sustainable businesses.

Community tourism was unsuccessful in Chamarel due to an insufficient infrastructure and facilities for the tourists and locals and subsequently sustainable businesses suffered from stagnation. The few number of locals who endeavoured to continue their small businesses needed financial assistance such as grants programmes. The locals did not have the capital to launch new businesses without support. They also needed local support from networking services, banks, local advisors, tour operators and NGO assistance with financial and business advice. Local businesses required a main post office to send mail or receive correspondence. The MOT recommended a legal framework so that the villagers could sustain themselves from a tourism pension and a Tourism Employees Welfare Fund.

Local entrepreneurs wanted marketing assistance and help with media networking to promote and create awareness amongst domestic tour operators. The costs of marketing themselves would be unaffordable for these local business entrepreneurs. They could also schedule a regular meeting with businesses in other areas or locally with the successful table d'hôtes to share ideas. It would also help local residents with low levels of literacy who may find it easier to participate and contribute during a face-to-face meeting than written correspondence. It was also important that local residents are invited to meetings when development proposals were in tender and before they are approved.

It was a theme in the National Development Plans and Community Tourism Project that local participation was based on employment opportunities. A social impact assessment was missing from the concept of local participation. Research in Mauritian community tourism needs to

assess what the locals want from tourism development apart from job creation. For example, this study discovered that the lack of transport infrastructure was a major obstacle in the village from future employment opportunities and the development of leisure facilities. Chamarel was the last Mauritian village to gain access to electricity and clean water. In time 1 (2004) the villagers were concerned how future development could be sustained safely if they did not have a local hospital for accidents, crisis points, public toilets or designated park spaces as this affects both the local villagers and tourists. A council building such as a Civic Centre at the local village would be necessary to provide information and advice. A tourist information point and arbitration services would need to be local to the area as the villagers felt that the Rivière Noire District Council was inaccessible.

Tourism development in Chamarel has adapted and changed between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014). Chamarel relied on two main tourism attractions for many decades, however in time 2 (2014) the area was starting to reflect the new trends in tourism for alternative tourism and ecotourism. Despite this diversification and expansion of tourism attractions and accommodation portfolio, there has been less change in the areas between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014) highlighted as key issues, such as infrastructure, public facilities, training and financial assistance for the local people and their businesses.

It was during the process of collecting data on local perceptions towards community tourism that the conflicts became apparent between Governmental departments on how decisions had been approved without consultation. There needs to be local participation at every stage of the Project. The villagers were not informed or consulted and they did not participate in the planning process for community tourism.

The findings represented three groups of stakeholders; the public stakeholders and Government, the private stakeholders and IRS companies, and the local villagers and their businesses. The Community Tourism Project was a multifaceted approach that was not a clear-cut concept such as described in Blank (1989) and Haywood (1988). Community tourism development does not always result in 'collective bargaining' or collective consensus. On the

contrary, community tourism development can be complicated by reinforcements of self-identity and historical context. The community tourism concept is complex due to the perceptions on Mauritian citizenship and who qualifies as a community member to participate in community tourism development.

Chapters Five and Six have fulfilled the research objectives. Chapter Five achieved a comprehensive evaluation of development and tourism planning in Mauritius and identified gaps in existing knowledge on the social aspects of Mauritian tourism. It also assessed the change of tourism over time using the chronological timeline 1970-2013 from Chapter Two and applied this to Chamarel. It therefore fills in a gap in knowledge on tourism in Chamarel over an extended period in particularly 2004-2014 when community tourism was established. It was an important finding that community members at grass-root level were not informed or consulted and they did not have a platform to participate in decision-making for tourism development. In relation to the findings in Chapter Five it reveals how the tourism planning process was still a top-down autocratic approach towards both environmental and social capacities.

Chapters Five and Six analyse how national tourism trends in Mauritius have related to significant change in Chamarel tourism and subsequent development. Chapter Six developed and expanded these findings further to investigate other factors which have challenged community tourism development from the view of the local villagers such as employment, infrastructure, facilities and the community tourism planning process. More importantly, Chapter Six fills the gap in knowledge on community tourism in Creole communities. Chapter Six therefore fulfils the objectives to explore community perspectives and the experiences of community tourism. It continues the debates surrounding community perspectives and the recommendations for community studies in Chapter Five. It discovered how ethnicity along with other factors influence community tourism development.

Changes in legislation towards granting resident status and citizenship presents new developments in the way 'Mauritianess' and community memberships can be analysed within

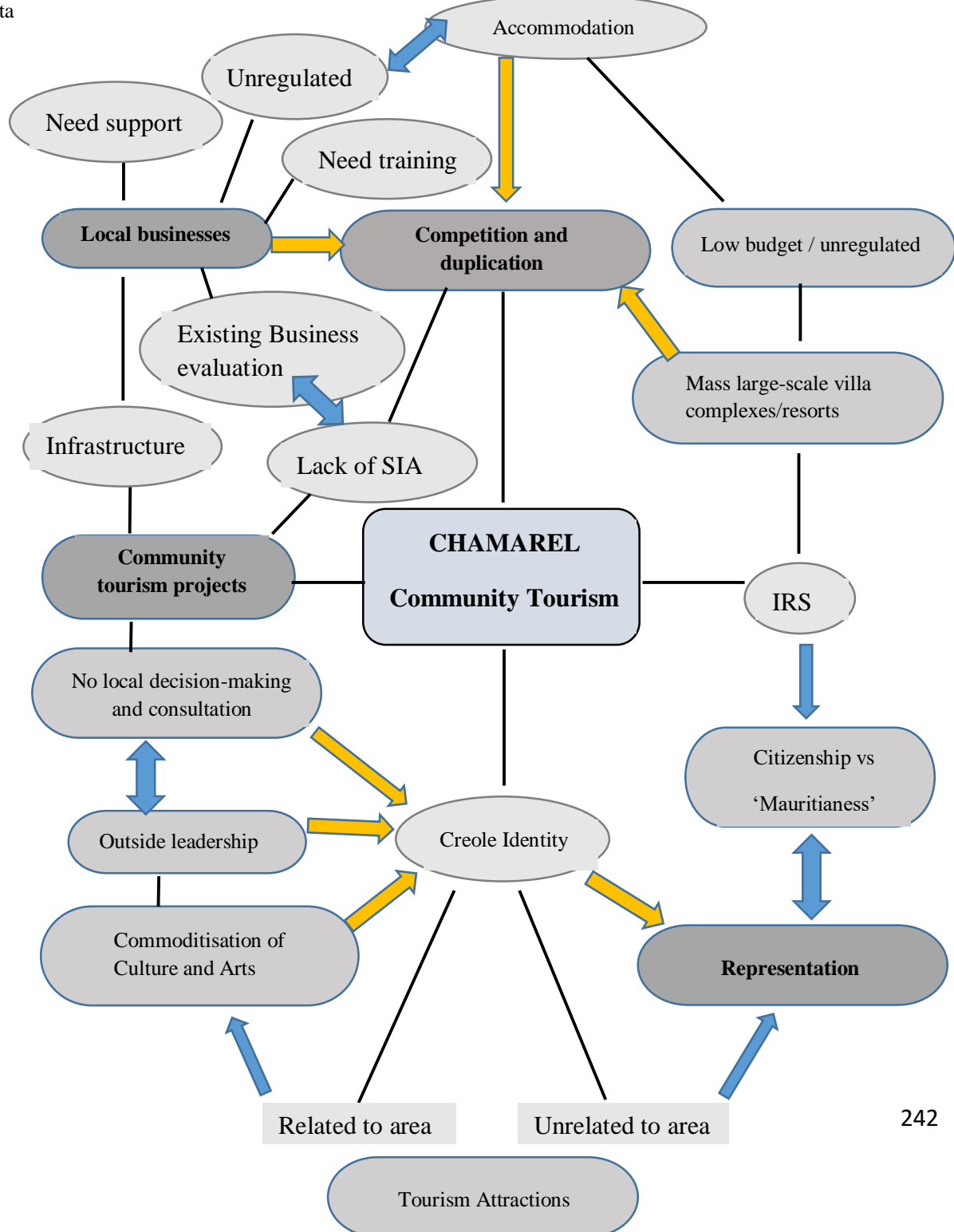
tourism participation. In particular, this Chapter identified that Chamarel was affected by the changes in citizenship and who they viewed as outsiders to community development. This will be analysed in Chapter Seven. The following Chapter analyses how the perceptions which emerged from the UNDP Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project had affected the articulation of different groups of stakeholders in Chamarel's development. The next Chapter will discuss the power struggles between ethnicities and how ethnicity can be a factor in community tourism development. Any future directions, challenges and obstacles in the findings can be taken in consideration for future research in community tourism.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: TOURISM FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: PERSPECTIVES FROM CHAMAREL - *An Analytical Discussion*

This Chapter analyses the themes which emerged from the primary research and how the fieldwork correlates with the findings from netnographic and multimedia data on community tourism development in Chamarel.

7.1. Discussion of Chamarel's tourism and significant change over time

Fig 7.1. Community tourism change over time in Chamarel 2004-2014: Connection of themes emerging in the data



The diagram illustrates the interconnection of themes which emerged from the data during the period of time 1 (2004) to time 2 (2014) on community tourism in Chamarel. The main aim of this study was to analyse and discuss how the tourism industry in Mauritius has changed over time using a chronological guideline 1970 to 2013. It connects the findings to the tourism trends discussed in Chapter Three. The new data collected via multimedia and netnographic methods corresponded with the published data found during the fieldwork and expanded the themes. This provided fresh insight and updates on current tourism trends during 2013-2015.

This study has fulfilled the aim and objectives of the research study on community tourism and its relationship to development in Chamarel, Mauritius. The first objective of this research was to assess how the tourism industry trends have changed over time in Mauritius using a chronological guideline of c1970-2013. Chapter Three analysed trends at a national level of tourism planning in Mauritius. This study provides a holistic approach to analysing tourism trends by looking at National Plans, multimedia and netnographic research at a national and local level.

The findings in Chapter Five fulfill the second objective to identify the initiatives for tourism development in Mauritius by evaluating National Development Plans. It discovered that the National Development Plans used statistical sources and omitted crucial social assessments, particularly in World Heritage Sites and ecological or culturally valuable areas like Chamarel and Le Morne. Chapter Five connects such references with the historical context in Chapter Two.

It was discovered that the MOT and quasi-governmental groups recommended qualitative methods to understand the Creole perception of community tourism. It also advocates the use of qualitative methods to research tourism development in cultural and environmentally sensitive areas. The fieldwork findings therefore contribute towards potential social impact assessments or can be incorporated within Community Tourism Projects in the future.

The results from Chapter Five highlighted that National Plans were seen as frozen in time and did not acknowledge the development process as ongoing. The findings corresponded with the literature in Chapter Three. Community Tourism Projects need to consider the individual in the planning process. There should be a comprehensive approach which includes social research and social dimensions towards planning. Chapters Three and Five discuss how the Mauritian tourism product diversified into alternative tourism and thus community tourism was pioneered for the first time in Chamarel as a community-friendly and community-benefit driven industry.

An analysis of the Mauritian Government policy and Tourism Development Plans highlighted several recurring themes. Early Development Plans remained ambiguous as to how sustainable tourism would be achieved using a ‘tourism ceiling.’ National Development Plans lacked discussion on social capacity and how tourism development would ensure an equal distribution of the benefits. The benefits from tourism are particularly relevant in the southern regions like Chamarel which was poorly developed between the 1970s-1990s.

The third objective explores community perspectives within tourism planning in Mauritius. This was discussed in detail in Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Five presented the findings from National Development Plans, Tourism Plans and Social Fabric Studies. The key findings from this data revealed how the approach towards tourism development changed from mainstream luxury tourism to community tourism that was culturally and environmentally-friendly. Therefore, development in Chamarel was adapting to meet the tourism trends discussed in Chapter Three where the tourism industry had diversified from luxury, honeymoon and wedding holiday packages for the traditional Western European markets towards backpacking and adventure tourism and expanding the BRIC markets. Chapter Five findings therefore discussed how this laid the foundation for the community tourism concept which was later developed into the first Community Tourism Project launched in Chamarel.

The fourth objective was to explore experiences of community tourism within Chamarel village. Chapter Six discusses the emerging patterns in the data and expands on the key themes

from national level findings in Chapter Five. It uses these contexts to generate key findings from the grass-root level in Chamarel on the local perceptions and experiences of community tourism development.

The data analysis identified that Chamarel is experiencing rejuvenation according to Butler (1996) TALC model as it followed national tourism trends promoting inland, green, ecotourism and adventure tourism. The tourist profile in Chamarel changed as local business wanted to attract more adventurous and environmentally conscious travellers who were looking for local experiences, authentic cuisine and cultural attractions.

However, the eco-lodge was still branded as luxury as it included mod-cons and continental cuisine similar to five-star resorts. Ecotourism can be regarded as reconstituted mainstream luxury. The Integrated Resort Schemes question the concept of sustainable tourism which is community-driven. In particular, the findings revealed that lack of infrastructure and employment opportunities with competition from external businesses were some of the factors preventing the success of community tourism in Chamarel.

The fifth objective was to establish how tourism development in Chamarel has significantly changed over time. This was discussed in detail in Chapter Five where tables illustrate how Chamarel has specifically expanded to meet the demands of ecotourism and community tourism. In the case of community tourism, however, the data showed the stagnation and decline of local businesses. On the other hand, ecotourism showed potential as more initiatives were being proposed to cater for this national trend such as the Ebony Forest Ltd. This could provide an initiative for further study in Chamarel.

The objectives have allowed the data to be analysed at both macro and micro levels, nationally and locally. We can see significant change in Chamarel tourism development as it follows national level trends and changes its approach in the tourism industry. Therefore, the overall aim has been achieved to provide an exploratory study of community tourism in a Mauritian

village. This study has explored how Chamarel has significantly changed over time towards tourism development. It fulfils the objectives as it discusses how national trends in Mauritian tourism are reflected in the tourism development in Chamarel.

In summary, the findings from the data collected has confirmed that the National Development Plans have changed their approach towards tourism and its geographic development in the country concentrating on the South and inland areas such as Chamarel. There were more significant changes during 2002–2005 after the First Tourism Development Plan was published and this gained impetus in Chamarel in the variety of tourist accommodation and attractions found between time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014).

Findings from Chapters Five and Six discovered that the Creole identity was either commoditised or confused with misconceptions on authentic local food and custom, such as commercialised Segga dancing performed for guests and expatriate chefs cooking Western food rather than local Creole cuisine. In particular, table d'hôtes suffered from lack of passing trade due to taxis dropping tourists at restaurants which were located away from the main road. This prevented the tourists from venturing into the village where local businesses were located. À la carte restaurants presented a completely different image of what is Creole food and hospitality. On the other hand, IRS and 'tourist villages' would result in enclaves within Chamarel where facilities and shops would be included and the tourist would not need to venture out towards local table d'hôtes. It would prevent host-guest interaction and the tourist from experiencing authentic Creole cuisine.

The analysis of findings in Chapters Five and Six connect the data with the historical concepts found in Chapter Two on Creole identity with sugar, slavery and plantation economy. The promotion of cultural tourism through music, dance and festivals has placed Chamarel under a spotlight and diversified its brand from other Creole settlements as it uses its heritage from slavery and sugar plantations as an attraction (i.e. Rhumerie de Chamarel and the Commemoration of Slavery, Festival Kreol and Seggae). In this way, Chamarel has created a competitive market for itself using the historical context discussed in Chapter Two. The sense

of belonging in Chamarel and cultural value became an empowering factor in tourism development and rejuvenation of the area.

An interesting conclusion from the data presented in Chapter Five was the notion of the Mauritian 'self' and the 'other.' Some villagers from the Women's Association held the opinion that they were not equal in social standing compared to other ethnic groups as their ancestry characterised whether they would be supported by outsiders. The Mauritian notion of citizenship had therefore developed through a struggle of what Giddens (1982) identified as a series of 'dramatic events' such as slavery, apprenticeship and indentured labour which drastically changed the Mauritian social system (Crompton 1993, p.144).

The findings from objective four and five revealed emerging themes on ethnicity as one of the many factors challenging sustainable tourism development in Chamarel. The tourism industry, in particular community tourism, was found to be a catalyst for the inner tensions, fragmented and conflicting sense of community within the decision-making process. The findings revealed many factors which influenced tourism development in Chamarel and this will be discussed in the following sections.

7.2. Community membership and Mauritian citizenship as fragmented and conflicting

The findings in Chapter Five revealed that the Afro-Mauritian community was conflicted on who they considered a Mauritian citizen. It influenced who had the right to hold the power in community tourism development within the decision-making process and the right to the benefits from its progress.

The historical ties to slavery and its social system as discussed by Tinker (1993) were therefore reinforced by the lack of Creole articulation on their development within the Community Tourism Project. In the times of slavery Creoles are seen as a homogenous group and as descendants from African slaves (Benedict 1965), however the research findings from

community tourism present a multi-layered view of Mauritian ethnicity and Creole identity which is more complex.

At the time of the fieldwork, the local people had acquired only partial ‘civil citizenship’ (Marshall 1963) from rights to freedom of speech and thought but were still fighting over the outcome of affidavits for ownership of Franco-Mauritian sugar estate land. More importantly, they were only represented by the Rivière Noire District Council which was geographically detached from the area. In terms of tourism, Chamarel villagers had no political power to vote or voice their opinion on who should be elected as spokesperson and leader of Community Tourism Project.

A key theoretical insight was therefore the ideology of being Mauritian which is not clear cut or as Smith (1960) defined three distinct groups – white, black and coloured. Although the Chamarel people perceived these colour distinctions outside of themselves, their perceptions of each other illustrated a complex and conflicting picture of who was ‘Mauritian’ or ‘Creole’. The two ethnicities were seen as separate from each other. The village representative of African heritage viewed himself as Franco-Mauritian compared to his inferior villagers of black and Afro-Mauritian descent. In agreement with Ericksen (1994) the use of language in this study, in particular Kreol, was a method the natives used to conveniently identify each other in everyday life. This changed according to the situation as demonstrated in Eriksen (1988) and Carroll and Carroll (2000a; 2000b) studies. Therefore, the use of language and the important factor it plays within ethnic identities can be situationalist allowing for the ethnic identity to be socially mobile in certain tourism spaces. For example, within the table d’hôtes natives interchanged used their language to influence ethnic superiority or inferiority.

The use of Kreol within dialogues on community tourism was seen as inferior, low class with black and slavery connotations. It has not been used in tourism publication or literature on the Chamarel area for community tourism. Therefore, the use of language became an important factor in the research process providing positive or negative impacts and either preventing or encouraging cooperation between the locals and stakeholders in the Project. Kreol was publicly rejected as a national language in political votes due to the perceived humiliation of being associated with slavery. For example, the MMM political propaganda failed to change this

perception amongst the local population. Creole mobility in the political sphere is therefore very much the same as during the times of French colonialism, in the sense that the Mauritian plural society which had evolved during this time had ensured the Creole identity was suppressed from political articulation.

The findings in Chapter Five reveal how the people of Chamarel were keen to detach themselves from the Commemoration of Slavery and Swahili television programmes which were part of Government initiatives to create a stronger connection between Mauritian and African heritage (L'Esclavaz, L'Amite, L'Heritage 2004). However, this approach had failed to produce local support in Afro-Mauritian communities such as Chamarel. The villagers were not proud of being reminded of their slavery heritage and they felt this exacerbated stigma of their local area. For example, some villagers stressed that they were originally 'French' and had the privilege of being the first to arrive in Mauritius and 'builders of the land.'

This can present fragmented and conflicting perceptions on Mauritianess and national identity. The findings contest Teelock (1996) definition of being 'Creole' as anyone native in the Island as it is more complex. This means that representing the Creole ethnicity within the political sphere is rife with opposing views within the village and outside the village (i.e. amongst planners and developers) on who should participate and who qualifies to benefit from tourism as a Mauritian citizen. Therefore, it is also difficult to position the community tourism concept within a functionalist perspective as it cannot be assumed that by achieving development that it benefits a consensus.

Chapter Five findings discuss how the community tourism leaders selected by 'outsiders' (UNDP) were socially rejected because of their Rastafarian lifestyle which propagated black power, darker skin complexion, poverty and exclusion. Another example are the Chagossians from Diego Garcia who were socially excluded and without political rights. Therefore, the Chagossians neither fit into plural society theory or concepts of Mauritian citizenship. They present an ethnically distinct group detached from the Mauritian society. Marshall (1992) argument that education can integrate minority groups such as the Creoles was found to be lacking in the Mauritian curriculum as the education system ignored the Creole contribution to national development through African slavery and its history.

In Chapter Six findings the villagers associated the failure of Les Amis de Chamarel and the Community Tourism Project with the perception that the Rastafarians were already outcasts and untouchables in the area. The ethnonyms which had evolved through derogatory meanings and attachments to slavery were reinforced with local assumptions of ‘black’ and laziness; a reluctance to work (Benoit 1985). Les Amis were seen as Creoles seeking a ‘good time’ on the Project funds. The use of ethnonyms was therefore vital to the analysis of a multifaceted account on community tourism as it discovered the underlying challenges to community tourism development in a Creole village.

‘La malaise Creole’ as the result of a series of long history of colonialism in Mauritius had characterised the Creole populations negatively as an ethnic group undeserving of progress and tourism development (Caroll and Caroll 2000a; 2000b; Boswell 2006). In contrast, the heritage of slavery associated with the people of Chamarel such as Segga dancing has become reconstructed through tourism development (Edensor 2001, Schnepel and Schnepel 2011). This reinforced perceptions on ‘being Creole’ such as partying, laziness and reluctance to work found in the field study. The assumption that the Creole communities such as in Chamarel would not understand tourism development or appreciate its progress was revealed in discussions with key decision makers in the Community Tourism Project.

In this sense, the findings from the Community Tourism Project connected and reinforced the historical context where Creole areas in the South remained underdeveloped compared to the North. This was revealed in macro-level findings with stakeholders and key decision-makers outside of the Chamarel Village.

7.3. Stakeholders in Chamarel tourism: conflicting interests and local exclusion

The data displayed represented three groups of stakeholders; National Government, external agencies such as the UNDP and NGOs and the local villagers and their businesses. However, there were conflicts between Governmental departments on decisions which had been approved without consultation. Local villagers were not informed or consulted and they did not participate in the planning process for the Community Tourism Project.

Ministry of Tourism Planners appeared to be in conflict with Government decisions which approved two identical golf and spa resorts in Chamarel without any consultation or voting on its sustainability in this ecologically sensitive area. The differing and conflicting interests in tourism development prevented its progress in Chamarel. The contradiction that Chamarel was not an ecologically sensitive zone but it was an area of 'high landscape value' demanded higher taxes on land conversion and caused arguments between several interest groups. However, its ecological and social sensitivity was ignored in the Community Tourism Project as there was no environmental or social impact assessment.

Local businesses would be segregated from the two all-inclusive resorts as they would offer their own restaurants, shops and commercial centres. The geographical detachment of the local village from the tourist resorts already established in Chamarel (La Terre Sept Couleurs, La Vieille Cheminée and Parc Aventure) would be exacerbated by the two all-inclusive resorts where the tourists do not need to venture outside to meet the host population.

The villagers would find it a challenge to secure local employment in the resorts due to the job specialisation and this would result in marginal host-guest interaction. As previously discussed, the lack of regular bus transport accentuates the isolation of Chamarel and the struggle the local people face to find employment outside of the village.

Community tourism should theoretically involve the local community and it was assumed that the local people were stakeholders in the UNDP Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project. However, the findings revealed that they had not been informed of the Project. They did not participate in decision-making at any level.

Only a handful of stakeholders supported by the Board of Investment (BOI) would be involved in the approval of land conversion for tourism without any consultation with local leaders such as the village representative.

Local stakeholders were non-existent in the planning process for Chamarel tourism. The 'inclusion' of citizens in planning was a form of tokenism. The ideal view that 'inclusion' would permit Mauritian citizens to be heard and informed on proposals did not exist in the

Community Tourism Project (Davidoff 1996, p.307). For example, the two golf and spa resorts were confirmed without local knowledge, consultation or approval. In the case of Chamarel, equity in participation was at the 'tokenism' stage mentioned in Arnstein's (1969) 'participation ladder.' The Community Tourism Project had not handed the local people of Chamarel 'citizen power.'

Therefore, it is vital to acknowledge that the power held by each interest group or stakeholders during the stages of the planning process can be in varying amounts or dominated by one group. The leadership of the Franco-Mauritian dominant group caused several conflicts on who had the rights to benefit from tourism development in Chamarel.

7.4. Democracy, selection and leadership for tourism

The district of Rivière Noire {*Black River*}, which represents Chamarel at Committee meetings did not geographically represent Chamarel or its residents. There were no meetings between the Les Amis de Chamarel and village representative to approve the implementation of the UNDP Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project which had already launched in 2004. This indicated the lack of consultation between the host population and its developers,

To ensure the participation of locals at every stage of the planning process there would be a need for decentralisation as mentioned by De Kadt (1979) so that the aspirations of community members can be integrated (De Kadt 1979, p.21, 32). However, this does not indicate the democratic set-up needed in Chamarel to elect what the community feels is a representative spokesperson for community issues. Leadership selection would be a series of trade-offs between electing individuals who comply with industry standards and best fit business stakeholder interests.

The purpose of public participation is to ensure greater democratisation that would involve the locals taking some form of vote on the operation of a Community Tourism Projects (Benwell 1980: 72). Since the business owners on the Committee were not local residents and were private French and Indian landowners, there was not a democratic system involving a voting

or election by community members but rather an appointed leader that was seen as suitable for the dominant groups.

It is important that the selected leader or representative also possesses the knowledge to handle the concepts and business goals of community tourism. The ability to grasp the ‘technical language of professional planners’ is argued to be theoretically part of a citizen’s ‘inclusion’ in the planning process (Davidoff 1996, p.30). However, there is no inclusion of Chamarel’s citizens in any stage of the advisory, consultation and decision-making for community tourism. Small communities may lack the technical expertise to provide input on decision-making but they require the legislative power to act on plans that would be in their interests (De Kadt 1979, p.23).

The ‘inner tensions’ and conflicts amongst the inhabitants can be a varying factor in the success of a Community Tourism Project. The social acceptance of tourism development can be influenced by leaders and, in the case of Chamarel, it leads to confusion between leaders appointed by the UNDP and who were perceived as rightful leaders for community development amongst the local people.

7.5. Development planning and community tourism as an autocratic approach

Meade (1967) criticised Government planning which did not consider the existing social cleavages such as class conflict and ‘top-dog’ culture from remaining French cultural institutions on the Island (Meade 1967:242). His work focuses on the Mauritian population and discusses the Franco-Mauritian dominance against development and family planning;

‘Fourth, the Catholic religion, though the religion is in minority, it is of great importance in Mauritius. It is the religion of the top-dogs and has had all the power and influence which carries with it. It has in the past been a serious obstacle to an effective family planning policy’ (Meade 1967, p.244).

Both Meade (1967) and Titmuss and Abel-Smith (1968) commented on the problems of 'Monoculture, population pressure, marked social cleavages' which were visible in Mauritius during the 1960s (Dommen 2006, p.941). However, these factors were ignored in National Development and Tourism Plans throughout several decades.

Meade (1967) report warned of the negative impacts of early tourism developments in Mauritius where buildings were rushed to accommodate the International Sugar Conference. Luxury resorts had ignored the economic and social impacts on their surroundings (Meade 1967, p.146-147). He concluded that the social problems in tourism development were a matter of class conflict; 'But in a community in which one class owned the land and capital resources and another class provided the labour conflicts of interest might be very acute' (Meade 1967, p.238).

Ethnic groups are entangled with notions of nationalism, Mauritianess and Mauritian citizenship. Bunwaree relates the consequences for the Mauritian economy from inter-ethnic conflict; 'Since Mauritius has not been able to develop a sense of Mauritianness and there is only a semblance of interculturality, the island state remains fragile and vulnerable' (Bunwaree n.d, p.1).

The changing definition of Mauritian citizenship presents questions on 'who development is for and who is the community for development?' These questions are important when examining autocratic top-down approaches in tourism planning such as the Community Tourism Project in Chamarel.

The findings from perceptions on tourism based in Chamarel disagreed with the argument that tourism was offering 'new kinds of social hierarchy and offering possibilities for advancement' (Boswell 2005b, p.284).

7.5.1. Racial inequalities in tourism development

Benedict (1961; 1962; 1965) studies pioneered Mauritian research and highlighted how Creoles were socially and economically suppressed. The findings in Chapters Five and Six

study discovered that the negative perceptions still restricted Creole social mobility and participation in community tourism. It is important to identify the underlying issues in the underdevelopment of Creole communities and community tourism development.

Eriksen (1994) provides a short paragraph to demonstrate the comparison of villages Case Noyale (neighbouring village to Chamarel) and La Goullette. He confirmed the economic disadvantages in the South where low levels of literacy and lack of employment opportunities in tourism prevent the development of these areas (Eriksen 1994:562).

The findings discovered that class and ethnicity relationships remain strong and are being reproduced under current circumstances (Laville 2000, p.289). The tourism industry was a visible representation where divisions within class and ethnicity were reproduced and publicly manifested. The local people of Chamarel were still living in poverty-stricken ethnic enclaves removed from the 'economic miracle' of tourism development that is promoted in the North (Laville 2000, p.282). As Dinan (2002) remarks; 'In the post-independence period, socio-economic settings remained quite similar...' (Dinan 2002, p.16).

Tourism also reinforces the existing images of Creole identity. Ecotourism destinations such as Chamarel are promoted as ecologically sensitive areas that are 'lost', isolated, 'remote' and 'natural'. Chamarel and its inhabitants are seen as primitive in comparison to the modernisation in the North (Boswell 2005b, p.289). Therefore, outside agencies such as NGO tourism organisations may be perceived as the 'civilisation' to the 'Zako Chamarel' {*Chamarel monkeys as a derogatory term*} in these remote, wild forests which symbolise Chamarel as the 'darkest interior' and 'valley of the blacks'. As a result, the community of Chamarel is seen as 'dangerous,' and 'blackness as the source of evil' from drugs and crime, and 'primitive and unprogressive' (Boswell 2005b, p.289-290).

Creoles are perceived as responsible for their plight due to problems with alcoholism and lack of 'working ethos.' They suffer overt discrimination from civil service employment and industrial work and are still restricted to dock workers, artisans and fishermen (Eriksen 1986, p.2; Eriksen 1989, p.3; Carroll and Carroll 2000a; Hollup 2000).

They are ‘present-orientated... cannot save money and have a natural propensity for alcohol’ (Laville 2000, p.287). Emphasis is placed on Creole morality and careless spending; ‘There is a Mauritian saying that if a black has ten rupees, he will spend fifteen; but if an Indian has ten rupees, he will spend seven and hoard the rest’ or the Franco-Mauritian ‘will rather buy cognac than shares’ (Eriksen 1986, p.68; Eriksen 1992, p.10).

Benedict (1961) description of the lower stratum of Creoles as fishermen and unskilled labourers in coastal villagers of Black River District still remains in Chamarel and Le Morne and emphasises their social identity to the other ethnic groups (Benedict 1961, p.49). It is not uncommon to hear in everyday language the comparison of the ‘hard working’ Indian to the ‘lazy’ Creole who is poor because he ‘runs away from work’. Laville (2000) recent research highlighted perceptions on Creoles as lazy and present-orientated which was worsened by their disadvantaged economic positions (Laville 2000, p.279).

7.5.2. Ethnicity and disadvantages for tourism employment

Meade (1967) felt that the outlook for ‘peace’ would be impossible as it would need to eradicate the political conflicts heavily influenced by social identities which are ‘exacerbating the scramble for jobs between Indians and Creoles’. The social cleavages would provide ‘greater inequalities’ and would be ‘increasing the envy felt by the Indian and Creole underdog for the Franco-Mauritian top dog’ (Meade 1967, p.250).

‘La malaise Creole’ resulted from a series of long historical, cultural and institutional processes which characterised the Creole populations as unable to be educated, with a lazy attitude to work and who lacked ambition for progress. Creole Mozambics {*Mazanbic*} were perceived as ‘lacking in intelligence but well suited to physical labor, while Indians tended to be praised for their grace, docility, and intelligence ...’ (Allen 2001, p.170). This encouraged a ‘laissez faire approach’ towards Creoles and economic development and included their ‘discrimination and exclusion’ (Carroll and Carroll 2000b, p.37).

As Hitchcock (2000) states in his study of Indonesia these issues in ethnicity can cut across the goals for local participation in tourism, small and medium-sized enterprises, tourism entrepreneurship and labour mobility (Hitchcock 2000, p.205). Although the Community

Tourism Project was designed to benefit the local villagers through tourism employment the issues and constraints on Creole ethnicity and mobility were a factor in its progress and success.

Eriksen (1994) argues that social change through industrialisation and tourism has allowed multiethnic and universalistic recruitment regardless of ethnic membership (Eriksen 1994, p.564). However, ethnic conflicts in Mauritius indicated by Meade (1967; 1968) had not changed during the time of research in time 1 (2004) and time 2 (2014). Meade (1967) identified a '5%' dominant Franco-Mauritian population who were the 'top dogs' in Mauritian economy representing the affluent sugar estate landowners and professionals. The 'top dogs' maintained the French cultural institutions and emphasised social cleavages in their support of development plans (Meade 1967, p.242-44). Similarly, the power for decision-making and implementation of the Community Tourism Project was external to the local community and did not involve the local people.

7.6. Community tourism and cultural revitalisation

The UNDP Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project and proposed aimed to improve employment opportunities from tourism by training handicrafts and eco-guides. As previously discussed, only one villager was found in Chamarel from the Project who could not use handicrafts as a main source of income or long-term career. Native ecotourism guides had not found work and subsequently had got married and migrated away from Chamarel.

Cultural revitalisation through handicraft was not authentic and had been imported at the La Terre Sept Couleurs attraction. There was also the duplication of handicraft merchandise sold by the new shop being constructed by the NHPA, and future souvenir shops at the two IRS.

The use of hunting areas and wildlife parks could also be questioned as using imported animals as found in Casela Bird Park and La Vanille Crocodile Park operate in Mauritius.

The isolation of the village to the local attractions has remained a geographic disadvantage for local trade. It is argued that the positive benefit of 'alternative tourism' is that it provides direct

hosts-guest interaction and rapport (Haywood 1988, p.111, Blank 1989; 180-181). However, all-inclusive IRS would ensure that tourist stay within the premises and discourages them from exploring the village. Host-guest interaction would be limited depending on hotel excursions and it would be unlikely the hotel would promote village table d'hôtes instead of their own restaurants. If the resorts include their own farms and garden centres the objective of the Community Tourism Project to profit from local organic farming would not be achievable.

The isolation of the Chamarel Village is similar to the 'periphery' discussed by Frank (1966a) and its inability to follow the modernised hotels and westernised tourism developments found in the north of Mauritius (Frank 1966a, p.32). Tourism had caused community development to become conflicted, fragmented and stagnated despite the UNDP Project. Inclusion of Chamarel on tourist routes and maps were thirty years after international tourism visitors to the area. Chamarel had become trapped in a downward spiral of 'underdevelopment' where the local people became 'socially poor', remained undeveloped in infrastructure, sanitary and educational facilities.

The sugar estate and private landowners were the 'contradictions;' a Franco-Mauritian minority who were the 'dominant group' and held economic surplus (Frank 1966a, p.32). The 'dominant group' in Mauritian plural society was represented in Chamarel by a minority of outside elites who were not native to the majority ethnic group in the area to be a social representation of the Chamarelian community (Smith 1960, p.773). The need for social representation of the Chamarel people in tourism planning should be a key feature of community tourism but this was not the case. We lack understanding on community opinions in Mauritian tourism and how they would respond towards its development (Pearce et al 1996, p.31).

The dominant group would dictate the pace and scale of development to the subordinate group. This is contrary to the view of Haywood (1998) who believed community tourism would only be achieving community interests if it was according to their own wants and needs. However, he did recognise that a top-down approach would allow 'conciliation, mediation, arbitration and the establishment of superordinate goals' (Haywood 1988, p.109).

The argument that tourism development follows an evolutionary (Butler 1993, p.27-43) or linear process through several stages of negative impacts until it reaches social-cultural

concerns is not universal to all destinations (Krippendorf 1982, p.141-142). Chamarel is underdeveloped but it has already experienced adverse social conflicts and resentment towards tourism development. It would need further investigation after the completion of the two IRS resorts to identify environmental and social capacity impacts.

The lack of passing trade for table d'hôtes, eco-guides and handicraft workers resulted in less distribution of wealth among the grass-root level from community tourism. Tourism and its relationship to the Chamarelian community was perceived as economically valuable. As Taylor (1995) described the wealth being acquired by a small proportion of elite. In Chamarel the benefits were acquired by landowners and the Belle Ombre sugar estate did not reinvest in public facilities (Taylor 1995, p.488).

One of the three-day packages booked with La Vieille Cheminée involves visiting the table d'hôtes to gain an authentic view of Mauritian cuisine and lifestyle. However, none of the table d'hôte owners had experienced tourists coming from this venue to their businesses (A21).

Over several visits in time 1 (2004) informants revealed that table d'hôtes were expected to represent a traditional Mauritian experience through local hospitality, Creole cuisine and the opportunity to meet and dine with local villagers. However, the findings discovered that the food resembled European styles as served in luxury hotels. Mauritian cuisine reflects the diversity of cultures in the country but the village representative argued that this was not Creole cuisine. It was not eaten in the traditional style on banana leaves. He uses the example of 'Restaurant Chamarel' which he believed to be under French management as it served French food. The cuisine did not use local produce used or traditional cooking methods and was not seen as 'typical Creole cuisine' (A22).

The lack of regulation on establishments owned by 'outsiders' such as the French-owned Restaurant Chamarel in time 1 (2004) and other table d'hôtes in time 2 (2014) had caused increased competition for the existing businesses.

Table d'hôte menus were not Creole cuisine, but French and Indian influences that were popular in luxury hotels. It is difficult to represent the intra-ethnic and intangible sense of place

in Chamarel; ‘ou capave mange patrimoine ou? {*Can you eat ‘heritage?’*} (Boswell 2005b, p.294).

It questions whether community tourism can accurately represent Creole authenticity. The table d’hôtes can become ‘false backs’ as a combination of zones created by indigenous people themselves as boundaries that would be familiar for tourists but protect private social spaces (Hitchcock 1999, p.20).

Tourism can be seen as a vehicle for economic and cultural revitalisation. However, the Ministry of Tourism did not restrict licensing to three table d’hôtes which would escalate competition for businesses once the two golf and spa resorts are established.

In terms of business revitalisation the Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project did not assist local community or potential entrepreneurs with adequate sponsorship or funding. It assumed that the local villagers would achieve breakthroughs in their businesses and implement new technologies to compete with large-scale hotel resorts without relevant vocational training.

It was assumed that the local community could provide the human resources and expertise without any proposals for training and educational opportunities. The perceptions between the non-governmental organisations, the Government departments and local villagers will differ in their regard for the duration and content of these vocational programmes.

It can be argued that the architecture in the colonialist or ‘Creole’ accommodation at La Vieille Cheminée, the Zila restaurant at La Terre Sept Couleurs and Oberoi Village are stylised similar to the slave ‘cabannes’ and slave ‘campements’ {*slave huts and camps*}. The tourism industry reinforces colonialist images and commoditises these for tourism consumption. La Vieille Cheminée, for example, is advertised as providing ‘Creole houses’ in the form of Creole rustic charm as Creole cabins (Mungur, 2013). It is a self-contained resort and does not include local participation (Seetamonee 2012b). Parc Aventure was designed as part of ecotourism endeavours in Mauritius but it is also disconnected from the local village (Mohit 2012). ‘Lakaz Chamarel’ {*house/home*} advertises a luxury experience as a Franco-Mauritian owned,

boutique style hotel promoting that ‘Mauritian’ owners would validate the authenticity of the tourism product (Jurassik 2010).

In terms of authenticity and the community tourism product, the two resorts proposals found during the fieldwork mention museums which romanticise the times of slavery in Mauritius using the novel ‘Paul et Virginie’ (IRS Presentation to the BOI 17 June 2003, p.14) Demolished buildings would be reconstructed inside these museums. The preservation and conservation of these buildings and artefacts would be destroyed in their natural environment. These museums would become part of the ‘Community Tourism Product’ sold alongside the traditional packages for mass tourism (Murphy 1985). Chamarel culture would be reconstructed authenticity on display for tourists to consume as a product.

Poems and Segha dancing (the native dance of Mauritius) relating to Chamarel and Le Morne can be found which are filled with expressions typifying the suffering of the ‘Creole’ and their acceptance of stereotypical names such as ‘ti paul’, who worked in the sugar cane fields. They also mention the term *{bar bar}* as Creoles who preferred drinking and partying rather than working, and who did not marry and had children who were *{batard}* (Lebrasse 2004).

However, the local people were offended by the ethnic category ‘Creole’ with reference to their community. Chamarel carnivals connected with the Commemoration of Slavery in Museums displayed negative images about their ancestry according to the villagers as disadvantaged, marginalized and the ‘untouchable’ group of society (Dumont 1998, p.67). They were against the Integrated Resort Schemes where hotels would offer Segha dancing and reinforce such images as a tangible commodity (see the photos C49-54; Getz 1983, p.247).

7.7. Conclusion

This section of the Chapter will identify the key thematic contexts through the previous Chapters. It will relate the findings to existing literature and discuss how these findings contribute new knowledge on Mauritian community tourism in a Creole village.

The theme running through the existing National Development Plans was that a social dimension towards tourism planning was needed to analyse development at a local level. The Social Fabric Studies (MRC 1998) were the first to recommend qualitative methods for research in Mauritian Creole communities and their experiences of development. In particular, these studies gave an insight into the inequalities in tourism development as community members viewed each other differently according to ethnicity.

This theme questioned the complexity of sustainable and community tourism concepts in the literature review. It could be argued that not each generation of Mauritian citizenship will hold the same view of sustainability or perceive the conservation of their environmental and social heritage in the same way. A key theme of community tourism findings in Chamarel was that citizenship and community membership was perceived differently and therefore not all 'citizens' were seen as entitled to participate in the planning and decision-making process. For example, through the IRS expatriates and foreign business owners could obtain citizenship and could sit at the negotiating roundtable they were not viewed as Mauritian citizens by the local villagers.

We can analyse the findings in greater detail to understand how the Creole community also felt unrepresented by national level decision-makers who organised and implemented the Community Tourism Project. This cause further conflicts within the community as fragmented notions on outsiders and strangers were perceived as holding the power and receiving the economic benefits of such tourism development.

The findings also revealed the lack of previous evaluation and assessment, consultation and ongoing communication and monitoring between national and local level participants in

community tourism. This had caused distrust amongst the MOT and it was reflected at a local level with the village representative.

The findings connect literature on the relevance of a plural society to Mauritius and discuss how French ownership in tourism had reinforced plural society from a historical context. Hotels used slavery as nostalgic reconstruction of accommodation styles such as in tourists staying at 'cabannes' with mod-cons, colonial 'Creole' mansions and Le Residence promoting the nostalgia of colonial style living at the time of slavery.

The findings have correlated with trends in Mauritian tourism and how this has changed to include inland and ecologically sensitive areas like Chamarel. Tourism promotional literature on the Island will highlight the representation of Mauritian culture, 'Mauritianess' and the Creole identity commoditise Creolity through music, dance and festivals.

The analysis of a Community Tourism Project in Chamarel utilised a multimethod (qualitative) approach involving an intensive ethnographic appraisal intertwined with data from other techniques. Data was collected from semi-structured interviews, overt and covert participant observation, casual conversations, life stories, narratives, social events, and netnographic media sources. The data set was expanded over a ten year period to identify patterns and themes in community tourism in Chamarel during 2004 to 2014. It analyses Chamarel's tourism development as it progresses with current trends in Mauritius. The findings therefore present a unique and comprehensive view of National Development Plans and tourism trends which was not available in current Mauritian tourism literature.

This study discusses the range of qualitative methods and how this multifaceted approach presents a new methodology of analysing research on Mauritian tourism. It identifies how the area of Chamarel would need qualitative methods to fit the purpose of the investigation. It also has met the recommendations of the MRC (1998) and MOT (2004) to use qualitative methods in future tourism studies.

The findings contribute significant information on community tourism participation on the first project of its kind in the country. It explores decisions being made in the Chamarel area at the time through the discovery of confidential Government, company reports and Development

Plans and then analysed these findings at a community level. The wide range of sources enabled a rich account of findings which revealed the sense of Creole identity in community tourism through native eyes in their natural everyday environments. This is a unique contribution to existing literature on Chamarel and community tourism in Creole villages.

The findings from this research are a new contribution to existing knowledge in this geographic area previously isolated from Tourism Development Plans. The findings present innovative insights into community tourism in Mauritius and the Creole community of Chamarel. It raises awareness of sociocultural aspects that have not been explored by existing Mauritian tourism literature.

Interpretations and definitions of being Creole and Mauritian take on new meanings through the development of community tourism. The research revealed ethnicity – amongst other factors – influenced the development of Chamarel. The data presented significant change in Chamarel to cater for ecotourism and community tourism, however many factors influenced the success of initiatives according to the local people, such as a lack of business evaluation, training, funding, transport and infrastructure. This study contributes to a greater understanding of the practical application of community tourism in a Creole village and the complexities of community tourism development.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This Chapter will summarise the key findings and it will reflect on the methodology and contribution to knowledge of this study. It will also consider the contribution of this research towards a wider understanding of community tourism development in Chamarel.

8.1. Implications of the research findings

The principal concern of this thesis was to provide an exploratory study of community tourism and Chamarel's significant change over time. It has used a range of qualitative and netnographic techniques to present a detailed and multifaceted study of community tourism in a Creole village. The methodology presents a detailed profile of the world according to how the villagers subjectively perceive the participatory process in community tourism development and how this fits into Government policy and planning.

A key theme throughout the literature review and the findings was how ethnicity and social perceptions were amongst many factors influencing the success of a Community Tourism Project. These findings were vital to understanding local level experiences on tourism development and community participation.

The findings in this study do not seek to generalise community opinion in Creole communities. It presents a multifaceted view of community tourism looking at the many factors which influenced its development during the period time 1 (2004) to time 2 (2014). A generalisation cannot be made as each community is unique in demographic makeup, historical context and its development for tourism. However, it presents a valuable insight for further exploration on community tourism in Mauritius.

This research was bound by a specific time frame and was self-funded over a ten-year period. The extended period of data collection has resulted in far more detailed exploration than the average three-year study. The extensive data collection was a challenge to summarise in just one study. Therefore, subsequent visits are recommended to expand time 2 (2014) findings further towards a longitudinal analysis.

On a positive note, Rapid Ethnographic Appraisal can achieve a rich and detailed insight into the social aspects of community development within a shorter time frame. For example, a Rapid Ethnographic Appraisal can include a preparation stage and two visits to the location over a period of up to 8 months. This approach has been successful in both tourism and ethnographic studies (Bianchi 1999, p.101; Cole 2008, p.949 and Harrison 2007, p.919).

This study utilises netnographic methods and the key actors who informed the researcher throughout 2004-2014 to enable a large data set covering Chamarel's significant changes over time. If the data collection had been terminated at 2005 it would not have showed significant change as the area was still in the early stages of community tourism in time 1 (2004) to enable a holistic evaluation at both national and local levels. Extending the findings to time 2 (2014) has allowed the researcher to gain a micro-level view of community tourism but we could also analyse its progress alongside national-level changes in tourism trends.

It therefore presents a wider variety of perspectives to explore Mauritian tourism and a detailed foundation to base further research on Mauritian tourism trends.

8.2. Factors to consider when conducting qualitative research in Creole communities

The methodology used a qualitative approach and this allowed the researcher to be reflexive. The experience enabled the researcher to consider many factors when conducting qualitative research in Mauritius, in particular a Creole community. These factors can be taken into consideration when investigating tourism in Chamarel.

It was found that the use of a translator or interpreter was integral to collect primary data. The researcher's heritage meant that both French and Creole were understood fluently and a preparation time to learn a language was unnecessary. A project on Mauritian tourism had already been completed on a Master's programme during the previous year which formed the preparation for the PhD study. However, there were colloquial phrases where a local villager who was bi-lingual or a translator needed to assist. More importantly, the ethnicity of the translator helped in situations which were found to be tense with questions on the researcher's ethnicity and ancestry which could either prevent or assist further conversations.

In regards to semi-structured interviews it was found that the key actors showed aspects of dominating conversations which later proved to have some impact on the effectiveness of data collection. Some respondents felt intimidated when they were interrupted on several occasions as they made errors in their spoken language. This was particularly noted when the respondent was neither literate in French nor English and found the scenario embarrassing when they could only converse in native Kreol. Therefore, the taxi driver the other key actor became valuable mediators who could translate colloquial Kreol phrases which were not familiar.

On the other hand, some respondents were keen to converse in French and felt insulted if any other language was used. They identified their class and ethnicity from the other community members with the use of the French language. Therefore, sensitivity was crucial towards the respondent's heritage and one could not place assumptions that Kreol would be accepted in Chamarel despite its historical and cultural context.

As previously mentioned, the male taxi driver assisted in gaining access to parts of Chamarel's culture which were inaccessible to women or deemed too dangerous. He also helped with remote locations in the dense forest where we were without directions and up to date maps.

Ethnicity did play a role in the success of some interviews and this became a point of contention before interviews were underway. Respondents would seek to validate the origin of the researcher and the persons that were present. For example, differing ethnicity or being perceived as 'English' felt intimidating to the respondent and generated a tense atmosphere.

Informants needed reassurance that the interviews were informal and not a 'journalist in disguise'. This resulted in fewer recordings than anticipated and the use of casual conversations and note-taking was more appropriate. This was particularly common with Mamta's approach which could be easily misunderstood. Therefore, casual conversations, observations and participation with some villagers in their daily life was an important approach to gaining entry in the community. In other words, ethnographic technique became integral to the research collection process. Note taking was completed discreetly after such conversations and photos were taken. There was a verbal agreement that this information would be used confidentially and for the research purposes only. In some cases such as the Maha Shrivatri festival participants encouraged photography when there was overt participation.

In contrast, Government representatives, officials and spokespersons agreed to photos and recordings provided they were strictly confidential and unpublished. There were ethical considerations as the respondents in many cases wanted their dialogues kept confidential due to the ethical implications of what was being shared, such as views on ethnicity causing controversy and dispute in their communities. This was also the case in the company data relating to IRS stakeholders, UNDP management and Steering Committees. Therefore, the classification of informant names and titles in some documents were omitted or changed to preserve confidentiality.

8.3. Contribution of the study

It was important to conduct this research due to the gaps in existing literature and knowledge on Chamarel and community tourism in Creole villages. The findings have raised questions about tourism policy and planning.

Ethnicity as a factor within tourism development in the South had yet to be discussed in Mauritian tourism and policy and planning despite being recommended by the Social Fabric Studies (MRC 1998). Therefore, this study fills that gap in knowledge and can assist with future research on Creole communities for tourism development.

Cleverdon Steer (1992) criticised previous National Plans as omitting the sociocultural aspects of development and the need for a multifaceted social research on tourism in Mauritius (Cleverdon Steer 1992, p.1-11). Hence, this study on Chamarel fits this purpose by using qualitative methods and offers a rich multifaceted exploration to fill the gaps in our existing knowledge of sociocultural aspects in Mauritian tourism.

Chapter Five offers a comprehensive report which contributes comprehensive knowledge on Mauritian policy and planning which has not been covered in existing literature. It contributes to new knowledge on tourism development over a significant period of time in Chamarel from the 1970s to 2013. It also contributes on the positioning of Chamarel during this period with further updates in 2014 to provide a direction for future studies in Chama Haywood, (2006rel tourism planning.

It has contributed significant knowledge in our existing literature on Mauritian tourism as it is the first study to compile tourism trends data from 1970 to 2013. It also presents new data on community tourism in the country. It is a unique study as it has analysed trends in Mauritian tourism at both a national and local level and discussed the practical implications of community tourism projects.

The findings in this study filled in gaps in knowledge on community tourism in Mauritius and in particular the area itself which was rarely documented and analysed in tourism literature.

For example, findings contribute a practical guide to locations and daily life in Chamarel and it has generated an up to date map of the area and its developments.

Until the mid-1990s, there was a lack of social study into the ethnic perceptions that may affect Creole opportunities for employment in the tourism industry. Eriksen (1994) briefly discussed the EPZ and tourism workplaces as spaces where ethnic groups can intermingle and combine. However, there still is an inconsistency in the ethnicity and tourism studies in Mauritius and this study can be part of further research into the nature of ethnic relations and Creole communities in the tourism industry.

The Social Fabric Studies (MRC 1998) which pioneered research on social development recommends qualitative methods to investigate Creole communities like Chamarel suffering from poverty and social exclusion. From the findings at the MOT it was strongly recommended that future tourism research used qualitative methods and therefore this study offers a contribution to qualitative research on Mauritian tourism. This study also contributes by linking heritage studies on Creole identity and Chamarel (Boswell 2005a; Boswell 2005b) with tourism planning at a national level.

8.4. Recommendations for future research

In conclusion this study has successfully met the aims and objectives established in Chapter One. This was detailed in the first section of this Chapter. This study examined community perspectives and the significant change of tourism over time in Mauritius and how this was reflected in Chamarel. The Chapters have highlighted several themes between tourism and its relationship to community development in Chamarel that could be investigated in further studies.

The research findings can be explored in new directions to generate new studies. For example, data collection can be expanded on the promotion of Mauritius and Creole identity, images, reconstruction and authenticity. Following on from this further research on existing literature on Creole authenticity and Mauritian tourism product can be investigated in a new study.

This study can be conducted with quantitative methods focusing on collecting background data on employment numbers specifically from each local business and accommodation. However, it would still need to keep a strong qualitative element for local-level data collection.

Chapter Six discussed how local business ventures had failed to profit from community tourism and a new quantitative study can be created looking at short-term and long-term business projections, existing business evaluations and strategies, profit-costs and impact assessments. In this sense, attitudinal and environmental impact assessments are recommended for Chamarel before the implementation of future tourism projects.

The findings from Chapter Seven offer new knowledge on notions of community and the inner tensions which were exacerbated by the Community Tourism Project. This can be a platform for a more focused investigation into the social perceptions of Creole identity versus Mauritian identity and the interrelationships between ethnicity and tourism development in Mauritius.

8.5. Conclusions

This study contributes perspectives for discussion on the interrelation between ethnicity and community tourism development within Chamarel, Mauritius. It presents the findings from community tourism in Mauritius (Chapter Five) that was pioneered for the first time in the country. The data was expanded using netnographic methods which allowed the research to present a consistent commentary on events as they happened and gives insight into current trends. The discoveries made at the time of the fieldwork revealed that ethnicity was one of the many factors which influenced the success of community tourism development in Chamarel.

This study provided a discussion on the practical issues regarding the implementation of community tourism by looking closely at public participation in tourism planning. It has also discussed the notion of community and the obstacles for a holistic perception of citizenship and representation of the local community. Tourism can exacerbate and diversify opinion on

tourism development but it can also provide the impetus for collective bargaining and negotiation between social groups for tourism development. It can empower community members who were previously excluded to become involved in their communities and local businesses.

There are insufficient impact studies regarding social views on community tourism development and this is a very new area of study in Mauritius. Further investigations can compare community tourism in other Creole villages when this concept becomes a main tourism strategy in Mauritius. Therefore, this thesis presents a unique study of the first Community Tourism Project and the relationship between tourism and community development in Mauritius.

This study analysed how the plural society concept can be applied to Mauritius as the Creole population became a more complex amalgamation of inter-ethnic identities which did not fit into this theory. In summary, a research study on the Creole community must be sensitive to the development of the Creole identity where social boundaries have become blurred through generations of Creolisation, intercommunal intermarriage and concubinage. This poses important questions when a Community Tourism Project is developed in a sensitive area such as Chamarel. For example, there are questions on the etymology of Creole and the Creole identity and what this means in terms of 'Mauritianess,' Creolity, and being native within tourism development.

Chapter Three discussed trends in tourism in Mauritius taking a closer look at the tourism industry in Mauritius and the relevance of these themes towards the development of Chamarel. It looked at tourist spaces as places where these ethnic groups within a plural society intermingled and combined. It explored approaches to tourism planning and how the south of Mauritius, in particular Chamarel, was featured in tourism promotion. It introduces the new approach towards community tourism development in Mauritius within the Creole village of Chamarel.

Chapter Seven produced an analytical discussion to address these concerns, along with concepts of ethnicity in Mauritius, a complex and fragile society that has seen several strains between ethnic and intra-ethnic groups for development. This Chapter discusses how the Chamarel Community Tourism Project became problematic as a new approach to tourism development. An evaluation of the first Mauritian Community Tourism Project in the Creole community of Chamarel illustrated the tensions, conflict voices and interests, power struggles, and alienation within a village starting a community tourism project. These findings included general perspectives on the notion of community, Mauritian citizenship, insiders and outsiders to decision-making and leadership, conflicts and tensions from leadership, ethnic labels, perceptions and stereotypes, self-identity and the 'other.' This thesis is a valuable study of community perspectives in Mauritian tourism development. It presents a more rounded view of social aspects in tourism planning than current tourism journal literature on Mauritius which is economically or socially based and lacks an analysis of the social aspects and how they influence development (Durberry 2001, Ericksen 1988; Carroll and Carroll 2000a; 200b).

The original intention of studying Chamarel was to analyse the Community Tourism Project but what emerged from the field were 'hidden truths' on the racial inequalities of tourism development and fragmented notions of nationality and citizenship. The concepts of flexibility in ethnicity as perceptions change through time did not materialise in Mauritian society where social events served as a reminder of how ethnic groups perceived themselves as different 'Mauritians' within varying degrees. The emerging themes revealed how the local villagers were omitted from the planning and decision-making process completely and that their own self-perception generated from the historical contexts (Chapter One) had not altered. The Community Tourism Project did not involve the locals and was found to be a catalyst in an already charged atmosphere. It provided a basis to analyse how the Community Tourism Project failed from social conflict and racial exclusiveness. 'Otherness' had taken a new significance in terms of intra-ethnic tensions within tourism development planning and implementation.

The view of development from an ethnic group is shadowed by their perceptions of each other in the social structure despite their occupational position within the tourism industry, i.e. a

Village Leader, local business owner or Government representative. There is a need for community-based planning to be focused on locally-defined goals and local development actions with sensitivity towards social and cultural considerations (Murphy 1985, 1988; Prentice 1993; Simmons 1994, Timothy 1998, p.52). However, this study highlighted issues regarding notions of community and citizenship and so one could ask if value neutrality would be achievable as each stakeholder has desired objectives and therefore many different interests can lead to conflicts between these groups. Tourism Planners must not only satisfy many interest groups as a form of democratic policy but also individuals, groups and organisations. The aspirations of these differing groups can conflict each other and cannot be served equally.

The results identified how tourism decision-makers and key players in the project led an external and autocratic approach to community tourism. This questions many of the ideals held on community tourism development as a collective consensus which can collectively bargain for the common good. Leadership and planning was found to be autocratic and not only excluded community members but also the Ministry of Tourism from potential advice and amelioration of the Community Tourism Project in Chamarel. This was also the approach taken for the future golf and spa resorts that could drastically impact the notion of citizenship in Chamarel.

Carroll and Carroll (2000) questioned tourism development as; ‘Did it produce a real sense of involvement and influence, as we suspected, or was it generally viewed as a sham?’ (Carroll and Carroll 2000a, p.129). It has been argued that this shows a level of rhetoric around community involvement that does not include the many biases in the system. There is an urgent need for attitudinal studies towards local Governments and NGO roles in development (Joppe 1996, p.475, Madrigal 1995, p.87).

Without a regulatory presence on the voting and election of spokespersons representing tourism interests for the local community, there is a centralisation of power which does not provide the rights for members to choose how they are involved in the participation process. Community members will have less movement to refuse or negotiate proposals. For example, ‘consultation’ may be merely to inform a local community of the plans which have already been approved by local and national authorities according to their resources and funding. Only a few residents in

Chamarel had participated in community tourism activities and they felt that the project was an economic failure for their village. In the conclusion of this study, community tourism had alienated the people who were supposed to benefit from every stage in the tourism planning process. Local residents were not consulted, they did not negotiate or gain opportunities to collectively bargain at the decision-making round-table.

Therefore, the community tourism approach is an ideal that theoretically seeks to achieve 'community leaders' and control within the community nucleus but it does not take into account the power groups within Mauritian social hierarchy. These power groups can be inflexible and manipulate the nature of tourism development towards its interests, thus reinforcing a plural society.

Community tourism decisions are taken ultimately by external agencies influenced by the original dominant ethnic groups. The alienation of certain 'untouchables' or socially excluded members of a community from the centres of decision-making results in further scrutiny on what role the community has in tourism planning which can be seen as a united voice in community development. Without regulatory agencies to ensure a platform for community participation it is difficult to construct uniform standards which will be agreed and practised at grass-root level by all community members.

In conclusion, despite recognition of the plurality in public opinion on tourism development, a community member needs to hold an equal share or be considered an equal partner at the 'round-table' of decision-making (Jamal and Getz 1995; Joppe 1996). Therefore, local powers and participation for tourism need to be clearly defined, otherwise it can exacerbate social disparities and tensions (De Kadt 1979).

The completion of both resorts in Chamarel would be an interesting comparison for further study however recent attempts to recover the UNDP Community Tourism Project have found that it remains terminated (United Nations, 2013). There is a need to distinguish the role of the community in the participatory process and if this situation has changed in Chamarel. A future study could identify if local participation had changed from a consultative or advisory role, to an active role or merely a form of token gesture. If this study was to be reactivated it could be

conducted differently to investigate both physical and social impacts of such tourism developments as they changed over a significant period of time.

References

Abercrombie, N.H.S and Turner, B (2000). *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* (4th ed) London: Penguin books.

Addison, J. and Hazareesingh, K. (1993) *A New History of Mauritius*, London: Macmillan Publishers.

AFAR (2015) *Experiential Travel Magazine, guide and trip planner*. Available at: <http://www.afar.com/places/chamarel-chamarel> (Accessed 5 January 2015).

African Money (2014). *Mauritius devises new strategic plan to boost image as tourist destination*. Available at: <http://africamoney.info/mauritius-devises-new-strategic-plan-to-boost-image-as-tourist-destination> (Accessed 10 October 2014)

Air Mauritius (2007) *Islander Air Mauritius in-flight magazine*. Air Mauritius: Port Louis.

Alana K. (2015). *All along the spectrum*. Available at: <http://www.afar.com/places/chamarel-chamarel> (Accessed 6 January 2015).

Alexander, J.C. and Smith, P. (2005) *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allen, R. B. (1999) *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Labourers in Colonial Mauritius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allen, R. B. (2001) 'Licentious and Unbridled Proceedings: The Illegal Slave Trade to Mauritius and the Seychelles during the Early Nineteenth Century', *Journal of African History*, 42 (1), pp. 91-116.

Allen, R. B. (2012) 'European Slave Trading, Abolitionism, and New Systems of Slavery', in the Indian Ocean, *PORTAL*, 9 (1), pp. 1-21.

Amster, R. (2013) *BRIC Nations drive global tourism growth*. Available at: <http://www.travelmarketreport.com/articles/BRIC-Nations-Drive-Global-Tourism-Growth> (Accessed 23 October 2014).

Annett, H. and Rifkin, S. B. (1995) *Guidelines for Rapid Participatory Appraisals to Assess Community Health Needs: a Focus on Health Improvements for Low-Income Urban and Rural Areas*, World Health Organisation: Geneva.

Anshan, L. (2012) *A History of Overseas Chinese in Africa To 1911*. New York: Diasporic Africa Press.

Antoine, J.C (2011) 'La colère des habitants de Chamarel', *Le Mauricien*, 19 June, n.p

Appanah, V. (2005) Transition 2994-5 the future of growth, *News on Sunday*, 31 Dec-6 Jan, p.21.

Archer, B H. (1985) 'Tourism in Mauritius: An economic impact study with marketing implications,' *Tourism management*, 6(1),.50-4.

Arnstein, S. R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35 (4), pp.216-224.

Arouff, J.P. (2014). *Mauritius tourism revenue falls in 2013 on global financial woes*. Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/02/20/mauritius-tourism-woes>.

idUSL6N0LP3XF20140220 (Accessed 10 November 2014). Association of Hoteliers and Restaurants In Mauritius AHRIM (2004) *'Mauritius' Ile Maurice – The AHRIM Collection*. Port Louis: Land and Marine Publications.

Assonne, S.R. (2002) *Le Morne, Territoire Marron!* Port Louis: Editions de la Tour.

Avakumovic, A. (2013). *Video Presentation – Lakaz Chamarel Exclusive Lodge 4* – Ile Maurice / Mauritius*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GhHKC4G578U> (Accessed 23 November 2014).

Baker, P. (1972) *Kreol: A description of Mauritian Creole*. London: C.Hurst Co.

Balbolia, (2004) *Maurice: porte d'entrée sur la decouverte*. Port Louis: Hotels Constance Silence.

Baptiste, E.M. (2013) *How citizens are produced and ethnicity is maintained in post-colonial Mauritius, with special attention to the Creoles: An Anthropological Study*. Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd.

Barker, A. J. (1996), *Slavery and Anti-slavery in Mauritius, 1810-33: the Conflict between Economic Expansion and Humanitarian Reform under British Rule*. London: Macmillan.

Baker, P. (1972) *Kreol: A description of Mauritian Creole*. London: C.Hurst Co.

Barnett, T. (1991) *Sociology and Development*. London: Routledge.

Barnwell, P.J. (1957) *Early place-names of Mauritius: some comments and queries*. London: Pall Mall Press.

Baud-Bovy, M. (1982) 'New Concepts in Planning for Tourism and Recreation', *Tourism Management*, 3 (4), pp.308-13.

Beaton, P. R. (1859) *Creoles and Coolies: or, Five Years in Mauritius*. London: James Nisbet and Co.

Benedict, B. (1961) *Mauritius: The Problems of a Plural Society*. London: Pall Mall Press.

Benedict, B. (1962) *Stratification in Plural Societies*. University of California: UC Berkeley Postprints.

Benedict, B. (1965) *Indians in a Plural Society: A Report on Mauritius, Colonial Research Studies*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Benedict, B. (1967) *Problems of Smaller Territories*, London: The Athlone Press.

Benoit, G. (1985) *The Afro-Mauritians: An Essay*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, pp.9-41.

Benwell, M. (1980) 'Public Participation in Planning – a Research Report', *Long Range Planning*, 13 (4), pp.71-79.

Berger, P. I. and Luckmann, T. (2002) 'The Social Construction of Reality', in Calhoun, C. J. (ed.) *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.33-42.

Betts, R. F. (1978) *Tricouleur: the French Overseas Empire*. London: Gordon and Cremonesi.

Bhuckory, K. (2005a) 'Autoroute du sud-est Ramgoolam rencontre les ecolos de Ferney', *L'express*, 28 July, p.4.

Bhuckory, K (2005b) 'Economic crisis ACP sugar producers take to the streets in Brussels', *L'express outlook*, 19 July, p.10.

Bhuckory, K (2005c) 'Le soutien europeen s'affiche', *L'express*, 20 July, p.1.

Bhurdivaz, M. and Breejan, B. (1993) *An Invitation to the Charms of Mauritian Localities*, Vacoas, Mauritius: ELP L'tee.

Bianchi, R. (1994) Tourism Development and Resort Dynamics: an Alternate Approach, in Cooper, C.P. and Lockwood, A. (eds.) *Progress in Tourism Recreation and Hospitality Management*, John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 5, pp.183-193.

Bissoondoyal, B. (1987) *The Truth about Mauritius*. Bombay, India: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p.59.

Björk, P. and Kauppinen-Räsänen, H. (2012) 'A Netnographic Examination of Travellers' Online Discussions of Risks, *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 2-3, pp.65-71.

Blank, U. (1989) *The Community Tourism Industry Imperative, The Necessity, The Opportunities, Its Potential*. PA, USA: Venture Publishing Inc.

Bodhoo, R. (2009) *Traveller's Quest: Exploration, Leisure and Health Mauritius (1750-1850)*, Journal of Mauritian Studies, Special issue 1, pp.143-155.

Board of Investment BOI (2003) *IRS Meeting – confidential*. Port Louis: Mauritius.

Boswell, R. (2005a) 'Public Participation in Planning – a Research Report', *Long Range Planning*, 13 (4), pp.71-79.

Boswell, R. (2005b) 'Heritage Tourism and Identity in the Mauritian Villages of Chamarel and Le Morne', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31, (2), pp.283-295.

Boswell, R. (2006) *Le malaise créole: ethnic identity in Mauritius*, USA: Berghan Books, p.22.

Bowman, L. (1991) *Mauritius Democracy and Development in the Indian Ocean*. Colorado, USA: Westview press.

Boxer, C. R. (1965) *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*. London: Hutchinson & Co Ltd.

Boxer, C. R. (1969) *The Portuguese Seabourne Empire 1415-1825*, London: Hutchinson & Co Ltd.

Brewer, J. (2000) *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press, p.18.

Brierley, J. H. (1994) *Spices: the Story of Indonesia's Spice Trade*. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (1839) *Hill coolies, a brief exposure of the deplorable condition of the hill coolies, in British Guiana and Mauritius, and of the nefarious means by which they were induced to resort to these colonies*. Available at: <http://www.indiana.edu/~librcsd/etext/scoble/> (Accessed: 12 January 2013).

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (1842) *The Export of Coolies from India to Mauritius*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Britton, S. G. (1981) 'Tourism, Dependency and Development: A Mode of Analysis', *Development Studies Centre Occasional Paper No. 23*. Australia: Australian University Press, n.p.

Britton, S. G. (1982) 'The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9 (3), pp.331-358.

Britton S. G. (1983) *Tourism and underdevelopment in Fiji*. London: Australian National University.

Brown, G. (1997) Tourism in the Indian Ocean: a Case Study of Mauritius, in Lockhart, G. and Smith, D. (eds.) *Island Tourism: Trends and Prospects*. London: Cassell, pp. 229-248.

Bryman, A. (1988) *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Bryman, A. and Burgess, R. G. (1994) *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. London: Routledge.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, 4th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc.

Bulmer M. and Rees, A.M. (1996) *Citizenship Today: The Contemporary Relevance of T.H. Marshall*. London: Routledge.

Bung, M. A. (1996). *Finding Philosophy in Social Science*, Michigan: Yale University.

Bunwaree, S. (2002) 'Economics, Conflicts and Interculturality in a Small Island States: The Case of Mauritius', *Cameroon Political Science Review*, 9, pp.1-19.

Burns, P. M. (1999) *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*. London: Routledge.

Butler, R. W. (1992) Alternative Tourism: the Thin End of the Wedge, in: Smith, V. L. and Eadington, W. R. (eds.) *Tourism Alternatives: Potentials and Problems in the Development of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp.31-46.

Butler, R. W. (1993) Tourism – an Evolutionary Perspective, in: Nelson, J. G., Butler R. W. and Wall, G. (eds.) *Tourism and Sustainable Development: Monitoring, Planning, Managing*, (1), pp.27-43.

Butler, R.W. (1993b) Tourism development in small islands. Past influences and future directions. In: Lockhart, D.G. Drakakis-Smith, D, Schembri, J (1993) *The development process in small island states*. London: Routledge, p. 71-89

Butler, R.W. (1996) Problems and possibilities of sustainable tourism: the case of the Shetland Islands, in Briguglio, L, Butler, R, Harrison, D and Filho, W.L (eds.) *Sustainable tourism in islands & small islands states*. Pinter: A Cassell Imprint, pp.11-31.

Butler, R. W. (2006) *Tourism Area Life Cycle: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues, Applications and Modifications*. London: Channel View Publications, pp. 32-34

Café de Chamarel (2013) *Café de Chamarel*. Available at: <http://cafede-chamarel.com/> 2013. (Accessed: 24 June 2014).

Campbell, G. (2005) *Abolition and its Aftermath in the Indian Ocean, Africa and Asia*. London: Routledge.

Capery, F. (2012) Chez Ruben – Chamarel et ses charmes culinaires, *Le Defi Media*, 27 November, n.p.

Carillet, J.B and Presser, B. (2010) *Lonely Planet Mauritius, Reunion & Seychelles*. London: Lonely Planet.

Carroll, B.W. and Carroll, T. (1997) State and Ethnicity in Botswana and Mauritius: A Democratic Route to Development? *The Journal of Development Studies*, 33 (4), pp.464-486.

Carroll, B.W. and Carroll, T. (2000a) Accommodating Ethnic Diversity in a Modernizing Democratic State: Theory and Practice in the Case of Mauritius, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (1), pp.120-142.

Carroll, B. W. and Carroll, T. (2000b) Trouble in Paradise: Ethnic Conflict in Mauritius, *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 38 (2), pp.25-50.

Carroll, T. (1994) Owners, Immigrants and Ethnic Conflict in Fiji and Mauritius, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17 (2), pp.301-324.

Carlsen, J and Butler, R. (2011) *Island Tourism: Towards a Sustainable Perspective*. CABI Publishing: London

Carter, M., Govinden, V. and Peerthum, S. (2003) *The Last Slaves, Liberated Africans in 19th Century Mauritius*. Port Louis, Mauritius: CROIS, pp.83-84.

Chadwick, G. F. (1971) *A Systems View of Planning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Chan, D. (2012a) Tourism – ‘The nonstop Maurice Shanghai again considered’, *Le Defi Media*, 2 August, n.p.

Chan, D, 2012 (b). 'Le vol sans escale maurice shanghai de nouveau envisage', *Le Defi Media*, 3 August, n.p.

Chan, D (2012c). 'Rencontre – Fleur Basnier: Exploiter le potentiel du tourisme écologique et culturel', *Le Defi Media*, 8 January, n.p.

Chateau, T. (2005a) 'Integrated Resort Scheme, Rs 4,5 milliard pour transformer le Morne', *L'Express*, 3 February, p.7.

Chateau, T. (2005b) 'Manifestation parallele Tourisme, la cle du developpement', *L'Express*, 11 January, p.5.

Chazan-gillig, S. (2003) 'The Roots of Multi-Culturalism Mauritian and the Birth of a New Social Contract: Being "Autochtone", Being Creole', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, 2 (1), pp. 64-86.

Chez Ruben (2015) Chez Ruben. Available at: <http://www.chezruben.com/files/index.php?lang=1> (Accessed: 2 February 2015).

Choi, H.C and Sirakaya, E. (2005) Measuring residents' attitude toward sustainable tourism, in: Page, S and Connell J. (eds.) *Sustainable tourism. Critical concepts in the social sciences*, Oxon: Routledge, pp.222-254.

Choojoo, A. J. and Bablee, D. (2007) 'Outer Islands of Mauritius, Historical Overview', *Journal of Mauritian studies*, Port Louis: Mahatma Ghandi Institute, 3, (2), pp.2-55.

Chowriamah, M. (2010) 'Preserving a Multidimensional Heritage in a Plural Society', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, 5, pp.91-104.

Christiaensen, L. and Hoddinott, J. and Bergeron, G. (2001) 'Comparing village characteristics derived from rapid appraisals and household surveys: A tale from northern Mali', *The Journal of Development Studies*, Volume 37, Issue 3, pp.1-20

Christopher, A. J. (1992) 'Ethnicity, Community and the Census in Mauritius 1830-1990', *The Geographical Journal*, 158 (1), pp.57-64.

Chitson, D. (2009) 'Labour Laws in Mauritius during French Colonial Time', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, 4, (2), pp.70-88.

Citronelle restaurant (2014) *Citronelle restaurant*. Available at: <http://la-citronelle-restaurant-bar.restaurant.mu/> <http://www.permondo.com/De/tours/4/plan>. (Accessed: 12 August 2014).

ClammyShell (2013) *Photos de Chamarel* Available at: <http://www.tripadvisor.fr/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g1168948-i66299964-Chamarel.html> (Accessed: 31 December 2013).

Cleverdon Steer (1992) *Tourism Development Impact: Assessment and Policy Formulation, Final Report, Vol. 1, July for Ministry of Economic Planning and Development*, Port Louis: Mauritius, pp.1-11,58.

Clifford, B. V. (2011). *One Million Tourists This Year Expects the Island*. Available at: <http://business.mega.mu/fr/2011/04/08/one-million-tourists-island-expects-year/>. (Accessed: 20 March 2011).

ClubMed. (2013) *Indian Ocean Holidays* Available at: http://www.clubmed.co.uk/cm/luxury-all-inclusive-holidays-in-the-indian-ocean_p-341-l-EN-pa-INDIAN_OCEAN-ac-ad.html (Accessed: 23 December 2012).

ClubMed. (2015) Resort la plantation d'albion ClubMed Mauritius. Available at: http://www.clubmed.com.au/cm/resort-la-plantation-d-albion-club-med-mauritius_p-14-l-AE-v-ALBC-r-7-d-000006-a-000024-ac-vo.html [Accessed 15 January 2015].

Coffrey, A. (1999) *The Ethnographic Self: Fieldwork and the Representation of Identity*. Milton Keynes: Lightning Source UK Ltd, p.26

Cohen, E. (1979) 'Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6 (1), pp.18-35.

Cole, S. (2008). *Tourism, Culture And Development, Hopes, Dreams And Realities In East Indonesia*, Channel view publications: Clevedon.

Compare Infobase Limited (2012) *Black River District*. Available at: <http://www.tourisminmauritius.com/regions/black-river/>. (Accessed: 14 November 2012).

Confidential author (2004) *Chamarel Development Project*. Port Louis, Mauritius: United Nations Development Programme.

Connolly, W. E. (2010) *Pluralism in Political Analysis*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Cornwall, A. (2008) 'Unpacking `Participation': models, meanings and practices, *Community Development Journal*, 43, (3), pp.269-283

Cooke, K. (1982) 'Guidelines for Socially Appropriate Tourism Development in British Columbia', *Journal of Travel Research*, 21, pp.22-28.

Cooper, C, Fletcher, J, Gilbert, D and Wanhill, S. (1993) *Tourism: principles and practice*. London: Pitman.

Crick, M. (1994) *Resplendent Sites, Discordant Voices: Studies in Anthropology and History*. New York: Routledge.

Crompton, R. (1993) *Class and Stratification*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Curtis, D. (1992) 'Community' and 'User' Participation: Negotiating Local and Bureaucratic Power', in Wright, S. and Nelson, N. (eds.) *Power and Participatory Development, Theory and Practice*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications, pp.115-124.

Curious Corner of Chamarel (2015) Available at: <http://www.curiouscornerofchamarel.com/> (Accessed: 11 January 2015).

Dahl, R. (1967) *Pluralist Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent*. USA: Rand McNally & Company.

Decrop, A (2004) 'Trustworthiness in qualitative tourism research', in: Goodson, L. and Phillimore, J. (eds.) *Qualitative research in tourism: ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*, London, Routledge, pp. 156-169.

Darendof, R (1988) *The modern social conflict: an essay on the politics of liberty*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson

David, M. (2006) *Case study research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Davidoff, P. (1996) 'Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning', in: Campbell, S. and Fainstein, S. (eds.) *Readings in Planning Theory*, Cambridge, Blackwell Publishers Inc, pp.305-322.

Davidson, J. S. and Henley, D. (2012) *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics: The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism*. London: Routledge.

Davies, J. (2005) *The Medieval and Renaissance Spice Trade 1100-1560: Being the Pepperer's Companion, a Guide for the Medieval and Renaissance Spice Merchant and User*. Bristol: Stuart Press.

De Kadt, E. (1979) *Tourism: Passport to Development?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Denoi, L.A. (1981) 'Alternative Tourism. Towards a new style in North-South relations', *International Journal of Tourism Management*, 2 (4), p.253-264.

Denscombe, M. (1998) *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social Research Projects*. London: Open University Press.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.

Desai, B, Chung Kai To, M and Tulsidas, V, 2014. *The Mauritian tourism industry*. Available at: http://www.axys-group.com/media/8777/tourism_2014.06.02.pdf (Accessed 20 December 2014).

Dey, I. (1993) *Qualitative Data Analysis: a User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists*. London: Routledge.

Dick-Read, R. (2006) 'Indonesia and Africa: questioning the origins of some of Africa's most famous icons', *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, 2 (1), pp. 23-45.

Dinally, E. (2012). 'Combat contre la pauvreté absolue – Assistance à 15 000', *Le Defi Media*, 20 June 2013, n.p.

Dinan, M. (2002) *Mauritius in the Making Across the Censuses 1846-2000*, Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture, Minister of Arts and Culture. Port Louis: Mauritius.

Dodd, J. (2004). Mauritius, Réunion & Seychelles. London: Lonely Planet.

Dodson, R.C. (2003) *The formulation of international tourism policy: an analysis of Thailand*. Derby: University of Derby.

Domaine du Cachet (2015) *Domaine du Cachet*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/DomaineDuCachet> (Accessed 11 November 2014).

Dommen, E.C. (2006) Review of Meade 1968 – The economic and social structure of Mauritius, *The Economic Journal*, 78 (3), pp.941-944.

Donkin, R.A. (2003) *Between East and West: the Moluccas and the Traffic in Spices up to the Arrival of Europeans*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Dowling, R. (1993), An Environmentally-Based Planning Model for Regional Tourism Development, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1 (91), pp.17-37.

Doxey, G.V. (1975) 'A Causation Theory of Visitor-Resident Irritants: Methodology & Research Inferences', *Travel Research Association, 6th Annual Conference on Impact of Tourism*. San Diego, California, pp.195-198.

Dreamescapes (2015) Full day tour scenic south Curepipe-Grand Bassin-Plaine Champagne-Chamarel-Casela. Available at: <http://www.dreamescapes.mu/en/land.html>. (Accessed: 5 January 2015).

Drury, B. (1994) 'Ethnic Mobilisation: Some Theoretical Considerations', in: Rex, J and Drury, B. (eds.) *Ethnic Mobilisation in a Multi-cultural Europe*. Hants: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp.13-22.

Dumont, L. (1998) *Homo Hierarchicus – The Caste System and Its Implications*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Durberry, R. (2001) 'The Economic Contribution of Tourism in Mauritius', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29 (3), pp.862-865.

Dunbar, M, 2013. Mauritius Looks to China for Tourism Business. Available at: <http://afkinsider.com/23988/mauritius-looks-china-tourism-business/#sthash.6POnPP0C.dpuf> (Accessed 10 October 2014).

Dye, T. R. (1992) *Understanding public policy*, London: Prentice-Hall International.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. and Lowe, A. (1991) *Management Research*, London: SAGE.

Echtner, C.M. (2002) 'The content of Third World Tourism Marketing', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 4, pp.413-434

Edensor, T. (2001) 'Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism, Reproducing Tourist Space and Practice', *Tourist Studies*, 1, pp.59-81.

Eichmann, A. (2012) 'From Slave to Maroon: the Present-Centredness of Mauritian Slave heritage', *Atlantic Studies*, 9 (3), pp.319-335.

Elegant Destinations, (2015a). *Elegant Destinations*. Available at:
<https://www.facebook.com/elegantdestinations>. (Accessed: 17 March 2015).

Elegant Destinations, (2015b). *Lakaz Chamarel*. Available at
<http://www.elegantdestinations.com/fr/maurice/hotel/boutique/lakaz-chamarel.html>.
Accessed: 17 March 2015).

Ellen, R. F. (2003) *On the Edge of the Banda Zone: Past and Present in the Social Organization of a Moluccan Trading Network*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Eriksen, T.H. (1986) 'Creole Culture and Social Change', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, 1 (2), pp.59-72.

Eriksen, T.H. (1988) *Communicating Cultural Difference and Identity: Ethnicity and Nationalism in Mauritius*. Norway: University of Oslo, p.7,34.

Eriksen, T.H. (1989) 'Politics, Jobs and Marriage: Ethnic relations in Mauritius', *Equality*, (1), pp.1-5.

Eriksen, T.H. (1992) 'Indians in New Worlds; Mauritius and Trinidad', *Social and Economic Studies*, (1), pp.1-14.

Eriksen, T.H. (1993) 'Formal and informal nationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 16 (1), pp.1-25.

Eriksen, T.H. (1994) 'Nationalism, Mauritian Style: Cultural Unity and Ethnic Diversity', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 36 (3), pp.549-574.

Eriksen, T.H. (2004) 'Ethnicity, Class, and the 1999 Mauritian Riots', in: May, S., Modood, T. and Squires, J. (eds.), *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Minority Rights*. London: Cambridge University Press, pp.78-95.

Eturbonews (2013a). *Mauritius tourism events cancelled*. Available at: <http://www.eturbonews.com/34369/mauritius-tourism-events-cancelled> (Accessed 10 October 2014).

Eturbonews (2013b). *Mauritius will organize a festival this year says Minister Sik Yuen*. Available at: <http://www.eturbonews.com/34993/mauritius-will-organize-festival-year-says-minister-sik-yuen>. (Accessed 11 October 2014).

Evers, S J.T.M. and Kooy, M. (2008) *Eviction from the Chagos Islands, Displacement and Struggle for Identity*, Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill

Familara, A. (2009). *Mauritius: Communities of Paradise* Available at: http://www.isiswomen.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1416:mauritius-communities-of-paradise-&catid=169:multiple-intolerance-mounting-resistance. (Accessed: June 2013).

Farquhar, J.D. (2012) *Case study research for business*, London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Fauque, C. (2002) *L'Aventure du Sucre*. Mauritius: IPC.

Feighery, W. (2006) Reflexivity and Tourism Research: Telling An(other) Story. *Current issues in tourism*. 9, (3), pp. 269-282

Fenton, S., Reiner, R. and Hamnett, I. (1984) *Durkheim and Modern Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fetterman, D. M. (1998) *Ethnography: Step by Step*. London: SAGE.

Fielding, N. (2001) Ethnography, in Gilbert, G. N. (eds) *Researching Social Life*. London: SAGE.

Figueredo, D. H and Argote-Frey, F. (2008) *A Brief History of the Caribbean*. New York: Infobased Publishing.

Filmer, P., Jenks, C., Seale, C. and Walsh, D. (1998) Developments in Social Theory, in Seale, C. (ed.) *Researching Society and Culture*. London: SAGE.

Finn, M., Elliott-White, M. and Walton, M. (2000) *Tourism and Leisure Research Methods: Data Collection, Analysis and Interpretation*. Harlow: Longman, p.8.

FlyOverHotel (2013). *FlyOverHotel - Lakaz Chamarel Exclusive Lodge (Long)* Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o-rCx6CpiRE>> [Accessed 23 November 2014]

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) 'Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12 (2), pp. 219-245

Fraginals, M. M., Moya Pons, F. and Engerman, S. L. (1985) *Between Slavery and Free Labour: the Spanish-speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

François, F. (2014). *Maurice: Les travaux du nouveau parc écotouristique de Chamarel démarrent bientôt*. Available at: <http://www.habarizacomores.net/?p=58720&paged=3#Portail d'information générales sur les Iles de l'Océan Indien et l'Afrique>, (Accessed: 12 June 2014).

Francois, F (2014b). Mauritius: The work of the new ecotourism Park of Chamarel starts soon, *Indian Ocean Times*, 4 September 2014, n.p.

Frank, A. G. (1966a) The Development of Underdevelopment, in Wilber, C.K (eds.). *Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*. London: SAGE, pp. 103-113.

Frank, A.G. (1996b) 'The Underdevelopment of Development', in: Chew, S.C. and Denemark, R.A (eds) *The Underdevelopment of Development essays in honour Andre Gunder Frank*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp.17-56.

Freedman, P. H. (2008) *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination*. London: Yale University Press.

Fredline, E and Faulkner, B. (2000), Host community reactions, *Annals of tourism research*, 27, (3), pp. 763-784

Freitag, T. (1994) Enclave Tourism Development, for Whom the Benefits Roll? *Annals of Tourism Research*, pp. 541-60

Frivet, L. (2005) New Southeast Highway - Hands off Ferney Forest, *News on Sunday*, 31 January 2005, p.19

Furnivall, J. S. (1944) *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*. Cambridge: The University Press.

Furnivall, J. S. (1948) *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India*. Cambridge: The University Press.

Garfinkel, H. and Rawls, A. W. (2002) *Ethnomethodology's Program: Working Out Durkeim's Aphorism*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Gauthier, J (2013) 'Restaurant Stars, Shanti Maurice Mauritius (Restaurant Review)', *Message in a bottle blog*, 7 June. Available at: <https://gauthierjulie.wordpress.com/> (Accessed: 12 December 2013).

Geertz, C. (1993) *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture*, *Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. London: Basic Books, pp.3-30.

Gerring, J. (2007) *Case study research: principles and practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Getz, D. (1983) 'A Research Agenda for Municipal and Community-Based Tourism in Canada', *Travel and Tourism Research Association Conference*, Banff, Canada, pp. 247

Getz, D. (1986) 'Models in tourism planning: Towards integration of theory and practice', *Tourism Management*, 7, (1), pp. 21-32

Getz, D. and Jamal, T. B. (1994) 'The Environment-Community Symbiosis: A Case for Collaborative Tourism Planning', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 2 (3), pp.152-173.

Gill, J. and Johnson, P. (1991) *Research Methods for Managers*. London: Paul Chapman.

Gillham, B. (2000) *Case study research methods*. London: Continuum.

Glaser, B.G. (1992) *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence vs Forcing*. California: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B.G. (1993) *Examples of Grounded Theory: a Reader*. California: Sociology Press.

Gomm, R., Hammersley, M., and Foster, P. (2000) *Case study method*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Goodenough, H (1981) Theories of Culture in Postmodern Times, *American anthropologist*, 102, (1), pp.110- 193

Gopauloo, N. and Gayan, S. (2010) 'Perspectives on Cultural Policies in Mauritius', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, p 41.

Gooraya, L. (2014). Tourisme: Les parcs de loisirs misent beaucoup sur les visiteurs asiatiques, *Le Defi Media*, 14 August 2014, n.p.

Government of Mauritius (1970) *4-year plan for Social and Economic Development 1971-1975, Vol 1*, Mauritius: Government of Mauritius.

Government of Mauritius (1996) *The State of the Economy, January 1996*, Port Louis:

Government of Mauritius (2013).StatisticsMauritius. Available at: <http://Statsmauritius.gov.mu/English/Pages/default.aspx>. (Accessed: 24 February 2013).

Government of Mauritius (2015). *Republic of Mauritius*. Available at: <http://www.govmu.org/English/Pages/default.aspx> (Accessed 12 January 2015).

Graburn, N.H.H. and Jafari, J. (1991) 'Tourism Social Science', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18 (1).

Graci, S and Dodds, R. (2010) *Sustainable tourism in island destinations*. London: Earthscan.

Greenwood, D. (1978) Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization, in Smith, Valene L. (eds.) *Hosts and Guest: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp.129-138.

Grihault, N. (2012). Mauritius travel guide, *The Telegraph*, 29 July, n.p.

Guibernau, M. and Rex, J. (2010) *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism Multiculturalism and Migration*. 2nd edition, Cambridge: Polity Press, p.77

Gunn, C.A. (1994) 'A Perspective on the Purpose and Nature of Tourism Research Methods', in Ritchie, B, J. R. and Goeldner, C. R. (eds.) *Travel, Tourism, and Hospitality Research: A Handbook for Managers and Researchers*, Chichester: Wiley, pp.3-9.

Habermas, J. (1971) *Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science and Politics*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (1973) *Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Blackwell

Hall, S. (2002) 'Creolite and the Process of Creolization', in Enwezor, O., Basualdo, C., Bauer, U. M., Ghez, S., Maharaj, S., Nash, M. and Zaya, O. (eds.) *Creolite and Creolization*. Germany: Hatje Cantz Publishers, p.14, 30.

Hall, C and J. Jenkins (1995) *Tourism and Public Policy*. London: Routledge.

Hall, C. (2003) 'Politics and Place: An Analysis of Power in Tourism Communities', in S. Singh, D. Timothy and R. Dowling (eds) *Tourism in Destination Communities*, Wallingford: CABI Publishing. pp. 99–113.

- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Hampton, M. P. (1998) 'Backpacker Tourism and Economic Development', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25 (3), pp.639-660.
- Hansley, A. (2003) Grand-Baie Entre tourism et pauvreté, *5-Plus dimanche*, 11 May, p.22.
- Haring, L. (2004) 'Personal Narrative in Mauritian Studies', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, 2 (2), pp.1-19.
- Harper, D. (2012) *Creole* Available at:
http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=creole&allowed_in_frame=0. (Accessed: 12 October 2012).
- Hart, R. (2007) *The Abolition of Slavery*. London: Caribbean Labour Solidarity.
- Haywood, M.K. (1988) 'Responsible and Responsive Tourism Planning in the Community', *Tourism Management*, 9, (2), pp.105-118.
- Henderson, H. (1971) 'Toward Managing Social Conflict', *Harvard Business Review*, (4), pp.86-87.
- Heritage, J. (1984) *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Heritage Resorts (2015) *Heritage Le Telfair – A 5 star resort in Mauritius*. Available at: <http://www.heritageresorts.mu/en/le-telfair/welcome.aspx>. (Accessed: 23 March 2015).
- Hesse-Biber, S.N. and Leavy, P. (2006) *Emergent Methods in Social Research*. London: SAGE.

Hilbert, P. (2012). Rapport de Statistics Mauritius – 10 % de la population ne savent ni lire ni écrire, *Le Defi Media*, 31 October, n.p.

Hitchcock, M. (1999) 'Tourism and ethnicity: situationalist perspectives', *Progress in Hospitality and Tourism research*, 4, pp.1-24.

Hitchcock, M. (2000) 'Ethnicity and Tourism Entrepreneurship in Java and Bali', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 3 (3), pp.204-224.

Hitchcock, M. and Darma Putra, I.N. (2005) 'Bali Bombings: Tourism Crisis Management and Conflict Avoidance', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 8 (1), pp.62-76.

Holcroft, H. (1999) *The Silk Route From Europe to China*. London: Pavilion Books Limited.

Holcroft, H. (2000) *The Spice Route From Europe to Asia*. London: Pavilion Books Limited.

Hollingworth, P.D. (1961) *The Place-names of Mauritius*, Kelly H F Acting government Printer: Port Louis.

Hollinshead, K. and Jamal, T. B. (2001) 'Delving into Discourse: Excavating the Inbuilt Power-Logic(s) of Tourism', *Tourism analysis*. 6, (1), pp. 63-76.

Hollup, O. (2000) 'Structural and Sociocultural Constraints for User-Group Participation in Fisheries Management in Mauritius', *Marine Policy*, 24, pp.407-421.

Houlben, V.J.H. and Lindblad, J. T. (1999) *Coolie Labour in Colonial Indonesia: A Study of Labour Relations in the Outer Islands, c. 1900-1940*. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz.

Housee, S. (1999) 'Journey Through Life the Self in Travel', in Kaur, R. and Hutnyk, J. (eds.) *Travel Worlds: Journeys in Contemporary Cultural Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp.137-154.

Indian Ocean Times. (2014a). Mauritius : Commemoration to mark the 179th Anniversary of Abolition of Slavery at Le Morne, *Indian Ocean Times*, 1 February, n.p.

Indian Ocean Times. (2014b) Mauritius: The work of the new ecotourism Park of Chamarel start soon, *Indian Ocean Times*, 21 August, n.p.

Inskeep, E. (1991) *Tourism Planning: An Integrated and Sustainable Development Approach*. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Ion. (2014). Mauritius sees 2013 tourism revenues fall 8.6% on EU woes. Available at: <http://ionnews.mu/mauritius-sees-2013-tourism-revenues-fall-8-6-eu-woes-2102> (Accessed 12 October 2014).

Jade Group (2013a). Les chalets en champagne online. Available at: <http://leschaletsenchampagne.mu/rates.php> (Accessed 20 February 2014).

Jade Group. (2013b). *Les chalets en champagne* [pdf]. Available at: <http://www.leschaletsenchampagne.mu/pdf/ebrochure.pdf> (Accessed 20 February 2014).

Jagatsingh, K. (1981) *Petals of Dust*. Mauritius: Beau Bassin.

Jamal, T. and Hollinshead, K. (2001) 'Tourism and the Forbidden Zone: The Undeserved Power of Qualitative Inquiry', *Tourism Management*, 22, pp. 63-82.

Jamal, T.B. and Getz, D. (1995) 'Collaboration Theory and Community Tourism Planning', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22 (1), pp.186-204.

Janta, H., Lugosi, P., Brown, L. and Ladkin, A. (2012) 'Migrant Networks, Language Learning and Tourism Employment', *Tourism Management Perspectives*, (2-3), pp.65-71.

Jenkins, R. (1997) *Rethinking Ethnicity, Arguments and Explorations*. London: SAGE.

Jo (2014). 'A Guide to Inland Mauritius: Curepipe to Chamarel', *Dirty paws blog*, 14 December. Available at: <http://dirtypawsblog.com/2014/12/14/a-guide-to-inland-mauritius-curepipe-to-chamarel/> (Accessed: 30 December 2014).

Jones, H. (1993) 'The small island factor in modern fertility decline. Findings from Mauritius', in: Lockhart, D.G. Drakakis-Smith, D, Schembri, J (eds) *The development process in small island states*, pp. 161-178

Johnson, J.C. (1990) *Selecting Ethnographic Informants, Qualitative Research Methods*, London: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Johnson, N. (2014) 'Lakaz chamarel - 7K bike ride to the 7 coloured earth waterfalls', *Blue bay travel blog*, 12 April, Available at: <http://bluebaytravel.co.uk/blog/2014/12/naomi-and-her-whistle-stop-photoblog-of-mauritius/> (Accessed 30 December 2014).

Johnson, N. (2014) 'Naomi and her Whistle-stop Photoblog of Mauritius,' *Blue Bay Travel Blog*, 11 December. Available at: <http://bluebaytravel.co.uk/blog/2014/12/naomi-and-her-whistle-stop-photoblog-of-mauritius/> (Accessed: 12 January 2015).

Joppe, M. (1996) 'Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited', *Tourism Management*, 17 (7), pp.475-479.

Jorgensen, D.L. (1989) *Participant Observation: a Methodology for Human Studies*. London: SAGE.

Joseph, P.E. (2009) The Black Power Movement: The State of the Field. *The Journal of American History*, pp. 751-776.

Jurassik Ltd (2010) *Lakaz Chamarel*. Available at:
www.lakazchamarel.com/Lakaz/En/index-1.html. (Accessed: 3 March 2013).

Kallee, J. (2012a). Case Noyale – A tourist hub, *Le Defi Media*, 2 March, n.p.

Kallee, J. (2012b) Green and Adventurous Tourism, *Le Defi Media*, 12 July, (Accessed: 17 July 2012).

Kallee, J. (2013) Chinese Immigration, *Le Defi Media*, 6 January, (Accessed: 15 January 2013).

Kassean, H. (2010) Challenges for Mauritius as a small island tourist destination. *Global Management Conference –Mauritius*: University of Mauritius.

Kenny, W.R and Grotelueschen A.D (1984) 'Making the Case for Case Study', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 16 (1), pp. 87-150

Keogh, B. (1990) 'Public Participation in Community Tourism Planning', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 17, pp.449-465.

Kirk, J and Miller, M.L. (1986) *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications: London

Klein, H. S. (1986) *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Knowlessur, V. (1998) 'Mauritius – Tourism: a major instrument in the consolidation of the Mauritian economy', in World Tourism Organisation (eds) *L'Afrique et les perspectives du tourisme mondial: L'horizon 2020: Defis et opportunities*. Grand-Baie: Mauritius, pp. 119-124

Kozinets, R.V. (2010) *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Krippendorff, J. (1980) 'About the concept of a balanced tourist development', in: Page, S and Connell, J. (eds) *Sustainable tourism. Critical concepts in the social sciences*, Oxon: Routledge, pp.233-242.

Krippendorff, J. (1982) 'Towards New Tourism Policies: The Importance of Environmental and Sociocultural Factors', *Tourism Management*, 3 (3), pp.135-148.

Krippendorff, J. (2008) 'About the concept of a balanced tourist development', in: Page, S and Connell J. (eds) *Sustainable tourism. Critical concepts in the social sciences*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 233-242

Kuhn, T. S. (1962) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuper, L. (1997) 'Plural Societies', in Fex, J. (eds.) *The Ethnicity Reader, Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp.220-228.

Kymlicka, W. and Norman, W. (1994) 'Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory', *Ethics*, 104 (2), pp.352-381.

Lagesse, M. (1970) *A la decouverte de l'île Maurice*. Port Louis Mauritius; Claude Marrier d'Unienville, pp.16,146.

Lakaz Chamarel (2015) *Lakaz Chamarel*. Available at: <http://www.lakazchamarel.com/en>. (Accessed: 12 January 2015).

Lambek, M. (1994) 'The Mauritian Kaleidoscope: Languages and Religions'. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 24 (3), pp.288-289.

Laville, R. (2000) 'In the Politics of the Rainbow: Creoles and Civil Society in Mauritius', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 18 (2), pp.277-294.

Lazar, D. (1998) 'Selected Issues in the Philosophy of Social Science', in Searle, C. (eds.) *Researching Society and Culture*. London: SAGE publications.

Lebrasse, S. (2004) *Sega Carol - Serge Lebrasse Greatest Hits Collection*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Digital Ocean.

Ledikasyon Pu Travayer (1989a) *How to write Kreol properly*, Port Louis, Mauritius: Ledikasyon Pu Travayer.

Ledikasyon Pu Travayer (1989b) *Sirandann sanpek: zistwar an kreol: 28 hundred-year-old folk stories in Kreol with English translation alongside: Baissac's 1988 collection by Ledikasyon Pu Travayer*. Port Louis: Ledikasyon Pu Travayer.

Le coteau fleurie, (2006). Le coteau fleurie [online] Available at: <https://www.coteaufleurie.com/en/coteau-fleurie.htm> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

Lee, J.K. (1990) *Sega: the Mauritian folk dance*, London: Nautilus Publishing Co

Lee N, (2000) *Residency Information*. Available at:

http://www.maurinet.com/tourist_information/residency_information (Accessed 21 June 2000).

Le Défi Quotidien (2014). Nouvelle tendance: L'écotourisme gagne du terrain, *Le Défi Quotidien*, 16 January, n.p.

L'express, (2003). Rico L'Intelligent, représentant de Chamarel au district de Rivière-Noire, *L'express*, 7 November, n.p.

L'express (2005) Questions à Rico L'Intelligent, *L'express*, 14 Janvier, p.11.

L'express, (2013a). *La rhumerie de chamarel : un rhum agricole d'exception*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WoKD2iDREb> (Accessed 24 November 2014).

L'express (2013b). *A la rencontre de la culture Rastafari*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3sfM6A6uUIo> L/ (Accessed: 5 November 2014).

L'express (2014) Chamarel: an ecotourism park to Rs 40 m, *L'express*, 22 August, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2011a) Produits Touristiques: La Rhumerie de Chamarel lance deux nouveaux produits, *Le Mauricien*, 25 September, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2011b) Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam: A man of pragmatic vision, 16 September, *Le Mauricien*, n.p.

Le Mauricien, (2011c).Tourisme & Patrimoine: La visite de lieux de culte comme parcours culturel et spiritual, *Le Mauricien*, 19 October, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2012a) Chamarel: Developpement Touristique a deux vitesses, *Le Mauricien*, 12 January, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2012b) Histoire mars 1972 la premier fois Maurice monarque regnant. *Le Mauricien*, 1 July, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2013a) Ecologie tourisme maude fontenoy deviant la marraine lakaz chamarel exclusive lodge, *Le Mauricien*, 3 January, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2013b) Parc conservation et d'ecotourisme-au-secours-la-foret-d-ebene-chamarel, *Le Mauricien*, 29 March, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2013c) Musique la renesans natir, *Le Mauricien*, 13 November, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2013d) Au Morne: Ramgoolam rencontre Mme Louis, *Le Mauricien*, 2 February, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2013e) Maud Fontenoy devient la marraine de Lakaz Chamarel Exclusive Lodge, *Le Mauricien*, 3 January, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2013f) Parc de conservation et d'ecotourisme: Au secours de la forêt d'ébène de Chamarel, *Le Mauricien*, 29 March, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2014a) Curious corner chamarel l'illusion et l'émerveillement au rendez-vous, *Le Mauricien*, 10 March, n.p.

Le Mauricien (2014b) Café chamarel la cerise la tasse, 1 May, *Le Mauricien*, n.p

Lesklavaz Nou Leritaz (2004) Lesklavaz Nou Leritaz. *Slavery Conference*. Reduit: Mauritius.

Les Palmiers Chez Dev, 2015. Les Palmier Chez Dev. Available at:
<https://www.facebook.com/LesPalmiersChezDev> [Accessed 11 November 2014]

Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, California: SAGE Publications, p. 37.

Lister, M. and Pia, E. (2008) *Citizenship in Contemporary Europe*. Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.

Liu, J. C., Sheldon, P.J. and Var, T. (1987) 'Resident Perception of the Environmental Impacts of Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12 (1), pp.17-37.

Lonely Planet (2013) *Introducing Mauritius*. Available at:
<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/mauritius>. (Accessed: 2 January 2013).

Lonely Planet (2015a). <http://www.petitfute.com/v38233-chamarel/c1165-restaurants/48199-chez-pierre-paul.html>, London: Lonely Planet.

Lonely Planet (2015b). <http://www.petitfute.com/v38233-chamarel/c1165-restaurants/48201-les-palmiers.html>, London: Lonely Planet.

Lonely Planet (2015c) Chez Paul Stone / Pierre Paul <http://www.petitfute.com/v38233-chamarel/c1165-restaurants/48199-chez-pierre-paul.html>, London: Lonely Planet.

Lonely Planet, (2015d). <http://www.petitfute.com/v38233-chamarel/c1165-restaurant/48199-chez-pierre-paul.html>, London: Lonely Planet.

Lonely Planet (2015e).<http://www.petitfute.com/v38233-chamarel/c1165-restaurants/48201-les-palmiers.html>, London: Lonely Planet.

Lorenzi, M. (2006) *Power: A Radical View by Steven Lukes*, Firenze: Università di Firenze, 6 (2), pp.87-95.

Luxury Destinations (2015). *Le Morne*. Available at: <http://www.luxurydestinations.co.uk/mauritius-holidays/lux-le-morne/>. (Accessed: 13 march 2015).

Ly-Tio-Fane, M. (1958) *Mauritius and the Spice Trade: The Odyssey of Pierre Poivre*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Esclapon.

Maanen, J.V. and S.R. Barley (1985) 'Cultural Organization: Fragments of a Theory' in P. J. Frost, L. F. Moore, M. R. Louis, C. C. Lundberg and J. Martin (eds) *Organizational Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 31-53.

Madrigal, R. (1994) 'Residents Perceptions and the Role of Government', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22 (1) pp.86-102, 118.

Madrigal, R. (1995), 'Personal Values, Traveler Personality Type, and Leisure Travel Style', *Journal of leisure research*, 27, (2), pp.87-125

Mahadeo, P. (1995) *Mauritian Cultural Heritage*, Mauritius: Gold Hill Publications Ltd, p. 53.

Mallam-Hasham, N. (1998) Air Mauritius contribution to the promotion and development of tourism in Mauritius', in World Tourism Organisation (1998) *L'Afrique et les perspectives du tourisme mondial: L'horizon 2020: Defis et opportunities*. Grand Baie, Mauritius: Air Mauritius.

Malinowski, B. (1922) 'The Primitive Economics of the Trobriand Islanders', *The Economic Journal*, 22, pp. 1-16

Manuel, P, (2007) Mode, Melody, and Harmony in Traditional Afro-Cuban Music: From Africa to Cuba, *Black Music Research Journal*, 27, pp. 45-75

Marimootoo, H. (2004) Histoire aux 18e et 19e siecles 8000 esclaves indiens dans les Mascareignes, *Le Weekend dimanche*, 18 December, pp.74-75.

Mark. (2014) Flic en Flac Chamarel and Black River. *Marks travel blog*, 16 September. Available at: <http://markstravelblog4.blogspot.co.uk/2014/09/flic-en-flac-chamarel-and-black-river.html> (Accessed: 12 December 2014).

Marshall, T.H. (1950) *Citizenship and social class, and other essays*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marshall, T.H. (1963) *Sociology at the Crossroads, and other essays*, London: Heinemann, 1963.

Marshall, T.H. and Bottomore, T. (1992), p.45. *Citizenship and social class*, London: Pluto Press.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G.B. (1995) *Designing Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications.

Martin, B. S. and M. Uysal (1990) 'An Examination of the Relationship Between Carrying Capacity and the Tourism Lifecycle', *Journal of Environmental Management*, 31, pp.327-333.

Mason, J. (1996) *Qualitative Researching*. London: SAGE Publications.

Mathieson, W. L. (1932) *British Slave Emancipation, 1838-1849*, New York: Longmans, Green & co Ltd, (2015).

Mathieson, W. L. (1967) *British Slave Emancipation, 1838-1849*, New York: Octagon Books, p. 214-215.

Mathieson, A. and Wall, G. (1982) *Tourism: Economic Physical and Social Impacts*. London: Longman.

Maunick, E. J. (1997). *Poèmes et récits d'Afrique noire, du Maghreb, de l'océan Indien et des Antilles: anthologie*. Paris: Le Cherche Midi.

Maurinet. (2013) *Geography and Climate*. Available at:
http://www.maurinet.com/about_mauritius/geography_climate. (Accessed: 02 January 2013).

Mauritage (2014a). 1956 De S.A.R La Princesse Margaret Reçu Par L'évêque. Available at:
<http://www.mauritage.com/2014/12/15/1956-de-s-r-la-princesse-margaret-recu-par-leveque/>
(Accessed 18 November 2014).

Mauritage (2014b) *Search Results For: Chamarel*. Available at: <http://www.mauritage.com/?s=chamarel> (Accessed 29 November 2014).

Mauritage (2015) *Search Results For: Chamarel*. Available at: <http://www.mauritage.com/?s=chamarel> (Accessed 29 November 2014).

Mauritius Attractions (2014). *Mauritius Tourism*. Available at: <http://mauritiusattractions.com/mauritius-tourism-i-82.html> (Accessed 12 October 2014).

Mauritius Delight (2009). *Plaine champagne to Bel Ombre (south coast)*. Available at: <http://www.mauritiusholiday.com/plaine-champagne-bel-ombre-south-coast.htm>. (Accessed 28 November 2014).

Mauritius Guesthouse (2012). *Mauritius South Coast Attractions – Chamarel – Le Morne – Black River – Mauritius Guesthouse*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfIM3Ix7COs> [Accessed 13 November 2014].

Mauritius Guesthouse (2015) *Mauritius guesthouse*. Available at: <http://mauritiusguesthouse.com/> (Accessed 15 January 2015).

Mauritius Holidays (2014) *Lakaz Chamarel Exclusive Lodge*. Available at: http://www.mauritius.holidays.io/Lakaz_Chamarel_Exclusive_Lodge. (Accessed 17 January 2015).

Mauritius.net (2014) *Eco Tourism – Green Mauritius*. Available at: http://www.mauritius.net/what_to_see/eco.php (Accessed 12 October 2014).

Mauritius Government Tourist Office (1993) *Handbook of Statistical Data on Tourism*. Port Louis: Mauritius Government Tourist Office.

Mauritius Property Real Estate (2013) *Integrated Resort Scheme (IRS) in Mauritius*. Available at: <http://www.mauritiusproperty.org/irsmauritius.html>. (Accessed: 03 March 2013).

Mauritius Research Council (1998a) *Research Paper on the Social Fabric of Mauritius Paper I*, Les Pailles, Mauritius: Mauritius Research Council, pp.9-61.

Mauritius Research Council (1998b) *Research Paper on the Social Fabric of Mauritius Paper II – The Human Dimension of Mauritian Development*, Les Pailles, Mauritius: Mauritius Research Council, pp.62-72, 96.

Mauritius Research Council (1998c) *Research Paper on the Social Fabric of Mauritius Paper III – Issues relating to the Social Fabric and Modernisation process of Mauritian society*, Les Pailles, Mauritius: Mauritius Research Council, pp.73-91, 204.

Mauritius Research Council (1998d) *Social Fabric Study Phase I*, Mauritius: Mauritius Research Council, p.21.

Mauritius Research Council (1998e) *Social Fabric Study Phase II*, Mauritius: Mauritius Research Council.

Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority (2002) *Tourist arrivals by country of residence, January – November 2001/2002*. London: MTPA.

Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority (2004) *Ile Maurice – The AHRIM collection*, Port Louis: MTPA.

Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority MTPA (2012). Green Tourism. Available at: <http://www.tourism-mauritius.mu/experience/green-tourism.html>. (Accessed: 20 December 2012).

Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority MTPA (2014). *Festival Kreol*. Available at: <http://www.festivalkreol.co.uk/> (Accessed: 2 December 2014).

Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority MTPA (2015a). *Culture & Heritage*. Available at: <http://www.tourism-mauritius.mu/Culture/sega.html> (Accessed 12 October 2014).

Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority MTPA (2015b). *The West – What to Do?* Available at: <http://www.tourism-mauritius.mu/discover/deep-sea-fishing.html> (Accessed 12 October 2014).

McCool, S.F and Lime, D.W. (2008) 'Tourism carrying capacity. Tempting fantasy or useful reality?', in: Page, S and Connell J. (eds) *Sustainable tourism. Critical concepts in the social sciences*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 169-188.

MBC (2005) *L'Escalvaz, L'Amite, L'Hertiage (Le Morne)*, Mauritius Broadcasting Cooperation, 3,-5 February.

MBC (2005) *Independence Day*, Mauritius Broadcasting Cooperation, 12 March.

McGee, R (2011) *Ethnography and Rapid Appraisal in Doctoral Research on Poverty*. Available at: http://www.planotes.org/documents/plan_02812.PDF. (Accessed: 24 November 2012).

McKercher, B. (1992) 'Tourism as a conflicting land use', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19, pp.467-481.

Meade, J.E. (1967) 'Population Explosion: the Standard of Living and Social Conflict', *The Economic Journal*, 77 (306), pp.233-255.

Meade, J.E. (1968) *The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius*. London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd.

Mega News (2011). Public transportation: The people of Chamarel threaten to deprive access to tourists, *Mega News*, 21 June, n.p.

Mega News (2012a) Chamarel Trail: Southwest of Virginité, *Mega News*, 20 February, n.p.

Mega News (2012b) Tourism Emerging Markets: New Trends in Chinese Market, *Mega News*, 3 July, n.p.

Mega News (2013a) Air Mauritius: Direct Weekly Flight to China, *Mega News*, April 10, n.p.

Mega News (2013b) First Flight to Beijing: Attracting Chinese Tourists to Mauritius, *Mega News*, 6 July, n.p.

Mega News (2013c). Mauritius Makes China a Priority, *Mega News*, 8 October, n.p.

Mega News (2013d). Mauritius, Reunion and Seychelles' Top 5 According to Lonely Planet, *Mega News*, 2 December, n.p.

Mega News (2014). *First Flight of China Southern Airlines Expected in Mauritius*, *Mega News*, 19 June, p.78.

Mehmetoglu, M. (2004) 'Quantitative or Qualitative? A Content Analysis of Nordic Research in Tourism and Hospitality', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 4 (3), pp.176-190.

Mehta, S.R. (1981) *Social Development in Mauritius: A Study on Rural Modernization in an Island Community*. India: Wiley Eastern Limited, p. 79,80.

Michaud, J. (1995) 'Questions about Fieldwork Methodology', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22 (3), pp.681-687.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1984) *Qualitative Data Analysis: a Sourcebook of New Methods*. London: SAGE.

Mingfatsai (2105) La Varangue sur Morne. Available at:
http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g1168948-d1308984-r292106710-La_Varangue_sur_Morne-Chamarel.html (Accessed: 1 June 2015).

Ministry for Civil Service Affairs and Employment (1990) *Employment Market Review, 1990-1991: Hotels and Restaurants*, Port Louis, Mauritius: Ministry for Civil Service Affairs and Employment.

Ministry of Economic Planning (1971). *Four Year Plan for Social and Economic Development 1971-1975*, Port Louis, Mauritius: Ministry of Economic Planning

Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (1998) *National Development Plan Vol II Public Sector Investment Programme 1983-1990*, Mauritius: Ministry of Economic Planning and Development.

Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (1985) *1984-1986 Development Plan*, Port Louis: Ministry of Economic Planning and Development.

Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (1988) *National Development Plan 1988-1990*, Mauritius, pp. 4, 18.

Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (1993) *National Development Plan 1992-1994: Programmes and Policies*, Port Louis: Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, pp.51-153,195.

Ministry of Economic Development and Regional Co-operation (1997) *Mauritius Vision 2020: The National Long-term Perspective Study, Volume I & II*, Mauritius, p.151.

Ministry for Economic Development, Productivity and Regional Development (2000) *Into the 3rd Millennium: National Strategy for Sustainable Development, 1999-2005*, Port Louis, Mauritius: Ministry for Economic Development, Productivity and Regional Development.

Ministry for Employment and Tourism (1988) *White Paper on Tourism*, Mauritius: Ministry of Tourism, p.96.

Ministry of Environment, Sustainable Development, Disaster and Beach Management (2014a) *Administrative, legal and policy framework – Rep conservation and eco T project*. Available at: http://environment.govmu.org/English/eia/Documents/Reports/eco_tourism_ebo ny/chp2.pdf. (Accessed 20 February 2014).

Ministry of Environment, Sustainable Development, Disaster and Beach Management (2014b) *Socio-economic aspects*. Available at: http://environment.govmu.org/English/eia/Documents/Reports/eco_tourism_ebo

ny/chp2.pdf. (Accessed 20 February 2014).

Ministry of Environment, Sustainable Development, Disaster and Beach Management (2014a) *Administrative, legal and policy framework – Rep conservation and eco T project*. Available at: http://environment.govmu.org/English/eia/Documents/Reports/eco_tourism_ebony/chp2.pdf. (Accessed 20 February 2014).

Ministry of Environment, Sustainable Development, Disaster and Beach Management (2014c) *List of conditions – proposed conservation and ecotourism project at Chamarel Ebony Forest Ltd*. Available at: http://environment.govmu.org/English/eia/Documents/eiadecision/con_ECOTOURISM_CHAMARELEBONY.pdf (Accessed 20 February 2014).

Ministry of Environment, Sustainable Development, Disaster and Beach Management (2014d) *Nature regeneration and conservation*. Available at: http://environment.govmu.org/English/eia/Documents/Reports/eco_tourism_ebony/chp4.pdf (Accessed 20 February 2014).

Ministry of Environment, Sustainable Development, Disaster and Beach Management (2014d) *Conservation and ecotourism project at chamarel non-technical summary*. Available at: http://environment.govmu.org/English/eia/Documents/Reports/eco_tourism_ebony/chp4.pdf (Accessed 20 February 2014).

Ministry of Housing, Lands and Town and Country Planning (1996) *Judicious Land Use Planning and Tourism: Report of Multisectoral Committee*, Mauritius: Ministry of Tourism.

Ministry of Tourism (1983) *Mauritius: A Programme of Structural Adjustment*, Port Louis,

Ministry of Tourism (1992) *Towards New Dimensions for Tourism: Report on National Forum on Tourism, 27-28 May 1992*, Port-Louis: Ministry of Tourism.

Ministry of Tourism and Leisure (2002) *Tourism Development Plan for Mauritius, Main Report*, Port Louis: Mauritius. Deloitte and Touche. Ministry of Tourism and Leisure. Series 1 of 4.

Ministry of Tourism and Leisure (2002) *Tourism Development Plan for Mauritius, Main Report*, Port Louis: Mauritius. Deloitte and Touche. Ministry of Tourism and Leisure. Series 2 of 4.

Ministry of Tourism and Leisure (2002) *Tourism Development Plan for Mauritius, Main Report*, Port Louis: Mauritius. Deloitte and Touche. Ministry of Tourism and Leisure. Series 2 of 4.

Ministry of Tourism and Leisure (2002) *Tourism Development Plan for Mauritius, Main Report*, Port Louis: Mauritius. Deloitte and Touche. Ministry of Tourism and Leisure. Series 3 of 4.

Ministry of Tourism Planning Department (2004) *Notes on Portion 1 and Portion Development for tourism*, Ministry of Tourism Planning Department, pp.1-4

Mitchell J, M. and Mitchell, W. C (1989) *Political analysis & public policy; an introduction to political science*, Chicago: Rand McNally.

Mitchell, M.G. (2006) *Crucial issues in Caribbean religions*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Mohit, A. (2012). Parc Aventure de Chamarel – Aventure au cœur de la nature, *Le Defi Media*, 1 April, n.p.

Moodie, G C and Studdert-Kennedy, G. S. (1970) *Opinions, publics and pressure groups*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Morgan, G. (1983) *Beyond Method: Strategies for Social Research*. Beverly Hills; London: Sage.

Morris, H.S. (1956) 'Indians in East Africa: A Study in a Plural Society', *British Journal of Sociology*, (7), pp.194-211.

Morris, H.S. (1957) 'The Plural Society', *MAN*, pp.124-125.

Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (1998) *Tourism and Sustainability*. London: Routledge.

Mulloo, M (1998) *The Labour Movement*. Available at:
http://ssr.intnet.mu/labour_movement.htm. (Accessed: 2 March 2012).

Mungur, M .N. (2012) Voyages: entre évasion, rêve et détente, *Le Defi Media*, 8 September, n.p.

Mungur, M.N.(2013). Eco Lodges – Pour s'évader en pleine nature. *Le Defi Media*, 13 July, n.p.

Mungar, M.N. (2014) Cafe Chamarel: An art, *Le Defi Media*, 21 June, n.p.

Murphy, P.E. (1985) *Tourism: A Community Approach*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Murphy, P.E. (1988) 'Community driven tourism planning', *Tourism Management*, 9, (2), pp.96–104.

Naidoo, P., Ramseeok-Munhuurn, P. and Dubarry, R. (2010). 'Tourist's Perspective of the Brand Image of Mauritius', *International Journal of Management and Marketing Research*, 3 (3), pp. 95-106.

Naipaul, V. S. (1972) *The Overcrowded Barracoon, and other articles*. Alesbury: Penguin Books Ltd.

News on Sunday (2005) National Development Plan NLTPS 1992-1994 (2005), *News on Sunday*, 5 July, p.3.

News On Sunday (2014). Lakaz Chamarel : The unique refined ecotourism flagship, *Le Defi Media*, 26 September, n.p.

Nirsimloo-Gayan, S. (2007) 'On the Possibility of a Shared Cultural Heritage', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, 4 (1), pp.44-49.

Nujjoo, A.R. (2007) *History of Grand Bay: little village facing an ocean*, Port Louis: Mauritius.

Nunkoo, R. and Ramkissoon, H. (2010a) 'Modelling Support Model for a Proposed Integrated Resort Project', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18 (2), pp.257-277.

Nunkoo, R. and Ramkissoon, H (2010b) 'Small island urban tourism: a residents' perspective', *Current issues in tourism*, 13 (1), Jan 2010, p. 37-60

Nunkoo, R. and Ramkissoon, H. (2011a) 'Developing a Community Support Model for Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38 (3), pp.964-988.

Nunkoo, R. and Ramkissoon, H. (2011b) 'City Image and Perceived Tourism Impact: Evidence from Port Louis', Mauritius, *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism*, 12, pp. 123-143.

Nunkoo, R. and Ramkissoon, H. (2012) 'Power, Trust, Social Exchange and Community Support', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39 (2), pp.997-1023.

Nunkoo, R, Gursoy, D and Juwaheer, T.D (2010) 'Island residents' identities and their support for tourism: and integration of two theories', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18, (5), pp.675-693

Nwulia, M.D.E. (1981) *The History of Slavery in Mauritius and the Seychelles, 1810-1875*. London: Associated University Press Inc, p.60.

Oppermann, M. and Chon K.S. (1997) *Tourism in Developing Countries*. Oxford: International Thomson Publishing Limited , p .52.

Opperman M, and Chon K.S (1997) *Tourism in developing countries*. International Thomson Business Press, London ,p. 56-57.

Oppermann, M. (2000) 'Triangulation - A Methodological Discussion', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, (2), pp.141-146.

Oxford University Press (2013) *Monsoon*. Available at: www.oed.com/view/Entry/121737?redirectedFrom=monsoon#eid. (Accessed: 12 December 2012).

Palmer, C. (2001) 'Ethnography: A Research Method in Practice', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, pp.301-312.

Papatheodorou, A. (2006) *Managing tourism destinations*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Pearce, P. L., Moscardo, G. and Ross, G. F. (1996) *Tourism Community Relationships*. Elsevier Science Ltd: Oxford.

Pearce, D.G. and Butler, R.W. (1993) *Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges*. London: Routledge.

Pearson, M.N. (1996) *Spices in the Indian Ocean World*. Aldershot: Variorum.

Peerthum, S. and Orjoon, A. H (2005). Commemoration Liberated Africans in Nineteenth Century Mauritius, *L'Express Outlook*, 1 February, p.12.

Permondo (2014). *Mauritius - A trip around the island*. Available at: <http://www.permondo.com/de/tours/4/plan> (Accessed: 5 January 2014).

Pernecky, T. and Jamal, T. (2010) 'Hermeneutic (Phenomenology) in Tourism Studies'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37 (4), pp. 1055-1075.

Pernecky, T. (2012) 'Constructionism Critical Pointers for Tourism Studies', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39 (2), pp.1116-11137.

Pew Research Centre (2013) *The Rise of Asian Americans*. Available at: <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/06/19/the-rise-of-asian-americans/> (Accessed: 23 October 2013).

Phillipe, C.J. (2001) *Sega Dance – Mauritian Folklore*. Available at: <http://ravaton.tripod.net> (Accessed: 5 September 2012).

Piat, D. (2010) *Mauritus: On the Spice Route 1598-1810*. Singapore: Editions Didier Millet.

Picard, M. (1996) *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*. Archipelago Press, Singapore.

Picard, M. and Wood, R.E. (1997) *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Picard, M. (2005) 'Otonomi daerah in Bali: The Call for Special Autonomy Status in the Name of Kebalian', in: Erb, Mauritius, Sulistiyanto, P and Faucher, C (eds), *Regionalism in post-Suharto Indonesia*, London: Routledge Curzon, pp.111-124.

Pillay, S. (1997) *A Dance of a Lifetime*. *Mauritius news*, 1 June, p.8

Pirie, M. (2009) *101 Great Philosophers*. London: Continuum.

Pizam, A. (1978) 'Tourism's Impact: The Social Cost to the Destination Community as Perceived by its Residents', *Journal of Travel Research*, 16, p.8-12.

Planet Travel Ltd (2014) Chamarel boutique lodge. Available at:
<http://www.planetwindsurfholidays.com/hotels/morocco/43/chamarel-boutique-lodge-1421>
(Accessed: 3 March 2015)

Plog, S.C. (1974) 'Why Destination Areas Rise and Fall in Popularity', *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, pp.55-58.

Popper, K R. (1999) *All Life is Problem Solving*. London: Routledge.

Popper, K.R. (2002) *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. London: Routledge.

Prayag, G. (2009) 'Tourist Evaluations of Destination Image, Satisfaction, and Future Behavioural Intentions – the Case of Mauritius', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 26, (8), pp. 836,841.

Prayag, G., Dookhon, R., and Mootoo, K. M. (2010) 'Hotel Development and Tourism Impacts in Mauritius: Hoteliers' perspectives on sustainable tourism', *Development Southern Africa*, 27 (5), pp.697-712.

Prayag, G. (2011a) 'Antecedents of Tourists' Loyalty to Mauritius: The Role and Influence of Destination Image, Place Attachment, Personal Involvement, and Satisfaction', *Journal of Travel Research*, 51, pp.342-356.

Prayag, G. (2011b) 'British and French Visitor's Motivations and Images of Mauritius: A Qualitative Approach', in Lewis-Cameron, A. and Roberts, S (eds.) *Marketing Island Destinations: Concepts and Cases*. London: Elsevier, pp.37-52.

Prayag, G. and Ryan, C. (2011) 'The Relationship Between the 'Push' and 'Pull' Factors of a Tourist Destination: the Role of Nationality – an Analytical Qualitative Research Approach', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14 (2), pp.121-143.

Prayag, G. (2012) 'Paradise for Who? Segmenting Visitors' Satisfaction with Cognitive Image and Predicting Behavioural Loyalty', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 14, pp.1-15

Prentice, R. C. (1993) 'Community-Driven Tourism Planning and Residents' Preferences', *Tourism Management*, 14 (3), pp.218-227.

Pryce, K. (1986) *Endless Pressure: A Study of West Indian Life-styles in Bristol*, 2nd ed. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.

Punch, K. (2005) *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, 2nd ed. London: SAGE.

Quenette, L.R. (1984), *L'abolition de l'esclavage à l'île Maurice / documents recueillis - Comité national pour la commémoration du 150^{ème} anniversaire de l'arrivée des immigrants indiens à l'île Maurice et de l'abolition de l'esclavage 1984*, Port-Louis: Mauritius.

Quinn, F. (2000) *The French Overseas Empire*. Westport: Praeger Publishers.

Rainer, N. (2005). Autoroute du Sud-est Vallée de Ferney: Ramgoolam veut trouver une alternative', *L'express*, 29 July, p.7.

Nunkoo, R.; Ramkissoon, H. (2010a) 'Small island urban tourism: a residents' perspective', *Current issues in tourism*, 13, (1), pp. 37-60.

Nunkoo, R.; Ramkissoon, H. (2010b), 'Modeling community support for a proposed integrated resort project', *Journal of sustainable tourism*, 18; (2), pp. 257-278

Ramkissoon, H. and Nunkoo, R. (2011a) 'Modelling community support for a proposed integrated resort project', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18 (2), pp.257-277.

Ramkissoon, H. and Nunkoo, R. (2011b) 'Developing a community support model for tourism', *Annals of tourism research*. 38, (3), pp.964-988

Ramsamy, S. (1998) 'Tourism development in Mauritius and the role of the private sector', n: World Tourism Organisation (eds) *L'Afrique et les perspectives du tourisme mondial: L'horizon 2020: Défis et opportunités*. Port Louis: WTO, pp. 79-112.

Redclift, M. (2008) 'The meaning of sustainable development', In: Page, S and Connell J. (eds) *Sustainable tourism. Critical concepts in the social sciences*. Oxon: Routledge, 1, pp. 118-131.

Reddie, R.S. (2007) *Abolition!: The Struggle to Abolish Slavery in the British Colonies*. Oxford: Lion Press, p .201.

Regnard, L. N. (1927) *Histoire Genealogique de la Famille de Chazal*. Paris: Le Junge de Sergrais.

Reisinger, Y. and Dimanche, F. (2009) *International Tourism: Cultures and Behaviour*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Reuters (2014). *Surge in Chinese visitors lifts Mauritius H1 tourism earnings*. Available at: <https://uk.finance.yahoo.com/news/surge-chinese-visitors-lifts-mauritius-h1-tourism-earnings-071340195.html> (Accessed 12 October 2014).

Rex, J. (1994) 'Ethnic Mobilisation in Multi-cultural Societies', in: Rex, J and Drury, B. (eds.) *Ethnic Mobilisation in a Multi-cultural Europe*. Hants: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp. 3-12.

Rex, J. (1997) 'The Concept of a Multicultural Society', in Rex, J (eds.) *The Ethnicity Reader, Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd, pp.205-219.

Ribeiro, M.A, Oom do Valle, P., and Silva, J.A (2013) 'Residents' attitudes towards tourism development in Cape Verde Islands', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol 15, (4), p, 654-679.

Ritchie, B. W., Burns, P. and Palmer, C. (2005) *Tourism Research Methods: Integrating Theory with Practice*. Wallingford, Oxfordshire: CABI Pub.

Ritchie, J. R. B. and Goeldner, C. R. (1994) *Travel, Tourism, and Hospitality Research: A Handbook for Managers and Researchers*, 2nd edition. Chichester: Wiley.

Richter, L.K. (1982) *Land reform and tourism development: policy-making in the Philippines*, Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co.

Rhumerie de chamarel (2015) *Rhumerie de chamarel*. Available at: <http://www.rhumeriedechamarel.com/restaurant.php> (Accessed: 12 March 2015).

Robson, C. (1993) *Real world research: a resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*, London: John Wiley & Sons.

Robinson-Dunn, (2003) *Lascar Sailors and English Converts: The Imperial Port and Islam in late 19th-Century England* Available at: http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/ebook/p/2005/history_cooperative/www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascapes/dunn.html. (Accessed: 3 December 2012).

Romaine, A. (2007) *Les souliers de l'abolition: (île Maurice, 1830-1840): quand les esclaves chaussèrent la liberté*. Beau Bassin, Mauritius: Marye-pike.

Roopun, A. (2005) Statistiques, Trouver du boulot: dur labeur, *L'express dimanche*, 13 February, pp.4-5.

Rose, J. (2013). Chamarel: Le spectre de Sorèze plane, *L'express*, 11 May, n.p.

Routard, I. (2015). *Le Barbizon*. Available at:
http://www.routard.com/forum_message/1529282/restaurant_le_barbizon_a_chamarel_ile_maurice.htm (Accessed: 1 March 2015). .

Ryan, C. (2005) 'Ethics in Tourism Research: Objectivities and Personal Perspectives', in Ritchie, B. W., Burns, P. and Palmer, C. (eds.) *Tourism Research, Integrating Theory with Practice*. Oxfordshire: CABI Publishing, pp.9-19.

Sandiford, P. and Ap, J. (1998) 'The Role of Ethnographic Techniques in Tourism Planning', *Journal of Travel Research*, 37, pp.3-11.

Sautter, E.T, and Leisen, B. (1999) 'Managing Stakeholders: A Tourism Planning Model', *Annals of tourism research*, 26, (2), pp.312-328

Savripene, M. A. (2005) Hommes asservis ou libres, la misere subsiste, *L'express*, 1 February, p.2.

Schnepel, B. and Schnepel, C. (2011) 'From Slave to Tourist Entertainer – Performative Negotiations of Identity and dDference in Mauritius', in: McCusker, M. and Soares, A. (eds.) *Islanded Identities Constructions of Post Colonial Cultural Insularity, Cross Cultures Readings in Post Colonial Literature*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp.110-126.

Scott Dunn, 2014. Lakaz Chamarel. Available at: <https://www.scottdunn.com/luxury-holidays/africa/indian-ocean/mauritius/west-coast/lakaz-chamarel> (Accessed: 2 March 2015).

Searle, J. R. (1995) *The Construction of Social Reality*. London: Allen Lane.

Seetamonee, R. (2012a) Café de Chamarel – De la cerise à une tasse de café fumant, *Le Defi Media*, 8 September, n.p.

Seetamonee, R. (2012b) La Vieille Cheminée – Le passé rustique ressuscité, *Le Defi Media*, 17 August, n.p.

Seetamonee, R (2014). L'écotourisme: Voyager responsable et durable, *Le Defi Media*, 1 October, n.p.

Seetaram, N. (2012) 'Mauritius', in Graham, A., Papatheodorou, A. and Forsyth, P. (eds.) *Aviation and Tourism: Implications for Leisure Travel*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp.313-322.

Selvam, S. (2003) 'Religion and Ethnicity in the Indian diaspora: Murugan worship among Tamil-Hindus in Mauritius', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, 2, (1), pp. 1-29.

Searle, J.R. (1995) *The Construction of Social Reality*, New York: The Free Press.

Sett, E.S and Lui, Y. (2014) 'Assessment of the Existing Tourism-Park-Community Relationships: A Case Study in the Inle Lake Wildlife Sanctuary, Myanmar', *International Journal of Sciences* 2014, 2, pp.1-14

SGP (2012) *The GEF Small Grants Programme SGP 2012 - Mauritius – awards*. Available at: https://sgp.undp.org/index.php?country=75&option=com_countrypages&view=countrypage&Itemid=204. (Accessed: 5 June 2013).

Shakeela, A. and Weaver, D. (2012) 'Resident Reactions to a Tourism Incident: Mapping a Maldivian Emoscape'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39 (3), pp. 1337-1358.

Silverman, D (2000) *Doing qualitative research: a practical handbook*, London: Sage.

Simeon, R. (1976) 'Studying Public Policy', 9, (4), *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 548-580.

Simmons, D. G. (1994) 'Community Participation in Tourism Planning', *Tourism Management*, 15 (2), pp.98-108.

Sinclair, M and Sinclair, T (1997) *Gender, Work and Tourism*, London: Routledge.

Slate Afrique (2013). *Chamarel : nouveau projet d'écotourisme*. Available at:
<http://www.slateafrique.com/111265/chamarel-nouveau-projet-d%E2%80%99ecotourisme>.
(Accessed: 3 March 2013).

Smith, M.G. (1960) 'Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Caribbean', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 83 (5), pp.761-916.

Smith, M.G. (1965) *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Smith, M.G. and Kuper, L. (1969) *Plural Societies: Perspectives and Problems*, In: *Pluralism in Africa*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Smith, M.G. (2009) *Corporations and Society: The Social Anthropology of Collective Action*, 2nd edition, London: Transaction Publishers.

Societe de l'histoire de l'île Maurice (1943) 'Chazel de Chamarel', in: *Dictionary of Mauritian biographies*, Societe de l'histoire de l'île Maurice (eds.) Mauritius: Standard Printing Establishment, 4 (9), p.263.

Societe de l'histoire de l'île Maurice (1952) *Dictionary of Mauritian biographies*, *Societe de l'histoire de l'île Maurice*, Mauritius: Standard Printing Establishment, 4 (25-28), p.744.

Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions (1834) *An Address to the Public of Great Britain and Ireland on the Occasion of the Termination of Colonial Slavery on the First Day of August next, London*. London: S. Bagster.

Soper, A. (2008), 'Developing Mauritianness: National Identity, Cultural Heritage Values and Tourism', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, pp.94- 109.

Spradley, J.P. (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview*. London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, p .85.

Srebnik, H. (2000) 'Can an Ethnically-Based Civil Society Succeed? The Case of Mauritius', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 18, pp.7-20.

Stake R.S. (1995) *The art of case study research: perspectives on practice*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Statistics Mauritius (2012). *International Travel and Tourism Year 2011*. Available at: Statistics Mauritius <http://www.gov.mu/portal/goc/cso/ei948/tourism.pdf>. (Accessed: 12 August 2012).

Starostin, S.A. (2008) *Coolie, Dravidian etymology*. Available at; staring.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/etymology.cig?single=1&basenae=/data/drav/dravet&text_number=+709&root=config. (Accessed: 4 October 2012) , p .1.

Statistics Mauritius (2014) *Historical Series – International Travel and Tourism*. Available at: <http://statsmauritius.gov.mu/English/StatsbySubj/Pages/Historical-Series--Tourism.aspx> (Accessed 29 October 2014).

Staub (1982) *Chamarel*. La Societe De L'histoire de l'île Maurice, Port Louis, Mauritius, p.3.

Stealing a Nation, (2004) ITV, 7 October.

Steiner, C., Richter, T., Dörry, S., Neisen, V., Stephenson, M. L., Lemma, A. F. and Mitchell, J.G.B. (2011a) *Economic crisis, international tourism decline and its impact on the poor. An analysis of the effects of the global economic crisis on the employment of poor and vulnerable groups in the tourism sector.*, Madrid, Spain/International Labour Organization, pp. 287.

Steiner, C., Richter, T., Dörry, S., Neisen, V. Stephenson, M.L.; Lemma, A. F.; Mitchell, J.G.B. (2011b). *World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)*, Madrid, Spain: International Labour Organization, pp.287.

Stephenson, M.L. (2002) 'Travelling to the Ancestral Homelands: The Aspirations and Experiences of a UK Caribbean Community', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5 (5), pp.378-420.

Stephenson, M.L. (2004) 'Tourism, Racism and the UK Afro-Caribbean Diaspora', in T. Coles and Timothy, J. (eds.) *Tourism, Diasporas and Space*. London: Routledge.

Strathern, P. (2002) *East Meets West Exploration by Land*. London: Belitha Press.

Strauss, A.L. and Corbin, J.M. (1998) *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*, 2nd edition. California: Sage Publications.

St Pierre, P. (2005a) Developpment, Chamarel se refait une beaute, *L'express*, 21 janvier 2005, p.9.

St Pierre, P. (2005b) Le Morne, Les pecheurs ne lachent pas la barre, *L'express* 4 March, p.11.

St Pierre, P. (2005c) Le Morne, Les pecheurs vont en cour, *L'express*, 18 February, p.9.

St Pierre, P. (2005d) Le Morne Une stele a la memoir des esclaves, *L'express*, 28 January, p.9.

St Pierre, P. (2005e) Questions a...Rico L'Intelligent, Vice-president du conseil de district de Rivière Noire, *L'express*, 21 January, p.9

Stronza, A., and Gordillo, J. (2008) 'Community views of eco-tourism'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25 (2), pp.448-468.

Suarez, T. (1999) *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*. Hong Kong: Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd.

Sugar Beach Hotel (2013). 'Take your dinner in front of the Indian Ocean at Citronella's Café!', *Sugar beach hotel blog*, 14 May. Available at:
<http://www.sugarbeachhotelblog.com/anglais/sugar-restaurants-bars/eat-or-drink-here-or-there/take-your-dinner-in-front-of-the.html?lang=fr>. (Accessed: 15 June 2014).

Swanborn, P.G. (2010) *Case study research: what, why and how?* London: SAGE Publication Ltd.

Symonds, P. M. (2015) The Case Study as a Research Method. *Review of Educational Research*, 15(5), pp. 352–359.

Taylor, G. (1995) 'The Community Approach: Does it Really Work?' *Tourism Management*, 16 (7), pp.487-489.

Teelock, V. (1996) *A Select Guide to Sources on Slavery in Mauritius and Slaves Speak Out: The Testimony of Slaves in the Era of Sugar*. Port Louis: African Cultural Centre.

Teelock, V. and Alpers, E. (2001). *History, Memory and Identity*. Bell Village, Port Louis: Nelson Mandela Center for African Culture, pp. 5, 33,34 ,48.

Teelock, V. and Cornec, J. (2005) *Maroonage and the Maroon Heritage in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.

Telfair, C. (1830) *Some Account of the State of Slavery at Mauritius since the British Occupation in 1810, in Refutation of Anonymous Charges Promulgated Against Government and that Colony – Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, London: J. Ridgway, p .3.

Temperley, H. (2000) *After Slavery: Emancipation and its Discontents*. London: Frank Cass.

Temple, S. (1974) 'Wildlife in Mauritius today'. *Oryx*, 12, pp.584-590.

The Mauritian Wildlife Foundation MWF (2013). *In the Field*. Available at: <http://www.mauritian-wildlife.org>. (Accessed: 28 December 2012).

Thomas, J. M. (1993) *Doing Critical Ethnography*. London: SAGE.

Thome, W.H, (2013a). MAR 06, 2013 *Party spokesperson calls sacking of MTPA Chairman misbehaviour*. Available at: <http://www.eturbonews.com/33721/party-spokesperson-calls-sacking-mtpa-chairman-misbehavior> (Accessed 10 October 2014).

Thome, W.H, (2013b) *Mauritius tourism arrivals for 2012 described as flat*. Available at: <http://www.eturbonews.com/33684/mauritius-tourism-arrivals-2012-described-flat> (Accessed 10 October 2014).

Thome, W.H, (2013c) *Mauritius tourism revenues down*. Available at:
<http://www.eturbonews.com/35032/mauritius-tourism-revenues-down>. (Accessed 10 October 2014).

Timothy, D. J. (1998) 'Cooperative Tourism Planning in a Developing Destination', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 6 (1), pp.52-68.

Tinker, H. (1993) *A New System of Slavery*. London: Hansib Publishing Limited , pp. 12 , 54, 68-69, 175-178, 207-210.

Titmuss, R and Abel-Smith, B, (1960). *Social Policies and Population Growth in Mauritius*, Legislative Council, Port Louis, Mauritius.

Titmuss, R. and Abel-Smith, B. (1968) *Social Policies and Population Growth in Mauritius*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.

Touissant, A. (1966) *Une cite tropicale Port-Louis de l'île Maurice*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Tourism Concern (2013) *What is Community Tourism?* Available at:
<http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/community-tourism.html>. (Accessed: 12 February 2013).

Trading Economics, 2015. *Mauritius Tourist Arrivals 2000-2015*. Available at:
(<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/mauritius/tourist-arrivals> (Accessed 10 October 2014])

Tripadvisor (2015a). *La Vieille Cheminee*. Available at:
http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Hotel_Review-g1168948-d1655013-Reviews-La_Vieille_Cheminee-Chamarel.html (Accessed: 15 January 2015).

Tripadvisor (2015b). *Vacation Rentals*. Available at:
http://www.tripadvisor.ie/VacationRentals-g1168948-Reviews-Chamarel-Vacation_Rentals.html (Accessed: 16 January 2015).

Tripadvisor (2015c). *4 Bedroom Mountain Estate Chamarel Mauritius*. Available at:
http://www.tripadvisor.ie/VacationRentalReview-g1168948-d2551246-4_Bedroom_Mountain_Estate_Chamarel_Mauritius-Chamarel.html. (Accessed: 16 January 2015).

Tripadvisor (2015d). *Les Palmiers*. Available at:
http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Restaurant_Review-g293816-d3773643-Reviews-Les_Palmiers-Mauritius.html. (Accessed: 20 January 2015).

Tripadvisor (2015e). *Reviews Chez M*. Available at:
http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Restaurant_Review-g1168948-d2539666-Reviews-Chez_M-Chamarel.html. (Accessed: 20 January 2015).

Tripadvisor (2015f). *La Varangue sur Morne*. Available at:
http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Restaurant_Review-g1168948-d1308984-Reviews-La_Varangue_sur_Morne-Chamarel.html. (Accessed: 25 January 2015).

Tripadvisor (2015g). *Transport to Chamarel Waterfall*. Available at:
http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowTopic-g293816-i9265-k6912908-Transport_to_Chamarel_Waterfall-Mauritius.html. (Accessed: 25 January 2015).

Turner, L. and Ash, J. (1975) *The Golden Hordes*. University of Michigan: Constable, p .99.

Turner, M. (2000) Mauritius: Further development is creating extra tensions, *Le Mauricien*, 7 June, pp. 2, 82, 85.

Tyagi, R. (2011) 'Rethinking Identity and Belonging 'Mauritianess' in the Work of Ananda Devi', in McCusker, M. and Soares, A. (eds) *Islanded Identities Constructions of Post Colonial Cultural Insularity, Cross Cultures Readings in Post Colonial Literature* 139, Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 91-106.

UNESCO (2005) *The Slave Route*. Available at: unesdco.unesco.org-images-0011-00144-11442eopdf.url. (Accessed: 1 February 2005) , p.9.

United Nations Development Programme UNDP (2004) *Community Tourism and Organic Farming Project*, Port Louis: United Nations Development Programme

United Nations Development Programme UNDP (2015) *Community Tourism & Organic farming at Chamarel*, Available at: https://sgp.undp.org/index.php?option=com_sgpprojects&view=projectdetail&id=5902&Itemid=272. (Accessed: 25 September 2015)

Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Valentine, B. (2001) 'Slaves in Mauritius at Emancipation', in 1835, in Teelock, V. and Alpers A. E. (eds.) *History, Memory and Identity*. Reduit, Mauritius: Mandela Centre for African Culture.

Vaughan, M. (2005) *Creating the Creole Island Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius*. Durham and London: Duke University Press

Veal, A. J. (2006) *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism: A Practical Guide*, 3rd ed. London: Pitman.

Wagner (1970) *Alfred Schutz on Phenomenology and Social Relations*. The University of Chicago Press, London.

Wagner, P (2014a). *Day tours in the south part of the island Chamarel Waterfall and Coloured Earth*, Available at: www.tourist-guide.biz. (Accessed: 12 June 2014).

Wagner, P (2014b) Tourist guide Mauritius, *Patrick Wagner's travel blog*, n.d 2014, Available at: <http://www.tourist-guide.biz/Mauritius/South.html>. (Accessed: 12 June 2014).

Waldren, J. (1996) *Insiders and Outsiders: Paradise and Reality in Mallorca*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Walker, K (2008) 'Linking a sense of place with a sense of care: overcoming sustainability challenges faced by remote island communities', in: Moscardo, G. (2008) *Building community capacity for tourism development*, CABI International, Oxfordshire, pp.41-59.

Wheeller, B. (1994) 'Egotourism, Sustainable Tourism and the Environment: a Symbiotic, Symbolic or Shambolic Relationship?' in Seaton, A.V. et al. (eds.) *Tourism: The State of the Art*. Chichester: Wiley, pp.647-654.

WHL travel (2010) *Lakaz_Chamarel_Exclusive_Lodge*. Available at: http://www.mauritius.holidays.io/Lakaz_Chamarel_Exclusive_Lodge (Accessed: 13 November 2014).

Whyte, W.F. (1993) *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, 4th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, M. (2000) 'Interpretivism and Generalisation', *Sociology*, 34 (2), pp.209-224.

Wing, P. (1995) 'Tourism Development in the South Indian Ocean: the Case of Mauritius', in: Conlin, M. V. and Baum, T. (eds.) *Island Tourism Management Principles and Practice*. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, pp.229-235.

World Tourism Organization (2004) *Making tourism work for Small Island Developing States*, Madrid: World Tourism Organization.

Xavier (2008). Restaurant Le Barbizon à Chamarel (Ile Maurice) *Routard Forum Mauritius, Rodrigues* In: *Restaurant and gastronomy, Mauritius, Rodrigues* Available at: [http://www.routard.com/forum_message/1529282/restaurant_le_barbizon_a_chamarel_\(ile_maurice\).htm](http://www.routard.com/forum_message/1529282/restaurant_le_barbizon_a_chamarel_(ile_maurice).htm) (Accessed 23 June 2014).

Yin, R. K. (1989) *Case study research: design and methods*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Yin, R. K. (1993) *Applications - of case study research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Zarzycki, J (2013a). Mauritius Attraction HD – Best things to do in Mauritius island with name of places, *Travel with me diary blog*, 17 November 2013, Available at: <http://travelwithmediary.blogspot.co.uk/> (Accessed: 12 March 2014).

Zarzycki (2013b), J, Nov 15, 2013 *Mauritius – 12 Top Attractions HD*. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BV4Z20P-cRk>. (Accessed: 21 March 2015).

Zoover (2014) *Chamarel photos*. Available at: http://www.zoover.co.uk/mauritius/mauritius/chamarel/photos_ (Accessed: 21 March 2015).

Zulfa, M and Carlson, J (2011) 'Sustainable Island Tourism Development in Maldives', in:
Carlson, J. and Butler, R.W. (eds.) *Island Tourism: Towards a Sustainable Perspective*,
Oxfordshire: CAB International, pp.215-227.

Appendices

A. Primary research matrix

	Topic	Key points	Location	Method
Cavadee and other religious events	Hindu Maha Shrivatree pilgrimage Tamil festivals Chinese New Year Catholic Bank Holidays	Pilgrimage Who is entitled to participate and to what extent Insiders and outsiders	Grand Bassin Port Louis	Participant observation, Casual conversations, covert observations
Taxi	Views on Afro-Mauritians, Chagossians, history of Chamarel, Tamarin, Le Morne	Negative perceptions of black identity, what is 'Mauritian' and Chagossian rights	Mauritius, Chamarel, Tamarin, Le Morne, Port Louis,	Casual conversations, covert observations
Key planning informants	Tourism Planners, economists, UNDP, Board of Investment	New tourism/spa developments in Chamarel	Ministry of Tourism, UNDEP, Planning Department,	Semi – unstructured interviews
Other informants (history/archive)	Ethnic groups and Chamarel info	Rights to land ownership, affidavits	African Cultural Centre Union pour Le progress Mauritian historians, national archive assistants	Semi- unstructured interviews
Key actors	Mi, Ma, An, Taxi drivers, local families and friends	Perceptions of beauty/class, views of other ethnic groups, national security and political rights for ethnic groups	North and South Mauritius	Casual conversations, covert observations
Chamarel informants	NHPA, Chamarel 'native', residents, nuns, village council, table d'hôte and guest house owners, women and elderly assoc, field workers, school teachers	Chamarel history, infrastructure and development, benefits for whom, perception of progress, participants and rights to make decisions	Chamarel village, local artisans, private homes, table d'hôtes/guest houses, Seven Coloured Earth and Cascade tourism attraction and park workers	Semi- unstructured interviews, casual conversations, life stories

Slavery conference	Madagascar Terre De Nos Ancestre	UNESCO, UNDP, Madagscan historians, Mauritian historians	Mauritius	Observation
Other observations	Regulars in at cafes/Mcdonald's, Caudan waterfront, Chamarel infrastructure, views of tourists	Who is 'Mauritian', tourist protection, Chamarel lack of development	Port-Louis, Chamarel	Overt observation Covert observation

B. List of primary research informants

A breakdown of the primary research, coded i.e. A1, B1 when quotes are used in analysis. Names have been removed for confidentiality purposes.

- A1. President of Village Council Chamarel / Table d'hôte owner (1)
- A2. Le Morne Trust Fund Board / Community Centre
- A3. Father, Nuns and visitors at local Convent
- A4. Owner of local table d'hôte (21) / member of Women's Association
- A5. Neighbour of table d'hôte owner
- A6. Table d'hôte owner (3)
- A7. Monsieur D – (elderly Chamarel native)
- A8. Owner of table d'hôte
- A9. Mauritius Research Council
- A10. Union pour le progrès Mauritian society
- A11. Student historian
- A12. Nelson Mandela / African Cultural Centre
- A13 National Funding Board / Steering Committee
- A14. Inspector at Town and Country Planning Board
- A15. Economist Ministry of Tourism
- A16. NHPA for Chamarel
- A17. Women's / Elderly Association Chamarel
- A18. Handicraft worker (self-employed) Chamarel
- A19. Headteacher of primary school Chamarel

- A20. MTPA Deputy Head Manager
- A21. UNDP Coordinator
- A22. Tourism Planner
- A23. Board of Investment
- A24. Economist Ministry of Tourism (2)
- A25. Tourism Planner (2)
- A26. Tourism Planner (3)
- A27. Mauritius Research Council (2)

B1. Notes on casual conversations

- B1. Mi (taxi driver) on way to Chamarel – relates history
- B2. Mi – tour of Tamarin – comparing development
- B3. Mi – taxi journey to Chamarel – thoughts on development and ‘grand blanc’
- B4. La Sept Terre Couleurs / Chamarel Cascade – Guard
- B5. La Sept Terre Couleurs – attendant – talks development
- B6. An and Mi – conversation in the kitchen, demonstration effect and impact
- B7. Mi – talks about Creole people, compares with the Chinese
- B8. Patient at the Doctors surgery – hotel on his land without permission
- B9. Mi – tour of north – national unity, comments on Chagos
- B10. Cavadee procession – observant participation – tourist visibility, group conflicts
- B11. A visit to the Oberoi – cabannes style
- B12. Visit to Le Morne, Chamarel and South Coast with tourists – PA, DA – outsiders view
- B13. GA – and elderly Indian lady with upper class background Remarks on Rodrigue tenants
- B14. Ma – Caudan – remarks on tourists and justice for citizens
- B15. Observation at Mcdonald’s with Ma/and other – comment on identity ‘Mauritian’ compared to Afro-Mauritians
- B16. Reactions to Abolition of Slavery commemoration
- B17. Staff – National Archive – comments on land ownership, conflicts and affidavits

C. Keynotes on interviews

Examples of key notes taken during interviews which formed a snowball sample:

Village President:

- No reinvestment of profits from estates from tourism into the local area
- Slow and lack of infrastructure in clean running water and electricity, toilets, post office, hospitals
- Is not involved in tourism decision-making or UNDP / Les Amis de Chamarel
- Is ethnically against Les Amis de Chamarel who were chosen for the 'garden project'
- Talks about authenticity of food and table d'hôtes
- Does not know about IRS developments in Chamarel
- Will not see researcher again unless large sums of money is involved
- Sees himself as French not African roots, and refuses African identity
- Is insulted by use of Kreol

Trust fund board:

- The historical and sentimental links of Au Morne mountain slavery
- The local voices against tourism development
- The prevention and termination of possible IRS project in Le Morne
- Slavery conference

Table d'hôte owner:

- Was given training for catering and management at hotels in Port Louis
- Was given a small bursary for her extension
- Had to pay all expenses for training and transport
- Visited by ministers and encouraged to set-up a table d'hôte
- Only two are licensed as a 'table d'hôte' the rest are seen as snack / cafes
- The snacks and table d'hôtes do not communicate as a group are not seen as a business sector or group in Chamarel

D. Other types of primary research gathered

The following is a breakdown of the primary research gathered via notes and photo journal.

The main categories of data which emerged:

- Chamarel roads, infrastructure
- Comparing the rich and poor in Tamarin
- The road separating the Chamarel village from tourism area
- Slave cave – Casse Cavel
- Sega – artificial authenticity
- L’Aventure du Sucre Museum – slavery records

E. Media notes (television and radio)

Topics of interest:

Morne Heritage Trust Fund

Pravind Kumar Jugnauth (future pm) talks about unity

Paul Berenger (pm) speech

Ralph Bundhun – talks identity names

Pm website launch of Slavery Nelson Mandela Cultural Centre, Centre for Research in Black culture

Taleb Bashire: Slavery comments

Darma Mootien – Social intergration of vulnerable groups

Jan 2005 MBC (includes newspaper article) Berenger and Jagnauth give sugar estate land to factory workers so that they can build their own factories

L’Escalvaz, L’Amite, L’Hertiage (Le Morne)

A broadcasted commemoration on slavery

Topics of interest:

Berenger Speech

Jugnaught Speech

Leela Dookun Speech

B.Perrine – Chairperson of Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund

D.Francois – Segá Poem on Le Morne

Director of Hotel School, Mauritius

Independence Day Cultural dances and songs, Mahebourg waterfront

Chamarel 40 Years Topics of interest:

Fedrick Martin talks about Chamarel 40 years ago

Jean Luc – Group Natir

Gossvan Sewtuwal – writer on stories from his grandmother on Chamarel lifestyle

Reflet Sud – programmes in Swahili

Rico L'Intelligent – talks about village hall and Hindi films

Salina Apadoo (presenter) explains effects of TV on Chamarel community

Beharry – talks about training for her table d'hôte and TV programmes

Mariepaul Sandipen – Maître d'école – benefits of TV

Mubrak Boodhun – Minister of sport – democracy and TV for chamarel

F. Conferences

Televised Conferences attended by the Researcher

Samedi 12 Fevrier 2005

Centre Nelson Mandela pour La Culture Africaine, Conference '*Lesklavaz Nou Leritaz*'
(Slavery is our heritage) 170^{eme} anniversaire de l'abolition de l'esclavage, Journee
de'information et de reflexioin, *Madagascar Tree de Nos ancetres*,

Attended Conference - Madagascar Terre De Nos Ancestre

12.02.05

Topics of interest:

UNESCO support for research on slavery heritage

Minister for culture Leela Dookun

M. Jocelyn Chan Low (historian)

Religious (bank) holidays in the months of Dec 8th-April 7th (Participant Observation)

Additional sources:

- Catholic holidays – Christmas, New Year: News on Sunday 31st Dec 2004-6th Jan 2005, *Religious Ceremonies*, 9
- Hindu Bank Holidays including Tamil – Cavadee Procession 25 Jan: Etienne, P (L'Express Outlook, Tue 1st Feb 2005) *Cavadee Festival, Faith and penance under the scorching sun*, 11
- Abolition of Slavery 1st Feb: News on Sunday, Feb 4-10 2005, Weekly Review Abolition of Slavery a real celebration, 15
- Chinese – Spring Festival Feb 9th: News on Sunday Feb 4-10 2005, *Whats On Kung Shi Fat Choy!*, 9; News on Sunday Feb 4-10 2005, *The Year of the Rooster is here*, 33

G. Matrix showing secondary materials collected in Mauritius

	Source	Topic	Key points	Location
Notes	Informant interviews, observations, research diary	Planners, promoters, key actors, key informants, general informants, community outsiders insiders	Identity Ethnic groups Decision-making Participants Benefits of tourism Development of Chamarel	List attached
Development reports	List attached	Development, social, political, planning, tourism	List attached	Ministry of Tourism, University of Mauritius Library Mahatma Ghandi Institute
Photo journal	December-April	Informant photos, le Morne, Chamarel, event photos	Key informants, social events, Chamarel and surroundings	General
Archive material Historical sources	Maps, historical recordings, Affidavits	Chamarel, slavery documents	De Chazel Biography. Family records Maps of Chamarel Literature/poems Chamarel	National Archive, UOM Library L'Aventure du Sucre' Museum,
Media material	Radio interviews, television MBC 1,2,3 programmes	Hotel school, elections, documentaries, social events broadcasts, news,		Please see list for full sources
Electronic material	Chamarel website pilots and brochure	Promotion of Chamarel for community tourism, the environment, farming, handicraft	UNDP control	Ministry of Tourism, UNDP

Newspapers	December – April, two year catalogue pending	Chamarel and Mauritian society	Poverty, north and south, social conflicts, political rights, south for tourism	List attached
------------	--	--------------------------------	---	---------------

H. Newspapers articles

Newspaper articles were grouped within three main topics:

1. Chamarel
2. Tourism
3. Mauritian Society

They were then organised into subsections:

Chamarel

- Slavery – Jocelyn Chan Low (historian for slavery) interview
- Commemoration of the abolishment of slavery
- Relevant activities for the commemoration
- Road developments
- National development unit
- Adverts for Chamarel tourism
- UNESCO and L’Aaprivahisat Ghat (remembrance of indentured labourers)
- Aggression against Sedley Assone (Afro-Mauritian poet on slavery)
- Interview with Benard Perinne (Le Morne Trust Fund)

Tourism

- Tourism statistics, markets (info on markets Arab, Slovakia, China, Austria), the effects of the Tsunami, Plans, Forecasts
- Tourism and other developments – local aggressions, hotel development, integrated resort scheme, corruptions, Air Mauritius, airport developments
- Hotel developments on integrated resort scheme Saint Felix, Feng shui concepts, tourism, share of economy, Mahebourg in the South
- Tourism big players in the economy (Air Mauritius, Sun Resorts, New Mauritius Hotels which are independent), hoteliers help vulnerable groups, beachcomber group stats, Le Prince Maurice Hotel Environment Award, the German market for tourism, green globe 21
- Arnaud Martin, President de L'Ahrim (hotel association)
- Tourism and environment – autoroute vallée de ferney, protests and conflicts by the group Nature Watch, EcoTax, Mal development at Flic en Flac, Botanical Gardens, development of Rivière Noire District, Black River Gorges, heritage hotel at Bel Ombre, IRS at Bel Ombre, Bel Ombre sugar estate, Tamarin Leisure complex, Bambous area

Society

Politics and economics:

- Chaggossians
- 2004 overall news
- Integrated and economic projects in 2005
- Neighbouring islands

Social:

- Dockers village
- Women
- Education
- Multiculturalism and unity

- Language
- Mauritian ‘outlook’ News on Sunday
- Poverty
- Conflicts, crimes, drugs

Society:

- Maha Shrivatree – the bank holiday and Indian festivities
- Chinese workers protest
- Women’s day in Mauritius
- SADC and economic forecast
- Criticism of Berenger
- What is ‘Mauritian?’
- Mauritius Outlook ‘eyes of a new resident’
- Independence Day
- Society and trade – ‘achtez mauritian’ to lower imports, constitutional amendment bill, discriminatory practices against women,

Taken from the following sources:

- Sunday Vani (Indian community publication)
- L’Express (In French)
- L’Express Dimanche (In french)
- Le Matinal (French)
- Le Mauricienne (French)
- Defi 5-Plus (French magazine and weekend paper)
- Weekend (Only English paper on local news available in Mauritius).

I. Photo journal inventory

Photo journal contents

Section	Classification	Subject
Section One: Government and NGO informants	C1	President of UNESCO with researcher at 'Lesclavaz nou Leritaz' conference for slavery
	C2	Spokespersons and historians at 'Lesclavaz nou Leritaz' conference for slavery
	C3	Head of NGO and participant for slavery commemoration
	C4	Informant and Head of 'Union pour le Progres Mauricien' (Creole)
	C5	Head of Mauritius National Steering Committee with researcher
	C6	Deputy Head of Mauritius Promotion Tourism Authority (MTPA) with researcher
	C7	Ministry of Tourism (MOT) Chief Tourism Planner with researcher
	C8	Ministry of Tourism Assistant Tourism Planner with researcher
	C9	Ministry of Tourism Chief Executive and Economist with researcher
	C10	Student Historian with researcher
	C11	Researcher Historian for Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture with researcher
	C12	Deputy Head of Mauritius Research Council (MRC) with researcher

Section Two: Journey to Chamarel	C13	Journey to Chamarel
	C14	Journey to Chamarel – winding roads and barriers
Section Three: Tourism Attractions of Chamarel	C15	Rare discovery of a Maroon Cave at ‘Casse Cavel’
	C16	Entry to Chamarel – The road separating tourists from locals
	C17	La Cascade – Chamarel Waterfall
	C18	La Vieille Cheminée, Chamarel
	C19	La Terre Sept Couleurs – Seven Coloured Earth, Chamarel
	C20	Facilities at La Terre Sept Couleurs – Seven Coloured Earth, Chamarel
	C21	Restaurant facilities at La Terre Sept Couleurs – Seven Coloured Earth, Chamarel
Section Four: Table d’hôtes and local enterprises	C22	UNDP supported local ‘table d’hôte’ –Chamarel
	C23	European table display at UNDP supported local ‘table d’hôte’ - Chamarel
	C24	Staff at UNDP supported local ‘table d’hôte’
	C25	Interior Decoration and staff at UNDP supported local ‘table d’hôte’
	C26	Owners of family run and licensed table d’hôte
	C27	Researcher with table d’hôte owner
	C28	Researcher with Head of National Handicraft Promotion

		Agency (NHPA) at construction of the new demonstration building for handicraft, Chamarel
	C29	Head teacher of local Primary school, Chamarel
	C30	UNDP Promotion of local Chamarel produce
Section Five: UNDP and handicrafts	C31	Local villagers with handicrafts
	C32	Local Chamarel women pottery activity (Indo-Mauritian participants unknown to villagers)
	C33	Local Chamarel women basketry activity
Section Six: UNDP Chamarel Organic Farming Tourism and Les Amis de Chamarel	C34	Rastafarian and his musical instrument, participant of UNDP Chamarel organic farming tourism project
	C35	Rastafarian participants (cross referenced in photos C37-39)
	C36	Chamarel Organic Farming Plot (location unknown to local villagers)
	C37	Possible organisers and contributors of the UNDP programme
	C38	Possible organisers and contributors of the UNDP programme
	C39	Participants of the UNDP activities

Section Seven: Regional tourism development comparisons by villagers	C40	Location of Casela Bird Park, South Mauritius
	C41 & C42	Casela Safari, South Mauritius – imported animals
	C43	Tamarin Main road – The rich and the poor (housing)
	C44	Tamarin – The rich houses, permitted to build on mountain ranges
	C45	Tamarin – Example of Colonial styles of architecture for the rich
	C46	Tamarin – hotel and tourism facilities
	C47	Tamarin – the poor housing, iron sheets
	C48	Tamarin – the poor housing iron sheets, no pathways or street lighting
Section Eight: Sega native dancing for tourism entertainment	C49	Native instruments, with modern contemporary ones on stage for later use
	C50	Native instruments, ‘Ravanne’ and ‘Maravanne’
	C51	Dancers costumes
	C52	Traditional Dance forms
	C53	Native instruments
	C54	Native instruments such as the ‘triangle’
Section Nine: The Hindu ‘Cavadee’ Procession	C55	Procession of bright colourful religious floats on the heads of pilgrims

	C56	Pilgrims accompanied by family, friends, supporters, strangers (Indo-Mauritian)
	C57	Pilgrims need for water carriers, vans due to barefoot procession
	C58	Pilgrims body sacrificial piercing (tongue, chest and fruit weights)
	C59	Pilgrims body sacrificial piercing (tongue, and body markings), pink garments and covered mouths
	C60	Pilgrims supported by walking sticks
	C61	Pilgrims body sacrificial piercing (back and fruit weights)
	C62	Pilgrim variation on float and clothes piercing (piercing with longer weights on both ends)
	C63	Close up of sacrificial tongue and chest piercing of younger pilgrim
	C64	Spectators prostrate themselves for a pilgrim blessing before he reaches the end of his journey at the temple
	C65 & C66	Women in Cavadee procession (clothes, piercing and religious items)

Glossary of terms

Creole	An ethnic categorisation during the period of the French Empire when slavery was permitted to define a ‘native’ born within the island, either French, Black, Chinese or any other origin (Teelock 1996; Teelock and Alpers 2001; Benoit 1985).
Kreol	<p>Native Language of Mauritius (a distinction between the spelling of Kreol to represent the native language and Creole as an ethnic label – as used by authors such as Carroll and Carroll’s (2000a; 200b) and Ericksen’s (1988) prolific range of works on Mauritian ethnicity and language.</p> <p>Note: The native language of Kreol was translated into English and are provided in italics. The use of ‘Kreol’ as the native language is distinguished from ‘Creole’ to define the ethnic group.</p>
Creolisation	Creolisation is defined as a continuum of historical events, such as colonialism, which can cause different ethnic groups to become entangled and indigenized (Hall 2002: 30; Carroll and Carroll 1997: 480).