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Chapter 1 Introduction

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The vital and contested connections between colonialism and tourism are as lively and charged today as they ever were. From staged weddings in Mauritius, curated walks through the Medina of Tunis, surfing off the high-rise hotel development at Waikiki, or riding on an Elephant Safari Tour in Himachal Pradesh, much of the marketing of these kinds of destinations represent the constant renewal of coloniality in the tourism business. Actors in the worldwide tourism industry continue to benefit from the colonial roots of globalisation. The ownership of tourist infrastructures, e.g., airlines, hotel booking systems and resorts, are restructured by a neo-colonial order. Colonialism is echoed in the imaginations of tourists, in the marketing of destinations, and in production of touristified landscapes. Whether found on bespoke tours, or at resorts or tourist attractions, strategies to package the colonial past have arguably become more sophisticated through the situated, and exciting offers encountered variously through specialist accommodation, architecture, food, stories and design. The growth in tourism and its intensification and expansion into new markets has amplified the encounters with history and memory. Hélène Cixous's (2004:55) aphorism 'everything passes, except the past' presents a potent guide in commencing our thinking on these issues. As much as time is receding, the colonial past is growing in influence. Many societies find themselves cast into situations where they variously elide, exploit and re-negotiate their relationships to their colonial experience. (Strachan, 2002)

In this book, we set out to excavate the range and diversity of coloniality at work in tourism across a wide variety of global destinations. The cultural and economic practices of coloniality are updated continuously and reproduced by tourism producers in new domains, forms and hybrids. (Alexeyeff & Taylor (2016) Even a cursory look at the marketing and advertising of tropical destinations such as Andaman and Nicobar Islands, or Thailand finds these destinations imagined as places outside of society and civilisation, sites of indolence and luxury. The advent of tourism started as the pursuit of the exotic 'other', the differentness, and the

authentic experience. Advertising often evoking images of the colonial past, enabling fantasies of imperial travel and adventure. In upmarket boutiques in Nairobi, focused principally on wealthy tourists, original wooden carved windows and doors stripped from heritage buildings on the Swahili coast are readied for sale as decorative items or converted into expensive coffee tables for export. Such is the pace of using nostalgic colonial memory as a basis to design the experience for tourists, that some resorts offer a living archive of colonial style. These places reassert the spatial imaginaries of Empire that are cut away from its roots in violence and dispossession.

Sites such as these are reconfigured as nostalgic palimpsests where people and places are enveloped in the elixir of authenticity, that disguise the site's horror. The restoration of the crumbling imperial architecture in Yangon, Myanmar as well as the refurbishment of Raffles Hotel in Singapore are characterized by colonial nostalgia for many British, Dutch and French memories of empire. (Girke 2015) Like luxury watches, cars or homes, holidays in these sites trade as aspirational items for elite consumers. The colonial overtone never fades while traveling has increasingly become a form of “postcolonial melancholia” (Gilroy 2006), a yearning for a time when colonialism and imperialism were great. By deliberating curating forgetting, these tourist destinations illustrate David Harvey's observation that nostalgia mobilises '..sanitized collective memories, the nurturing of uncritical aesthetic experiences and the absorption of future possibilities into a non-conflictual arena that is eternally present' (Harvey 2000: 168).

The reach of these kinds of treatment of the colonial past in the tourism business, which are reproduced and circulated through marketing and management techniques, suggest they are mobile assemblages, which are globalised in range. In Arequipa in Peru, which acquired World Heritage status in 2000, strategies are in place to brand it as Colonial City for tourists. *Travel + Leisure* magazine highlights the preserved colonial architecture of "the White City" and promotes the opening of upmarket lodging such as the Cirqa, initially built in 1540, now '..marries preserved elements of the original Parador — high vaulted ceilings, textural stone walls — with contemporary flourishes, such as black-steel-framed windows and a plunge pool'. (Travel & Leisure, 2020) Comparable rebranding and historical contradictions are to found in Sawahlunto in Indonesia. Here, the state has invested heavily in new tourism products, but as observed by Agseora Ediyen and Shuri Tambunan, (2018)

in the process have sanitised the area's history and created a new narrative based around technological, enterprise and national ingenuity that has effaced the injustices of the colonial past. Missing in these reconstructions are histories of violence directed towards indigenous miners, many of whom were political dissidents forced to labour barefoot and in chains. (Ediyen and Tambunan 2018)

These kinds of erasures, or what Gaye Tuchman (1978) termed 'symbolic annihilation', silence memories and histories. It is a process found across global tourist destinations. As observed by Aaron Kamugisha (2019) through the enclosure of the most popular beaches, or the Disneyfication of urban heritage quarters across the Caribbean, tourists are insulated from the unpalatable realisation of poverty. In these zones, they can photograph themselves at selfie-hotspots without fear of the resentful gaze of the dispossessed. Far from the colonial legacy dissipating over time, these scenarios are being exacerbated by Big Data. These algorithms aggregate and prioritise colonial sentiment and one interpreted on platforms like Instagram or Airbnb by tourist operators, in turns shapes the marketing and design of these places. (Smith, 2018; Törnberg and Chiappini 2020) All across the luxury resort network on the Indian Ocean, hoteliers appropriate local heritage and restyle it to accommodate western Africanist imaginaries that draw tourists to these destinations. Uma Kothari (2015) in her work on luxury hotels in Mauritius designed to evoke the theme of the colonial sugar plantations, argues that these strategies invoke colonial legacies in style but not in substance. These designs offer an experiential rather than an informed understanding of the colonial past and help foreclose contemplation on its harms in the post-colonial present. In all these global sites, it seems that only by taking the horror out of history, that holidays are made.

In this sense, colonial tourism is a form of occupation, which Achille Mbembe (2013: 25) asserts is ' … [about] writing on the ground a new set of social and spatial relations', involving the 'manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries'. Many scholars recognize that this kind of coloniality occupies both space and memory, often with negative consequences. Resentment towards local political elites who benefit from the neo-colonial character of tourism is not uncommon. In East Africa, the situation where wealthy tourists have privileged access to beach and wilderness is an insult to some local communities, as the complex historical and postcolonial associations don't just haunt these places, but play out daily in the quality

of people's lives. As Mucha Mkono (2019:700) has argued '…far from tourism being a facilitator of intercultural understanding and peace, it appears to reproduce images and wounds of a colonial past.'

In other places, such as at the Maldives, as observed by Shakeela, Aishath and David Weaver (2018) the intrusion tourism makes on long-standing belief systems is barely tolerated and is governed as 'managed evils'. But in other places, the colonial burden must be borne over and over again. With a focus upon the museum Tayrona in Colombia, Gómez and Restrepo (2008) criticise the colonial character of tourists opportunities in the staged encounter they have with the descendants of the Tayrona peoples:

> The indigenous people have been converted into the butlers of the tourists, in human carriers for their luggage or in their entertainment; they should wear their traditional clothing to create a pleasant environment for the realization of the postcolonial phantasies of the tourists. The indigenous identity produces itself in this way in the frame of the global capital; the ancestral customs are slowly deprived of their ritual contents and are joint to the logics of the market.[…] The market offers the indigenous people the opportunity to manage their identity, to make their way of living exotic, in front of the eyes of the tourists […] In this context, the indigenous identity is merchandized and assigned to the dynamics of the global capital, but at the same time it represents the indigenous people as essential individuals who should be outside of the commercial circuits, far away from the change; their job is to stay original." (Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 2008: 85)

Faced with struggles such as these, researchers and activists have argued that tourism retains the potential to resist historically grounded and harmful racial identities, disrupt their coloniality and challenge their continuing impacts. (Lee, 2017) Drawing upon their work in Fiji, Cheer and Reeves (2015) suggest '…the revival of colonial heritages in tourism must, at the very least, pay attention to the latent, yet potentially damaging, ramifications of promoting 'the good old days'. To address these negative influences, growing examples of community-built and ethical forms of tourism, are attempting to build tourism products that practice de-colonial approaches. (Lee, 2017; Ringham, Simmond and Johnston 2016) There is also an

increasing number of people who want to avoid forms of cultural appropriation and engage in ethical travel. In some societies, settler colonialism is acknowledged, together with new directions about how to proceed with decolonization in tourist development and tourism research. However, this is not an experience that is distributed evenly. In the US, the research on Slave Plantations in the American South, sees evidence of some decolonisation. However, the research findings are patchy, and settler colonialism across the continent still overpowers the just representation of indigenous peoples in the historical narrative found in many tourist destinations. (Whitson, 2019)

Meanwhile, in the old world of the colonial Metropole, curators operating museums in the Vatican, Musée de l'Homme in Paris or the Africa Museum in Brussels have attempted to revise their collections to shake off their racist foundations. Yet many tourism firms in cities such as Amsterdam, Lisbon or London still trade on past glories. The commemoration of Empire within the public space of these cities illustrate the ways coloniality has a firm place in cornerstone national identity. Tourist enterprises there profit from the marketing of Empire. Yet, there is evidence that these discourses are being interrupted. For instance, there is an African History Tour of Lisbon that brings tourists into districts such as Cova da Moura inhabited by the disenfranchised peoples of Portugal's ex-colonies and community-led tours in Amsterdam that seek to invoke the colonial injustice in the memorial landscape. However, when placed beside the tourist offerings in these cities as a whole, decolonial interventions like these remain marginal enterprises. All these cases reveal a host of unresolved concerns, that float like ghosts inside the great machine of global tourism.

Ii Contexts and Approach

This interdisciplinary and internationally based collection focuses on the relationships between tourism, colonialism and place, in both historical and contemporary periods. The collection's strengths are reflected in the ways it troubles these relationships in a comparative field and across a wide geographical range. The book includes contributors writing on Mozambique, Zimbabwe, the Caribbean, Korea, China, Australia, New Zealand, and the USA. All address the intersections of colonialism and tourism, from perspectives drawing upon ideas in Historical

Geography, Ethnomusicology, History, Tourism Studies, Anthropology and Cultural Studies amongst others. The particular focus of the collection is upon the spatial contexts of colonial and post-colonial tourism development. Hotels, inns, safari camps, tours, holiday camps, and resorts, together with colonial administrations, shipping, rail and airline companies played critical roles in developing colonial tourism networks as well as showcasing achievements in imperialism and manifesting imperial geography. Across Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, the relics of the colonial period remain a focal point in the urban landscape. The ways in which these sites are deployed in local and national tourist strategies, invariably presents insights into how well the impacts of colonial past are negotiated equitably. (Coslett 2019) The collection intends to show how these places and buildings became and continue to be critical features of the tourism economies of the colonial and post-colonial world.

In taking this perspective, we have organised the collection to take up ideas created within the 'spatial turn'. As is by now well understood, this is an approach in humanities characterised by research that has questioned and invoked the significance of place and explored the critical possibilities of excavating a topographical approach to culture and society (Warf and Arias 2009). A focus on space offers illuminating insights into the development of tourism in the context of persistent charge and impacts of coloniality. We have argued for the need of ambiguity and hybridity to understand the complexity of colonial tourism. Colonial and postcolonial identity are often fluid, mutable, and indicative of various time periods. Colonial tourism in contemporary society should be seen as remembrance of the ‘imagined past’ or as a typical example of ‘inverted traditions’. (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012)

The book also stands on the shoulders of the work produced over several decades on tourism and colonialism, literature which the essays in the collection draw upon extensively to situate their research. (Palmer,1994; Hunter 2004; Cocks , 2013). Amongst the unique attributes of this scholarship is its equal focus upon historical and contemporary processes of coloniality. (Baranowski, Endy, Hazbun, Hom, Pirie, Simmons and Zuelow, ,2015). The depth and impacts of these condition in terms of tourism experiences, products and identities have attracted significant attention from a diverse range of scholars who have identified the perpetuation and reproduction of

colonialism in the networks of globalisation that undergird contemporary tourism. (Orquiza 2019) A wide variety of work has traced how the consumption habits, imaginaries and anticipations, and travel conventions that characterized modern tourism were put in place. (Burns, 2008) This research has shown how the conversion of these territories into tourist destinations attempted to legitimize their occupation. In this regard, the research has consistently drawn attention to the comparative structures of tourism and colonial, sharing according to Helen Kapstein (2017) for example, three foundational values: surveillance, control, and consumption. Tourism helped place colonies within the space of the nation, notably through the domestic consumption of travel books and films. Conversely early tourism created modes of seeing and being - such as in the Grand Hotels or Hill Stations, which located the values and comforts of a nation in the colony. (McDonald 2017)

By attending critically to the vast public and private archives of the colonial regime, historians have critically reappraised these collections to establish how tourism became a means for Europeans to picture themselves as moderns. Historically, the tourist embodied and spatialized their commitment to the idea of progress through their travel. They recouped these values when they were vicariously consumed by their friends and audiences in photo albums or public talks once back home. In their depictions of indigenous people, often as avatars of primitivism, or as features of the landscape, such as elephants or rice paddy, the research has established how these representations often marshalled the racial hierarchies of the colonial state. This work has proved to be particularly effective in showing how tourism was promoted as a means to normalise the colonial occupation of indigenous territories and to refigure those lands for consumption and exploitation. (Tesfahuney and Schough 2016)

Especially important in these scholarly interventions has been the impact of Edward Said (1978; 1980), whose approaches troubled the coloniality of the language and images produced by tourist enterprise and tourists themselves which perpetuated imperial imaginations. As noted by Urry (2002), the highly charged and culturally biased character of the tourist gaze generated skewed modes of encounters between hosts and tourist in holiday destinations. Wherever it was deployed, West Africa, Ireland, or the Pacific, historians have unpicked the colonial gaze found in tourist

media and discourse, that scaffolded imperial identities and performances (Hall and Tucker 2004). This gaze enabled colonialists to imaginatively posess but also distance themselves from their subjects. As Robert Young has shown, these encounters produced discourses that broke the diversity inherent to indigenous people into basic categories, flattened out difference and reduced the dispossessed into exotic others. Only by flattening out the vast complexity of the world on the back of a postcard, could the global tourism industry thrive. As Edward Bruner (1991:241) in a seminal piece in critical tourism studies put it, 'Western tourists are not paying thousands of dollars to see children die in Ethiopia; they are paying to see the noble savage, a figment of their imagination'.

III Organising the Collection

These essays present readers with opportunities to pursue histories that cut across global space, to produce broader narratives of tourism and colonialism. The emphasis is upon comparative context and attentive to its persistence and redirections in the contemporary moment. Additionally, these essays present different methodologies to address performance and material, visual and print culture, in which tourist experiences and spaces are shaped and structured. By exploring the complexities and contradictions entailed in colonial tourism, they demonstrate the importance of attending to linkages between historical foundations, local practices and the globalizing discourse of tourist exploitation over time. Authors in the collection address questions of power, racism and neo-colonialism, and throughout the collection, deal with how the agency of indigenous people has been affected by tourism processes. In setting up the book around these concerns, our contributors offer a close reading of the colonialism-tourism complex that shaped both historical and contemporary subjectivities. This work provides pathways to comment upon the relationships between the colonial past and the neo-liberal present (Gregory, 2006; Park, 2016; Stoler, 2016).

The essays in the book are presented in two parts. In the first section, the five chapters develop a critique of the intersections of colonialism and tourism in several historical situations, offering a comparative interrogation of processes in Australia, Indochina, Taiwan and the Caribbean. A focus in many of these chapters is upon how a desire to experience "difference" was inevitably framed in Tropical or

Orientalist (Said, 1978; 1993) tropes defined by Western cultures of travel and weaved its ways into tourist spaces and performances. Inset list here. While the chapters unmask some of the racialised and gendered genealogies of colonial representations of travel, in various ways, these authors are also engaged in thinking through the ambiguous relationships between hosts and guests. They present a more variegated understanding of how the distribution of power involves in experience a complex negotiation of cultures and the encounters created in the tourism enterprise.

H. Hazel Hahn's chapter examines the representation of colonial Korea and French Indochina as tourist destinations through a close reading of Glimpses of the East, an annual publication of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Steamship Company). This chapter highlights the need to critically rethink the typologies of tourism-related publications, and the dynamic between imperialism and nationalism, on the one hand, and the development of transportation and tourism on the other. Antonio Barrento's chapter considers the development of tourism following Taiwan's return to China in the aftermath of Japan's defeat in 1945. Continuities and change in tourism activities are explored in the contexts of the legacies of Japanese colonisation and the drive towards modernisation. Drawing upon rare travellers' accounts and other contemporary sources, Ian Clark's chapter is concerned with understanding colonial Victoria's 'tourism era of discovery', in which the tourism and hospitality industry came into being in the mid-nineteenth century. Colonial accommodation responded to the needs of pastoral travellers and reflected physical discontinuities such as river crossings, which became opportunities for interactions with Aboriginal peoples. It offers a social history of Aboriginal interactions with the colonial hospitality at bush inns including camping sites; cultural performances; alcohol consumption; and sites of violence. In a similar vein, Toby Martin continues the discussion of Aboriginal people in Australia and their encounter with tourism growth. His chapter focuses on Palm Island, a prison for Aboriginal 'offenders'. The chapter explores in detail the tourism boom to missions, reserves and settlements in Australia in the 1920s and 1930s. A key part of the colonial tourist exchange was related to musical performances given by the inmates, which is analysed as reinforcing prejudice about indigenous peoples but also opening up spaces where change and progress could occur. In his chapter, John Hogue interrogates the role of U.S. tourism in the British West Indies from the early 20th century to the early 1970s in framing U.S. attitudes

toward, and understandings of, the British Empire in the United States' "backyard." The chapter analyses the romantic aesthetic through which U.S. travel media depicted the region over time, looking at how syntheses of colonialism and tourism found expression both in popular discourse and policy formation.

In the second section, the authors develop their work in the so-called 'Colonial Present'. This section presents a comparative view of how coloniality is impacting contemporary tourism development in a range of geographies. At the same time, this section is attentive to how dispossession and tourism are often related in the present. Authors consider the practices that illustrate continuities across colonial and neo-colonial structures of representation, performances and space, and address contemporary developments in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Macau, New Zealand and Hawaii.

In her chapter, Ana Cristina Gomes da Rocha analyses the way Hawaiian culture is portrayed in contemporary tourist guides, and the extent to which images reiterate stereotypes of beauty and "enchanted paradises". It also looks at the notion that tourism and land dispossession obliterate/destroy historic and sacred sites. Her chapter rethinks the impact of tourism and its licentious approaches to indigenous lands and peoples and deals with the notion that tourism practices have long been protected by military and paramilitary forces reiterating a renewed colonial and imperialist bond. Eve Wong attends to the shifting sands of memory and history-making through an examination of heritage sites and museums in Maputo, Mozambique. Her work addresses in particular the potential of neo-colonial relationships with China shaping the rise of nostalgic depictions of colonialism. The overlapping territories between the colonial past the influence of the new Chinese tourist market is also taken up by Ivy Lou and Philip Xie, examine the role of Chinese outbound tourism as a catalyst for Macanese identity. The chapter shows how colonial heritage in Macau has become increasingly necessary as the city morphs into a tourism city where culture is a crucial component for planning, and re-colonization is emerging by capitalizing on Portuguese heritage and distinguishing it from Chinese culture. Svongwa Nemadire and Maarten Loopmann address the silenced histories of the former inhabitants of Mapari in the Save Valley Conservancy (SVC) in Zimbabwe, whose access to ancestral and spiritual lands are undermined by wild-life tourism. The question of silencing the histories of indigenous people is also taken

up by Holly Randell-Moon. In her chapter on contemporary tourism in Dunedin, Aotearoa New Zealand, she argues that City-branding facilitates a settler-colonial version of colonial tourism by normalising settler rather than Indigenous presences in the cityThe purpose of this book is not to argue for or against colonial tourism, as previous research has done. Instead, it provides a new perspective that coloniality and tourism can co-exist in the contemporary society, while not cheapening or trivializing the presentation and interpretation of colonial culture and heritage. The marketing of colonial tourism often emphasizes the "primitive", "exotic", "adventure" or the "savage", such as talking about headhunting and cannibalism, practices long ago ceased. The result is an inaccurate portrait of a complex and ever-changing people. On the other hand, colonial tourism practice may calcify a culture into a 'frozen' picture of the past, or reawaken colonial nostalgia for a new identity when a growing number of tourists seek to see representations of the culture and the postcolonial society provides access to the expected symbols. Eventually, 'touristic culture' is co-created in reference to situations where tourism is so pervasive that it has become an integral part of everyday life. In such situations, the interaction with tourists may be a central component in the definition of postcolonial identity. Ultimately, tourism dwells on the feelings of tourists rather than the toured objects where colonialism is viewed as symbol embodied with imagery, expectations and powers.

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