

Representations of Tourism in Postcolonial Island Literatures

Anthony James Carrigan

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of English

July 2008

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements

One of the greatest pleasures in acquiring the knowledge and skills to produce this thesis has been sharing exchanges with the many great teachers I have been lucky enough to encounter, both socially and academically. All of the following people have been in turns constructive, challenging, alive to possibilities, exceptionally fun to talk with, and able to retain a sense of practicality when my own was elsewhere. Between them they have taught me more than I am able to express, let alone do justice to; I hope they will accept this thesis as a way of showing my gratitude for the generousities they have extended to me.

My thanks firstly go to my PhD supervisor, Graham Huggan. Graham has been extremely enthusiastic about this project from the moment I first made contact with him in May 2005, and has helped shape and critically refine many key aspects of its argument. I am especially appreciative of how he enabled me to think through some of the more general structural and methodological questions, while always giving me plenty of space to chase ideas across a diverse array of islands, literatures, and disciplines. His belief both in the power of the imagination and the importance of interdisciplinary research will no doubt continue to inspire me throughout my future work.

I should also thank Graham for putting me in touch with Liz DeLoughrey at an early stage in my studies. Not only has Liz's excellent Pacific and Caribbean island scholarship been a constant source of stimulation during this project's development, but her open encouragement throughout our various exchanges – from article editing to tips on who to meet on O'ahu – has been priceless. Liz was kind enough to share the introduction to her recent monograph with me before it went to press, and I am also very grateful to Pablo Mukherjee and Greg Garrard for being similarly liberal with pre-publication texts. These have all played important roles in shaping the material in this thesis, and I feel privileged to be able to add to the discussions they have already initiated. I would also like to thank the many other mentors who have contributed to the way I think about literature and the world, especially Ato Quayson, Anne Fernihough, and Laura Wright at Cambridge, and Bart Moore-Gilbert, Liz Maslen, and Susheila Nasta at London, all of whom influenced my commitment to academia through their enthusiasm and care.

I am very grateful both to Leeds University for the award of a University Research Scholarship from 2005–6, and to the AHRC for a doctoral award from 2006–8; these have been fundamental to the success of my studies. The AHRC has also been generous in supporting both my attendance at the ACLA conference in Los Angeles in 2008, and a study visit to Hawai‘i at the beginning of the same year. As well as allowing me to attend theatrical performances in person and infinitely deepening my understanding of Hawaiian culture and ecology, this gave me the chance to meet another set of wonderfully warm and gifted people. My thanks to Albert Wendt, Vili Hereniko, Paul Lyons, Houston Wood, Gaye Chan, and Lynette Cruz for sharing some great discussions with me, and to Serge Marek for his outstanding hospitality, his tours of Waikīkī, and for talking story with such obvious relish.

Closer to home, I could not imagine a more exciting place to pursue a PhD in postcolonial literature than the School of English at Leeds. The outstanding members of staff are always a pleasure to interact with, and the vibrant postgraduate community has been a constant source of sustenance, intellectual and emotional. Special thanks to my highly efficient and critically perceptive proofreaders – Clare Barker, Lucy Evans, Caroline Herbert, Sam Knowles, and Charlotte Kearns – all of whom are also excellent listeners and exciting people to develop ideas with. Likewise thanks to Emma Smith, Cathy Lean, Alberto Fernández Carbajal, Melanie Duckworth, Jacqueline Bolton, Natalie Diebschlag, Laura Scott, Suzanne Ibbotson, Lori Shelbourn, Anna Woodhouse, James Hudson, and Alan Ward for many fantastic social and academic exchanges. Outside of the English department, the hours spent discussing geography, politics, and environmentalism with Tom Hargreaves bear a significant imprint on this thesis’s interdisciplinary orientation, and his friendship throughout has been very highly valued.

I will be forever grateful to my family – Mary, Peter, Michael, Richard, and Polly – for their commitment to the importance of independent thinking, and their delight in conversations that traverse arts and sciences, oceans and histories. I hope they will view this thesis as another contribution to our ever-entertaining dialogues. Finally, Heather O’Malley has been more patient than I can ever thank her for, talking through just about every idea that arose over the course of this project, and sharing so many conceptual travels with abundant humour and awesome imagination. I look forward to reading her creative work as much as I appreciate the belief she has always shown in me.

Abstract

This thesis examines representations of tourism in postcolonial island literatures. Focusing on works by Caribbean, Pacific, and Sri Lankan writers, it argues that even as they foreground the exploitative dimensions of mass tourism development, they also provide insights into how more culturally and environmentally sensitive tourism practices might emerge. As such, they offer important contributions to enhancing island tourism sustainability. In constructing this argument, I locate my textual readings in the context of interdisciplinary tourism studies, an expansive field which embraces sociological, anthropological, geographical, economic, and political science disciplines. I draw on this research to show how it can deepen understandings of tourism's role within postcolonial island texts, and to explore the extent to which imaginative depictions of the industry offer fresh perspectives on mainstream tourism studies debates.

The thesis focuses on islands as a means of exploring the tensions between their stereotypically 'paradisaal' attraction to generations of 'western' visitors, and their social, cultural, and environmental vulnerability to unsustainable tourism practices. This allows the relationship between the industry's discursive and material operations to be approached in nuanced depth. It also highlights tensions between theories of cultural and environmental sustainability, which are often heightened in island contexts. Drawing on recent intersections between postcolonialism and ecocriticism as well as cultural approaches to globalisation, the thesis seeks to further conversations between aesthetics, social science, and ecological research, while also attending to the formal complexities of the texts addressed.

Following the first chapter, which examines tourism's effects on island ecologies and the contributions postcolonial island literatures can make to interdisciplinary debates, the thesis is divided into three central chapters. Chapter 2 deals with tourism and nature, Chapter 3 addresses tourism and culture, and Chapter 4 brings social and environmental concerns together in its analysis of sex tourism and embodied experience. Embracing writings from a wide variety of islands – including Antigua, Barbados, Trinidad, St Lucia, Samoa, New Zealand, Hawai'i, and Sri Lanka – it asserts the importance of comparing portrayals of island tourism within a postcolonial framework. It concludes by outlining the relevance of future research for poverty alleviation, crisis management, and understanding marginalised groups' negotiations of the industry in both island and mainland contexts.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
I. Tourism, Sustainability, and Island Ecologies	9
II. Tourism Theory and Postcolonial Island Literatures	24
III. The Function of the Imaginary	39
Chapter 2: Tourism and Nature	51
I. Visual Perception and Touristed Landscapes: Towards an Ethics of Seeing	52
II. Contested Environments: Tourism, Indigeneity, and Ideologies of Development	76
III. Tourism, Desecration, and Sacred Land	102
Chapter 3: Tourism and Culture	137
I. Cultural Touristification in the Caribbean and the Pacific	139
II. Tourism, Culture, and Reindigenisation in Hawai'i	178
Chapter 4: Sex, Tourism, and Embodied Experience	223
I. Sex, Exploitation, and Beach Ecology: Tourism and Compound Disaster in Sri Lanka	223
II. Gendered Islands, Tourism, and Prostitution Discourse	262
Conclusion	288
Bibliography	298

Chapter 1: Introduction

Down with Tourism?

Native Hawaiian poet, critic, and political activist Haunani-Kay Trask ends her essay “‘Lovely Hula Hands’: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture’ (1991) with the following injunction: ‘If you are thinking of visiting my homeland, please do not. We do not want or need any more tourists, and we certainly do not like them’ (1999: 31). The essay is one of a number of articles addressing the effects of what Trask terms ‘American colonialism’ (3) on the Hawaiian archipelago in her collection *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (1999). Throughout this volume, Trask argues that tourism plays a key role in maintaining the ‘ongoing colonial relationship’ (102–3; original emphasis) between the United States and Hawai‘i, summarising the industry’s effects on the archipelago as follows:

The overpowering impact of mass tourism on island cultures is best studied in Hawai‘i, where the multibillion dollar industry has resulted in grotesque commercialization of Hawaiian culture, creation of a racially-stratified, poorly paid servant class of industry workers, transformation of whole sections of the major islands into high-rise cities, contamination and depletion of water sources, intense crowding [...], increase in crimes against property and violent crime against tourists, and increasing dependency on multinational investments, particularly from Japan.

(50)

This condenses some of the social, political, economic, cultural, and environmental problems mass tourism fuels, particularly in island contexts. Trask’s rejection of the industry seems categorical: it is no more than ‘the latest degradation’ in the sequence of ‘agonies’ stemming from Hawai‘i’s first encounter with European explorers and colonists in 1778 (3–4).

Despite this seemingly unequivocal perspective, however, closer examination of Trask’s characterisation of tourism reveals some intriguing tensions. For instance, she states that her ‘use of the word *tourism* in the Hawai‘i context [*sic*] refers to a mass-based, corporately controlled industry’ (139; original emphasis). Her objections here are targeted less at tourists and tourism *per se* than at the ecologically unsustainable practices of multinational companies. In Trask’s view, the success of these companies’ operations relies on tactics of ‘slick predation’ (90); native Hawaiians are ‘[p]reyed upon by corporate tourism, caught in a political system where we have no separate legal status’ (16). Corporate tourism is therefore central to hegemonic processes of continuing colonial oppression. However, it is not only the colonised, native Hawaiians who fall ‘prey’ to this system. Trask proceeds to state that:

the tourist poster image of my homeland as a racial paradise [...] is a familiar global commodity. No matter how false and *predatory* this image remains, hordes of tourists from the Euro–American and Japanese First Worlds believe enough tourist propaganda to spend millions on a romanticized ‘Pacific Island’ holiday.

(18; my emphasis)

If tourism multinationals ‘prey’ on tourists and natives alike, is it possible to read Trask’s request that tourists avoid Hawai‘i as being delivered partly in the spirit of mutual resistance and coalition? Does it have the potential to unite people it seemingly divides? Trask is continually critical of how, ‘[t]hroughout the Pacific Basin, First World tourists play out [...] racist fantas[ies] of an “island vacation”’, especially as ‘[w]hen they leave, tourists have learned nothing of our people and our place’ (61). Yet the inference that a productive coalition between tourists and natives might be achieved if it was more firmly grounded in principles of mutual respect raises some important questions. Could a situation be envisaged in which island tourism is not interpreted as neocolonial? And do the ambiguities involved in Trask’s characterisation of tourism themselves function as spaces from which less exploitative, more sustainable forms of tourism might emerge?

I have chosen to begin with an extreme example of anti-tourism sentiment to suggest that even the most trenchant critiques of the phenomenon do not preclude space for more positive tourism futures to be posited. Tourism is now the world’s largest industry, ‘accounting for about one tenth of global GDP, employment and capital formation’, and almost certain to continue expanding in forthcoming decades (McElroy 2003: 231).¹ The need to understand its present role in states which, like Hawai‘i, are deeply engaged with the phenomenon is crucial if more sustainable cultural, environmental, and economic futures are to be theorised worldwide. This thesis focuses specifically on representations of tourism in postcolonial island literatures. As Trask’s assertion that ‘[t]he overpowering impact of mass tourism on island cultures is best

¹ The expansive definition of tourism provided by the World Tourism Organisation, which includes varieties of non-recreational travel, reads as follows: ‘Tourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business or other purposes’ (cited in Holden 2000: 3). In line with this, I use ‘tourism’ to signify a wide array of travel practices, placing particular emphasis on the most exploitative effects of the kind of mass-based, corporate-driven variety discussed by Trask. My understanding of ‘mass tourism’ coincides with Paul Kingsbury’s description of the phenomenon’s key features: it is ‘commercial, seasonal and typically located along coastal areas; it involves a high volume of tourists who generally adhere to their own cultural norms; and it relies upon high-density and standardized accommodation to produce a homogenized product and experience’ (2006: 111). Whilst various typologies of tourism have been proposed since the early 1970s (see Holden 2000: 40–7 for a succinct overview), these have tended to simplify touristic identities, which often involve multiple and shifting subject positions. The main distinctions drawn within this thesis relate to its structural emphasis on nature, culture, and embodied experience. Hence, ecotourism practices receive more detailed attention in Chapter 2, cultural tourism in Chapter 3, and sex tourism in Chapter 4. Such categories are, however, used as shorthand for complex ensembles of tourism practices that are not easily subsumed by single definitions.

studied in Hawai‘i’ implies, tourism has especially dramatic effects in insular contexts as limited space, resources, and economic options have led to numerous examples of exploitative overdevelopment. This is not to say that these processes are experienced less acutely in non-insular contexts. Like the forms of exoticism that characterise tourism marketing of non-‘western’ regions worldwide, the frequently noted paradox that tourism tends to corrupt the very objects it markets as ‘pristine’, ‘undiscovered’, and culturally ‘authentic’ is a global phenomenon. However, similarities between the ways in which postcolonial islands are packaged in paradisaic terms, the perceived vulnerability of both their cultures and natural environments, and the distinct visibility of tourism’s effects in these contexts make them particularly urgent sites of analysis.²

Tourism’s centrality to the workings of many postcolonial island states underscores the importance of gaining a nuanced understanding of how this influential industry shapes the social and cultural milieux of their literary texts. Although tourism is now a central concern in anthropological, sociological, geographical, and economic disciplines, relatively little work has been done on the conjunctions between postcolonialism and tourism theory, and few commentators address how aesthetic treatments of tourism might offer fresh insights into the industry’s pervasive effects.³ Is there nothing, then, that postcolonial writers’ portrayals of tourism can add to existing debates? This question forms the basis of my thesis. Its principal argument is that, even as postcolonial island writers depict the most destructive and exploitative aspects of mass tourism since its explosion in the 1960s, they also foreground the potential for more balanced modes of touristic development and cross-cultural exchange to occur. As such, their works collectively contribute blueprints towards sustainable tourism futures.

² This in turn has the potential to shed light on similar processes in mainland destinations. Whilst a broader comparison of tourism’s effects in islands and continents is beyond the scope of this thesis, the Conclusion notes how the insights generated here might be put in dialogue with mainland considerations.

³ Of the dizzying array of books produced across interdisciplinary tourism studies, only three advertise the terms ‘tourism’ and ‘postcolonialism’ (or ‘postcolonial’) in their titles: C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker’s edited collection *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourse, Identities and Representations* (2004), Anita Waters’s *Planning the Past: Heritage Tourism and Post-Colonial Politics at Port Royal* (2006), and Tim Winter’s *Post-Conflict Heritage, Postcolonial Tourism: Tourism, Politics and Development at Angkor* (2007). Hall and Tucker’s collection is the first and most comprehensive attempt to tackle this conjunction through a set of empirically grounded essays. However, whilst it builds usefully at times on insights derived from postcolonial theorists with literary and cultural studies specialisms, examination of how aesthetic work might contribute key perspectives on the real-life social processes it discusses (and vice versa) is outside its remit. The volume’s predominant focus on social issues also means that, with the exception of John Akama’s essay on Kenyan safari tourism (2004: 140–52), the opportunity to address meeting points between culture and nature in postcolonial contexts is also largely missed.

In demonstrating this, I situate my readings in the context of interdisciplinary tourism studies. It has taken some time for tourism to achieve widespread recognition as a pressing area of academic study. As late as 1989, commentators such as Cynthia Enloe continued to complain that the fact ‘[t]hat tourism is not discussed as seriously by conventional political commentators as oil or weaponry may tell us more about the ideological construction of “seriousness” than about the politics of tourism’ (1989: 40).⁴ Yet despite initially having to fight to be taken seriously, the institution of the field’s first interdisciplinary journal, *Annals of Tourism Research* (1974–present), and the publication of Dean MacCannell’s path-breaking sociological monograph, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976), precipitated a rapid expansion of tourism studies reflective of the industry’s own explosive growth. The highly imaginative theoretical and empirical work produced across this dynamic field, particularly as researchers have addressed issues of cultural and environmental change in the era of globalisation, centrally informs the textual readings in this thesis. However, my aim is not just to address the ways in which literature complements or departs from mainstream tourism theory. I also emphasise how the work of creative writers operates in powerfully *anticipatory* and *transformative* ways, contributing to the social futures of the communities depicted by creating space for more ecologically sustainable practices to emerge.

One of the principal problems I address centres on the potential for this to occur in the current neoliberal economic climate which, along with various forms of local government corruption, circumscribes the implementation of fairer and more sustainable tourism strategies in economically underprivileged regions. Is it possible to argue that, when read comparatively, postcolonial island writers’ representations of tourism offer ways of negotiating these circumscriptions *from within* the current capital-driven global paradigm? Rather than reinforcing binary relationships between touristic ‘privilege’ and native ‘impoverishment’ and ‘dependency’, I suggest that the texts addressed here present tourism’s actors as participants in the same system of desire, exchange, and circumscription that characterises contemporary mass tourism’s operations. This allows them to subvert and powerfully disrupt the industry’s most prescriptive logic, along with aspects of the social, economic, and political contexts by which it is shaped. It is from this perspective that I argue in favour of the transformative role that postcolonial island literatures can play in furthering tourism sustainability.

⁴ This is all the more ironic given that tourism now ‘surpass[es] both international oil and arms sales’ (Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002: 5).

My geographical focus is primarily on the insular Pacific and Caribbean, regions that are severely threatened by the kind of environmental destruction, overdevelopment, and cultural fetishisation described by Trask.⁵ Despite the immensely varied cultural and environmental circumstances within and between these archipelagos, representations of tourism in writings from both regions often interrogate similar concerns. This is not least because they are viewed ‘from a Western touristic perspective, [...] as two of the world’s foremost “exotic” sites’ (Huggan 2001: 10). Accordingly, this thesis engages with how these archipelagos have been constituted as such historically, and why they continue to exert strong appeal on the imaginations of tourists. Further, in comparing such culturally and biogeographically diverse areas, it builds on Elizabeth DeLoughrey’s contention that bringing together various Pacific and Caribbean ‘island discourses – always in relation to their respective continents – generates’ an analytical method that ‘seeks to undermine colonial discourses of island isolation and to fashion broader, anti-colonial alliances across both regions’ (2001: 46–7).

The Caribbean examples in this thesis are drawn primarily from work by writers from Antigua, St Lucia, Trinidad, and Barbados, whilst those from the Pacific include texts by Tongan, Samoan, Hawaiian, and New Zealand writers. Most of these are relatively small islands, exoticised as tropical paradises in tourism marketing. However, the last two offer somewhat different perspectives as both are settler colonies whose ‘economies [...] have more in common with continental societies than with other Pacific Island societies’ (Rallu and Ahlburg 1999: 267), and whose indigenous populations (on which I focus) are variously marginalised. Hawai‘i in particular attracts sustained attention throughout the thesis. Partly due to fears regarding total assimilation of the native population, whose ‘aloha’ culture has been ironically co-opted and fetishised by one of the world’s most pervasive tourism markets, it functions as a bridge between the highly creolised yet culturally fragmented Caribbean, and the indigenous traditions and transformations of the insular Pacific. The links between tourism and American colonialism in Hawai‘i, which are further related to forms of militarisation and economic hegemony (Teaiwa 1999), provide important comparative insights into how similar processes

⁵ In terms of industry influence, Kingsbury notes that: ‘The Caribbean tourism industry provides at least a quarter of the region’s GDP and total jobs’ (Kingsbury 2006: 114). Meanwhile, the Pacific islands, part of what ‘will soon be the most dynamic and fastest-growing region in the world’s international travel trade’ (Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002: 5), may only attract ‘0.15 per cent of the world international tourist arrivals’ but ‘this small number [is] enough for tourism to be the mainstay of the region’s economy and to support 1,500 tourism businesses’ (ESCAP 2003: 1). Indeed, ‘tourism revenues account for almost half of GDP in most South Pacific destinations’ (Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002: 5), and the \$1.5 billion generated by Pacific island tourism (excluding Hawai‘i) roughly equals ‘the total foreign aid figure allocated to the region’ (Sasidharan and Thapa 2002: 99).

affect other Pacific islands faced with encroaching Americanisation. These also relate to the ways in which, according to St Lucian writer Derek Walcott, the Caribbean has come to be portrayed ‘in our tourist brochures’ as ‘a blue pool into which the republic dangles the extended foot of Florida’ (1998a: 81). Hawai‘i is therefore particularly helpful in illuminating how such pressures are negotiated by intensely marginalised communities, with tourism offering opportunities in some cases for cultural growth and renewal, despite its exploitative dimensions.

Different experiences of colonialism also characterise tourism’s function in the officially bicultural island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Whereas Hawai‘i is positioned primarily as a receiving state, New Zealand, with its ‘comparably diversified economy’ (Rallu and Ahlburg 1999: 267), is often considered in touristic terms alongside other ‘lucrative origin and investment markets in North America, Australia, [...] Japan, and Europe’ (Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002: 6). As Michael Fagence observes, ‘New Zealand scarcely fits the tourism model of the South Sea Islands; despite its geographical location and attractiveness for and performance in tourism, it is more similar to the Pacific Rim than to Pacific Basin countries’ (1999: 394). Its geographical size and non-tropical status also set it apart from most of the other islands in the thesis, raising questions about the importance of the paradise island trope to the kind of concerns represented in its local literatures, and whether tourism’s cultural and environmental effects are more easily absorbed in larger islands. Historically, New Zealand has also played a more direct role as colonial centre and administrator to numerous South Pacific islands than Hawai‘i (linked in part to histories of British, rather than American, imperialism in the region),⁶ suggesting another important point of differentiation. Nevertheless, I follow Michelle Keown’s lead in her recent book, *Pacific Island Writings: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania* (2007), in designating New Zealand ‘a “Pacific Island” nation [...] because Aotearoa/New Zealand was first settled by Polynesians who have close racial, mythological, and linguistic affiliations to the peoples of other Polynesian nations such as Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook Islands’ (2007: 16).

Together, Hawai‘i and New Zealand help test the limit points of DeLoughrey’s theory of inter-island alliance.⁷ Despite ongoing identifications between native Hawaiians and indigenous

⁶ Keown states that, ‘[s]ince the arrival of its European settler population’, New Zealand (like ‘Australia [...], Spain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States’) has ‘operated as a colonialist force within the Pacific’ (2007: 17).

⁷ DeLoughrey’s own comparative study of Caribbean and Pacific island literatures refers extensively to both New Zealand and Hawai‘i as a means of fostering ‘dialogues across Oceania’ that foreground ‘how indigenous epistemologies may be usefully engaged at the center rather than endpoint of Pacific,

islanders across the Pacific, the cultural transformation resulting from Hawai‘i’s US annexation and consequent ‘amalgamation’ has at times rendered it beyond resuscitation in the eyes of other indigenous Pacific communities. As Eric Waddell comments, ‘[f]or many of us Hawai‘i is no longer part of the Pacific’ (1993: 29). This sense of regional detachment also characterises certain aspects of New Zealand experience; in this case however, ‘there is a striking difference of vision in the way that literary configurations of Oceania include New Zealand, but configurations of New Zealand rarely include the rest of the Pacific’ (Kennedy 2006: 6). This is intriguing as, whilst many native Hawaiians argue for inclusion in Pacific island paradigms,⁸ Māori communities have more ambivalent relationships to such interconnections and the shared cultural heritages they signal. Thus, Melissa Kennedy argues that, within the islands, ‘[t]he dualism inherent in New Zealand biculturalism, which places Maori in the position of indigenous, original hosts, sets Pacific Islanders on the other side of that undifferentiated Pakeha [white New Zealander] other, as immigrants and overstayers rather than as relatives and guests’ (2006: 7). Yet despite varying degrees of alienation, both Hawai‘i and New Zealand are considered part of the Pacific literary compass, which Paul Sharrad defines as embracing ‘the Island populations of the Pacific Ocean, from Guam in the north to New Zealand in the south, Papua New Guinea in the west to French Polynesia and Rapanui/Easter Island in the east’ (2003: 3). Their inclusion in this thesis acts as a means both of accounting for how different forms of internal colonialism contribute to indigenous communities’ negotiations of the tourism industry, and of probing some of the particularities associated with tourism’s operations in island states with very different histories, biogeographies, and climates.

Concerns with size and tourism absorption are also relevant to my secondary site of analysis, Sri Lanka, which is not only double the area of the Hawaiian archipelago, but also maintains a far greater population than any of the other islands in this thesis (c. 21 million in 2005, making it the seventh most inhabited island worldwide).⁹ I include Sri Lanka partly in order to test the conclusions drawn with respect to the archipelagic cultures and environments of my two primary regions. Although the island shares greater cultural, natural, and social histories

postcolonial, and cultural studies’ (2007b: 161–2). Susan Najita’s *Decolonizing Cultures in the Pacific: Reading History and Trauma in Contemporary Fiction* (2006) also includes New Zealand and Hawai‘i amongst its three primary sites of study (along with Samoa), adopting an ‘island-centered’ approach ‘concerned with indigenous nationalisms and claims to land, and with postcoloniality’ (2006: 8).

⁸ See Hau‘ofa (2000: 122) for discussion of the tensions associated with asserting Pacific island identity, which raises further questions about the status of native Hawaiians and New Zealand Māori.

⁹ As Rabindranath Gunasekera and Janet Momsen observe, Sri Lanka is ‘one of the most densely populated countries in the world (294 people per sq km) and yet it has a landscape of great variety – from uncrowded tropical beaches to cool misty mountains covered in tea plantations’ (2007: 84).

with nearby continental India than neighbouring archipelagos,¹⁰ there are certain similarities between Sri Lanka and many Pacific and Caribbean states. Environmentally, for instance, the Western Ghats/Sri Lanka region is classed, along with Polynesia/Micronesia, New Zealand, and the Caribbean Islands, as one of the world's twenty-five biodiversity 'hotspots' ('areas featuring exceptional concentrations of endemic species and experiencing exceptional loss of habitat', which are seen as 'conservation priorities' [Myers *et al.* 2000: 853]). And culturally, travel, migration, and diaspora have played similarly important roles in developing Sri Lanka's multi-ethnic heritage as in the Caribbean and Pacific archipelagos (a point I will elaborate on shortly). Where Sri Lanka differs signally from my other island examples, however, is in its status as a preeminent site of tourism under the sign of disaster.

The forms of disaster currently afflicting Sri Lanka include firstly more than three decades of civil war. Stoked by conflicting sovereignty claims between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamil populations, this has claimed over 75,000 lives since hostilities began in 1983 ('Sri Lanka [LTTE]'). Secondly, the state is undergoing long-term economic crisis, partly precipitated by entry into structural adjustment programs with the World Bank and IMF in the late 1970s, and further exacerbated by the war. As is also the case with several other islands addressed in this thesis, structural adjustment involved the promise of favourable loans for impoverished countries on the condition that they adopted neoliberal economic policies.¹¹ These ultimately led to rising unemployment, cutbacks in education and public services, decreased provisions for the poor, and currency devaluation. Both the war, which led to sharp declines in tourist arrivals,¹² and chronic poverty contributed to a third catastrophe: the rapid expansion of

¹⁰ In terms of nearby insular states, the series of atolls constituting the Maldives is separated by a distance of 435 miles to the south-west of Sri Lanka.

¹¹ This is an especially prevalent problem in the Caribbean. As Thomas Klak and Garth Myers note, '[a] collapse in traditional export markets and an overexposure to foreign indebtedness brought economic decline and swelling poverty to the Caribbean in the 1980s. Caribbean governments responded to these events[,] with some prodding from the IMF, the World Bank, and Western governments, with a rapid economic opening and incentives to attract foreign capital to produce for export'. However, rather than helping ease fiscal pressures in island states, this has led to a situation in which 'the foreign debt of the great majority of Caribbean governments is now worse than ever' (1998: 108). See Chapter 4 for further discussion of this with respect to tourism development and prostitution discourse.

¹² These fell from 407,000 in 1982 to 185,000 in 1989 (Beddoe 1998: 46). Prior to the war, Sri Lanka had been a tourism success story, 'far outstrip[ing] the world growth rate in international tourism' from 1977–82 (Crick 1994: 37). This is partly because it developed its industry at a later time than several other postcolonial island states, learning from their experiences. In this context, it is interesting that when, in the late 1960s, Minister of State J.R. Jayewardene 'established the legislative and planning foundations' for a centralised national tourism industry, he was very much influenced by American interests and the success Hawai'i was already experiencing in attracting tourists. Crick states that: 'The Ceylon Tourism Plan was drawn up by Harris, Kerr, Forster & Co., a firm of hotel and travel consultants based in Hawaii'; the resulting "'10 Year" blueprint [...] was part of a package of assistance given by the United States to Ceylon through the Agency for International Development' (27).

child sex tourism. As tourism ethnographer Malcolm Crick observes, Sri Lanka has come to be viewed in the ‘international press’ at least ‘as a “haven for perverts”’ (1994: 199), with thousands of children now engaging in sexual exchanges on a daily basis. The situation has been enhanced by the government’s long-standing refusal to recognise this phenomenon, partly as resulting sanctions would undermine one of the few stable (if reprehensible) sources of tourist currency. Finally, these social crises were further compounded by the devastating effects of natural disaster in the form of the 2004 tsunami, which ‘destroyed three-quarters of Sri Lanka’s coastline, killed about 35,000 people in the country and displaced a further two and a half million’ (Salgado 2007: 1). The island’s tourism market is hence understandably volatile, permitting niches for such morally disturbing activities as war tourism, disaster tourism, and sex tourism. In addition, ecological exploitation is rife, with numerous signature species such as elephants and sea turtles severely endangered, along with their wider environments.

Given my emphasis on future tourism viability in postcolonial island states, Sri Lanka’s experience of compound disaster presents an important challenge to the kind of sustainability debates addressed in the rest of the thesis. Yet it also provides ways of conceptualising how mass tourism as a *global* phenomenon draws very different islands together in ways that can help augment strategies for negotiating disasters’ debilitating effects, as well as day-to-day poverty and exploitation. This in turn centrally rejects conceptual dissociations of island hosts and metropolitan guests. With this geographical compass in place, the following sections of the chapter are structured in order to address three main questions which provide a platform for subsequent textual analyses. Firstly, what are the effects of tourism on island ecologies? Secondly, how can the work of postcolonial island writers add to interdisciplinary tourism debates? And thirdly, what role does the imaginary play in relation to anticipating touristic phenomena and transforming the basis for future developments?

I: Tourism, Sustainability, and Island Ecologies

‘Islands and island microstates’, Yorghos Apostolopoulos and Dennis Gayle suggest, ‘present a special case in development, largely due to the unique characteristics of their economies, natural resources, and, in many cases, cultures. [...] Even where economically and ecologically sustainable development options exist, they may conflict with island cultures’ (2002: 7). Their observations touch on some of the most important considerations of island tourism development strategies. For instance, in what ways might the supposedly ‘unspoilt’ natural environments

marketed to tourists be protected when mass tourism itself threatens ecological stability? And how can island cultures uphold their traditions and retain ‘authenticity’ when faced with the commoditising pressures of such a powerful agent of global capitalism as mass tourism?¹³ As island nations turn increasingly to tourism as a source of capital (the Caribbean is already considered ‘the most tourism-dependent region of the world’ [Gössling 2003: 4]), such questions are invested with great urgency. Indeed, they underwrite both Walcott’s concern that the Caribbean archipelago will become unavoidably homogenised into ‘a hundred Havanas and mini-Miamis’ (1998b: 24), and the prediction of one of Samoan writer Albert Wendt’s characters that the South Pacific islands will become ‘like Hawaii and Tahiti [...] con-men paradises for stripping tourists naked’ (1979: 189). This section approaches these points by looking first at how interdisciplinary tourism studies debates are dramatised in island contexts, establishing some of the thesis’s key terms. It then explores the extent to which islands have been viewed as paradigms of fragility, with cultural practices and natural environments often being treated in coterminous ways. It ends by showing how a comparative study of tourism’s effects on postcolonial island ecologies offers a framework from which the cultural and environmental dimensions of literary *portrayals* of the industry can be productively analysed.

Ecological Sustainability and Touristic Transformations

The referential range of the adjectival term ‘sustainable’ increased markedly following the Second World War. *OED* suggests that its only non-obsolete connotation prior to the twentieth century was: ‘Capable of being upheld or defended’. Yet by the 1930s, the term was beginning to be adapted in economic and ecological discourse to signify, as Lawrence Buell puts it, ‘a mode of subsistence [...] that can be maintained without detriment to the ecosystem’ (2005: 148). Although *OED* cites the entry for ‘sustainable’ in *The McGraw Hill Dictionary of Modern Economics* (1965) as its earliest example of the term being used in the sense, ‘[c]apable of being maintained at a certain rate or level’, Buell credits American ecologist Aldo Leopold with setting this precedent through his use of the phrase ‘sustainable yield’ around thirty years

¹³ I use the term commoditisation throughout this thesis in ways that partly embrace notions of commodification (‘[t]he action of turning something into, or treating something as, a [...] commodity; commercialization of an activity, etc., that is not by nature commercial’ [*OED*]). However, commoditisation also foregrounds the process by which products become undifferentiated within the marketplace, ironically destabilising the cultural specificities often demanded by tourism consumers. Commoditisation is commonly used in tourism studies scholarship, with *OED* citing a 1994 example from the journal *Tourism Management* to illustrate the term’s meaning.

previously (2005: 148). This additional meaning in turn engendered the noun ‘sustainability’ (1972), the adverb ‘sustainably’ (1981), and the concept of ‘sustainable development’ (1972). Originally endowed with more economic than ecological significance, the term has become central to discourses on human–environment interactions over the last three decades.

OED cites the *World Conservation Strategy* of 1980 as the first publication to invest the term ‘sustainable’ with a specifically ecological connotation, relating to ‘forms of human economic activity and culture that do not lead to environmental degradation’. In this light it is notable that the historical explosion of mass tourism, itself linked to the increase in widely affordable air travel in the 1960s, coincides closely with the modes of consumption that provoked revised ideas regarding sustainability. It is also telling that the notion of ‘sustainable tourism’, first found in a 1987 dissertation abstract and included as a subcategory of the *OED* draft addition for ‘sustainable’, appears in the same year as the World Commission on Environment and Development’s widely cited ‘Brundtland Report’. Entitled *Our Common Future*, the report helped institute what Trevor Sofield calls a ‘paradigm shift’ in development debates. Sofield notes how it ‘encompasses both biophysical and sociocultural spheres’ of sustainability, setting out the twin principles of ‘conservation of biological diversity and [...] inter-generational equity, meaning development that “meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”’ (2003: 5). The ideological goal of ‘sustainable tourism’ is consequently oriented by a similar dedication to the cultural and environmental futures of tourist destinations. However, as Apostolopoulos and Gayle rightly note, conflicts between cultural traditions and environmental conservation strategies often produce problems for sustainable tourism development in island contexts (2002: 7). These are enhanced by ideological frictions generated in relation to neoliberal economic sustainability models (discussed further in Chapter 2).

Arguing from a Caribbean perspective, Thomas Klak and Dennis Conway state that ‘sustainability goes beyond long-term employment prospects and environmental management. It includes efforts to shift control and responsibility over development initiatives back to the islands, communities, and people whose lives depend on them’ (1998: 257). Understanding the ways in which postcolonial writers address the possibility of achieving this requires detailed consideration of how tourism’s effects on insular cultures and environments can be analysed comparatively. If there is such a thing as environmental sustainability, does it make sense also to speak of cultural sustainability, and how might the two differ conceptually? This thesis

includes separate chapters on ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ in order to differentiate between tourism’s effects on both, even as my textual analyses consistently emphasise degrees of mutual entanglement. In order to register this latter consideration, I use the term ‘ecology’ specifically when addressing culture–nature intersections as it refers both to ‘the relations of living organisms to their surroundings, their habits and modes of life’ (*OED* 1), and to the political context of ecological issues (*OED* 2). The first definition allows cultural and environmental concerns to be understood as anthropocentric aspects of a wider biogeographical system. The second recognises that human intervention, control, and ethics are constitutive of islands’ political ecologies, and that the discursive notion of ‘ecology’ is itself mediated by human experience. My assessments of tourism’s effects on island environments, along with my readings of literary portrayals of the industry, are shaped by an appreciation of this dialectical construction of ‘ecology’, which encompasses human actions whilst being, in a discursive sense, simultaneously determined by them. This follows Buell’s ecocritical assertion that the most helpful forms of ‘humanistic environmental criticism’ are ‘those that come closest to speaking *both* to humanity’s most essential needs and to the state and fate of the earth and its nonhuman creatures independent of those needs, as well as to the balancing if not also the reconciliation of the two’ (Buell 2005: 127; original emphasis).

As Trask’s comments make clear in relation to Hawai‘i, the vast power wielded by the industry allows it to intervene in island ecologies in myriad destructive and unsustainable ways. This produces multiple sustainability battlegrounds on which economic, environmental, cultural, and political interests are contended by groups with varying degrees of power. Despite possessing extremely diverse biogeographies, the ‘bounded’ topography of islands generates in most cases intensely concentrated areas of contestation. For example, touristic demand for beach access ensures that coastal zones are continually subject to clashes over land. This has provoked commentators to characterise these areas in quasi-militaristic terms, as in Polly Pattullo’s suggestion that Caribbean tourism ‘raises questions about sovereignty (when beaches and valleys become *foreign fields*)’ (1996: 4; my emphasis). The strategic importance of islands for military purposes underscores such assertions’ relevance. Significantly, though, Pattullo does not just *compare* tourist-saturated landscapes to ‘foreign fields’; rather, her description highlights how tourism is a powerfully *transformative* ecological agent.¹⁴

¹⁴ Similar processes are evident in the Pacific; as Trask comments emotively, Hawaiian tourism has brought intense ‘physical transformation to the lush and sacred islands of our ancestors’ (1999: 3).

Pattullo states that: ‘The sort of tourism that now dominates the Caribbean’ – that is, mass-based corporate tourism – ‘has redefined its physical landscapes’ (1996: 105). Yet, in accounting for the industry’s effects on island cultures and environments, it is worth noting that touristic discourse is both intensely persistent and highly creative in its invention of ecologies. Indeed, Louis Turner and John Ash conclude their polemical early account of touristic interactions in postcolonial regions – which they collectively term the ‘pleasure periphery’ – by arguing that ‘[t]he tourist is involved in nothing less than the rewriting of the economic and political geography of the world’ (1975: 251). More specifically, Mimi Sheller argues that the Caribbean has been ‘invented’ as a ‘tropical playground’ for tourism (2004: 29). Such transformations are both physically enacted *and* discursively embedded. Frank Fonda Taylor gives the following example of how this process was already operational in nineteenth-century Jamaica, as an influx of ‘health tourists’ caused a range of peaks on the island to be renamed. Originally called the ‘Hellshire Hills because of their proximity to extensive malarial swamps’, these were transformed, through touristic intercession, into the ‘Healthshire Hills’ (1993: 13).¹⁵ Hence, not only do medical advances change perceptions of natural environments, but tourism also executes potent discursive interventions into landscapes, radically altering local meanings. It is worth noting, however, that such touristic transformations are not only reliant, as Carolyn Cartier observes, on ‘the culture and economy of those who pass through’. Rather, as what she terms ‘touristed landscapes’ are ‘about [the] complexity of different people doing different things’, it is necessary to account for how such zones are ‘toured and lived’ simultaneously (2005: 3). Cartier emphasises the need for cultural geographers to address how touristic constructions of place are produced through various interfaces with local approaches to land use and environmental epistemologies, even as these frequently produce points of friction and contestation. This thesis therefore focuses on how postcolonial perceptions of tourism contribute to continuing negotiations of local and global ecological ideologies in island states.

In addition to this deeply entwined history of intervention into both biogeographical and imagined environments, tourism has also had pronounced effects on cultural relations. Focusing specifically on tourist behaviour, Edward Bruner has adapted Mary Louise Pratt’s well-known concept of colonial ‘contact zones’ (a model of cross-cultural encounter characterised by ‘conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict’ [1992: 6]) to describe what

¹⁵ Similarly, M. Jacqui Alexander notes with respect to the Bahamas that ‘Paradise Island’ is now ‘the name given to what was previously, and most unattractively, called Hog Island’ (2005: 56).

he calls touristic ‘borderzones’. He defines the borderzone as an improvisational or theatrical ‘point of conjuncture’ where tourists engage in performative interactions with native peoples which transcend the ‘localized event’ by taking ‘account of global and international flows’, creating a ‘cultural imaginary’ (2005: 15–16). Rejecting the more strictly hierarchical power relations inherent in contact zones, and positing both natives and tourists as ‘actors’ in what he calls a ‘touristic drama’ (16), Bruner shows how tourism operates in contingent and multidirectional ways. Although undeniably constituted by power inequalities that could be characterised as neocolonial, interpretations of tourism which see it, like Trask does, as an adjunct to imperialist oppression threaten to smother the tensions, ambiguities, and uncertainties inherent in touristic encounters. Indeed, Marie-Françoise Lanfant goes so far as to argue that: ‘It would be pointless to seize upon [tourism] as if it were a hegemonic and imperialist power perpetuating disguised neo-colonialism’ (1995: 5). Given that many islands are ringed by ‘borderzones’ which represent spaces of ‘intense crowding’ (Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002: 6), contestation, and imaginative significance, the kinds of cultural interactions that occur in these areas, along with the varying power relations that attend them, are central to the depictions of tourism explored here.

In discussing tourism’s ‘effects’ on island ecologies, rather than its ‘impact’, my argument is influenced by Michel Picard’s rejection of the latter term as entailing ‘something of a ballistic vision, which amounts to perceiving the host society as a target hit by a missile, like an inert object, passively subjected to exogenous factors of change’ (1995: 46). For Picard, another insular tourism theorist who has produced seminal studies on Bali in particular, ‘it is not only the landscape and the local colour but also the cultural tradition of a society [...] which are being severed from their context, serialized and combined with a view to composing a tourist product’ (46). Crucially, this operation is exacted not just by exogenous forces, but also by the host society itself: ‘native populations are not passive objects of the tourist gaze, but active subjects who construct representations of their culture to attract tourists’ (46). Hence, the Balinese are bound up in a ‘dialogic process’ of incessant ‘cultural invention’, in which ‘tourism should be viewed as an integral part of Balinese culture’ (47). Picard refuses to see native cultures or the environments with which they interact as static objects of touristic commoditisation. He thereby constructs an important alternative to paradigmatic views of island ecologies as fragile or deeply vulnerable entities, assumptions based on misleading conflations between topographical boundedness and cultural closure. As archaeologist Patrick Kirch argues, the fact that

'boundedness' has often been 'confused with closure' rests on the false assumption 'that because islands are discrete and isolated, their societies have developed as closed systems' (1986: 2). As I shall discuss, it is the very participation of islands in wide circuits of social, cultural, and biological exchange (of which tourism is just one significant component) that makes them particularly suitable sites for comparative analysis. In this light it is intriguing that, while Kirch questions the syllogistic logic that links island 'isolation' to notions of 'closure', rejecting the latter term, he does not challenge the discursive validity of describing islands as 'isolated'. What factors underpin such naturalised conceptions of islands as paradigms of isolation and how do they inflect sustainability debates?

Island Vulnerability and the 'Threat' of Tourism

One key tension that emerges when approaching questions of island sustainability centres on how culture and nature are frequently conflated and characterised in like terms. Both are seen as inherently *fragile*, and it is this concept's discursive construction, along with its links to discourses of 'smallness', 'dependency', and 'isolation', that requires attention here. Islands represent some of the most environmentally diverse spaces worldwide and also some of the most threatened. As Greg Garrard notes, islands 'have a far higher proportion of endemic species than mainlands', but these 'tend to be exceptionally vulnerable to extinction' (2007: 12). Such 'vulnerability' is heightened by human interventions. Islands have been 'ecological crime scenes for millennia' (11), Garrard argues, exploited to varying degrees of intensity by indigenous communities (all originally colonists of sorts), imperial administrations, and modern industrial practices. Yet, according to Richard Grove, such ecological destruction in island contexts paradoxically helped instigate early environmentalism. Grove asserts that 'the full flowering of what one might term the Edenic island discourse during the mid-seventeenth century closely coincided with the realisation that the economic demands of colonial rule on previously uninhabited oceanic island colonies threatened their imminent and comprehensive degradation' (1995: 5). Hence, colonial islands 'directly stimulated the emergence of a detached self-consciousness and a critical view of European origins and behaviour' (8), precipitating the development of early environmental theory and 'awareness of the efficacy of man as an

environmental agent' (475–6).¹⁶ In this light, it is significant that modern mass tourism has also contributed markedly to ecological sustainability debates, partly because it replays aspects of colonial economies that often destroyed the environments in which they invested. The intricate links between 'western' colonial island use and environmentalist thought are significantly implicated in similarly paradoxical discourses of isolationism in island contexts.

Somewhat like tourists themselves, island communities have historically been committed proponents of travel, trade, and cultural exchange – a point made by both Caribbean and Pacific commentators. For instance, arguing against conceptions of the Caribbean islands as static, inward-looking, and unproductive, cultural theorist Antonio Benítez-Rojo suggests that '[t]he Antilleans' insularity does not impel them toward isolation, but on the contrary, toward travel, toward exploration, toward the search for fluvial and marine routes' (1992: 25).¹⁷ This bears certain relations to Pacific anthropologist and creative writer Epeli Hau'ofa's argument that the 'peoples of Oceania [...] did not conceive of their world in [...] microscopic proportions. Their universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it' (1993: 7). Despite the different archipelagic contexts and experiences referenced, as well as their divergent disciplinary perspectives, both commentators highlight complex histories of what could be termed 'non-insular insularism' in the Caribbean and the Pacific, that is, a kind of insularism conceived in contradistinction to its connotations of detachment, insulation (*OED* 3.a), isolation, and self-containment (*OED* 4.a). It is therefore doubly ironic that islands and island societies continue to be fetishised as remote, timeless, and unchanging, especially in tourism marketing. On one level, this effaces the conditions of creolisation and cultural exchange that have become increasingly recognised as characteristic of archipelagic regions worldwide, promoting instead a chimerical cultural 'essence' that is constructed in highly romanticised terms. On another level, it insists on interpreting insular regions as somehow detached from the historical foundations and contemporary conditions of global modernity towards which they have made wholly constitutive contributions.¹⁸

¹⁶ For a postcolonial critique of Grove's theory, see Mukherjee (forthcoming: Chapter 2). Mukherjee is especially critical of Grove's failure to discuss subaltern environmentalist histories. However, Garrard views Grove's theory as 'a counterweight to the tendency to identify environmentalism with Romantic pieties' or 'with indigenous knowledge as such' (2007: 20).

¹⁷ This position is reinforced by Dennis Conway's argument that, 'as socio-political economic systems, all Caribbean nations and territories are open systems. There is external throughput of technology, capital, information, exports, imports, and people, ensuring that island societies are continually receiving, assimilating, interacting with and in part rejecting external impulses' (1998: 53–4).

¹⁸ As DeLoughrey puts it, 'tropical island cultures have helped constitute the very metropolises that have deemed them peripheral to modernity' (2007b: 4).

DeLoughrey is particularly insightful on these points as her work disentangles the ways in which such tropes and ironies became discursively embedded and naturalised. She notes that the myriad popular narratives which took their cue from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) 'produced a contradictory binary' built on the suggestion that 'islands are simultaneously isolated yet deeply susceptible to migration and settlement', a fact borne out by their 'consistent visitation by colonials, shipwreck, anthropology and tourism' (2004: 300–1).¹⁹ DeLoughrey argues that contemporary island tourism has not only inherited the legacy of such specious dichotomies but 'has taken this isolation axiom to hyperbolic levels' (300). She emphasises the discursive assumptions upon which island tourism is ironically based, observing that:

in this paradigm, the tourist departs from his or her modern, temperate continent (or British archipelago), travels to the tropics in comfort and ease, arrives at a 'remote' island conveniently inhabited by 'natives' who are somehow isolated from the same forces of modernity and globalisation that mark the tourist.

(300–1)

Such ironies are not restricted from extending into contemporary social science discourse. For instance, the political ecologist Stefan Gössling states that: 'In the twenty-first century, most islands have become part of the globalized world economy, *primarily through involvement in tourism*' (2003: 4; my emphasis). Like Kirch, Gössling argues for an increasingly nuanced form of island studies which does not associate the discreteness of island geographies with social, political, and cultural 'closure'. However, it is arguable that, in emphasising mass tourism's contemporary economic effects, his statement echoes the history of discursive effacement described by DeLoughrey, ignoring the complex circuits of trade and transcultural interaction that have characterised many island regions for centuries. What is dangerous about the perpetuation of such assumptions is their potential to intervene negatively in the way islands continue to be theorised, characterised, and imagined by otherwise sensitive commentators. This feeds directly into the discursive confluences associated with stereotypes of island fragility.

The transformations associated with mass tourism's effects on island ecologies often prompt discussions of their vulnerability. For instance, Paul Kingsbury states of the Caribbean that, '[w]hile tourism-related ecological problems are not restricted to' its islands, 'evidence indicates that they are often more severe because of their inherent vulnerability (e.g., reefs, rainforests, marine life, closed ecosystems, limited resources and fragile coastal areas) to tourist

¹⁹ Drawing on Alfred Crosby's ecological observations regarding how perceived distance from mainland areas was necessary to gain military and 'epidemiological' advantage for European colonists, DeLoughrey also asserts that: 'In the grammar of empire, *remoteness* and *isolation* function as synonyms for island space and were considered vital to successful colonization' (2007b: 8; original emphasis).

development' (2006: 113). These sentiments are characteristic of much small island commentary; however, there are some problems in considering islands as 'inherently' vulnerable or 'fragile'. Using David Quammen's description of Madagascar in *The Song of the Dodo* (1996) as an example, Garrard observes how islands are often presented as 'paradigms of vulnerability' (2007: 13; original emphasis). Importantly, he questions whether such paradigms hold weight, suggesting that Quammen's 'argument about vulnerability, although solidly grounded in island biogeography, appeals at least as much to what we can *imagine*' (13–14; original emphasis). Garrard emphasises the hazard inherent in allowing figurative tropes to impinge on supposedly objective discursive space. Whilst he acknowledges that 'insularity exaggerates evolutionary processes [...] and that islands are ecologically vulnerable' (18), he also argues that there is no 'undisturbed natural harmony' (21) which human intervention disrupts: ecological processes are more dynamic, robust and context-specific than such mythologies allow. Hence, he asserts that 'the island as *paradigm* of fragility is no longer sustainable' (21; original emphasis).

Expanding on the ecological contradictions identified by Garrard, it is worrying that, in discussions of tourism's effects on insular ecologies, this discredited paradigm of fragility – a term that suggests a perilous liability to 'break', 'shatter', or 'perish' (*OED* 1.a) – is immensely influential. Often activated as a means of opposing unsustainable tourism expansion and industrial development in ways that ironically homogenise diverse islands' environmental specificities, the paradigm also encroaches uncritically onto descriptions of insular cultures. The dangers posed to both domains are thus discursively conflated, reducing the credibility of arguments that seek to protect 'endangered' ecological systems wherever they are imagined to exist. A case in point is David Harrison and Martin Price's introduction to *People and Tourism in Fragile Environments* (1996). This defends the usefulness of the category of fragility in relation to the array of 'fragile ecosystems' identified at the UN conference on environment and development in 1992 (embracing 'deserts, semi-arid lands, mountains, wetlands, small islands, and certain coastal areas' [1996: 3]). Yet in so doing, Harrison and Price progressively admit that ecological 'fragility' is difficult to define (3); that there are differences between 'inherently' fragile ecosystems and those threatened primarily by human activity (3); and that 'fragility is a relative concept' that must include both 'biophysical' and 'human constituents of these environments' (5). Should any doubt remain about the need to treat this term with caution (if not outright suspicion), they then concede that: 'If arriving at a definition of a fragile physical

environment is difficult, it is well nigh impossible to define a fragile community' (5). Despite this, the volume's contributors labour nobly to assure readers that fragility retains relevance as an ecological marker, applicable in both cultural and environmental contexts. It is notable, however, that only one chapter of the book deals with island tourism (focusing on the arctic archipelago of Svalbard) – testament to the term's dubious value from insular perspectives at least.

Blanket employment of fragility as an analytic category also creates problems beyond the sphere of cultural and environmental differentiation. For instance, DeLoughrey notes that economists William Easterly and Aart Kraay argue that 'the conflation of "fragile" economies and political systems with the small (island) environment has been inaccurate' (2004: 308). Quoting their assertion that 'small states have on average higher income and productivity levels than large states, and grow no more slowly than large states', DeLoughrey concludes that 'the dismissive economic categorisation of "fragile", "isolated", and small (island) states sounds remarkably like the colonial and biogeographical studies' that inform her wider deconstruction of isolationist discourse (308).²⁰ Here, the paradigm of island fragility is shown to be partly constructed in relation to the very colonial histories against which anti-tourism campaigners frequently situate their arguments. The view that dependency on capital flows from larger states is characteristic of island economies was propounded most influentially when Geoffrey Bertram and Ray Watters (1985) classified Pacific island 'microstate' economies using the now notorious term 'MIRAB' (an acronym for Migration, Remittances, Aid, and Bureaucracy), providing a model that has resonances with other postcolonial island economies worldwide.²¹ More recently, Apostolopoulos and Gayle (2002) suggest that tourism may be in the process of replacing migration in this formulation as many islands make the transition from MIRAB to TOURAB economies. This leads to the problem, identified in the titular pun of Pattullo's book on Caribbean tourism, of governments turning to tourism as a 'last resort'. Thus Graham Dann

²⁰ Conway supports this by asserting that: 'All too commonly, microstates are dismissed as powerless in today's globalizing (macro) world, solely by allusion to the scale and size of these societies' (2006: 51). He proceeds to state that, '[w]hile development options for small islands are limited, the opportunities for successful physical planning may be greater in Caribbean systems than in larger developing nations. This is due to the small scale of the society and the closeness of all involved parties, from local communities, NGOs, and planning officials, to the political center of decision making. All are more responsive to democratic and popular pressures because of the small scale of the society and the interweaving of personal representation with institutional responsibilities' (61).

²¹ Conway notes how this has been adapted in the Caribbean context as MIRAGE, which includes references to Government and Education (1998: 54). He observes that, '[a]lthough people's access to education should be revered as a progressive development achievement, dependent islanders are "educated to emigrate"' (62), contributing to 'a brain drain that has long been posited as a Caribbean malaise' (52).

stated sombrely in the early 1990s that '[f]or many island microstates [...] there are seemingly no alternatives to the panacea of tourism beyond those of destitution, debt, and despair' (1992: 158). Yet, given the challenges to such morose prophecies evinced respectively by DeLoughrey and Easterly and Kraay, it is important that paradigmatic generalisations which present all (small) islands as inherently fragile and therefore corruptible are resisted when addressing tourism's various ecological 'threats'. In line with this discursive dismantlement, the textual readings in the following chapters are oriented partly by an attempt to understand how postcolonial island writers' portrayals of tourism problematise the paradoxical employment of tropes of fragility and isolation, offering more nuanced presentations of the industry's multifaceted effects in different insular contexts.

Analysing Tourism and Island Ecologies Comparatively

One of the dangers in comparing both individual islands and geographically distinct archipelagos is over-generalisation, which accompanies tendencies to gloss over very different cultural and environmental specificities. This occurs even in the work of commentators who argue for greater interrogation of islands across various disciplinary contexts. For instance, in his book, *A Green History of the World* (1991), Clive Ponting reads the exhaustion of limited local resources by Easter Island's inhabitants as a parable for how the earth itself represents a threatened 'island' ecosystem. However, Garrard views this attempt to fit a very specific example to a much more complex and varied form as misleading (2007: 15–16). Garrard's persuasive point is that the geographical specificity and 'historical contingency of environmentalism' (2007: 20) in different insular contexts demand analysis of islands' ever-changing ecological particularities according to a similarly flexible and adaptive set of questions.²² Hence his claim, conveyed from the interface between aesthetic and environmental perspectives, that 'ecocriticism might shift from the evaluation of texts in terms of their correspondence to a pre-established ecological yardstick to the analysis of the complex and always contradictory process by which we struggle to imagine and articulate our duties concerning islands' (21–2). My own intention in addressing a wide array of islands functions partly as an antidote to isolationist discourses that buttress over-arching paradigms of fragility.

²² DeLoughrey *et al.* also highlight how comparative over-generalisation is not limited to cultural and humanities studies, particularly as some of the most widely accepted theories of biogeographical island development 'sound more like poetic imagination than science' (2005: 13).

However, this raises the question of how comparative criticism might operate without effacing specificities or relying on the kind of misleadingly paradigmatic ‘ecological yardsticks’ described by Garrard.

One potentially valid method of inquiry would be to take the exact opposite approach to transnational, inter-regional comparison, and confine analysis to just one or two islands. This would create space to delve with considerable cultural, historical, and geographical depth into a selected case study, before gesturing towards some broader conclusions. The tactic has traditionally had strong advocates, such as the historian O.H.K. Spate who characterised the insular Pacific in the late 1970s as ‘splendidly splittable into Ph.D topics’ (cited in Kirch 1986: 2). Such a blithe attitude towards oceanic subdivision tends now to betray serious methodological pitfalls. Numerous postcolonial island writers have raised suspicions regarding the validity of analysing archipelagos in terms of discrete structural units. In his important essay, ‘Towards a New Oceania’ (1976), Wendt states that he will leave ‘objective analysis’ of the Oceanic region ‘to the sociologist and all the other ‘ologists [*sic*] who have plagued Oceania since she captivated the imagination of the *Papalagi* [white people, European colonists]’ (1996: 641). In qualifying Wendt’s animus, it seems no coincidence that this piece is contemporaneous with Spate’s comment on the ‘splendidly splittable’ nature of Pacific islands. Wendt roundly rejects ‘so narrow a vision’, asserting that ‘only the imagination in free flight’ can begin ‘to grasp’ so ‘vast’ and ‘fabulously varied’ a region (641). Hau‘ofa’s similarly influential piece, ‘Our Sea of Islands’ (1993), builds on Wendt’s points by discussing how his own thinking and teaching in the 1980s reflected the climate of regional despondency associated with economic debt, ‘social fragmentation and political instability’ (1993: 5). He suggests that, because his regional considerations were ‘so bound to the notion of “smallness”’, he could only see a ‘hopeless’ future for archipelagic Pacific states (5). Yet for him, this line of thinking represents a form of ‘neocolonialism’ which has made Pacific peoples ‘believe that they have no choice but to depend’ (5).

Hau‘ofa counters such logic by asserting that ‘the idea of smallness is relative’ (6),²³ elucidating connections between contemporary dependency theory and those ‘western’ imperialist cartographical strategies of the nineteenth century which ‘erected boundaries that led

²³ David Timothy Duval also states from a Caribbean perspective that: ‘Somewhat ironically, the notion of “smallness”, in reference to the economic position of island states in general, and the extent to which the Caribbean functions as a peripheral destination to global flows of economic activity, actually bears little resemblance to the degree to which the region is situated as a key vacation destination for literally millions of foreign travellers’ (2004: 3).

to the contraction of Oceania, transforming a once boundless world into the Pacific island states [...] that we know today' (10). People were thus 'confined' and 'isolated from each other' (10) in a process that produced a profound legacy of psychological as well as geographical circumscription and 'belittlement' (3). What had for millennia thrived as a 'sea of islands' intricately interconnected by culture and trade was conceptually transformed into mere 'islands in a far sea' (7). By reclaiming the former notion, Hau'ofa foregrounds the kind of Oceanic federalism that he hopes will foster alliances between Pacific islanders from the '*tangata whenua* of Aotearoa' in the south to the 'native Hawai'ians' in the north (11). Confirming this, Keown points out that a 'sense of a shared experience of colonialism and neo-colonialism among Pacific Island cultures has intensified in recent decades, particularly since the founding of the University of the South Pacific' (2005: 4) which co-published Hau'ofa's essay. Such observations reinforce the importance of avoiding damaging reproductions of imperialist containment strategies when analysing tourism's operations in island regions.

Island theorists also emphasise distinct benefits to addressing insular patterning comparatively. Benítez-Rojo refers to fractal models and chaos theory in his conceptualisation of the Caribbean archipelago as a 'sociocultural fluidity' within which 'the features of an island that "repeats" itself' can be observed, 'unfolding and bifurcating until it reaches all the seas and lands of the earth' (1992: 3). Likewise, DeLoughrey asserts that 'no island is an isolated isle' (2001: 3). Instead, she contends that 'a historiography that considers chains of islands in fluctuating relationship to their surrounding seas, islands and continents [...] provides a more appropriate metaphor for reading island cultures' (3).²⁴ This includes the kind of conceptual correlations that underwrite Hau'ofa's decision to begin 'Our Sea of Islands' by quoting from Walcott's seminal poem 'The Sea is History' (1979), and his assertion that the 'rapid expansion of the world economy since the post-World War II years' did not just intensify 'Third World dependency' but also 'had a liberating effect on the lives of ordinary people in Oceania, as it did

²⁴ DeLoughrey expands on this methodologically in her recent monograph, asserting that the 'rationale for [...] inter-island comparison', embracing both Caribbean and Pacific archipelagos, centres on the need 'to move beyond restrictive national, colonial, and regional frameworks and to foreground shared histories, particularly as they are shaped by geography' (2007b: 3). She sees the relationship as constituted by 'the transoceanic imaginary', which represents 'a powerful metaphor to signal the cultural transition to new island landscapes, complicating the notion of static roots and offering a fluid paradigm of migratory routes' (23). At the same time, it also 'allows for the emergence of historical and social contrast, such as the tension between diaspora and indigeneity, which highlights the distinctiveness between and within the regions' literary production' (24).

in the Caribbean islands' (1993: 10).²⁵ There is also arguably much to gain through transnational solidarity in terms of uniting small populations and sharing strategies of resistance and negotiation. In the current globalised climate, where issues of political importance to less powerful groups are all too often marginalised by the dominant elite's pursuit of capital and control, strategic collaboration between different island communities offers one way of increasing the visibility and accepted relevance of shared concerns. This is reinforced from a tourism studies perspective, as social theorists generally agree that the most productive means of understanding tourism in the age of globalisation is through transnational comparison.

John Urry states that: 'The internationalisation of tourism means that we cannot explain tourist patterns in any particular society without analysing developments taking place in other countries' (2002: 45). Similarly, Lanfant *et al.* argue that: 'Tourism transcends individual societies and has become an international fact'. Hence, 'there are many similarities in tourist development' in localities throughout the world, 'owing to the trans-geographic, cross-cultural character of international tourism' (1995: viii). Further, commenting specifically on the importance of comparing tourism development across 'the world's [...] major insular regions', Apostolopoulos and Gayle criticise previous investigations which 'have focused on certain islands or groups of islands, attempting to reach general conclusions from case studies' (2002: 8–9). In this light, it seems not just helpful but necessary to put representations of tourism from different regional literatures in dialogue so as to develop a better picture of the industry's global contours and operations. Yet this still does not fully account for how an analytical balance might be struck between cultural and environmental particularities, and cross-regional concerns.

Towards the end of his career, one of the key Pacific island theorists of the last few decades, Greg Dening, acknowledged his indebtedness to how Marshall Sahlin's anthropological research into the 'structural relationship between island environments and [...] Polynesian political relationships [...] gave order to an understanding of the cultural evolution of the Sea of Islands' (2003: 206). Such work inspired his search for 'a way of writing island history that played with both the totally particular and the universal' (2006). Significantly, he concludes by stating: 'I am still looking for that way, but I am more confident than ever that it is to be found in story and theatre' (2006). In negotiating the general and the particular, my aim is to attend to these seemingly opposed demands simultaneously, building on Dening's conviction

²⁵ This investment in cross-regional comparison is linked to the fact that 'Hau'ofa's early anthropological work was conducted in Trinidad and he has maintained an important conceptual connection between both island regions' (DeLoughrey 2007b: 25).

in the resources imaginative works offer for achieving this. I also follow DeLoughrey's lead regarding the potential of putting diverse regions in dialogue as she argues that: 'The transformative and metaphoric power of literary creation enables the possibility of new island maps' (2001: 39). This is not to lose sight of Garrard's intimation that the different island tourism configurations portrayed by postcolonial writers comprise a set of highly individuated cultural and environmental commentaries. Rather, it is to suggest that, in the context of globalised mass tourism at least, insular particularity can be brought into sharper focus through comparative assessment.

II. Tourism Theory and Postcolonial Island Literatures

Having outlined some of tourism's effects on island ecologies, the following section addresses what postcolonial island literatures might add to the various debates that energise mainstream tourism studies. This involves examining some of the ways in which issues of colonialism and postcolonialism have been dealt with across the field, and assessing the extent to which comparative literary analysis can be reconciled with more empirically oriented debates. Attending to the discursive machinery that has contributed to 'western' conceptions of islands as Edenic or utopian spaces, it begins by discussing tourism's role in endorsing these myths. In the process of probing the links between 'western' colonial histories and contemporary forms of island travel, it also interrogates the place of narratives within interdisciplinary tourism debates. This highlights some of the productive interactions that arise from placing readings of imaginative texts in dialogue with sociological, economic, anthropological, and geographical approaches to tourism. The section proceeds by addressing how recent exchanges between postcolonialism and ecocriticism – fields which, like tourism studies, have strongly interdisciplinary and interventionist aspirations – can help enhance critical perspectives on insular cultures and ecologies. As such, it offers a platform from which to explore the function of the imaginary in forging more sustainable island tourism futures in the final section of the chapter.

Islands of the Mind: Colonialism and Brochure Discourse

Why do islands constitute sites of such fascination for tourists? What underpins their superficially 'paradisal' appeal? A cursory perusal of current tourist brochures shows that

tropical islands throughout the world are marketed according to similarly clichéd images of sea, sun, sand, swaying palms, and sexual permissiveness. Commenting on the collective impact of such representations, Mimi Sheller witheringly states that ‘a more generic, global, and empty signifier of the tropical island could hardly be imagined’ (2003: 36).²⁶ For Ian Gregory Strachan, the ‘version of paradise’ which forms a homogenised ‘world’ of ‘blue-green waters [...], lush green landscapes’, and ‘smiling black “natives” [...] ready to serve’ is the product of what he terms ‘brochure discourse’ (2002: 1). This denotes the array of tourism marketing stereotypes that ‘maps and commodifies’ destinations ‘for the world consumer’, involving representations of ‘what local governments believe their foreign clientele want to see’ which possess ‘as much authenticity for indigenous residents as [...] a stage prop or movie backdrop’ (2002: 1).²⁷ It is precisely this tendency for islands’ rich and varied histories to be elided in brochure discourse that angered Walcott when he criticised the ‘high-pitched repetition of the same images [...] that cannot distinguish one island from the other’ (1998a: 81) in his Nobel acceptance speech of 1992. Although Walcott’s primary target here is American neocolonialism, his comments (along with Sheller’s and Strachan’s) foreground how contemporary touristic constructions of islands tap into deeper colonial legacies of discursive masking.

Like Walcott, Trask also bemoans the tendency of citizens from the world’s wealthiest nations to believe ‘tourist propaganda’ and ‘spend millions on a romanticized “Pacific Island” holiday’ (1999: 41). In her view, tourists buy into a form of discursive imperialism that creates ‘Pacific archipelagos [...] filled with tiny fantasy islands more reflective of a “state of mind” than an actual geographic and cultural place’ (41). However, her rhetoric does not admit the fact that tourism marketers’ constructions of tropical islands do not simply ‘dupe’ tourists into desiring unrealistic chimeras but actively extend the ways in which islands have played key roles, for several successive centuries, in colonial discourses and projected fantasies. Thus, in her analysis of what she terms ‘militourism’ in the Pacific – ‘a phenomenon by which military or paramilitary force ensures the smooth running of the tourist industry, and the tourist industry

²⁶ Huggan links this to the Pacific when he argues that a principal form of ‘ecological reclamation’ in ‘[m]odern Caribbean writing’ involves rejecting ‘the Caribbean “island paradise” – that tiresome trope that has historically overdetermined European aesthetic appreciations of the Caribbean, and that has exerted a similar stranglehold over its romantic–primitivist correlate, the South Seas’ (2007: 76).

²⁷ Strachan is referring here to the Caribbean which, with its marked history of slavery and contemporary tourism dependence, has attracted some of the most severe attacks regarding constructions of natives as ‘ready to serve’ tourists. The observations readily extend, though, to other highly touristed island states, particularly Hawai‘i (as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4).

masks the military force behind it' – Teresia Teaiwa argues that: 'The opportunity for rest and recreation that the Pacific Islands have afforded foreign sailors, whalers, and traders over the last five hundred years has been sophisticatedly commodified for tourists in the late twentieth century' (1999: 251). Island tourism relates genealogically to the 'nesomania' that 'was a trademark of European maritime empires', inspiring '[c]ountless explorers' to direct 'their efforts towards the discovery of the "Antilles": 'utopian counter-lands or ante-islands' (DeLoughrey 2007b: 6). As DeLoughrey notes, islands 'have [...] provided the botanical, anthropological, biological, environmental, and ideological space for European laboratories, experimentation, and development' (2004: 300). It is therefore appropriate to interpret contemporary island tourism as a capital-oriented product of previous 'western' colonial island projects, bound up discursively with the fetishisation and creative manipulation of island space.

In *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies* (2003), Sheller argues that:

the accumulation of contemporary 'Western' scientific knowledge, cultural innovation, and capital continues to be made viable by far-reaching global circuits of knowledge-production premised on the consumption of the landscapes, plants, foods, bodies, and cultures of the Caribbean and other 'non-Western' places.

(2003: 21–2)

For her, tourism represents one of the most recent examples of a series of 'imaginative and material structures' that have continued 'uninterrupted for five centuries' and 'enabled [...] unequal transformations of one person's sweat and blood into another's sugar, one person's provision ground into another's playground' (13). It is worth noting that Sheller is cautious about reifying 'the imagined community of the West' (1) throughout her study, as she asserts that 'mobilities of consumption' make it problematic to imagine "'the West'" as 'separate from the Caribbean' (34–5). Similar comments have been made regarding other postcolonial island regions. For example, Vanessa Agnew argues that 'the European discovery of the Pacific islands, the founding of anthropology as an academic discipline and the inception of a biological notion of race were interconnected' (2003: 81).²⁸ I will therefore be similarly guarded in my use of the 'west' as a conceptual category, heeding warnings from critics of modernity and postcolonialism such as John Frow ('the "West" [...] is not a stable geographical or cultural

²⁸ Likewise, Qadri Ismail argues (albeit with a distinctly blinkered notion of 'anthropology' in mind) that: 'Anthropology sees Sri Lanka as non-Western, as outside it in more than one sense; what happens there – in a word, carnage – is not to be found in the contemporary West'. For Ismail, though, 'Sri Lanka poses an intellectual and political problem – and a serious one, at that – for the theory of (representative) democracy, for its justification of majority rule as ethical. This, of course, is not something that makes the place radically different from the West' (2005: 19).

location but a geopolitical myth' [1997: 2]) and Neil Lazarus ('[t]he concept of "the west" [...] has no coherent or credible referent. It is an ideological category masquerading as a geographic one' [2002: 44]). I am interested less in analysing how non-'western' writers' portrayals of tourism differ from those of 'western' writers than in addressing the ways in which island writers' works allow links to be drawn between postcolonialism and tourism theory respectively. This requires attention to how 'western' colonial discourse foreshadows the continuing inequalities that inhabit cross-cultural island encounters while simultaneously recognising that the increasingly globalised context of contemporary mass tourism destabilises hierarchical power distributions in heterogeneous ways.

In addressing the intersections between colonial histories and tourism formations in the globalised present, however, it is important to maintain careful differentiation between various histories and forms of colonialism, along with the imperial power structures related to these. DeLoughrey is particularly wary about using the term 'postcolonial' to describe the Caribbean and the Pacific. In her introduction to *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (2007), she explains how, although it is 'deeply informed by postcolonial studies', the project's breadth 'means that it cannot be categorized easily under a postcolonial rubric' (2007b: 5). She argues that:

The Caribbean and Pacific Islands do not fit neatly into a postcolonial paradigm because they do not share simultaneous colonial histories even though they have been (and still are) occupied at different points by Christian, Spanish, French, British, and American capitalist empires. [...] These challenges to any homogenizing framework of comparison point to the need for a dynamic methodology that engages the intersections of time-space without fixing or freezing either.

(5–6)

For DeLoughrey, Barbadian poet and historian Kamau Brathwaite's notion of 'tidalectics' – 'an "alter/native" historiography to linear models of colonial progress' that captures the cyclical relationship between land and sea (2) – offers a preferable epistemology for inter-island comparison. From my perspective, however, accounting for differences in colonial histories seems a positive challenge rather than a moment of withdrawal for postcolonial studies, not least in its increasing critical engagement with islands.

While tidalectic models represent useful and complementary methods for analysing the specificities of island experience, I foreground the term 'postcolonial' to emphasise firstly (and conventionally) the importance of various colonial histories which, although often temporally and spatially specific, continue to inflect the power relations associated with islands' cultural,

environmental, political, and economic engagements with globalised modernity. Secondly, it underscores a sense of oppositionality to the ongoing (neo)colonialism interwoven in such engagements, placing islands that might otherwise be easily divided in collaborative dialogue, and helping to refine understandings of the processes of exploitation (conceptual and material) that attend global tourism in its manifold configurations.²⁹ It therefore provides another way of enhancing DeLoughrey's efforts to complicate over-arching divisions between the diaspora theory applied primarily to the Caribbean, and the indigenous formations of the Pacific.³⁰ This also applies to the postcolonial island *literatures* examined here. As cultural productions by authors exhibiting (in many cases) a high degree of diasporic affiliation which are often consumed by metropolitan audiences outside the insular regions they address, these should not in themselves be considered in wholly particularist terms. Whilst this is clearly relevant to Caribbean writing, it is also significant for much Pacific cultural production; as Keown points out, the widespread, post-World War II movement of writers from 'the less affluent island nations of the Pacific' to 'metropolitan centres such as Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, Hawai'i, and the "mainland" US' for the purposes of further education especially has 'contributed to the strongly "diasporic" focus of much Pacific writing [...], and to the perpetually amorphous nature of literary networks within the watery domain of Oceania' (2007: 6).³¹

Reinforcing this, there are of course numerous island tropes within 'western' colonial discourse that belie regional specificities. One key construction centres on how islands are projected as both utopian and dystopian sites. DeLoughrey notes how the Pacific is seen to encapsulate the 'variant poles of island utopia (the "noble savage") and dystopia (nuclear

²⁹ Elleke Boehmer's summary of neocolonialism coincides with my use of the term throughout this thesis, particularly (though not exclusively) in the sense of US economic and ideological dominance. She observes that, emerging 'from economic theory' in the 1960s (and hence coterminous with mass tourism expansion), 'neo-colonialism signifies the continuing economic control by the West of the once-colonized world under the guise of political independence, and the betrayal of the ideals of postcolonial liberation' (2005: 9). As noted with respect to IMF and World Bank interventions in postcolonial island economies, '[n]eo-colonial formations grew particularly pronounced from the 1970s as recession and the burgeoning of Third World debt tightened the grip of rich North countries on the South. With the [...] triumphal development of a single world economic system' (discussed in relation to sustainable development in Chapter 2), 'the "rise" of the new imperialism, a further manifestation of capitalist modernity, has in the new twenty-first century become hegemonic, certainly global' (2005: 9–10).

³⁰ This point, emphasised throughout the following chapters, is one that postcolonial studies must analyse in more critical depth. The way in which theoretical overlaps between categories like the indigenous and the diasporic can be clearly identified through their interfaces with economically powerful (if highly decentralised) industries like tourism suggests that further investigation has the potential to challenge and refine some of postcolonialism's main conceptual categories and disciplinary contours.

³¹ This also holds resonance for the Sri Lankan writings analysed in Chapter 4, all of which are produced by diasporic writers (Shyam Selvadurai, Chandani Lokugé, and Romesh Guneseckera).

eschatology)' (2004: 303), while Strachan correspondingly shows how the Caribbean islands have been interpreted historically as both Edenic paradises and plantation wastelands (2002: 1–16).³² These dialectics are selectively activated in brochure discourse, which markets island destinations as antidotes to industrial modernity. In Frow's view, the 'logic of tourism' involves 'a relentless extension of commodity relations and the consequent inequalities of power between centre and periphery, First and Third Worlds, developed and underdeveloped regions' (1997: 101). It is energised by a kind of centrifugal contradiction that exalts 'the *non*-modern [...] the natural, the non-Western, the traditional, the exotic, the primitive, the different' (101; original emphasis) in order to 'other' regions – like the Caribbean and the Pacific – that have been central to the production of industrial modernity. It also effaces political tensions – such as demands for indigenous sovereignty in Hawai'i or the violent ethnic tensions between Sri Lanka's Tamil and Sinhalese populations – in promoting tourist paradises. Acknowledging the prevalence of this, and despite contextual differences, many postcolonial island writers have expressed a desire to forge new cultures, as Wendt puts it, 'free from the taint of colonialism' (1996: 644). Yet, given the prevalence of 'militouristic' configurations and their ties to contemporary neocolonial powers (be they corporate-controlled or American-sanctioned), can such a vision be implemented?

Reiner Jaakson notes that the emergence of modern mass tourism in the 1950s 'coincided roughly with the beginning of decolonisation and, starting in the 1960s, with postcolonialism' (2004: 173). It is, of course, highly debatable whether these two terms can be linked in such a straightforward fashion, not least because the industry's meteoric rise to prominence in the post-war period of decolonisation, especially in tropical island states, was connected politically to the complex and persistent influence of colonial tourism policy. In regions such as the Caribbean, the advent of mass tourism corresponded with the decline of colonial plantations, which were rendered less profitable as the UK in particular withdrew support for the system (with sugar production suffering most acutely). It might be thought that mass tourism's explosion occurred at a fortuitous time for newly independent states, affording opportunities to generate and control high levels of foreign exchange as plantation economies became less profitable. However, post-independence governments' freedom to implement tourism development strategies was undermined both by instances of internal corruption and by tourism policies which were

³² This binarism partly reinforces why I position Sri Lanka less as a counter-example than as accentuated counterpart to Pacific and Caribbean concerns in Chapter 4, with the island's construction as an apocalyptic site of compound disaster coalescing disturbingly with paradisaical forms of tourist fetishisation.

amongst the last, and subsequently most prevalent, legacies left by departing colonial administrations.

The link between American-influenced ‘development’ policies and tourism strategy in postcolonial island states is well illuminated in the Caribbean. Tom Barry, Beth Wood, and Deb Preusch note that, during the Second World War, ‘Great Britain accepted 50 old destroyers from the United States in exchange for 99-year leases on seven commonwealth islands to build military bases’ (1984: 210). At the same time, Churchill and Roosevelt devised the ‘Atlantic Charter’ to deal with ‘the long-term economic future of the American and British islands’ (Turner and Ash 1975: 102). One serious consideration was tourism, leading them to organise a conference in 1946 for tourist authorities across the region to meet. This evolved in the 1950s into the Caribbean Travel Association, which is still active in marketing the Caribbean today. Hence, the genesis of the Caribbean’s contemporary mass tourism industry is strongly connected to pre-independence, colonial policies. This partly explains Derek Walcott’s criticisms, in his poem ‘The Star-Apple Kingdom’ (1979), of the ‘seven Prime Ministers’ who ‘cut up’ the Caribbean and ‘sold it at a markup to the conglomerates, / the same conglomerates who had rented the water spouts / for ninety-nine years in exchange for fifty ships’ (1986: 390). Demonstrating tourism’s deep entanglements with the spread of twentieth-century American democratic policy in *Making the World Safe for Tourism* (2001), Patricia Goldstone notes how the ‘conglomerates’ Walcott has in mind include companies such as American Express, which ‘launched a massive publicity campaign to invest in tourism’ in 1945 (2001: 34). Annexing its promotion of international tourism to the political agenda of the post-war European Recovery Program (otherwise known as the Marshall Plan), and bandying pro-democratic slogans such as “[w]hen dollar shortages are choking the arteries of international commerce, the American tourist plays a vital role in the economies of all free nations” (34), the company made such vast profits from the industry that Goldstone wonders whether its self-interested pursuits represent anything more than ‘a form of neocolonialism’ (44).

One result of multinational conglomerates’ control, both in the Caribbean and throughout other newly decolonised regions that held immediate interest as tourist destinations, was the institution of an industrial system that allowed much of the income generated by tourism (ironically classed as an export industry) to be siphoned out of host states. This process is known as ‘leakage’, and estimates suggest that it can reach levels as high as ninety percent (Kempadoo 2004: 21). Just as plantation economies greatly benefited imperialist regimes, so

tourism remaps aspects of these asymmetrical economic flows. Such legacies were compounded by the exploitative terms in which money was loaned to newly independent states by neoliberal economic institutions such as the World Bank (originally the 'International Bank for Reconstruction and Development'). Goldstone is again particularly enlightening on tourism's early involvement with the mechanics of this process, asserting that:

Development economics came into being as a means of dealing with the often uneasy transition period from colony to country and was adopted as a policy guide by the United Nations, the world forum for decolonized countries. At the United Nations, development economics became a platform for the World Bank, which in conjunction with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) came to stress market-oriented policies to boost foreign exchange and development in less-developed countries (LDCs), with particular emphasis on how such service-sector exports as tourism could be an important source of revenue.

(2001: 46–7)

The continuing effects of such economic 'development' legacies should be considered when assessing the neocolonial dimensions of tourism in postcolonial island states, even in the context of more fluid globalised power relations. In many instances the lack of economic and political parity experienced by small islands in comparison to larger and more powerful nations makes it difficult for them to exercise full autonomy when confronted by tourist developers' demands for land and services (with similar experiences characterising indigenous communities' disputes with capital-driven development in settler colony contexts). As Enloe pithily stated at the end of the 1980s, '[t]he international politics of debt and the international pursuit of pleasure have become tightly knotted' (1989: 32). This situation derives from post-war economic policy, and extends to the current operations of global tourism.

Tourism Studies, Ecocriticism, Postcolonialism

Given the interconnections described above, it is unsurprising that the similarities between mass tourism and colonialism have long been noted by tourism theorists. For example, Turner and Ash's book, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (1975), explores how, as soon as package tourism was extended beyond Europe in the nineteenth century, tourism became 'an agency for the consolidation of Empire' (1975: 58). They also warn that the economic lure of contemporary mass tourism to newly decolonised 'Third World countries' means that 'many are welcoming back their old masters with open arms' (15). Two years later, Dennison Nash expanded on this point by arguing that 'power over touristic and

related developments abroad [...] makes a metropolitan center imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism' (1989: 39). Yet, although such conclusions have since been cited frequently, they have only been gradually enlarged upon, and not all of this augmentation has been entirely helpful.

In the introduction to their edited volume, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* (2004), C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker observe that there has been a failure to acknowledge 'the potential contribution that tourism studies can make to understanding the postcolonial experience [...] despite the centrality of tourism to the processes of transnational mobilities and migrations, and globalisation' (2004: 2). Moreover, 'the condition of postcoloniality and the power relationships that it situates have not received anywhere near the level of overt recognition or interrogation in tourism studies that it deserves' (6).³³ These are both compelling points. It is therefore surprising that Hall and Tucker also assert that 'the extent to which power is able to be exercised, and hence development is controlled in any nation or destination by an external agency, is somewhat problematic as a more complex notion of globalization has replaced simplistic ideas of imperialism' (6).³⁴ This sentiment seems indebted to the work of theorists such as Arjun Appadurai, who argues that '[t]he new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models' (1996: 32). However, whilst recent trends in globalisation have allowed, in Appadurai's words, more people worldwide 'to contest and sometimes even subvert the imagined worlds of the official mind and of the entrepreneurial mentality that surround them' (33), I am particularly wary of remarks that dismiss imperialism as 'simplistic' and superseded. The continued operation of neocolonial ideologies within a globalised framework makes it difficult to delink the two systems in this manner.

The contiguities between colonialism and mass tourism have been subject to intense attention from commentators in regions such as the Caribbean ever since the first wave of

³³ In his monograph, *Post-Conflict Heritage, Postcolonial Tourism: Tourism, Politics and Development at Angkor* (2007), Tim Winter also opens by arguing 'that scholars of tourism and heritage need to pay greater attention to the cultural politics of development and postcolonial theory than they have done previously' (2007: 3). In this light it is puzzling that the only work of postcolonial theory Winter cites in the course of the book is Edward Said's founding text, *Orientalism* (1978).

³⁴ This point is lifted verbatim from Hall's essay 'Making the Pacific: Globalization, Modernity and Myth' (1998: 147).

‘health tourists’ arrived in the latter half of nineteenth century.³⁵ Nevertheless, the political imperative to understand more fully *how* tourism is being interpreted in formerly colonised and economically underprivileged states has been brought into sharp relief by increases in terrorist action over the last few decades. Turner and Ash recognised this when they argued (with conspicuous prescience given more recent events in Bali and Egypt) that, ‘[a]s the disaffected find reforms increasingly resisted, they turn to terrorism, looking particularly for symbols of foreign imperialism as their targets [...]. Tomorrow, we shall see [...] terrorism spreading to many of the Third World’s tourist destinations, only the hotels and the tourists will be targets’ (1975: 208). This position is rehearsed in similar terms almost thirty years later by Jaakson as he notes that, ‘[i]n a world divided between rich and poor, tourism is a powerful symbol of wealth and privilege, which explains in part why in numerous countries in recent years tourists have become targets of terrorism’. He sees this ‘disturbing trend’ as ‘a component of neocolonial tourism’ (2004: 170). The perception of tourism as neocolonialism is a key point on which postcolonial literatures can offer distinctly different perspectives to those employed, generally speaking, in mainstream tourism studies. The portrayals of tourism in these texts consistently operate as powerfully indexical sites from which analyses of an increasingly globalised industry’s colonial affinities can be drawn.

In this light, it is notable that commentators have recently foregrounded the urgent need to attend to the roles of ‘stories’ or ‘narratives’ in tourism studies. Increasing emphasis is now being placed on establishing meaningful dialogue between empirical research and forms of narration. For example, in her examination of ‘touristed landscapes’, Cartier links narrative strategy to understandings of material environments as she asks: ‘what places [...] generate significant desire, what are their material landscape qualities, and how should we theorise and narrate their conditions?’ (2005:1). She proceeds to assert that tourism’s status as the world’s largest industry ‘implicates a full range of questions about culture and political economy in an era of globalization, and so must embrace issues beyond its traditionally more empirical areas of inquiry’ (2). Her essay addresses how we can analyse ‘landscape as a multi-sensory, located subjectivity, including memories about it’, and how it can be ‘understood through perspectives on nature–society relations’ (2–3). This reflects Bruner’s assertion that tourist sites ‘are not passive for they are given meaning and are constituted by the narratives that envelop them [...].

³⁵ Taylor’s *To Hell with Paradise: A History of the Jamaican Tourist Industry* (1993) offers some particularly enlightening insights into early opinions and commentaries.

These sites remind us to be cautious about monolithic interpretations that are static and ahistorical, that homogenise meaning' (2005: 12). He also states that tourist sites give 'rise to conflicting stories as one story arises in response to another in [...] dialogic narration' (26). Such considerations are strongly influenced by a marked increase in geographical attention to the deeply entangled relationship between 'space' (as a topographical site) and 'place' (as a socially constructed centre of value, located in space). This research area has considerable implications, not only for how specific landscapes or tourist sites are analysed, but also for how environmental depictions are interpreted in literary texts. These concerns are acutely felt in postcolonial island contexts, as the intersection between spatial disputes and culturally specific place-attachments is of critical importance.

Buell notes that the fact '[t]hat the concept of place [...] gestures in at least three directions at once – toward environmental materiality, toward social perception or construction, and toward individual affect or bond – makes it an additionally rich and tangled arena for environmental criticism' (2005: 63). This point is central to the following analyses, which build on DeLoughrey *et al.*'s assertion that 'writers have often articulated a poetic relation with land that is consistent with the highest aims of sustainability' (2005: 3–4) in order to argue that a more thorough understanding of how tourism is portrayed within literary works can enhance the developing language of sociological tourism narrations in both cultural and environmental senses. The idea is further augmented when juxtaposed alongside Julia O'Connell Davidson's calls for a dialogue between tourism theory and local place narratives that does not 'overlook the realities of many people's lived experience'. Discussing the reductive binaries (especially involving concepts of evil and innocence) which at times beset debates on children's involvement in sex tourism, she explains how her aim is

to persuade readers of the need for stories that recognise the very real differences between human beings in terms of their capacity for self-protection and autonomy, and the extent and severity of the abuse and exploitation to which people [...] can be subject within the global sex trade, but that do not insist on a cast-list consisting only of paedophile monsters and innocent children, or of slaves, sinners and saviours.

(2005: 3–4)

Influenced by such points, my own readings highlight the ways in which representations of tourism in postcolonial island literatures collectively constitute a rich repository of stories that do not just 'recognise' but pointedly foreground inter-subjective differences. In turn, these share important connections with the ecological concerns that have come under increasing scrutiny from literary analysts working within the expanding field of ecocriticism.

In his introduction to the collection of ecocritical essays, *Writing the Environment* (1998), Richard Kerridge examines why critics have not been more forthcoming in addressing how literary texts might provide insights into contemporary environmental problems. He suggests that the aesthetic domain in general has come to be seen as ‘a refuge from the harsher, depersonalized cultures of technology and business’, and that literary texts are often interpreted as offering merely ‘personal’ viewpoints that ‘exclude the large-scale perspectives, political generalities, narrative time-scales and scientific vocabularies used in environmental debate’ (1998: 6). In countering these assumptions, Kerridge argues that the task of ecocriticism is to identify how aesthetic productions ‘[d]ramatize the occurrence of large events in individual lives’ (6), and ‘to evaluate texts in terms of their coherence and usefulness as responses to environmental crisis’ (5).³⁶ Likewise, Buell states that:

For technological breakthroughs, legislative reforms, and paper covenants about environmental welfare to take effect, or even to be generated in the first place, requires a climate of transformed environmental values, perception, and will. To that end, the power of story, image, and artistic performance and the resources of aesthetics, ethics, and cultural theory are crucial.

(2005: vi)

Following the logic of these arguments, I approach mass tourism as a social phenomenon that acts as vector of globalisation and capitalist modernity, bringing about widespread and often unsustainable change to island ecologies. Situating my work in the context of recent debates regarding the intersections between postcolonialism and ecocriticism,³⁷ I draw on insights from both fields to show (as Buell does) how imaginative work can play a crucial conceptual role in understanding the material changes needed for more sustainable futures to emerge.³⁸

As I noted earlier, this thesis interrogates the possibility of theorising such sustainability in the context of globalised, capital-driven markets. This is not to naturalise the operations of late capitalism or accept them as inevitable but to suggest that one way of achieving more equitable social and environmental futures – particularly in the short-term – is through negotiation rather than outright rejection of these forces. In this sense, my critical position is aligned more closely with the kind of ‘eco-materialist’ approach espoused by Pablo Mukherjee than those forms of

³⁶ It is notable that ‘crisis’ is foregrounded here over other environmental processes; whilst this thesis is sensitive throughout to moments of crisis, it also emphasises the potential for postcolonial island literatures to contribute to more quotidian transformations.

³⁷ This is explored in all of the following chapters (especially Chapter 2). Publications dealing with the conjunction include Young (1999), O’Brien (2001), Huggan (2004), Nixon (2005), DeLoughrey, Gosson, and Handley (2005), Huggan and Tiffin (2007), Cilano and DeLoughrey (2007), and Mukherjee (2007).

³⁸ This coincides with Huggan and Tiffin’s description of postcolonialism and ecocriticism as ‘utopian discourses aimed at providing *conceptual* possibilities for a *material* transformation of the world’ (2007: 10; original emphases).

‘ecosocialism’ which argue that ‘confining capitalism to history and freeing humanity from hierarchy and alienation will result in human society’s behaving respectfully toward the rest of nature’ (Johns 2003: 136).³⁹ Like ecosocialism, Mukherjee’s notion of eco-materialism has a strongly Marxist genealogy, drawing on work by Raymond Williams and Sebastiano Timpanaro to suggest that materialist thinking is incomplete in the absence of an environmental dimension – a variation on the ecocritical truism of no culture without nature. However, whereas ecosocialism is motivated by a clear (although arguably dogmatic) political agenda, eco-materialism as Mukherjee conceives it represents more of a politically attentive *aesthetic approach* (Mukherjee forthcoming: Chapter 3).

On one level, this builds on some of ecocriticism’s most conspicuous failings, not least its at times unwitting ‘*naturalization* of a western white male subject in his claims to a new environmental and epistemological territory’ (Cilano and DeLoughrey 2007: 73; original emphasis). It insists instead on the need to factor political, cultural, and economic specificities into environmentally oriented debates without necessarily placing texts in instrumental service of a particular ideology. In addition, it problematises tendencies in Anglo-American ecocriticism to universalise questions of ecological conservation, especially in relation to ‘the unexamined claim of equivalence among all “ecological beings” [...], *irrespective of material circumstances*, and the preemptory conviction [...] that global ethical considerations should override local cultural concerns’ (Huggan 2004: 720; my emphasis). As a reading practice, eco-materialism proceeds through the historicised interpretation of stories which examine how uneven processes of globalisation affect culture and nature simultaneously. It also addresses the material conditions that both enable and help shape textual production. On another level, operating more directly within a postcolonial framework,⁴⁰ the textual readings that emerge are

³⁹ Ecosocialism offers one long-term vision of fairer social and environmental futures. However, its politicised agenda, centred on *replacing* capitalism with socialist alternatives, fails to address short-term challenges in rigorous depth. As David Johns points out in his review of leading ecosocialist Robert Kovel’s *The Enemy of Nature: The End of Capitalism or the End of the World* (2002), ecosocialism presents compelling arguments based on ‘a strong spiritual sense that life is about things other than making money, that nature has intrinsic value’, and that it is feasible to ‘create a livelihood outside profit-driven markets’ (2003: 135). However, speaking from a conservationist perspective, Johns criticises the way ecosocialist discussion of ‘near term political tasks is focused exclusively on relationships internal to human society’ and is ‘silent as to how nurturing ecosocialism will help in the here and now to slow destruction of the natural world’ (136). In turn, its social vision could be seen as similarly flawed, lacking for Johns the ideological coherence of Marxist thought as it identifies ‘no single agent that will lead the way, like the working class of 19th and 20th century Marxism’ (135).

⁴⁰ I am aligning myself here partly with a form of what Huggan classes as ‘materialist-inspired postcolonial criticism’, which is ‘more self-consciously interventionist in its approach to current social and political debates’ than the ‘textualist’ precursors against which it defines itself (2008: 10; Huggan cites Mukherjee 2007 as exemplifying this). However, rather than taking sides in postcolonialism’s well-

oriented partly around examining the cultural and political conditions through which contested – and at times conflictual – notions of social and environmental justice can be theorised. This is especially pressing in contexts where globalisation has intensified colonial tensions between ‘shared space and unshared values’, foregrounding ‘the difficulty of finding an international language of adjudication in the context of continuing struggles over political sovereignty and human/environmental rights’ (Huggan 2008: 11). A broadly eco-materialist approach therefore inspires interpretations of postcolonial island writers’ portrayals of tourism that are sensitive to cultural and historical specificities, their imbrications with material ecologies, and the collective contribution such texts offer to conceptualising less exploitative industry futures.

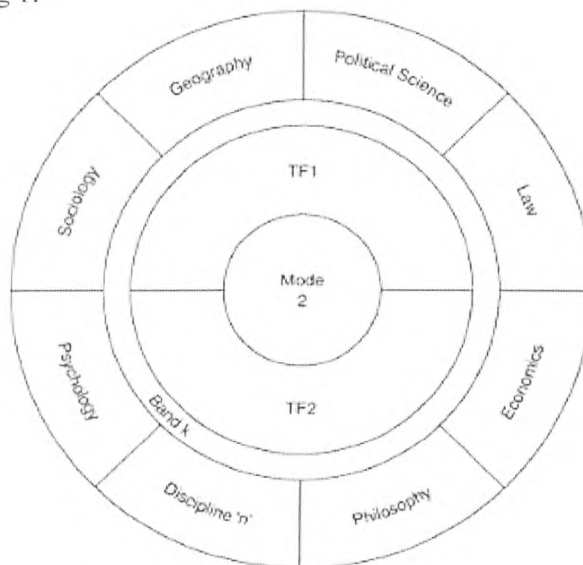
Another connection between ecocriticism and the focus of this thesis relates to how the former recognises the tendency of environmentalism to get ‘pushed in the space we call “leisure”, in between the things that pressure us and exist on a scale we can cope with’ (Kerridge 1998: 2). In this sense, it reflects how tourism has in the past been pigeon-holed as a component of ‘leisure studies’. Needless to say, a phenomenon that precipitates the arrival of visitors from the world’s wealthiest nations in quantities that outnumber local populations many times over can hardly be marginalised as ‘leisure’ in the eyes of island citizens. Kerridge also argues that ‘[e]nvironmental disputes are bound up with questions of neo-colonialism, the political power of multinational corporations and the industrialization of countries’ (5), all of which are also implicated in tourism’s more exploitative dimensions. This further enhances DeLoughrey *et al.*’s assertion that both postcolonial theory and ecocriticism would benefit from closer dialogue, particularly as the former ‘has given little attention to environmental factors’, despite recognising ‘that deep explorations of place are vital strategies to recover autonomy’, and the latter displays the ‘opposite tendency to understate the social and historical specificities of place’ (2005: 5).

Ecocriticism’s negotiation of non-literary environmental research also suggests templates for theorising the relationship between analyses of tourism in postcolonial literatures and the concerns of interdisciplinary tourism studies. For Kerridge, ecocriticism represents ‘environmentalism’s overdue move beyond science, geography and social science into “the humanities”’ (1998: 5). The contribution of literature to mainstream tourism studies might be situated in similar terms. One method of visualising this interrelationship is through reference to

trodden and now rather weary Marxist/poststructuralist debate, I am more interested in exploring *methodologically* how tensions between discursive analysis and material intervention are to be productively approached, especially in terms of the field’s interdisciplinary aspirations.

John Tribe's pictorial attempt to 'demonstrate developments and knowledge creation in the fields of tourism' (see Fig. 1), in which the outer circle of his diagram 'represents the disciplinary tools of analysis' (2003: 49).⁴¹ Tribe conveniently leaves one segment of this circle – nominally designated 'discipline "n"' – free in deference to 'other key disciplines' (49) which as yet do not warrant a segment of their own. This invites the suggestion that literature (or aesthetic analysis more broadly) has a strong claim to fill the 'missing' segment, allowing critics to work across different disciplinary paradigms whilst at the same time showing how examinations of literary productions can provide fresh insights into the kind of theoretical problems which shape the field as a whole.

Fig 1:



TF1: Tourism Business Studies

TF2: Unified Framework of 'other' fields

(Tribe 2003: 50)

Although pictorial models like this can help chart the kinds of interdisciplinary relations embraced by tourism studies, they do not however provide answers to questions such as the following, posed by Crick:

What exactly should the relationships be between different social sciences such as anthropology, economics, geography, political science, psychology, and sociology in regard to the comprehension of such a complex industry, given that these disciplines have such different theoretical interests, as well as different methodologies?

(1994: 1)

⁴¹ There is a hint of arbitrariness in the disciplines Tribe chooses to include in his diagram (why, for instance, is there no place for anthropology, which makes highly influential contributions to the field?), which arguably limits its broader relevance and application.

Perhaps no single paradigm can provide a satisfactory answer to this question, especially as individual disciplinary boundaries are in themselves conspicuously porous constructs. However, one of the most potent qualities of literary depictions of tourism – and, like Tribe, Crick also omits any mention of literature – centres on how the aesthetic domain creates space for multiple disciplinary considerations to find confluence. This is not to suggest that literature in some way supersedes or unproblematically unites different academic disciplines. Rather, the way in which their varying interests are portrayed *within* imaginative productions not only illuminates empirical and theoretical discussions but can also shape their future development. One example of how this might occur can be given in reference to Amanda Stronza’s review of anthropological approaches to tourism from 2001. Identifying native conceptions of tourists as a major area for further attention, Stronza notes that, ‘[a]lthough a vast literature exists on the subject of local responses to social changes wrought by tourists, relatively few studies have explored the attitudes and ideas of local residents toward outsiders’ (2001: 272). She then cites the publication of Jamaica Kincaid’s *A Small Place* as taking ‘an important step toward filling the gap’ (272). What are the implications of reading a literary work such as this as anthropological evidence, especially when the ‘local resident’ in question (Kincaid) is a migrant returnee? Do such texts dramatise other disciplinary concerns in similar ways? These questions demand attention to how specific textual devices and depictions of tourism recast the debates foregrounded in Stronza’s article, which in turn requires specific methodological grounding.

III. The Function of the Imaginary

In their introduction to *Tourism and Postcolonialism*, Hall and Tucker explain that the collection’s aim is to show ‘how tourism [...] may shed some insights on the postcolonial’ (2004: 2), anticipating ‘a more theoretically informed tourism studies [...] grounded in empirical research’ (18). In turn, one objective of this thesis is to highlight how postcolonial island literatures can ‘shed some insights’ on interdisciplinary tourism studies. But while it is becoming clear *what* such writings can offer discursively (perspectives on colonial legacies and non-‘western’ environmentalisms; the ‘stories’ called for in the social sciences), it is also important to consider *how* they might contribute to more sustainable tourism transformations in reality. This is an increasingly important question, particularly from the viewpoint of environmentally oriented criticism. For example, one of the four ‘overlapping themes’ addressed in DeLoughrey *et al.*’s collection is ‘how Caribbean aesthetics might usefully

articulate a means to preserve sustainability in the wake of tourism and globalization' (2005: 2). This procedure foregrounds some complex questions. Are representations of tourism in postcolonial literatures merely 'complementary' to social science insights, or are there more complex ways in which they can contribute to mainstream tourism studies debates? How does the imaginary function in these contexts? And what tensions and synergies exist between literary intervention and critical mediation?

Reading Strategies and Social Imaginaries

Portrayals of tourism in individual literary texts or (less commonly) across specific postcolonial writers' works have been subject to a gradual if sporadic increase in critical attention over the past decade or so. However, relatively little comparative attention has been paid to the complex heterogeneity of these representations when taken together. One exception to this is Ian Gregory Strachan's book *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean* (2002). After tracing the historical emergence of paradise and plantation tropes in the region, its second half aims to 'appraise what the Caribbean intellectual, specifically the Caribbean writer of the postcolonial period, has contributed to the discourse on paradise and how the Caribbean writer perceives this notion' (2002: 149). Strachan justifies the relevance of this focus by referring to imaginative work's contribution to wider social and discursive formations, arguing that '[t]he literary artist harnesses accessible imaginative tools so as to hold a mirror up to lived experience or to forge the way to a new experience. The writer is able to express realities that take the social scientist longer to record' (149–50). He touches here on two important ideas: the transformative possibilities of literature and the potential of writers to play anticipatory roles in relation to more empirical research. However, although his textual criticism usefully charts the ways in which Caribbean authors' portrayals of tourism subvert paradisaic myths and paradigms, he spends hardly any time explaining *why* the pre-empting of social science is important or *how* literary texts might help transform the touristic paradigms they depict.

After asserting that, even as they attempt to dismantle imperialist discursive legacies, 'all the writers' he discusses are to some extent 'guilty of the sins [they] condemn' (260), Strachan concludes his study with the following statement:

Clearly, novelists, playwrights, and poets from the Caribbean do not wield the same amount of influence as do the multinational corporations that manage Caribbean tourism. [...] Thus it is unlikely that brochure discourse will be threatened on a large

scale by the creative productions of the Caribbean's authors and artists and intellectuals, so long as they are acting alone.

(267)

Sceptical as Strachan at times appears of the potential for aesthetic works and critical discourse to have meaningful material effects, he does imply here that a broadly comparative approach could help 'threaten' the predominance of exploitative, corporate-driven tourism practices. This is provided that it identifies points of reinforcement between intellectual response, political imperative, and grassroots social activism (none of which are mutually exclusive). Indeed, he proceeds to conclude that, '[a]s the deleterious effects of mass tourism become more apparent to those countries that rely heavily on tourism for economic viability, the works of these writers [...] may provide direction for broad-based local and international efforts to promote the region as a vacation haven without creating unrealistic expectations' (268). My aim in building on these insights is to draw out some of the means by which postcolonial island literatures can contribute effectively to such movements.

If tourism is constitutively bound up in processes of globalisation whilst at the same time participating in various situated histories and legacies of colonialism, its representation must be approached in a way that is methodologically attentive to how it functions with respect to these forces. At the same time, it is also important to find a way of understanding how subjects in positions of relative social, political, and economic disempowerment still have the potential – signally enhanced in island cases through transnational affiliations and networks of resistance – to challenge the industry and attain greater autonomy. One manner of achieving this is through addressing the function of the imaginary in these contexts.⁴² To do this, I will examine theoretical work conducted from an anthropological perspective by Arjun Appadurai and from a literary perspective by Ato Quayson. Both emphasise the importance of the imagination in approaching processes of social change and transformation. Taken together, they illuminate ways of analysing portrayals of globalised tourism practices in postcolonial island contexts that relate to wider interdisciplinary frameworks and concerns.

⁴² Drawing on Sandra Harding's definition of methodology as 'a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed' (cited in Smith 1999: 143), Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes in her influential book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999) that methodology 'frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments to be employed and shapes the analyses' (1999: 143). My attention to the function of the imaginary is organised with similar points in mind, contributing to wider methodological debates in both postcolonial and environmental studies regarding not only 'politics and strategic goals' (as Smith states in relation to 'indigenous research' frameworks [143]), but also how these relate to modes of aesthetic analysis specifically.

In the opening to his seminal book, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (1996), Appadurai explains how its principal argument is formulated in reaction to the legacy of 'grand Western social science', which theorised a 'break between tradition and modernity' (1996: 2–3). Taking issue with how this body of thought 'typologized' differences between 'ostensibly traditional and modern societies' in a manner which distorted 'the meanings of change and the politics of pastness', Appadurai outlines a very different 'theory of rupture that takes media and migration as its two major, and interconnected, diacritics and explores their joint effect on the *work of the imagination* as a constitutive feature of modern subjectivity' (3; original emphasis). Using Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined communities as a departure point, Appadurai argues against seeing the imagination as confined within the minds of individuals or indeed locked inside the 'boundaries of the nation' (8). Rather, it is now 'a property of collectives' or 'sodalities' which themselves are 'often transnational' (8). Such cross-regional appeal also befits the kind of connections existing between different island communities as they contend with mass tourism demands.

The imagination as Appadurai conceives it is importantly distinguished from forms of 'fantasy'. Whereas 'the idea of fantasy [...] has a private, even individualistic sound about it', and 'carries [...] the inescapable connotation of thought divorced from projects and actions', imagination 'has a projective sense about it, the sense of being a prelude to some sort of expression, whether aesthetic or otherwise' (7). Appadurai proceeds to state that:

Fantasy can dissipate (because its logic is so often autotelic), but the imagination, especially when collective, can become the fuel for action. It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighbourhood and nationhood, of moral economies and unjust rule, of higher wages and foreign labor prospects. The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape.

(7)

While this reclaims a conception of the imagination as distinct from escapism, it does not romanticise its potential for liberation. As Appadurai also observes, the work of the imagination 'is neither purely emancipatory nor entirely disciplined but is a space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their own practices of the modern' (4). Yet its centrality to collective representation, its capacity to reflect on and critique forms of justice and 'moral economies', and the underlying sense of 'contestation' it conveys suggest it has a defining role to play in confronting the discursive apparatus that buttresses material processes of tourism-related exploitation. In this context, Bruner notably argues that: 'In replicating the colonial experience, tourism is conservative and even reactionary, frequently retelling outmoded

stories, reproducing stereotypes, replicating fantasy, or simulating a discarded historical vision' (2005: 21). By comparison, the work of the imagination for Appadurai is 'projective' rather than 'reactionary', representing the kind of antidotal force necessary to confront the negative aspects of the stereotypical touristic 'vision' described by Bruner.

Significantly, given literature's often privileged status as a cultural form, Appadurai's theory of the imagination is rooted in everyday experience. He asserts that 'the imagination [...] has broken out of the special expressive space of art, myth, and ritual and has now become part of the quotidian mental work of ordinary people in many societies' (5). He questions the capacity of contemporary aesthetic and political elites to exact processes of 'social engineering', arguing that it is no longer through their actions but rather through 'everyday cultural practice' that 'the work of the imagination is transformed' (9).⁴³ For Appadurai, this process is inspired by the ramifications of vastly increased patterns of migration and mass mediation throughout the globalised world, which influence his eminently demotic notion of the imagination in its collective form. Arguing that 'even the meanest and most hopeless of lives, the most brutal and dehumanizing of circumstances, the harshest of lived inequalities are now open to the play of the imagination', he states that people in these subject-positions 'no longer see their lives as mere outcomes of the givenness of things, but often as the ironic compromise between what they could imagine and what social life will permit' (54). The collective force of this often markedly circumscribed mode of imagining involves a negotiation of various media, in reference to which wider social change is generated. Yet, despite arguing against privileging what have traditionally been seen as 'high' cultural products, Appadurai nevertheless reserves a place for the aesthetic in theorising the wider work of the imagination. Indeed, he sees it as playing a key role in influencing imaginative approaches to, and projective transformations of, social phenomena. As he puts it, '[f]iction, like myth, is part of the conceptual repertoire of contemporary societies. Readers of novels and poems can be moved to intense action [...] and their authors often contribute to the construction of social and moral maps for their readers' (58). What ramifications does this point, relatively underexplored in Appadurai's book, hold for

⁴³ This dovetails with Arif Dirlik's thoughts on the relationship between globalisation and social activism. He states that: 'In their simultaneous attachment to places and local cultures [...] and their critical engagement with the global, [...] social movements offer the most hopeful arena for a defence of place and a more balanced perspective between the global and the local. They suggest ways of [...] seeing communities as anchoring points for reconceiving and reconstructing the world from the perspective of place-based cultural, ecological, and economic practices' (cited in Keown 2007: 224).

investigating how literature can inform the future sustainability strategies discussed here? To what extent is it also bound up in globalised networks of liberation and social change?

Graham Huggan claims that, from the perspective of postcolonial studies, ‘the value of literature’ has become ‘increasingly contested[,] [...] condemned as the relic of earlier, now outmoded forms of putatively anti-colonial textual criticism, or damned with faint praise as the enabling forerunner of current, updated models of transnational cultural studies’ (2008: 12). Such trends make explaining how literary works might contribute to wider, interdisciplinary debates all the more pressing. One way of addressing this is through reference to Quayson’s work on the links between social and textual analysis in his book, *Calibrations: Reading for the Social* (2003). Quayson’s introduction outlines a method of close reading which ‘oscillates rapidly’ between the ‘literary–aesthetic’, social, cultural, and political domains in order ‘to explore [their] mutually illuminating heterogeneity [...] when taken together’ (2003: xi). The purpose of this practice is ‘to read *for* the social rather than *through* it [...] using the literary as a means toward social enlightenment’ (xv; original emphasis). This approach complements Appadurai’s thoughts on the work of imagination by exploring the nuanced function of literary works within wider constellations of thought, action, and transformation.

Building on various considerations of literature’s role in shaping conceptions of external reality, Quayson addresses in particular its relationship to ‘the social’ (as distinct from ‘society’), which he defines as ‘an articulated encapsulation of transformation, processes, and contradictions analogous to what we find in the literary domain’ (xv). Unlike Strachan, who suggests that writers harness ‘accessible imaginative tools so as to hold a mirror up to lived experience’ (2002: 150), Quayson states that:

In reading for the social across the literary I do not intend to imply any simple notion of literature as a mirror. I suggest that literature be seen as a variegated series of thresholds and levels, all of which determine the production of the social as *a dimension within the interaction of the constitutive thresholds of literary structure*.

(xvi; original emphasis)

Understanding literature’s role in the production of social formations is central to how Quayson’s ‘calibrated’ reading practice offers the means ‘to wrest something from the aesthetic domain for the analysis and better understanding of the social’ (xv). In this light, it is interesting that, in her sociological work on South Asian sex tourism, Lisa Law draws on Homi Bhabha’s assertion that the question of “[w]hat is to be done?” must acknowledge the force of writing, its metaphoricity and its rhetorical discourse, as a productive matrix which defines the “social” and makes it available as an objective of and for, action’ (cited in Law 2000: 121). This identifies

the need for an interdisciplinary interface within the tourism studies field which insists on the productive integration of literary insights with more empirically oriented research. Such points also enhance conceptions of the role imaginative literature might play with respect to the collective work of the imagination theorised by Appadurai.

Considering several critical responses to *Calibrations*, Quayson cites Appadurai's 'anthropological critique' of the argument that 'society directly influence[s] the structures of the literary aesthetic field or vice versa' (2005: 126) as a key precursor of his own ideas.⁴⁴ Echoes can be found for example in the way that Quayson complicates Strachan's assertion that writers have the capability 'to express realities that take the social scientist longer to record' by arguing that 'the social that is being read for across the literary is part of an anticipatory project' in which 'the insights derived from local texts may also be translated into different contexts and times' (2003: xxxi). This suggests that literary works encapsulate a projective dimension comparable to that harnessed by the collective imagination. They also help create (or 'project') the contextual and discursive space for some of the observations generated in the social sciences. As Quayson suggests, '[i]t is not so much that the real engenders representation and acquires priority over it or vice versa, as that reality itself acquires its texture only by way of the repetitions of its various representations in reality' (xxii). There is, of course, a danger that such 'repetitions' could produce as much cliché as insight. However, consideration of the links between the 'space of contestation' that constitutes Appadurai's notion of the imagination and the similar kinds of processual tensions and thresholds Quayson detects in the literary-aesthetic domain raises a more empowering point. This centres on how both forms of imaginative work are conceived as powerfully *transformative* entities.

Commenting likewise on the interrelations between Appadurai's and Quayson's works, Huggan notes that 'both point to the capacity of literature, not only to imagine the ways in which reality has been, or might be, interpreted, but also to affect the ways in which reality is *produced*' (Huggan 2008: 13; original emphasis). Extending this observation, I want to suggest that the role of literature in 'producing reality' – often in conjunction with other cultural works – can be usefully approached through notions of *social imaginaries*, which provide conceptual grounding for the question of *what* is being 'transformed' in Appadurai's and Quayson's

⁴⁴ Indeed, Quayson's book is published in the same University of Minnesota series ('Public Worlds') as Appadurai's monograph. In his article, 'Incessant Particularities: *Calibrations* as Close Reading' (2005), Quayson clarifies that his aim in *Calibrations* is to 'elaborate a method that would not ascribe to either literature or society any prior and supervening causality' (2005: 126).

theories. Approaching this requires a distinction between the imagination as defined by Appadurai, and the imaginary as a sociological concept that simultaneously bears relations to the literary domain, augmenting in turn Quayson's methods of reading literature and the social.

Perhaps the most influential – and still one of the most illuminating – conceptions of social imaginaries is offered by Cornelius Castoriadis (one of Quayson's self-professed 'intellectual allies' [2005: 126]) in *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (1975). The notion of the imaginary Castoriadis interrogates in this book differs from earlier, subject-oriented models associated most prominently with the psychoanalytic work of Jacques Lacan. Whereas the Lacanian imaginary relates primarily to how individuals construct notions of coherence from lived experiences of fragmentation, Castoriadis considers it more broadly in relation to forms of collective imagining as he examines distinctions between the 'fictive' and the 'real'. Considering how 'reality' is conceived in relation to the imaginary, Castoriadis states that:

Those who speak of 'imaginary', understanding by this [...] the reflection of the 'fictive', do no more than repeat [...] the affirmation [...] that this world be an image *of* something. The imaginary of which I am speaking is not an image *of*. It is the unceasing and essentially *undetermined* (social-historical and psychical) creation of figures/forms/images, on the basis of which alone there can ever be a question of 'something'. What we call 'reality' and 'rationality' are its works.

(1998: 3; original emphasis)

For Castoriadis, rather than the imaginary being simply conflated with fictional productions, it is a processual phenomenon, exacted at the level of society and inspired by the collective imagination of all its members. This is central to the production of the structures that enable community life, which include political, legal, and religious institutions, as well as 'the constitution of motives and needs', and 'the existence of symbolism, tradition, and myth' (Thompson 1982: 664). Like Appadurai's notion of the imagination as 'a staging ground for action' (1996: 7), social imaginaries can be similarly contested domains, but are less projective in orientation. As Charles Taylor puts it, '[t]he social imaginary is not a set of ideas; rather, it is what enables, through making sense of, the practices of society' (2004: 1–2). Constitutive rather than reflective of reality, the imaginary is a space in which the social domain comes into view.

One interesting aspect of how social imaginaries relate to the work of the collective imagination in a globalised era is that the imaginary also represents an important category in theorising creative writing's relationship with reality. For instance, in the opening to *The Fictive and the Imaginary* (1993), Wolfgang Iser states that:

The literary text is a mixture of reality and fictions, and as such it brings about an interaction between the given and the imagined. Because this interaction produces far

more than just a contrast between the two, we might do better to discard the old opposition of fiction and reality altogether, and to replace this duality with a triad: the real, the fictive, and [...] the imaginary. It is out of this triad that the text arises.

(1993: 1)

Anticipating some of Quayson's points, Iser sees the emergence of the imaginary through 'the act of fictionalizing' as constituted by 'a crossing of boundaries' which 'amounts to nothing short of transgression' (3). Fiction provides the imaginary – conceived by Iser as a 'diffuse' or 'protean' array of 'fleeting impressions' – 'with the determinacy that it would not otherwise possess', just as it simultaneously 'outstrips the determinacy of the real' (3). In this boundary-crossing procedure, the imaginary 'assumes an appearance of reality in the way it intrudes into and acts upon the given world' (3). Juxtaposing the imaginary as an entity that disrupts the real through the 'transgressive' act of writing (Iser) alongside the imaginary as social formation (Castoriadis), a further justification of the correspondence between literary production and social process becomes manifest. If the two are understood to be at some level entwined (reality coming into view through forms of representation, as Quayson puts it), aesthetic products and, crucially, the insights they generate into the phenomena they represent have important bearings on how social imaginaries are transformed.

Looking specifically at how representations of a particular phenomenon like tourism function in relation to these imaginaries (which, multiple and intersecting, could be said to link islands together through shared experiences of globalised tourist modernity's demands) foregrounds the relevance of comparative analysis to wider community negotiations of this intensely decentralised industry. Deane Curtin asserts that, '[e]specially in a world of globalization, where it can seem, quite unreasonably, that large, anonymous forces take control and make individual intention superfluous, we need the reassurance of working together in a public space, for the common good of the larger community' (2005: 197). As his own work recognises, imaginative texts offer one significant resource from which such 'reassurances' can be drawn.⁴⁵ Comparing portrayals of island tourism can therefore not only enhance perspectives on the industry's function within aesthetic works, but also foreground the ways in which literary texts act as stimuli to social activism whilst simultaneously constituting forms of social activism or imaginative intervention themselves. This makes such readings relevant on another level to

⁴⁵ Curtin argues in the opening to *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005) that '[t]ruly engaging questions of environmental justice over the next half century is really a project of the *moral imagination*. Right thinking needs to be complemented by moral empathy. This is why I frequently have recourse to works of literature' (2005: x; original emphasis).

policy formation, foregrounding cultural, environmental, and economic sustainability tensions not from a top-down, theoretical perspective, but from the entrenched interaction of the literary–aesthetic domain with everyday social processes. One of the central functions of critical meditation in this respect is to show why it is imperative for mainstream tourism researchers (be they sociologists, anthropologists, economists, geographers, or political scientists) to examine the entangled relationships between their respective disciplines and the insights derived from the intersection between aesthetic analysis and social critique. As I discuss further in the Conclusion, a key mechanism through which the readings produced here can enable progressive change is already in place in the form of tourism studies’ own institutional methods for conveying recommendations within political spheres. Contributing meaningfully to such dialogues represents one of the most important challenges that more rigorously interdisciplinary configurations of postcolonial studies must now confront.

A Note on Thesis Structure

The rest of the thesis is split into three main chapters, each with several distinct subsections. Chapter 2, ‘Tourism and Nature’, focuses on representations of the industry’s environmental effects. The chapter has three sections, addressing a number of Caribbean and Pacific island texts that suggest different but mutually enlightening political and ideological imperatives regarding more environmentally sustainable tourism futures. The first section deals with tourism and social constructions of island landscapes, concentrating on the Caribbean. It adopts a discursive approach to demonstrate how postcolonial writers counter paradisaic myths and postcard images of islands. By contrast, the second section examines representations of the political conflicts that arise as natural environments are contested by groups invested with varying degrees of power, focusing on settler colonies in the Pacific. The method here is dialectical, addressing tensions within and between tourism developers and indigenous groups, and assessing how differing ideologies of development complicate sustainability debates. The third section brings Caribbean and Pacific concerns into comparative dialogue, using the aestheticisation of real-life opposition to exploitative tourism development as a platform from which to highlight points of mutual reinforcement between discursive and dialectical approaches.

Chapter 3, 'Tourism and Culture', shifts the object of analysis to tourism's cultural effects while still acknowledging significant moments of environmental imbrication. The first section addresses the interface between tourism and culture portrayed in Caribbean and Pacific texts spanning the period from 1960 to the late 1980s. Oscillating between both regions, it explores the relationship between the commoditisation of culture on one hand and the indigenisation of modernity on the other in postcolonial island contexts, challenging distinctions between diasporic and indigenous experiences in the Caribbean and the Pacific respectively. The second section builds on these points by focusing on more recent writings from Hawai'i, positioning the archipelago as a bridge between Pacific and Caribbean concerns regarding cultural change, colonialism, and commoditisation. Part of America yet external to the mainland, Hawai'i's native population has been largely annihilated or assimilated. Despite (or perhaps because of) this, its indigenous culture is amongst the most touristically fetishised worldwide. Often considered a model of unsustainable tourism development by Caribbean as well as other Pacific island states, Hawai'i is a complex example of the circumscriptions, contradictions, and possibilities attending cultural sustainability in touristic contexts worldwide.

Chapter 4, 'Sex, Tourism, and Embodied Experience', situates representations of tourism, the body, and sexual exchange as meeting points between the previous two chapters' interests. The first section builds on issues of terrorism and disaster articulated in relation to Hawai'i as a means of approaching the problems faced by islands facing multiple crises. In so doing, it brings Sri Lanka – an island which houses a notorious child sex tourism industry and is situated at the nexus of numerous 'tainted paradise' discourses – into view as a secondary site of analysis. Shifting from the insular Pacific and Caribbean to Sri Lanka provides a way of examining how the sustainability questions raised in relation to these archipelagic regions are refracted by compound experiences of disaster. The section discusses how representations of a conspicuously anthropocentric phenomenon (sex tourism) can shed light on, and should not be considered separate from, wider ecological sustainability debates. Following this, the second section reactivates more macroscopic forms of analysis in order to address the sexualisation of island destinations in relation to tourism. Integrating the previous section's observations into the thesis's wider comparative framework, it brings the Pacific and the Caribbean back into dialogue alongside the different, but not entirely contrastive, example of Sri Lanka.

The thesis concludes with further reflections on the methodological ramifications of the central chapters' textual readings, particularly in terms of how the discursive imperatives

generated by literary comparison might be integrated with wider social, political, and economic considerations. This involves accounting rigorously for claims made regarding the transformative power of imaginative work, suggesting that more sustained attention needs to be given to the place of the aesthetic – and the function of the imaginary more broadly – within interdisciplinary configurations. It ends by providing a brief reassessment of the conceptual status of tourism sustainability in postcolonial island contexts.

Chapter 2: Tourism and Nature

Recent research into tourism's effects on island ecologies has led to some extremely worrying observations. For instance, Gössling's empirical study on 'human–environment relations' in Zanzibar (a Tanzanian archipelago located on the east African coast) supports suggestions that tourism is acting as 'an agent of modernization, which decontextualizes and dissolves the relationships individuals have with society and nature, and increases the separation from structures that are the base of sustainable human–environmental relations' (2002: 550). He notes that the ironic situation in which tourism increases environmental awareness while facilitating the 'consumption and depletion of natural resources, both directly and indirectly, locally and globally' (554) shows no sign of abating. One reason for this, Gössling suggests, is that tourism is a 'self-reinforcing process' (553) which not only generates income for local hosts through the implementation of unsustainable practices but also increases hosts' desire to travel. At the same time, local communities that are increasingly orientated around tourism become divorced from traditional sustainability ethics. In this light, he concludes bleakly that:

a cosmopolitan configuration of the self through tourism might off-set the individual perception of being responsible for unsustainable environmental change. Sustainable tourism – the notion that its development can be managed in an environmentally neutral way – might thus be a contradiction in terms.

(554)

This is interesting not least because many of the writers in this thesis embrace various 'cosmopolitan configuration[s]' – especially through their experiences of work and travel – yet still demonstrate deep engagements with the kind of issues that motivate environmental sustainability planning. Their depictions of local community practices in particular expose the tensions inherent in Gössling's conclusion, and speak to wider environmental concerns within tourism studies regarding how 'sustainability [...] is not easy to translate into specific actions that individuals or governments can undertake' (McLaren 2003: 100). My aim in this chapter is to assess the extent to which postcolonial portrayals of tourism in island environments support Gössling's argument.

I. Visual Perception and Touristed Landscapes: Towards an Ethics of Seeing

It has become commonplace in discussions of space, place, and natural environments to understand them as inextricably tied to human activities and ideologies. As Rob Shields explains:

Sites are never simply locations. Rather, they are sites for someone and of something. The cultural context of images and myths adds a socially constructed level of meaning to the *genus loci*, the classics' 'unique sense of place', said to derive from the forms of the physical environment in a given site. [...] Understandings and concepts of space cannot be divorced from the real fabric of how people live their lives.

(1991: 6–7)

Since the publication of Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels's seminal volume on landscape iconography, in which they claim that landscape should be understood 'as a cultural symbol or image' that can, like a text, be read (1988: 1), landscape commentators have become highly attentive to meanings endowed through human activity and representations. Helen Tiffin addresses these considerations well from an ecocritical perspective when she argues that:

While the ontological existence of nature-in-itself is an indisputable fact, the term 'landscape' both denotes and connotes more than simply 'land' or 'earth'. An observer, an attitude to land, a point of view are implied, such that 'landscape' is necessarily a product of a combination of relationships between living beings and their surroundings. In the case of human beings, 'landscape' becomes a form of interaction between people and their place, in large part a symbolic order expressed through representation.

(2005: 199)

Guided by these arguments, this section addresses how tourism has affected real and imagined island landscapes from the position that no landscape can be considered wholly 'natural'. Rather, the ways in which different landscapes are constituted is considered dependent on the modes and levels of human interaction they experience.¹

This point also applies to notions of the environment explored throughout this thesis. As Michael Allaby recognises, 'environment' comprises '[t]he complete range of external conditions, physical and biological, in which an organism lives', and includes 'social, cultural and (for humans) economic and political considerations, as well as the more usually understood features such as soil, climate, and food supply' (cited in Holden 2000: 23). Of course, whilst this presents environments as exterior to living organisms, these still constitute parts of each others' environments (which can in turn be divided – albeit never exclusively – into natural, built, and cultural varieties [Holden 2000: 24]). My conception of environment coincides

¹ This is not to say that landscape can be wholly *reduced* to textual representation; rather, as DeLoughrey notes, it should be interpreted more as 'process [...] than a passive template', with the "'natural" environment [...] constituted and constitutive of human history' (2004: 299).

largely with my discussion of landscape: its discursive mediation along with its instrumental use by human communities implicates culture in ‘natural’ processes, with the dynamic material as well as textual entanglements that result enabling human activities, including aesthetic production (Mukherjee forthcoming: Chapter 3). This in turn raises the question of ‘nature’, a particularly problematic category as it is not only frequently cited (along with culture) as ‘one of the most complex words in the language’, but it is also evident that ‘the one thing that is not “natural” is nature [it]self’ (Soper 1995: 1; 7). In this light, my approach to nature draws on Phil Macnaghten and John Urry’s influential claim that ‘there is no singular “nature” as such, only a diversity of contested natures [...] constituted through a variety of socio-cultural processes’ (1998: 1). It is the ideological basis of these contestations that interests me especially, and I approach ‘nature’ in ways that correspond with Mukherjee’s rejection of how ‘deep ecological thinking’ (as evidenced, for instance, in Leopold’s work) conflates nature ‘with the ever-shrinking wilderness’, creating a ‘model relationship between humans and “nature”’ that is ‘almost always on an exclusive one-on-one basis’ (Mukherjee forthcoming: Chapter 1). These concerns are particularly relevant to the discussion of ecotourism in this chapter’s second section. This is not least because, according to Erlet Cater, ecotourism is a ‘western construct’ whose ‘ethnocentric bias [...] ignores the fact that there are “multiple natures” constructed variously by different societies’ (2006: 32). Such practices tend to fetishise a specific notion of nature, reflecting the ‘wilderness’ ideals exhibited in brochure discourse and detaching natural processes from local communities’ cultural mediations.

In light of these observations, it is deeply ironic that part of tropical islands’ allure to tourists depends upon conceptualisations of their natural environments as ‘pristine’, ‘untouched’, or ‘virgin’ territories. The ideological construction of paradise as ‘a peaceful unspoiled place’ (*OED* 3.a.) is vital to the marketing of islands, even as tourism transforms these environments. My focus in this section is on how such clichés are discursively refashioned in Jamaica Kincaid’s and Derek Walcott’s portrayals of touristed landscapes in their respective homelands (Antigua and St Lucia). In so doing, I deal less with actual ecological circumstances (examined more thoroughly in sections two and three) than with the cultural and ideological processes that surround their representation. I also highlight points of differentiation between culture and nature as a means of countering those stereotypes – deeply embedded in ‘western’ colonial

discourse – that associate non-‘western’ or ‘primitive’ humans with proximity to nature.² As such, my argument centres as much on modes of visualisation as on subjects of the tourist, native, and writerly gaze, pinpointing aspects of what might be described as a postcolonial ethic of seeing in touristed island environments.

Mythologizing Place and Gazing on Paradise

The fetishisation of tropical islands in brochure discourse endows them with a quality that Shields refers to as ‘place mythology’. He suggests that, ‘regardless of their character in reality [...] [a] set of core images forms a widely disseminated and commonly held set of images of a place or space’. In this way, an array of place-images contributes collectively to the formation of a ‘place-myth’ (1991: 60). These myths have ‘both a constancy and a shifting quality’ as ‘the core images change slowly over time, are displaced by radical changes in the nature of a place, and as various images simply lose their connotative power [...] while others are invented, disseminated, and become accepted in common parlance’ (61). This holds both positive and negative implications for postcolonial refashionings of islands as idyllic spaces. On one hand, the dense repetition of paradisaical tropes in brochure discourse, their connection to the construction of islands in ‘western’ colonial history and thought, and the weighty interest that tourism corporations have in maintaining these place-myths make them extremely difficult to dislodge. On the other hand, increasing environmental awareness coupled with marginalised peoples’ rising success in attaining global recognition suggest that, if such discursive confrontations’ importance is foregrounded through comparative analysis, it can destabilise touristic island place-myths’ most damaging assumptions. In order to assess how postcolonial island writers contribute to this process, I will discuss Kincaid’s and Walcott’s portrayals of tourism in the context of three key ideas: Cartier’s notion of ‘touristed’ landscapes, Urry’s conceptualisation of the tourist gaze, and the semantically attentive spatial theory of Michel de Certeau. By putting these ideas in dialogue it is possible to assimilate a powerful geographical

² This is problematic not least because the ‘shift in emphasis from anthropocentric to environment-based (ecocentric) philosophies and practices’ in the twentieth century ‘generally failed to benefit those very peoples whose precolonized apprehension of being-in-the-world had not only been systematically denigrated by Europeans, but had consistently provided justification for Western conquest, the “primitive” being distinguished from the “civilized” precisely by its proximity to the natural world’ (Huggan and Tiffin 2007: 3).

and sociological vocabulary for analysing landscape representations that highlights some of the ways in which Kincaid's and Walcott's works provide new insights into these theories.

Writing from a geographical perspective, Cartier states that touristed landscapes 'represent an array of experiences and goals acted out by diverse people in locales that are subject to tourism but which are also places of historic and integral meaning, where "leisure/tourism" [...] economies are also local economies, and where people are engaged in diverse aspects of everyday life' (2005: 3). The concentration of human activity in island borderzones means that many of their locations can, to varying extents, be interpreted as touristed landscapes. Amongst the most contested and congested of these are beaches which, as liminal zones linking land and sea, represent for Cartier 'arguably the most seductively powerful, yet accessible, natural site' (14).³ Intriguingly, she compares the 'seductive' quality of beaches to that of islands, stating that:

If the beachscape is the ultimately seductive natural environment, then the island, the oceanic island, is that essence reduced, concentrated, in mythic form. [...] In the tourist imagination, the island is the ultimate beach (even as the geomorphology of so many island coasts precludes substantial beach formation). The seduction of the island landscape, even more than the beachscape, is much more about myth than reality. (15)

Although there are pitfalls in conceptualising such supposedly homogenous entities as 'the tourist imagination', the manner in which island place-myths are emphasised over lived reality in brochure discourse supports Cartier's assertions. As Walcott says in his Nobel acceptance speech, '[t]he Caribbean is not an idyll, not to its natives' (1998a: 83) – a salutary reminder if one were needed that 'concepts of space cannot be divorced from the real fabric of how people live their lives' (Shields 1991: 7). Yet, despite this, island portrayals in brochure discourse consistently second local lived experience of landscapes to visitors' fantasies; it is rare for natives to intrude on the images of empty sands that saturate tourism marketing literature.⁴

Sheller's historicised research on the deployment of paradisaical tropes in representations of the Caribbean leads her to conclude that '[d]epictions of Caribbean "Edenism" [...] underwrite performances of touristic "hedonism" by naturalising the region's landscape and its inhabitants as avatars of primitivism, luxuriant corruption, sensual stimulation, ease and availability' (2004:

³ Cartier's statement is reinforced by Denning's influential work on beaches, especially in Pacific island contexts. Denning sees the beach as 'the true in-between space. Among the peoples of Oceania about whom I write [...] it is a sacred, a *tapu* space, an unresolved space where things can happen, where things can be made to happen. It is a space of transformation. It is a space of crossings' (2004: 16–17).

⁴ For a systematic survey of exoticist place-myths in tourism marketing, see Echtner and Prasad (2003).

23).⁵ This discursive construction of island space implicates non-human nature in cultural processes while simultaneously ‘naturalising’ natives, packaging them as objects within paradisaic backdrops. This is buttressed by the centrality of *visual* economies to tourist practice,⁶ a phenomenon that has been analysed most influentially in Urry’s sociological work on ‘the tourist gaze’. Considering factors which endow particular sites and sights with semiotic import for tourists, Urry suggests that: ‘Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered’ (2002: 3). Acknowledging that there is ‘no single tourist gaze’ or ‘universal experience that is true for all tourists at all times’ (1), he emphasises nonetheless that ‘daydreaming is not a purely individual activity: it is socially organised through television, advertising, literature, cinema, photography and so on’ (74). In concurrence, Chris Rojek adds that: ‘Metaphorical, allegorical and false information remains a resource in the pattern of tourist culture as an object of reverie, dreaming and speculation’ (1997: 53). Thus, although the practice of ‘sightseeing’ or tourist gazing appears to be a primarily visual activity, its operation is dependent on the interrelationship between sensory perception (primarily sight) and the social structures of the imagination, which is culturally interpellated. As Huggan puts it,

[t]ourist gazes are filters of touristic perception – they provide a medium for what tourists see, but also a guideline as to how they *ought* to see. So while tourist gazes are instruments of vision, they may also function as screening devices that restrict or impair vision.

(2001: 180; original emphasis)

Such arguments are of central relevance to the appropriation and disruption of stereotypical tourist gazes in Kincaid’s *A Small Place* (1988) and Walcott’s *Omeros* (1990). Approaches to these texts can benefit further, however, from concurrent reference to de Certeau’s consideration of the ‘semantics’ of landscape interpretation and spatial perception.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), de Certeau draws on Jean-François Augoyard in noting that ‘the “tropes” catalogued by rhetoric furnish models [...] for the analysis of ways of appropriating places’ (1984: 100). This observation underpins his *reading* of space and place, as he explores how ‘the long poem of walking manipulates spatial organizations’ (101) within

⁵ I expand on the sexualised dimensions of this in Chapter 4.

⁶ As Christopher Pinney notes, the term ‘visual economies’ is used by Deborah Poole in her work on Andean photography in preference to ‘visual culture’, which carries the ‘supposition of consensus and homogeneity’ (2003: 8). Exploring ‘the inequalities that characterize representational domains’, this lexical choice stresses ‘unequal flows and exchanges’ while insisting that ‘the globality of image flows’ exceed ‘the locality that the term “culture” might imply’ (8).

cityscapes. The tropes that attract de Certeau in particular are *synecdoche* and *asyndeton*. In figurative terms, synecdoche involves the metaphorical substitution of a part for the whole (or vice versa), and is applied by Augoyard to the ‘spatial elements’ (98) that represent other places. Conversely asyndeton, as de Certeau explains, refers to the grammatical ‘suppression of linking words such as conjunctions and adverbs, either within a sentence or between sentences’, and relates to a process of perception which ‘opens gaps in the spatial continuum, and retains only selected parts’ (101). Comparing these tropes, de Certeau states that:

Synecdoche makes more dense: it amplifies the detail and miniaturizes the whole. Asyndeton cuts out: it undoes continuity and undercuts its plausibility. A space treated in this way and shaped by practices is transformed into enlarged singularities and separate islands.

(101)

These ideas have significant implications for interpreting literary depictions of touristed island landscapes.

Barry Curtis and Claire Pajaczkowska argue that there is an overwhelming touristic preference for asyndetic landscapes constructed of ‘legible’, synecdochic sights. As they put it:

The operation of the ‘asyndeton’ abolishes the dead time of the commute, arranging attractions in close proximity. In ideal tourist space there is a surreal contingency which is almost dreamlike [...]. Tourist hell occurs where meaning fails to congeal in specific sites and remains illegibly diffuse, or where the spaces between sites overwhelm the visitor with their insignificance.

(1994: 206)

Again, such homogenisation of tourist motivations suggests that spatial reactions are unproblematically polarised, and fails to account for tourists who relish the unexpected. As Cartier points out, while ‘[t]he basis for [spatial] seduction lies in multiple positions of legibility’, it is arguable that ‘[s]eduction’s psychological orientation also asks us to consider contradictions of tourist imagining, anticipation, and memory, which suggest its tensions and illegibility’ (2005: 5). However, Curtis and Pajaczkowska’s observations nevertheless correspond well with the kind of ‘dreamlike’, contingent environments promoted by the juxtaposition of attractions in holiday brochures. These suppress the syndetic reality of island landscapes by editing out their less touristically pleasing components.

Returning to de Certeau’s claim that places portrayed asyndetically are ‘transformed into enlarged singularities and separate islands’, I will show how one key aspect of the appropriation of touristic modes of seeing in *Omeros* and *A Small Place* centres on their counter-discursive enlargements of synecdochic landscape ‘singularities’. These undermine asyndetic attempts to ‘separate’ them from their physical contexts and make isolated ‘islands’ (in these cases, islands-

within-islands) of interconnected space. Urry's assertion that '[t]he typical tourist experience is [...] to see *named* scenes through a *frame*, such as the hotel window, the car windscreen or the window of the coach' (2002: 90; original emphasis) inspires the specific examples chosen to illustrate this. I compare Kincaid's and Walcott's respective depictions of 'framed' scenes, looking first at how island landscapes are seen from taxi windows, then contrasting this with stationary views through hotel windows and camera lenses.

Viewing Touristed Island Landscapes on the Move

A Small Place has occasioned much controversy since its publication. Much of this centres on the nature of the narrative voice and its relation to Kincaid herself, particularly as she wrote this short but excoriating polemic after a visit to Antigua following two decades' absence.⁷ Dianne Simmons reports that '[t]he essay was judged too "angry" for the *New Yorker*' (1994: 136), which had previously published several of Kincaid's short stories, and it continues to draw similar reactions from critics who otherwise deal sensitively with the text's complexities and seeming contradictions. For instance, Jane King concludes an essay by stating that 'it is anger and insult and little else which Kincaid offers her native Caribbean' (2002: 907) in this text, comparing Kincaid's seemingly despairing vision to that of V.S. Naipaul. However, my analysis of this jeremiad, which presents one of the most definitive indictments of mass tourism's neocolonial complicities, emphasises its ironically evasive characteristics and its strategic deployment of invective to *relativise*, rather than simply reject, the bases of touristic practice.

A Small Place opens by describing the arrival in Antigua of a tourist who shares numerous potential affinities with metropolitan readers. The first paragraph, which begins: 'If you go to Antigua as a tourist, this is what you will see' (1988: 3) and details this second person's imagined impressions of the island, includes five instances of the verb 'to see'. This activates a visual economy that presumes a largely 'western' or Eurocentric tourist gaze. Landing at the 'V.C. Bird International Airport', the narrator suggests that you might 'wonder why a Prime Minister would want an airport named after him' and not a school, hospital or public monument (3). You can only wonder this, the narrator proceeds, because 'you have not yet seen a school in Antigua, you have not yet seen the hospital in Antigua, you have not yet seen a public monument in Antigua' (3). The rhetorical repetition of 'seen' in this (asyndetic) sentence

⁷ Kincaid emigrated to the United States in 1967; *A Small Place* was published in 1988.

implies a strong sensitivity not only to its ocular connotations but also to what is ‘seen’ in the imagination, how ‘seeing’ implies apprehension or understanding, and the process of learning by reading (*OED* 4.c.). Kincaid draws on all these senses in describing features of the Antiguan landscape that both attract and fail to attract tourists’ attention in *A Small Place*’s opening pages, especially as the taxi passes a school and a hospital on the way to a hotel.

Emerging from the airport feeling ‘cleansed [...] blessed [...] free’ (5), Kincaid’s tourist-reader boards the taxi and spends most of the journey ‘looking out the window (because you want to get your money’s worth)’ (6). The narrator then ironically suggests that, while the tourist attempts to get maximum value from consuming the journey’s moving landscape, the banality of touristic observation prevents him or her from *reading* its semiotic markers correctly. For instance, the dilapidated state of the local school and hospital fails to incite interest, much less outrage or fear (in case ‘a blood vessel in your neck should break’ [8]). Neither does ‘the sight of [...] brand-new cars driven by people who may or may not have really passed their driving test [...] stir up these thoughts in you’ (7). Instead, the tourist is soon ‘tired of all this looking’, and languorously begins to anticipate arrival at the hotel. The only time when the landscape resolves into a legible synecdoche is when the syndetic flux is momentarily arrested (or, like a photograph, clipped), and the tourist is able to appreciate the ‘splendid view of St. John’s harbour’ commanded by the American Embassy (10), which is misread as signifying the ‘big favour’ his or her ‘powerful country’ granted Antigua through colonisation (10–11). Following de Certeau, two key things emerge from these examples. Firstly, whilst Kincaid presents a rapidly changing set of synecdochic landscape features, the meanings condensed within them are not apparent to non-natives who do not *see* them properly. Secondly, because these do not resolve into legibility for Kincaid’s tourist, the richly connotative, socio-political syndetic landscape bisected by the taxi is rendered dreamily asyndetic by an imagination saturated with tropical island place-myths.

There is, however, a further irony which shows Kincaid to be deeply attentive to contrasting touristic imaginations and motivations. That is, if ‘you’, the tourist-reader, do not ‘dreamily’ misread the environments through which you travel, you are permitted to align yourself with Kincaid and sidestep the trajectory of her polemic. Kincaid presents a very subtle, continually shifting portrayal of tourist behaviour – self-reflexively accentuated by the fact that she is also a tourist in her homeland – which acts as an index of neocolonial complicity while simultaneously allowing individual readers (who may also be tourists) to differentiate

themselves from such archetypes. Her use of the second person 'you' implicates the reader as a tourist who is either European or North American, who is, 'to be frank, white' (4), and who lives in a 'large and modern and prosperous city' (15). Yet, as Moira Ferguson notes, the conditional term 'if' in the opening sentence 'carries a weighty suggestion'; the tourists Kincaid directs her invective towards, Ferguson argues, are those who epitomise 'human callousness, no better than the slave owners of old' (1994: 81). Indeed, Kincaid's conditional language is supported by a subtle differentiation of tourist types in her opening: 'You may be *the sort of* tourist who would wonder why a Prime Minister would want an airport named after him' (3; my emphasis). Beginning by using the indefinite article to describe her tourist-reader, Kincaid alternates between definite and indefinite articles four further times in the text's first paragraph. 'You are a tourist' she asserts, but her shifting article use alongside her employment of conditional terms undercuts essentialised homogenisations of touristic identity. This also partly destabilises the syllogistic logic of the text's proceeding arguments. In maintaining a gap between the touristic phenomena she roundly criticises and the mental perspectives of its individual practitioners, Kincaid enables the possibility of negotiating the points in her text when her invective seems most inescapable. This creates space for more acceptable forms of tourism to be posited.

Because most tourist motivations and perceptions are complexly constituted and often contradictory, the effect of the narrative here is to render touristic experience distinctly relative. Although the tourist archetype seems to be a polar construct, the fact that readers will identify with some aspects of the tourist's behaviour but not others injects a strong sense of contingency. Tourist-readers are continually asked to reconsider which yardsticks they use to assess their own level of complicity with the modes of misreading expounded by Kincaid's narrator. This reflects the manner in which the Antiguan landscape is a richly indexical palimpsest which should also be treated as contingent and open to conflicting interpretations rather than overdetermined by touristic cliché. Her narrative of the taxi ride also functions to support de Certeau's theory of movement as a subversive form of spatial construction. In place of 'the technological system of a coherent and totalizing space', de Certeau suggests that the interrelated synecdoches and asyndetons deployed by the mobile individual 'substitute trajectories that have a mythical structure', constituting 'an allusive and fragmentary story' (1984: 102). Following this logic, stories such as those referred to by Kincaid's narrator from the taxi's mobile perspective punctuate 'totalizing' representations of space and counter the seemingly panoptic but

ideologically selective place-myths of brochure discourse.⁸ Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan argue that, while *A Small Place* shows Kincaid to be ‘deeply committed to the drive for social change’, in drawing on travel narrative conventions, it ‘remain[s] complicit with the tourism [it] denounce[s]’ (1998: 52). I would qualify this conclusion by emphasising how this ‘complicity’ with touristic modes of viewing is very carefully and self-knowingly modulated. It is precisely by maintaining a deep sensitivity towards modes of touristic activity and the almost unavoidable sense of complicity that any visitor from abroad (including returning migrants) shares with aspects of touristic behaviour and psychology that *A Small Place* constructs a position from which less ‘empty’ or mindless forms of observation can be advocated, indeed urged. In attending to the vivid (if often distressing) historical and cultural markers that proliferate throughout Antigua’s syndetic space during this taxi journey, Kincaid offers a reading of landscape that negotiates the apparent ‘emptiness’ of the synchronic moment, endowing seemingly banal sites with significance and highlighting the importance of cultural factors to environmental interpretations.

As in *A Small Place*, Walcott’s narrator in *Omeros* shares some distinctly self-reflexive, biographical affinities with the author. Both Kincaid and Walcott understand that, even as they return to their native lands, their activities coincide, to some extent, with modes of tourism. Indeed, Walcott actually suggests that a revision of self-perception on this basis eventually caused him to change his previously negative view of tourism. As he relates in a 1986 interview with Edward Hirsch: ‘Once I saw tourism as a terrible danger to a culture. Now I don’t, maybe because I come down here so often that perhaps literally I’m a tourist myself coming from America’ (1996: 112).⁹ In this context, the taxi ride the narrator takes back to his St Lucian hotel in the opening to Book Six (which charts his return to the Caribbean following an extended ‘tour’ of Europe and North America) is particularly intriguing. Observing St Lucia’s touristed landscape from the taxi’s window, the narrator describes how:

I saw the coastal villages receding as
the highway’s tongue translated bush into forest,
the wild savannah into moderate pastures,

⁸ This is extended in Stephanie Black’s film *Life and Debt* (2001), which features Kincaid reading passages from *A Small Place* as it interrogates the negative aspects of globalisation and neoliberalism in Jamaica. The film effectively juxtaposes images of poverty alongside the kind of paradisaic snapshots common to tourism marketing, with Kincaid’s commentary helping to disrupt asyndetic representations of the island. However, this appropriation of Kincaid also risks eliding the very specificity of island experience that the film attempts to foreground, especially as Jamaica is much larger than Antigua and has a more diversified economy.

⁹ It is significant, given his ecological sympathies, that Walcott does not say he no longer sees tourism as ‘a terrible danger’ to *nature*. This is explored further in the third section of this chapter and in Chapter 4.

that other life going in its “change for the best,”
 its peace paralyzed in a postcard, a concrete
 future ahead of it all, in the cinder-blocks

of hotel development with the obsolete
 craft of the carpenter, as I sensed, in the neat
 marinas, the fisherman’s phantom.

(1990: 227)

Walcott conducts a skilful, counter-discursive reversal of perceptions of progress here which shares affinities with Kincaid’s stylistic manoeuvres. Even as he expresses nostalgia for the passing crafts of the past, he does not essentialise a view of the natural landscape as paradisaical and unchanging. Instead, he uses the taxi’s rapid movement to map the kind of linguistic ‘translation’ inherent in colonial perceptions of Caribbean landscapes onto the physical changes presented by a modernity characterised by increasing tourism infrastructure. Rather than ‘developing’ the island, though, the narrator interprets the tourism industry’s operations in terms of ‘paralysis’: a ‘concrete / future’ that undermines the nuanced variety of physical features formerly evident in St Lucia. Complementing this, the negative aspects of tourism development’s effects on local human labour patterns and relations with the wider environment are symbolised through the fate of one of the poem’s protagonists, Hector, whose death is recounted in the section immediately preceding this scene.

In *Omeros*’s opening, both Hector and his rival for Helen’s love, Achille, are employed as fishermen. However, whereas the latter continues to ply this trade throughout the poem, Hector is seduced by the lure of tourist lucre and trades his former vocation for ‘The Comet, a sixteen-seater passenger-van’ (117) which he uses to ferry tourists across the island. There is a self-reflexive, poetic justice in Hector’s fate, as his desire to make money prompts him to drive at uncontrollable and ultimately fatal speeds. Thus, when his driver comments that Hector “‘had a nice woman. Maybe he died for her’”, the narrator silently adds ‘[f]or her and tourism’, concluding that: ‘He’d paid the penalty of giving up the sea / as graceless and treacherous as it had seemed, / for the taxi business’ (230–1). As a former fisherman, Hector embodies the switch in patterns of Caribbean employment that has seen many workers move from agricultural careers to employment in the service industry, and tourism in particular, which is reflected in Walcott’s syndetic depiction of landscape here. Just as tourism degrades the natural environments it celebrates, Hector emblematises the process of (self) ‘development’ that ultimately consumes the very thing it aims to promote.

These observations suggest that Walcott's narrator conforms broadly to anti-tourism ideologies. Natalie Melas claims that Walcott's observations on landscape commoditisation and homogenisation in this part of the poem foreground his alienated realisation that '[w]here there ought to be the density of historical memory, there is someone else's souvenir' (152). In this light, it is interesting that Walcott has been criticised for adopting a romanticising perspective, detached from the everyday problems affecting local people.¹⁰ This has some significant generic ramifications. For example, although Paula Burnett describes *Omeros* as mock-Homeric rather than Homeric in design, she also sees the kind of concern with the collective conventional of epics as 'absolutely central' to Walcott's poem, along with a preoccupation regarding 'the relation of the poet to his society' (2001: 161). Yet for Strachan, Walcott is found wanting on precisely this point. Strachan argues that, in valorising peasant life and ignoring the fact that the 'poor of the Caribbean [are] cramming into city slums', Walcott delivers a 'model of liberation' that is 'far too individualistic in nature' and 'evades socioeconomic and political realities'. Indeed, he suggests that one of the few portrayals of successful group activism in Walcott's work, involving the Rastafarians who attempt to create Eden in the Jamaican mountains in his musical *O Babylon!* (1976), is 'achieved by moving [...] away [...] from the rest of society' and its 'social, economic, and political problems' (2002: 210). It is therefore ironic that Walcott's returnee narrator in *Omeros* offers his thoughts on tourism-related development as he moves *towards* the built-up areas and problems identified by Strachan.¹¹

One remarkable feature of this section of the poem is the way it turns touristic critique on the poetic voice itself. Comparing 'the obsolete / craft of the carpenter' to his own 'craft', which 'required the same / crouching care' (1990: 227), the narrator poses a series of rhetorical questions that challenges *Omeros*'s touristic and neocolonial complicities:

Didn't I want the poor
to stay in the same light so that I could transfix
them in amber, the afterglow of an empire.
[...]

Had they waited for me

to develop my craft? Why hallow that pretence
of preserving what they left, the hypocrisy
of loving them from hotels [...]?
[...]
Art is History's nostalgia, it prefers a thatched

¹⁰ The third section of this chapter elaborates on this with reference to Walcott's much-publicised opposition to tourism development between St Lucia's iconic twin volcanic peaks, the Pitons.

¹¹ Tellingly, despite writing a chapter-long critique of Walcott's touristic complicities, Strachan makes no extended engagement with *Omeros*.

roof to a concrete factory, and the huge church
above a bleached village.

(227–8)

Commenting perceptively on this section, Melas suggests that, ‘haunted in a particularly acute and complicit way by the colonial past’, Walcott implies here that his own art is ‘inimical to change’. He therefore ‘quite openly poses his virtuosic epic poem of the tourist era as a manifest anachronism’ (2005: 150). There is an even darker implication if a double meaning is read in the question: ‘Had they waited for me / to develop my craft?’ The verbs in these lines bind tourism, colonial ideology, and poetic vocation together as the narrator subtly implies that ‘the poor’ of St Lucia have worked as waiters (‘waited’) for the benefit of his own poetical ‘self-development’. The narrator’s ‘craft’, like the hotels he ‘hypocritically’ loves them from, seems to serve the interests of an elite minority, ‘transfixing’ local inhabitants in circuits of impoverishment and underdevelopment. Yet this is a conspicuously negative conclusion to draw, particularly as it represents only part of the work performed by this important section in the wider context of *Omeros*. For Walcott *does not* just portray the ‘thatched / roof’; both in this example and throughout *Omeros* he is also highly attentive to phenomena which might be considered less aesthetically pleasing, such as the ‘cinder-blocks / of hotel development’.

Walcott’s syndetic depiction of the touristed landscape in this scene undermines his narrator’s complaint that St Lucia’s ‘gold sea’ has become ‘flat as a credit-card, extending its line / to a beach that now looked just like everywhere else, / like Greece or Hawaii’ (229). This critique is laced with destabilising irony as, firstly, the ‘credit card’ simile is profoundly anti-romantic, and secondly the resemblance between modern touristic Greece and St Lucia further heightens the changing yet comparably epic milieu of both, with Caribbean and Mediterranean linked by Homeric and touristic similarities. By juxtaposing this form of modern, touristic homogeneity alongside a ‘nostalgic’ poetical aesthetic which makes a ‘paradise’ of local ‘poverty’, Walcott’s narrator is not presenting a simple dialectic between the Arcadian vision of timeless, pre-modern St Lucia and its uniformly bleak, contemporary neocolonial outlook. Rather he offers a landscape that is endowed with synchronic meaning and implicated in continual processes of social, cultural, and economic change. The poem interrogates the ways in which an increasingly globalised island both retains and disposes of aspects of its colonial history while participating in the production of fresh possibilities. Tourism is not merely a neocolonial continuation of past practices but a vector of change that simultaneously acts as a

subject of cultural and environmental analysis. It bears relations to forms of colonial subjugation even as it provides a conduit for new forms of individual autonomy to emerge. This entails a complex and multilayered vision of St Lucian modernity in which the pace of environmental change is reflected by the mobile observations of landscape generated from the perspective of that fast-paced, double-edged emblem of modernity and change, the taxi.

On one level, Walcott's taxi represents a meeting-point between changing forms of local employment and the infrastructure tourism entails. On another level, its dynamic presence in Walcott's syndetic, poetical landscape functions as a metaphor for St Lucia's evolving, 'glocalized' modernity.¹² It is an example of how processes of localisation and globalisation are condensed as the specificities of St Lucian life inflect the local operation of transnational industries such as tourism, portrayed by Walcott as participating in (amongst other things) the epical economies of Homeric Greece and the insular environment of the postcolonial Caribbean. The narrator displays a subtle awareness of the taxi's complexly polyvalent role when he states that: 'My craft required [...] the same crabbed, natural devotion / of the hand that stencilled a flowered window-frame' (227). 'Craft' can be read here both as his poetry and as the dynamic vehicle he is in the process of depicting. In this sense, his vehicle of representation (writing) and the vehicle he portrays (the taxi) become co-constitutive, offering synergetic perspectives on the touristed St Lucian landscape. Within this relationship, neither written representation of touristic phenomena nor the environmentally embedded reality of tourist modernity precedes the other. Walcott's negotiation of mendacious forms of tourist marketing which cloak his narrator's concerns beneath the asyndetic 'paralysis' of picture-postcard aesthetics is energised by a strategic ambivalence in which artistic production and touristic reality propel each other.

Such ambivalence is brought into sharp relief by the coincidental feelings the blind Homeric muse Seven Seas shares with Walcott's narrator in Book Seven. He warns 'bewilderingly that man was an endangered / species now, a spectre, [...] and that once men were satisfied / with destroying men they would move on to Nature' (300). This consideration causes him '[i]n fury' to sail 'south, away from the trawlers / who were dredging the banks' (300), and to think about relocating elsewhere (his reflections being delivered again here from a mobile perspective):

¹² The neologism 'glocalization' was originally developed in Japanese business discourse in the 1980s and was later appropriated for use in the social sciences by Roland Robertson (1995).

He might have to leave
 the village for good, its hotels and marinas,
 the ice-packed shrimps of pink tourists; and find someplace,
 some cove he could settle
 [...]
 far from the discos, the transports, the greed, the noise.

(301)

The metaphorical description of tourists as shrimps has a worrying proleptic quality, positioning tourist bodies as grotesquely parodic ciphers of a nature that is rapidly being polluted and unsustainably consumed; ‘the shrimp were finished’ (301), he thinks to himself. Yet, unlike the narrator of Walcott’s autobiographical poem, *Another Life* (1973), who despondently intones: ‘Hotel, hotel, hotel, hotel, hotel and a club: The Bitter End’ (1986: 292), *Seven Seas* deems the ‘end’ to be not necessarily nigh, finding ‘no cove he liked as much as his own village’ and therefore choosing to return to it, ‘whatever the future brought’ (1990: 301). His decision is perhaps based partly on the recognition that the destruction of ‘man’ and ‘nature’ are not easily separable: tourists transform into shrimps while the trawlers he despises are anthropomorphised by the pronoun ‘who’. But on a structural level it also represents Walcott’s ultimate assertion that, rather than deserting the Caribbean, the ‘muse’ of poetry continues to play a vital role in representing its contemporary touristed landscapes. In extrapolating an ethic of sustainable tourism practice from poems like *Omeros*, it is important to recognise that ‘Art’ is not only ‘History’s nostalgia’ but also its anticipation. Walcott states in ‘The Antilles’ (1992) that poetry ‘conjugates both tenses simultaneously: both past and present’ (1998a: 69–70); in my reading, it also conjugates the future.

Both Walcott’s and Kincaid’s texts deconstruct the referential credibility of representations of island environments in brochure discourse, and destabilise asyndetic clichés by channelling the kind of subversive energies de Certeau associates with mobile perspectives on landscapes. They emphasise tourism’s participation in a long continuum of Caribbean globalisation, puncturing place-myths and creating discursive spaces from which the industry’s various regional operations can be valorised and critiqued simultaneously. Their works harness the ambivalence that inhabits relationships between colonial histories, touristic practices, and modes of writing in ways that foreground the uneven processes of globalisation and modernisation of which tourism is symptomatic. Shields asserts that ‘images of particular environments or places serve both referential [...] and *anticipatory* functions (serving as a guide to future encounters at or in given sites and places)’ (1991: 14;

original emphasis). Referring once more then to Quayson's contention that 'reality itself acquires its texture only by way of the repetitions of its various representations in reality' (2003: xxii), Walcott's and Kincaid's portrayals of touristed landscapes contribute to changing the 'texture' of touristic 'reality' in their respective islands, providing very different 'guides to future encounters' than those conventionally accessed by tourists. Moreover, whilst I have noted similarities between their approaches, the specific tensions *between* the texts (Kincaid's polemically relativises the tourist gaze, Walcott's probes the neocolonial complicities of tourism and artistic production, and both expose different colonial histories) guard against replacing one ensemble of clichés with another, emphasising island specificity. Such tensions reflect those that attend the manifold and heterogeneous processes of touristic transformation at work within different Caribbean island landscapes. The counter-discursive roles these texts perform, which include historicising decontextualised environments and reconfiguring the structures of anticipation that implicate both tourists and natives, constitute part of a broader ethics of seeing. Yet this in turn raises the question of how such revisions of environmental perception might be enhanced through depictions of supposedly less subversive stationary gazes. This can be approached by examining the link between negative characterisations of postcard aesthetics and portrayals of another quintessential tourist activity, photography.

Tourism Photography, Pictorial Discourse, and Stationary Views

Numerous tourism commentators have noted the industry's close connections with photography. For instance, Carol Crawshaw and John Urry observe that: 'The invention of the camera, the manufacture of the ubiquitous box camera, the development of daylight loading film and the mass-production of picture postcards, have all coincided with the democratisation of travel and the expansion of tourism' (1997: 180). And in her seminal series of essays, *On Photography* (1977), Susan Sontag argues that photographs 'help people to take possession of a space in which they are insecure. Thus, photography develops in tandem with one of the most characteristic of modern activities: tourism' (2001: 9). The notion of 'taking possession of [...] space' is especially notable in the context of tourism's neocolonial affinities for, just as tourism infrastructure annexes specific locations or places for development, tourist photography also involves the isolation and eventual development of discrete images which are powerfully

constitutive of landscape perceptions. Sheller states that, as photography became increasingly widespread in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a new form of island appropriation was instituted beyond the literary sphere: ‘The Caribbean became not only “printable” but also “kodakable”’ (2003: 66). Hence, when Walcott’s friend and fellow Nobel laureate Joseph Brodsky suggests that, in the era of mass tourism, ‘*Cogito ergo sum* gives way to *Kodak ergo sum*’ (cited in Chi 1997: 90), the quip is less flippant than it might appear as photography centrally shapes perceptions of other people’s lives, alongside those of tourist-photographers themselves. Hence Sontag’s characterisation of the photographer as ‘supertourist, an extension of the anthropologist, visiting natives and bringing back news of their exotic doings and strange gear’ (2001: 41–2).

The overdetermining influence of photographic representation is evident when Walcott speculates that ‘visitors to the Caribbean must feel that they are inhabiting a succession of postcards’ (1998a: 72). This speaks to the common difficulty tourists experience in attaining exotic snapshots as they pursue well-trodden paths. Tourism in this sense is constituted by a relatively contradictory set of hermeneutic circles. Photography is a means of capturing the pre-imagined images that often inspire vacations in the first place (Urry 2002: 129). This holds problematic implications for tourists. Frow notes that, through their socially conditioned gaze, ‘things are read as signs of themselves’ and places are ‘suffused with ideality’, giving them a ‘figural rather than literal’ status – ‘[h]ence the structural role of disappointment in the tourist experience, since access to a type can always be frustrated’ (1997: 67). If Sontag is correct in stating that photographs represent an ‘ethics of seeing’ (2001: 3), then the particular ‘ethic’ instituted by the hermeneutic circles of brochure discourse is characterised by structural simplification. As place-images condition the collective gaze, they diminish the possibility of ‘seeing against the grain’ or experiencing sites and sights contingently. The critical consensus is that photographs are not the neutral representations of reality; rather, as Elizabeth Edwards observes in an essay on postcard discourse, ‘[t]he power of the still photograph lies in its spatio-temporal dislocation of nature, and the consequent decontextualization of those that exist within it, arrested in the flow of life and experience and transposed to other contexts’ (1996: 200). This reflects the asyndetic characterisation of touristed landscapes examined above.

In light of these observations, it is especially interesting that *Omeros* begins with tourists taking pictures: “‘This is how, one sunrise, we cut down them canoes.’ / Philoctete smiles for the tourists, who try taking / his soul with their cameras’ (3). Melas makes two insightful

comments on this opening. Firstly, she suggests that these tourists ‘occupy the very place of a classical epic’s invocation to the Muse’; their gaze determines and ‘fundamentally alters the nature and the stakes of representation’ (2005: 153).¹³ Secondly, she notes how this scene involves ‘a transaction between tourist and local which turns a story and a scar into profit’. This is ‘an instance of commodification in action, but a highly ambiguous one in many respects, not least of which is that the story Philoctete will not tell (how the wound was cured) is precisely his story as it unfolds in the poem’ (153). Melas is right to focus on this section’s ambiguity as it suggests that the poem’s own scheme of representation is positioned in direct contrast with that of commoditised tourist photography. Drawing on photography as a metonym for cultural and environmental commoditisation in the mass tourism era, the poem explores from the outset the implications of the clichéd anthropological observation that, in certain cultures, photographs are suspected of divesting subjects of their souls.¹⁴ Walcott’s depictions of tourist photography in *Omeros* suggest that the same can be said of syndetic, picture postcard representation and the brochure discourse it plays a central role in constituting. Photography’s apparent neutrality becomes especially dangerous when it divorces image from context, literally making paradise either of poverty or of landscapes which are vulnerable to tourism-related degradation. By framing and fragmenting environments, the images that proliferate in tropical island marketing eclipse the stories that threaten to undermine their credibility. Again, it is important in this sense to highlight points of differentiation between culture and nature, as it is all too easy for local people to be objectified, aligned with the non-human ‘backdrop’. *Omeros*’s depictions of tourist photography are oriented partly in an effort to counter such tactics.

Walcott’s strategic revisions can be helpfully contextualised alongside Roland Barthes’s conception of how photographs generate interest-value in *Camera Lucida* (1980). Like de Certeau’s spatial theory, this has a strong semantic base. Barthes conjectures that the co-presence of two ‘elements’, *studium* and *punctum*, causes photographs to provoke particular interest in the observer. The first term describes the ‘application to a thing, taste for someone, a kind of general, enthusiastic commitment [...] without special acuity’ (2000: 26): it denotes a culturally conditioned field of interest through which photographs can be generically classed. Thus, the palms, beaches, azure seas, and dazzling sunsets repeated incessantly in tropical island marketing tap into a *studium* that both constitutes and is constituted by touristic sensibilities or

¹³ Isabella Zoppi argues, however, that *Omeros* is in fact positioned as the poem’s muse (1999: 511).

¹⁴ Sontag states that, ‘[a]s everyone knows, primitive people fear that the camera will rob them of some part of their being’ (2001: 158).

‘taste’. Barthes’s second term, *punctum*, is more subversive: it is unsought for and is not directly conditioned by cultural affiliations. Rather, it ‘rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces’ the viewer; it ‘disturb[s]’, ‘pricks’ and ‘bruises’; it is ‘poignant’; and it endows a photograph with sudden and powerful value (26–7). Barthes sees pornography as characteristically ‘unary’ (41), consisting only of a very predictable and functional *studium*. The place-images involved in tropical island marketing work in much the same way, seducing through simplification. The same is not true, however, for holiday photographs – such as those taken by the tourists in *Omeros*’s opening – even if the intention to contain a desirable site coincides with tourism marketing practices. Walcott bisects such *studium*-oriented performances with the poetic equivalent of a profoundly destabilising *punctum*. The ambiguity Melas notes regarding Philoctete’s refusal to share the story of his scar with tourists forms the *punctum* of their photographs. In elaborating on precisely this story over the course of *Omeros*, Walcott offers a textual method of negating bland commoditisation while at the same time enhancing future interpretations of photographs taken on the island.

This point is compounded in the circular scene towards the end of the poem when Achille reacts angrily to the tourists who attempt to photograph him as he returns from working at sea:

By the bay’s cobalt, to that inaudible thud
that hits the forehead with its stunning width and hue,
the rage of Achille at being misunderstood

by a camera for the spelling on his canoe
was the same process by which men are simplified.

(298)

Tourist photographers of this sort literally focus on subjects who are converted by their actions into ‘being[s] misunderstood’, reducing the epical quality of individuals into snapshots, and transforming the cultural realities of island life into souvenirs. Hence, as ‘the tourists came flying to them to capture the scene’, causing Achille to howl like ‘a warrior losing his only soul / to the click of a Cyclops’ (299) and ‘hurl an imagined lance’, a literal example emerges of this potential photograph’s *punctum* ‘piercing’ the *studium*’s fabric and exposing the hermeneutic circles pursued by certain tourists as demeaning and false. Further, as this episode arrives at the end of the text, counterpointing Philoctete’s quiet subversion in the opening, it also acts as a kind of readerly *punctum*. The implication is that, now the stories which destabilise facile constructions of ‘paradise’ have been conveyed, all remaining sympathies towards the more appropriative aspects of the tourist gaze should have also been pricked by Achille’s lance. Such

sympathies have been shown in the course of this complex poem to be as bankrupt as the chimerical pastoral idyll which tourist cameras strive to capture. Rather than adopting an unambiguously anti-photographic position, the ‘ethics of seeing’ *Omeros* sponsors attends to the myriad *punctums* that infiltrate everyday life. In allowing stories to puncture place-myths and accepting the ambiguity inherent in even the most clichéd attempts to objectify tropical island nature asyndetically, the poem also suggests that tourist photography and the mode of observation it metonymically represents can be integrated into richer forms of tourist perception.

There is, however, still the problem of tourist photography’s neocolonial affinities, and its appropriation of the exotic in tropical island contexts. As Sontag puts it, ‘[t]he photographer is always trying to colonize new experiences or find new ways to look at familiar subjects – to fight against boredom’ (2001: 41–2). Sontag’s emphasis on ‘boredom’ is intriguing not least in the light of *A Small Place*’s emphasis on how tourists are motivated to travel by a desire to escape ‘a life of overwhelming and crushing banality and boredom’ (1988: 18). Yet, despite its exploration of various modes of touristic seeing, there is no reference to photography in Kincaid’s text. To what extent, then, is the visual discourse she employs inflected by similar concerns to those found regarding tourism photography in *Omeros*? And how might it contribute to transforming stationary perceptions of natural and built environments, as well as their inhabitants? I am particularly interested here in whether Kincaid manipulates forms of pictorial discourse in ways that are analogous to Sontag’s description of photography’s capacity to ‘alter and enlarge our notions of what is worth looking at and what we have a right to observe’ (2001: 3). This self-referential notion of enlargement is critical, as it suggests a means of reconfiguring how the world is both viewed and evaluated.

One example of how Kincaid draws on forms of stationary gazing to institute a complementary ethics of seeing involves the use of photographic conventions to problematise this mode of visual perception. This occurs in the synecdochic zone of the hotel, following the tourist’s taxi-ride. Immediately before ‘you’, the tourist, arrive at your hotel, Kincaid deftly elides your taxi-bound anticipation and ‘longing’ with lived experience: ‘you are tired now of all this looking, and you want to reach your destination [...]. You long to refresh yourself; you long to eat some nice lobster, some nice local food. You take a bath, you brush your teeth’ (12). The ellipsis here not only asyndetically removes the gap between anticipation and actual experience but also reflects their interchangeability when tourism privileges the completion of

hermeneutic circuits of desire, or the inhabitation of a pre-imagined *studium*. This is followed by the intensely visual vista of beach landscape which is framed, quasi-photographically, by a hotel window:

as you get dressed, you look out the window. [...] Oh, what beauty! Oh, what beauty! You have never seen anything like this. You are so excited. [...] You see a beautiful boy skimming the water, godlike, on a Windsurfer. You see an incredibly unattractive, fat, pastrylike-fleshed woman enjoying a walk on the beautiful sand, with a man, an incredibly unattractive, fat, pastrylike-fleshed man; you see the pleasure they're taking in their surroundings. Still standing, looking out the window, you see yourself lying on the beach, enjoying the amazing sun.

(13)

This stationary scene – with the phrase ‘[s]till standing’ intimating an arrested cinematic frame or ‘still’ – reflects the kind of perspective Pratt terms, in a slightly different context, ‘anti-conquest’. This is the seemingly neutral view of the imperial ‘seeing-man’ which disavows hegemonic appropriation even as, like the couple who represent this scene’s ‘pastrylike-fleshed’ *punctum*, it ‘takes in’ the surroundings through ‘imperial eyes [that] passively look out and possess’ (1992: 7).

The narrator then proceeds to detail a series of fragmented, asyndetic tourist place-images which constitute the next set of hermeneutic circles to be completed:

You see yourself taking a walk on that beach, you see yourself meeting new people [...]. You see yourself eating some delicious, locally grown food. You see yourself, you see yourself ... You must not wonder what exactly happened to the contents of your lavatory when you flushed it [...] it might all end up in the water you are thinking of taking a swim in.

(13–14)

The experience of inhabiting photographs is characterised here by Kincaid’s ellipsis, which crops the succession of imagined images just as it threatens to fold under its own weight. The passage’s punctuation and phrasing reflect the kind of image culture that chops and edits the island beachscape, privileging the paradisaical stereotypes of brochure discourse above the less savoury realities of tourism’s effects on small island ecologies. In this context, the ambivalence of Kincaid’s formulation, ‘You must not wonder’, is especially apt as it can be read either elliptically – as a portrayal of touristic thoughtlessness or ignorance (‘you must not have the time/inclination/ability to wonder’); imperatively – as an ironic, narratorial injunction not to spoil the daydream through unsanitary contemplations (‘you *must* not’); or even self-admonishingly – restricting inappropriate forms of imaginative interrogation (‘I must not think about such things’). This constitutes an almost playful subtext to the intercultural friction that inhabits the narrator’s assertion that, ‘behind closed doors’, native Antiguan ‘laugh at your

strangeness (you do not look the way they look)' (17). Here, the term 'look' again adopts a double meaning, signifying both outward appearance and visual perception. It also highlights how the modes of seeing Kincaid interrogates embrace not only touristic forms of visual appropriation, but also native ones. This enhances the narrator's method of foreclosing assumptions of absolute otherness relating to tourists and natives by binding the two groups' observations of one another and the landscapes in which they interact together. The lust to differentiate categorically (with its often essentialising overtones) is hereby undercut, a fact that is further reinforced by the narrator's claim that 'every native of every place is a potential tourist, and every tourist is a native of somewhere' (18).

Although Kincaid's fiercest criticism seems to be directed at tourists rather than natives, it is significant that, in censuring the apparent incommensurability of their viewpoints, she does not criticise tourists alone. In this light, it is interesting that one of the text's most revealing passages frames similarities between islanders' views of the wider world and tourists' views of Antigua via a distinctly pictorial idiom. Considering state corruption in postcolonial Antigua, and local residents' seeming inability to undermine its operations, Kincaid's narrator remarks that 'the people in a small place cannot see themselves in a larger *picture*, they cannot see that they might be a part of a chain of something' (52; my emphasis). Here, Kincaid's narrator emphasises how the kind of insular imagination she outlines can act, like stereotypical tourist perceptions, in photographically fragmenting ways: 'In a small place, people cultivate small events. The small event is *isolated, blown up*, turned over and over, and then absorbed into the everyday, so that at any moment it can and will roll off the inhabitants of the small place's tongues' (52; my emphasis). While Sontag argues that photography can 'enlarge' perceptions of reality and contribute to an 'ethics of seeing', Kincaid suggests that this process of enlargement (the act of being 'blown up') can also lead to a detached perception of interrelated realities.¹⁵

Kincaid's narrator does admit that, in Antigua, this process is partly conditioned by the trauma and historical ruptures of colonialism, stating that: 'The people in a small place cannot give an exact account, a complete account, of themselves' or 'events' (53). This is distinctly ironic when compared to how accounts by the English colonisers, who managed Antigua from their own small island, consist merely of the 'fairy tale of how we met you', and self-justifying recitations of 'your right to do the things you did' (42). The narrator then remarks that:

¹⁵ In proposing this reading, it is perhaps no coincidence that Kincaid studied photography at college in New York (Cudjow 1989: 396).

an exact account, a complete account, of anything, anywhere, is not possible. (The hour in the day, the day of the year some ships set sail is a small, small detail in any picture, any story; but the picture itself, the story itself depend on things that can never, ever be pinned down.)

(53)

Truth and history are clearly relative, constituted by pictures and stories that can never offer complete accounts of events. Yet, for Kincaid's narrator, 'not only is the event turned into everyday[,] [...] the everyday [...] into an event', but the status of these 'events' is also contingent, their 'internal shadings and internal colourings' changing daily whilst 'the forces that manipulate these internal shadings and internal colourings are kept deliberately mysterious and unknown' (56). This prompts the narrator to ask: 'might not knowing why they are the way they are and why they do the things they do put in their proper place everyday and event, so that exceptional amounts of energy aren't expended on the trivial, while the substantial and the important are assembled (artfully) into a picture story [...]?' (57). This suggests that Antigua's implication in ongoing forms of neocolonial consumption and exploitation ('the forces that manipulate', indexed by tourism) is obscured by strategically crafted, pictorial representations of reality. The 'picture story', like a tourist's holiday album, detaches and 'isolates' events from their wider contexts, enlarges or 'blows up' certain details while eclipsing others, leaving questions unanswered because the necessary depth of perspective is unavailable. It is precisely such *studium*-oriented still frames that the text's depiction of the interconnections between landscape, built environments, and culture disrupts.

In this context, it is significant that the paragraph which contains the last quotation is immediately followed by the interrogative 'voice' of native Antiguan, who open by observing how "'That big new hotel is a haven for drug dealing'" (57), and continue to note over the next two paragraphs, which extend through eleven pages, the various complicities between state corruption, tourism, and colonial legacies in Antigua. Intriguingly, the quotation never closes, perhaps reflecting the unresolved nature of the questions it poses, or the fact that they cannot all be contained or even denoted by the single utterance implied by conventional punctuation. Resuming after these two paragraphs, the narrator remarks that native Antiguan present their concerns in a

strange voice [...] pausing to take breath before this monument to rotteness, that monument to rotteness, as if they were tour guides; as if, having observed the event of tourism, they have absorbed it so completely that they have made the degradation and humiliation of their daily lives into their own tourist attraction.

(68–9)

Tourism here becomes part of the Antiguan *studium*, ‘absorbed into the everyday’ (52) as part of the field of the island picture; it is characteristic of the kind of ‘event’ that the narrator says Antiguan ‘see in the distance heading directly towards them’ (52) but cannot deflect. Instead, their seemingly stationary perspective means that, in the narrator’s view, ‘eventually they absorb the event and it becomes a part of them, a part of who and what they really are, and they are complete in that way until another event comes along and the process begins again’ (53). The narrator is, of course, in the privileged position of having stereoscopic access to this process, watching it unfold dynamically, rather than observing it in the style of a fragmented ‘picture story’ (Chapter 3 explores the ironic confluences this shares with early island ethnography). Yet she also suggests that paralysing mental processes can be confronted by intellectual movement and changing interpretations of Antigua’s relation to wider, neocolonial practices characterised – often unwittingly – by the tourists who continually arrive in and depart from Antigua. The overtly patronising elements of her rhetoric will no doubt continue to be censured (including the homogenisation of supposedly ‘degraded’ and ‘humiliated’ island natives); nevertheless, it is important to recognise the more empowering dimensions of Kincaid’s strategic use of pictorial discourse and its photographic undertones. This offers a subversive counter-image of the transactions underpinning forms of tourism-related exploitation, and its effects on the identity of both natives and tourists.

Like Walcott, Kincaid recognises that photography and pictorial discourse not only provide ‘some of the language by which we learn to describe and appreciate the environment’, but can also ‘subvert and oppose’ the ‘dominant ideology’ of which they are partly representative (Crawshaw and Urry 1997: 183). Both writers recognise such ideological bias in the *studium* of touristic place-images, along with the hermeneutic circles on which it is predicated. They use this as a basis from which to present touristed textual landscapes with strong visual economies in which the contrasting individual perspectives of tourists and locals act as *punctums* to the dominant *studium*, piercing and refashioning ideological presuppositions and rendering the pursuit of the ideal album of island photographs futile. By confronting photographically asyndetic portrayals of landscape they reject processes of simplification, and critique the forms of decontextualization so readily associated with stationary perspectives on local environments. Despite their often scathing critiques, neither Kincaid nor Walcott sees tourism *only* as a form of neocolonialism but as a complexly constituted set of practices and environmental interventions. By emphasising the contrapuntal or counter-paradisal stories embedded within

landscapes, their texts assert island specificity in ways that not only undermine some of mass tourism's environmental homogenisations, but also *enhance* the kind of particularity that attracts tourists who seek distinctiveness in their chosen destinations. Although both have determining influences on how landscapes are interpreted, neither do so by 'transfix[ing] them in amber' (Walcott 1990: 227). Rather, they inspire further discussions of cultural and environmental intersections, placing strong emphases on their historical and material dimensions (a point I will return to in this chapter's third section). Both could therefore be said to 'amplify the reality of the environment' in ways that elevate it from the status of 'setting' (Kern 2003: 260). Attention to tourism's visual economies in this sense helps frame specific island environments as active participants in the wider ecological processes to which human actors and actions contribute, and by which they are simultaneously defined.

II. Contested Environments: Tourism, Indigeneity, and Ideologies of Development

In contrast to the preceding discursive analyses, this section examines the relationship between tourism and environmental concerns from a dialectical perspective. Shifting geographically to the insular Pacific, it compares the struggles of indigenous communities to retain control of land in the context of encroaching tourism development in works by Hawaiian playwright Alani Apio and Māori novelist Patricia Grace. In switching focus from counter-discursive representations of touristed landscapes to portrayals which emphasise politicised contests over limited island space, it interrogates in more detail what patterns of resistance suggest about implementing more environmentally sustainable tourism practices. Looking especially at groups in positions of relative disempowerment within their own islands, I build on the kind of conclusions drawn by Jeffrey Davis in an article on representations of place in the Bikini Atoll (evacuated for nuclear testing by the US in 1946 and now being refashioned as a tourist destination).¹⁶ He states that:

Being able to demonstrate that the currently hegemonic view of a place is historically contingent, political, exploitive, and dependent on its being seen by people as legitimate can be a powerful starting point for a group that lacks economic, political, and institutional power due to years of exploitation. Tactically, in any contest over place, to say that your view [...] is right and another group's view [...] is wrong is only the start. It is imperative to understand how other groups have discursively constructed and

¹⁶ See Teaiwa (1999) for further discussion of the links between tourism and nuclear testing in the Bikini Atoll.

imagined the place, how they have marshaled adherents to their views, and how they have gained the ability to inscribe their views in the material landscape. It is important to consider these discursive–material mechanisms of place reproduction in order to influence them for political ends.

(2005: 622)

The previous section examined how Walcott’s and Kincaid’s portrayals of tourism’s visual economies contribute to a postcolonial ‘ethics of seeing’ that attends to the historical specificity of island landscapes, and modifies structures of anticipation for both tourists and natives. Relating this to the politicised ‘tactics of resistance’ described by Davis, I want now to explore the potential for asserting culturally and environmentally sustainable strategies in contested environments. This involves examining how tourism development’s exploitative excesses might be opposed through negotiation of conflictual ideologies of development.

Tourism and Sustainable Development

Notions of development have a complex history, linked to biological, economic, cultural, and industrial discourses amongst others. From a colonial perspective, the term buttresses post-Enlightenment notions of ‘progress’ that position different cultures on a pseudo-evolutionary scale, with ‘western’ industrial cultures apparently most ‘advanced’ (Sachs 1993: 4). Such logic is not only perpetuated through divisions between ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ nations but also underpins certain concepts of ‘sustainable development’. Notably, whilst sustainability has become central to discourses on human–environment interactions, it is often more closely linked to sustaining economic growth than cultures or environments.¹⁷ Hence, the World Bank’s assertion that “‘sustainable development is development that lasts’” seemingly favours ‘the conservation of development, not [...] the conservation of nature’ (Sachs 1993: 9–10).¹⁸ Yet, even when the term is mobilised in less conspicuously neoliberal frameworks, ‘western’ notions of environmentally sustainable practices can tend towards what Larry Lohmann calls ‘green globalism’, attempting to ‘translate all important “environmental” practices [...] into a common,

¹⁷ Sachs observes how increasing attention to the potential exhaustion of non-renewable energy resources in the 1970s led to ‘concern [...] about the prospects of long-term growth. This was a decisive change in perspective: not the health of nature but the continuous health of development became the centre of concern’ (1993: 9).

¹⁸ This also has a tourism-specific variant; as Kingsbury notes, ‘[f]raught with political and definitional controversies, sustainable tourism may simply imply sustaining tourism itself regardless of the impacts on the physical environment’ (2006: 114).

comfortably modern vocabulary' (1993: 159), regardless of different cultures' heterogeneous environmental ethics.

This point is elaborated well by Tongan-born academic and Fijian senator Atu Emberson-Bain, who argues that 'concepts of sustainability and human development take on board the reassuring (politically correct) language of the international community but do not appear to have inspired fundamentally new development approaches' (1994: iv). She explains that, in the insular Pacific region:

Natural resources like the land and sea are crucial to human survival in more than just physical respects, forming the foundations of whole social and cultural systems as well as sources of subsistence and production for distribution and exchange. Nature is respected for its spiritual sanctity as well as its material value [...]. This interaction between Pacific Islanders and their physical environment has, however, been complicated, in many respects jeopardised, by the process of Western development which has directly intruded, often in quite harmful ways, upon people's lives, the natural environment and the relationship between them.

(i)

These sentiments touch on a crucial point: is contemporary tourism development, as a market-driven, corporate-controlled entity, fundamentally at odds with the environmental ethics of local communities, both in the Pacific and in other postcolonial island regions? Emberson-Bain suggests that, '[a]s Pacific islanders, we need to come up with our own vision of development: to ask ourselves whether our development direction should continue to be determined by foreign institutions and ideologies which promote economic ethics [...] that have little relevance to – in some respects directly contradict – our own heritage of development knowledge and practices' (x).¹⁹ But is development really a salvageable term? Can a specific 'vision' encompass the varying views of a region as vast and diverse as the insular Pacific? And to what extent would its goals diverge from those of increasingly popular forms of 'alternative', 'ethical', and supposedly sustainable forms of travel such as ecotourism?

Environmental Ethics, Ecotourism, and Indigeneity

In an essay addressing whether tourism requires a new 'environmental ethics', Andrew Holden states that, '[u]ntil the early 90s, limited attention was given to the role of ethics within tourism studies', adding that subsequent research has yet to create a firm foundation for more searching

¹⁹ This position coincides with aspects of Ramachandra Guha and Juan Martinez-Alier's influential consideration of 'the environmentalism of the poor'. This opposes 'Southern movements' to 'western' environmentalism on the grounds that 'issues of ecology' as dealt with by the former 'are often interlinked with questions of human rights, ethnicity, and distributive justice' (1997: 18).

investigations (2003: 94–5). Indeed, he argues that a drive to protect tourism stakeholders' investments in rapidly degrading natural environments, rather than the thrust of academic inquiry, has ensured that tourism's 'environmental ethics' has become a more prominent issue. For example, during the late 1980s, the exhaustion of certain tourist resort environments (particularly in the Caribbean) led to increasing recognition of the need for more sustainable forms of tourism development if profitability was to be maintained. Holden notes that capitalist development strategies tend to be instrumental and anthropocentric in orientation, endowing nature with 'resource' but not 'intrinsic' value (99). Hence, a predictably 'technocentric' approach to environmentalism has been employed in response to unsustainable practice by organisations such as the World Travel and Tourism Council (103). Its guidelines, Holden observes, treat the natural environment 'in an externalized and scientific way, with the emphasis being placed upon providing a solution to environmental problems through the employment of improved environmental management and technological controls, rather than a re-evaluation of human interaction with it' (103).

Intriguingly, Holden proceeds to argue that such instrumentalist approaches need not be divorced from a 'more inclusive and spiritual' environmental ethic (105). He suggests that 'tourism perhaps offers a vehicle of opportunity to partly achieve' the acceptance of non-anthropocentric ethics, concluding that:

The fact that the natural environment can be given an economic value in a conserved state, through its use for tourism, means that environmentalists are not forced to fight conservation battles based upon the mere esoteric and altruistic concept of its intrinsic value. It is in the long-term economic interest of all tourism stakeholders to conserve nature as a resource. In the mask of a conservation ethic based upon an economic rationale, it may be possible for willing stakeholders to subversively pursue a more radical ethic based upon the intrinsic rights of nature 'to be'.

(105–6)

The 'subversive' implications of this argument hold potentially empowering possibilities for environmentally ethical and sustainable tourism futures. However, they also raise some urgent questions. If arguments against tourism development are framed according to an 'economic rationale', will they truly augment greater environmental sustainability?²⁰ What are the problems of framing this via a 'conservation ethic', particularly in terms of ensuring that local uses of land and the cultural customs that accompany them are not unduly compromised? And even if this proposal does help to bring the 'long-term economic interests' of tourism

²⁰ Deane Curtin argues, for instance, that a truly 'environmental ethic should see environmental justice, social justice, and economic justice as parts of the same whole, not as dissonant competitors' (2005: 7), implying that a relatively equal meeting point rather than a prioritisation of each component is required.

stakeholders in line with more ethical and environmentally sustainable practices, how useful is it in preventing the short-term disenfranchisement of local communities?

One of the problems with the kind of ‘conservationist’ impulse that drives many ‘western’ environmentalist initiatives is the fact that conservation is itself a politically charged term, embracing numerous culturally specific forms and ideologies. For example, William Adams and Martin Mulligan open their important collection, *Decolonizing Nature: Strategies for Conservation in a Post-Colonial Era* (2003), by arguing that ‘the current discourse about nature conservation needs to become much more inclusive (particularly of the peoples who were colonized) and more dynamic in the face of complex global socio-political changes’ (2003: 2). They proceed to note how, from a British colonial perspective particularly, conservation practices emerged which either followed ‘a romantic tradition that [...] decried the impact of “modernization”’, or a ‘scientific rational tradition that seeks to manage nature for human enjoyment and material benefit’ (8). The former encouraged a distinction between modernity and ‘wild’ nature, which disallows the possibility of landscapes being both ‘modern’ and ‘undeveloped’ simultaneously, and the latter underpinned ‘the different tradition of National Nature Reserves [...] and Sites of Special Scientific Interest’ (8). These were reflected in colonial policy towards natural environments, as ‘British imperialism funded aristocratic aspirations and attempts to create controlled, orderly and beautiful landscapes’ which ‘had little to do with “wild” nature’ (8). Moreover, from a social perspective, instituting nature reserves often involved ‘clearing’ valued landscapes of their native inhabitants for ‘improvement’ (8).

This has significant implications from a tourism studies perspective. For instance, a recent *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* editorial on current ‘priorities in sustainable tourism research’ emphasises the need for

more research about inequality and its causes, and also about equity, as key concerns of sustainable tourism. Such issues are prominent, for example, when agricultural land is taken from tenant farmers for golf resort development, or when indigenous people are displaced from national park land to satisfy non-indigenous concepts of environmental preservation.

(Bramwell and Lane 2008: 2)

Not only does this underline the interdisciplinary relevance of this section’s arguments, but it also dovetails, like the arguments in Adams and Mulligan’s volume, with a central problem in postcolonial critiques of environmental practices and appropriations. As Huggan and Tiffin observe, most of the essays in their co-edited issue of *Interventions* on ‘Green Postcolonialism’ (2007) focus on ‘the clash between contemporary conservationist aims and the rights of local

indigenous peoples' (2007: 3). Thus, Robert Cribb states in his contribution that the 'conflict between conservation and human rights has become [...] acute' because, while 'conservation measures inevitably focus on areas which have been relatively unaffected by development', such regions often host 'indigenous peoples [who] are struggling to preserve their livelihoods and cultures against external encroachment' (2007: 50). There is some slippage here between conservation and preservation, particularly as definitions of the former now commonly embrace aspects of the latter as in '[t]o keep in safety, or from harm, decay, or loss; [...] to preserve in its existing state from destruction or change' (*OED* 1.a). Like conservation, preservation can involve attempts to 'protect or save' from 'any undesirable eventuality' (*OED* 1.a), but it can also imply that this will be achieved through keeping something solely 'in its original or existing state' (*OED* 4.a), even if this means isolating it from external interactions (*OED* 5.c). Although both terms are aligned with sustainability discourse (especially as 'sustain' suggests an effort 'to preserve the status of' something [*OED* 4]), notions of preserving land from ongoing human–environment interactions fail to address fully the tensions inherent in 'sustaining' or 'uphold[ing] the validity or rightfulness of' both culture and nature simultaneously (*OED* 2).²¹ These considerations are distinctly pertinent to the ethical rationale underpinning the boom in nature-oriented forms of tourism development, particularly ecotourism.

David Weaver suggests that ecotourism involves three key components: 'a primary focus on natural attractions'; 'an educational or learning element'; and 'management that strives for environmental, economic and socio-cultural sustainability' (2004: 172). However, questions such as what constitutes a 'natural attraction' (how much cultural intervention is allowed before a site's 'attractions' lose their 'natural' status?), what the depth and instrumental purpose of its educational role is, and difficulties in measuring sustainability make ecotourism notoriously difficult to define. Moreover, even though one of its most marketable attributes is its eco-friendly orientation, Russell Blamey argues that ecotourism does not represent a truly sustainable alternative as 'even the most benign forms of ecotourism will still have some negative impact on the environment', and in any case 'the commitment of tour operators, tourists and host communities to principles of sustainability will tend to be conditional on self-interest' (2001: 15). Ecotourism is also often associated with luxury tourism practices; as Cater

²¹ This links in turn to the problematic concept of 'survival', discussed in relation to cultural concerns in Chapter 3.

observes, '[w]hatever the calls for ecotourism operations to be basic and low-key in theory, there is a marked tendency for it to translate into expensive and exclusive in practice', endowing 'social capital' to a 'visiting elite' whose means are relatively secure (2006: 29–30).

Blamey's critique is supported by Tongan poet and educational theorist Konai Helu Thaman who, like Emberson-Bain, expressed distinct concerns in the mid-1990s about the likelihood that, 'if tourism development (or any kind of development for that matter) in Tonga and most of her Pacific Island neighbours continues in its current direction, we may find more Pacific Islanders feeling alienated in their own lands' (1994: 183). Thaman damningly labels ecotourism 'the modern marketing manager's source of inspiration for the new sell', constituting little more than 'an expiation of guilt' for tourism development's environmental degradations. For her, 'ecotourism' is mere 'propaganda, continuing a trend set for other "in-words" like "development", "growth" and "sustainability", and making them synonymous with "good" and "desirable"'. This does not erase the fact that 'the very concept of "ecotourism" suggests a "culture" which places concern for profitability before that of conservation' (186–7). Her point is underscored by how 'ecotourism impacts can be even more acute [than mass tourism], due to the ecologically and culturally sensitive areas targeted. Consequently, the majority of ecotourism destinations are irreversibly damaged within 15 years' (Johnston 2003: 118).

Thaman's critique of forms of marketing logic that polarise touristic practice as either 'good' or 'bad' whilst seconding ecological sustainability to capital accumulation once more provokes the wider question of whether any type of tourism development can ever be truly sustainable.²² Her view is corroborated by the fact that, at a 1992 conference in New Zealand on Pacific ecotourism at which she gave a similar presentation, the managing director of Saatchi & Saatchi Wellington, Barry Manley, made the following assertion: 'we as a country and the Pacific as a region, *simply cannot afford* to kill the Goose that lays the Golden Egg. The Goose is our [...] natural environment and the Golden Egg is ecotourism' (1992: 6; original emphasis). Yet Thaman not only targets the motives behind ecotourism marketing but, like Emberson-Bain

²² The inherent unsustainability of tourism, at least when taken in isolation from wider patterns of global consumption, means that any 'truly' sustainable industry transformation is likely to involve its own negation. As McLaren puts it, '[s]ustainable tourism would include integrated planning that challenges the tourism industry at every level; would take up broad issues, from the reduction of energy-consumptive technologies to the society's religious practices; and would most likely be an impetus to halt further tourism development' (2003: 101). I am less concerned here with whether cessation of tourism development is ultimately desirable (or even attainable) than with how strategies for reducing the most exploitative practices might enable more positive, locally orchestrated change in the future.

on wider forms of development, also suggests that even in theory its environmental aims are annexed to the kind of ‘western’ conservation ethics that do not account for indigenous conceptions of human interaction with nature in the insular Pacific. As she puts it:

Ecotourism is [...] regarded as less destructive [...] of scarce island resources compared to, say, mining. In Western industrial societies, where large amounts of land are privately or state-owned, and where legislation can be enacted to promote conservation and wildlife protection, and prohibit resource degradation, tourism and conservation verge on the symbiotic. This (idealised) view of ecotourism becomes problematic in the context of Pacific Island societies, where economic livelihoods [...] and cultural integrity depend on the continued use of ecosystems on a sustainable basis.

(1994: 188)

This point chimes with those made regarding tourism development policy in the Caribbean. Pattullo offers the example of how ecotourism policy regarding a new national park in the Virgin Islands ‘create[d] conflict between local needs and conservationists schooled in North American perceptions about natural wilderness’. In this case, ‘the landscape of the park, which reverted to “nature”, alienated the local population, who had been used to cultivating the land’, offering ‘limited’ economic benefit (1996: 119–20). Such epistemological variance is relevant to both the insular Caribbean and Pacific; indeed, Thaman suggests that in the cultures of the latter region, the very notion of wilderness ‘simply does not exist as such’ (1994: 188). Blamey notes that one way in which ‘the continued pursuit of ecotourism has been justified [...] is to argue that ecotourism can serve as a model for other forms of tourism, thereby facilitating the greening of tourism as a whole’ (2001: 15). However, if ecotourism is no more than a form of ‘green globalism’, how beneficial can such a ‘model’ be for postcolonial island populations?

Summarising some of the differences between positive and negative forms of ecotourism, McLaren comments usefully that:

At its best, ecotravel promotes environmental conservation, international understanding and cooperation, political and economic empowerment of local populations, and cultural preservation. When ecotravel fulfils its mission, it not only has a minimal impact, but the local environment and community actually benefit from the experience and even own or control it. At its worst, ecotravel is environmentally destructive, economically exploitative, culturally insensitive, ‘greenwashed’ travel.

(2003: 91–2)

If such forms of travel are to benefit local communities in more systematic ways, it is important to assess how they might contribute to refining what is understood as ‘desirable’ tourism development in specific island contexts. This demands interrogation of the kinds of conservation that might be constitutive of the well-managed ‘ecotravel’ ventures described by

McLaren,²³ as well as the ideologies of development in which they are grounded ('cultural preservation' also presents conceptual problems, not least in island contexts; this is addressed further in Chapter 3). It also poses the question of whether analysis of such grassroots engagements with exploitative development in postcolonial island contexts might help differentiate sustainable tourism practices according to local cultural ideologies and epistemologies. This would centrally confront the 'western' bias inherent in over-arching definitions of 'green' tourism.

Addressing this, the following textual analyses focus on tensions arising between indigenous communities' conceptions of sustainable human–environment relationships and the instrumental agendas of tourism developers in contemporary New Zealand and Hawai'i. Despite the fact that neither Grace's novel *Potiki* (1986) nor Apio's play *Kāmau* (1994) deal directly with ecotourism (although there is a brief reference in *Kāmau*'s sequel, *Kāmau A'e* [1997]), the proceeding discussion emphasises the importance of engaging with how the different tourism futures they anticipate diverge from the ideologies underpinning numerous 'western'-sponsored nature tourism ventures. One reason for putting Grace and Apio in dialogue is that, whilst all the other writers in this thesis have significant diasporic affiliations, both are islanders with strongly articulated indigenous identities which shape some of the key considerations in their respective works.²⁴ Grace's status as an 'island writer' in particular is less accentuated than any of the other authors in this thesis (due partly to New Zealand's relative size, although metropolitan or continental migrants like Chandani Lokugé and, it could be argued, Naipaul are also only island writers of sorts); however, her concerns certainly tessellate with those that characterise depictions of tourism in the other island *writings* analysed here. Notably, her own interests as a reader are Oceanic rather than just New Zealand-based, and she has stated in interview that she tries to

keep up with as much as I can of the novels and short stories of the Pacific. I read these books because they're by indigenous writers, but I also particularly enjoy books about communities. [...] I'm really interested in inter-relationships: young people, old people, different age groups, people who've lived in a similar way to the way that I live [...] on family land in a community where everyone is related to me.

(Keown 2000: 61)

²³ McLaren uses 'ecotravel' to 'encompass all forms of ecotourism, sustainable tourism, conservation-focused tourism, and other types of nature travel that market the earth' (2003: 91).

²⁴ Apio outlined his strongly visceral feelings of connection to Hawaiian land and culture in a series of articles in the *Honolulu Advertiser* in 2001. He describes how '[t]he intense emotions I have about being Kanaka – Hawaiian – and about sovereignty tie my na'au [guts] in knots' (Apio 2001a). He also discusses how American-sponsored '[c]ultural genocide against the Hawaiian people' takes the form not of mass execution but a 'slow bleeding to death through 1,000 tiny cuts' aimed at 'our [...] cultural pride' and implicated in the appropriation of 'land and power' (Apio 2001b).

The points this raises regarding indigeneity are especially pertinent to discussions of conflicting ideologies of tourism development and their textual representation. This is not least because, despite the expansive alliances Grace gestures towards, there is an insular-based similarity between the way Dennis Conway sees '[s]mall geographical area, fragmented territories, and small population size' as 'limit[ing] Caribbean islands' endowments of natural resources' (1998: 54) and how the relative marginalisation of often fragmented native communities in both New Zealand and Hawai'i links to negotiations over limited access to resources and land. Denning's assertion that islands 'are everywhere where space and action are limited by boundaries which screen comings and goings' (1980: 31) is in this sense distinctly apposite.

Commenting on indigenous experiences of capitalist tourism development on a global level, Alison Johnston (of the International Support Centre for Sustainable Tourism) states that:

Ecological thresholds are routinely crossed by the tourism industry, and in many destinations, international human rights standards are violated daily. Indigenous peoples are particularly vulnerable to this market-driven tourism, losing access to their customary lands and resources, their right to religious freedom at sacred sites, and as a result, their capacity for self-sufficiency. They also face accelerated cultural voyeurism, as tour companies search for new niches.

(2003: 116–7)

These issues are acutely felt in both in New Zealand and Hawai'i as indigenous groups do not have political control of either island. Vilsoni Hereniko describes them as 'minorities in their own countries', asserting that, '[i]n Hawai'i, New Zealand, New Caledonia, and French Polynesia, the shackles of colonialism still hold fast' (1994: 416; see also Trask 1999: 45). Mass tourism development is therefore not an overwhelmingly exogenous agent of change but more often a state-sponsored activity. This functions less as an instance of neocolonial development than as one characterised by continuing processes of internal colonialism.²⁵ Both states' indigenous communities are situated in conspicuously disadvantaged positions by comparison to most of the other island populations examined in this thesis (although such generalisations are partly unsettled by competing forms of internal oppression, often allied to exploitative local government development policies). It is therefore significant to consider the ways in which the well-established tourism economies of New Zealand and Hawai'i act as indicators for how

²⁵ This is not to ignore the many community-based tourism enterprises operated by indigenous groups in both islands or to over-emphasise their victimisation. Rather, my aim is to highlight points of tension when the extreme power disparities between native communities and capitalist tourism developers are bound up in intractable conflicts over land use.

similar processes may eventually affect the islands situated between them.²⁶ In addition, my inclusion of New Zealand here attempts to look beyond more narrow reifications of tropical island space by highlighting how the concerns of indigenous communities in topographically different locations across the Pacific can nevertheless reinforce each other in relation to capitalist land development.

Situated at the northern and southern extremes of the insular Pacific and often considered Polynesian boundary lands, Hawai‘i and New Zealand form poles of a cultural continuity which extends across this vast ocean and embraces many complex and dynamic circuits of travel, migration, trade, and exchange. There are of course dramatic differences between the degrees of autonomy, cultural continuity, and growth experienced by the two islands’ native populations. For instance, although both have entrenched histories of mass disenfranchisement, New Zealand’s bicultural policies and increased willingness to engage with Māori language and customs across various social and political spheres contrasts with the more widespread marginalisation and fetishisation of native culture in Hawai‘i.²⁷ Despite this, representations of the ways in which native Hawaiian and Māori communities negotiate dominant, market-driven ideologies of tourism development nevertheless have the potential to be mutually illuminating with respect both to the compromises that economic power demands and the ways in which it can be contested even from positions of relative disempowerment. By comparing examples from these two island states, an understanding of the environmental implications of tourism development can be approached that accounts for cultural difference as well as divergent social, political, and ecological contexts. In addressing Apio’s and Grace’s depictions of indigenous communities’ struggles against encroaching tourism development, I show how deeply involved conflicts exist both within and between individual works, and the broader social worlds they

²⁶ Both states resemble certain Caribbean islands such as Jamaica and the Bahamas in having tourism histories that reach back into the nineteenth century. Jane Desmond observes how ‘the development of organized tourism as a concerted commercial venture’ in Hawai‘i coincided with the state’s annexation in 1893; the foundation of the ‘Hawaiian Promotion Committee’ propelled this, accompanied by much enthusiasm regarding tourism’s potential for ‘almost indefinite expansion’ (1999: 35). Meanwhile, Lydia Wevers notes that ‘[b]y the late 1880s Thomas Cook and Son were providing the “complete arrangements” and “all necessary tickets for a Tour through New Zealand”’ (2002: 169). Given New Zealand’s size and non-tropical status, it is interesting that by 1902, one guide was advertising it ‘as “the most wonderful Scenic Paradise in the World”’ (Wevers 2002: 182), a notion which Lucy Sargisson and Lyman Sargent say has intensified over the last twenty years as the country has continued ‘casting herself as a tourist paradise’, with ‘its *remoteness* attract[ing] people who want to withdraw and begin afresh’ (2004: 11; my emphasis).

²⁷ Waddell states that, although Hawai‘i seems to have been ‘swamped by Asia and dragged to continental North America’, its indigenous people ‘are in a profound way witnesses to a world to which we all belong. Their land symbolises the power, the frustration and the despair of all the Pacific islands’ (1993: 29–30).

portray. This challenges the usefulness of interpreting frictions between tourism developers and indigenous communities with respect to land use through a dialectical reading of opposing ideologies.

Resistance and Circumscription: A Dialectical Approach

Published in 1986 during a period of indigenous cultural revival, *Potiki* represents a ‘direct engagement with Māori land rights and self-determination issues’ (Keown 2005: 150). The novel depicts the struggles of a Māori family, the Tamihanas, against developers who want to buy their land and convert it into a resort. This responds to real-life disputes over land, with Grace claiming that ‘the Raglan Golf Course and Bastion Point incidents legitimised *Potiki*’ (Keown 2002: 55).²⁸ The central contestation arises when the Tamihanas are visited by Mr Dolman, a representative of the tourism development company who the family nickname ‘Dollarman’. Importuning them to sell their ancestral land, which occupies a touristically desirable coastal position, Dolman asks ‘that the meeting-house and the urupa [burial ground] be moved to another place’ (Grace 1986: 88) to make way for a development comprising:

‘First class accommodation, top restaurants, night club, recreation centre [...] and [...] water amenities [...]. Endless possibilities – I’ve mentioned the marine life areas [...] your shark tanks [...] trained whales and seals etcetera [...] it’s not just a tourist thing. It’s an amenity [...] a much-needed amenity. Well there’s this great potential you see, and this million-dollar view to be capitalised on. [...] We’ll be providing top-level facilities, tourist facilities and so upgrade the industry in this whole region. It’ll boom’.
(88–9)

As the novel foregrounds the family’s dedication to keeping their ‘sacred places safe [...] for all of us [...] who live here now, and [...] for those who have not yet been born’ (176), Dolman’s capitalist idiom (characterised by development-driven ‘opportunity’, ‘possibilities’, and ‘potential’) is particularly jarring.²⁹ In addition to the fact that these terms retain significance

²⁸ The Raglan Golf Course was developed after the New Zealand government failed to return Tainui Awhiro land alongside Raglan harbour (in the Waikato region of the North Island) to its owners after originally co-opting it as an airfield during World War II. Local community activism spearheaded by Eva Rickard and lasting from 1968–78 eventually saw the land returned with compensation (Keown 2000: 63). This incident mirrors the narrative of the Te Ope people in *Potiki*, whose land is appropriated by the government during World War I, turned into a ‘landing field’ (Grace 1986: 72), and then co-opted as ‘a playing-field by men on relief work’ (77). Bastion Point is coastal land in Auckland belonging to the Ngāti Whatua people which was also claimed by the government for military purposes before becoming a reserve. It was returned with compensation in 1988, ten years after a period of occupied protest lasting from 1977–78 (Keown 2000: 63).

²⁹ Dolman’s assertion that the development will cause the region to ‘boom’ also darkly evokes histories of Pacific nuclearisation, which involved the annihilation of numerous small island ecologies across the region.

only if landscape is considered in commoditised terms (as ‘facilities’ to be ‘upgraded’) and fauna a resource to be caged and ‘trained’, Dolman’s rhetoric also assumes community resettlement will have no negative cultural effects. The Tamihanas respond by asserting that their land is ‘an amenity as it is now, and always has been’ (97), arguing that ‘the removal of our wharenuī, which is our meeting place, our identity’ and the ‘displacement of the dead’ would leave them as ‘dust. Blowing in the wind’ (93). The disjunction between local sustainability ethics and ecologically damaging tourism development suggests the respective positions of Dolman and the Tamihanas are diametrically opposed (an identification which, as I proceed to discuss, the novel subtly challenges). This is emphasised stylistically as their conversation unravels as stichomythia, foregrounding a mutual refusal to undergo material or ideological compromise.

Unable to understand that the family’s choice is ‘between poverty and self-destruction’ (108), the developers attempt to construct the resort around their land regardless. Angered at the Tamihanas’ resistance, a brutally symbolic series of events ‘leads to the flooding of the cemetery (a literal attack on the ancestors and Māori [*sic*] history on the land); arson burns down the meeting house (an attack on community); and serious damage is inflicted on the community’s crops (the sustenance)’ (DeLoughrey 1999: 74–5). Moreover, the developers are also involved in murdering Tokowaru-i-te-Marama (Toko), the family’s physically disabled pōtiki (youngest child) who is endowed with a prophetic ‘special knowing’ (43). This ultimately prompts the Tamihanas, along with sympathisers from the wider community, to take action in order to defeat the developers’ plans by demolishing the resort’s infrastructure and machinery. The novel therefore ends on one level with a sense of victory and organic renewal that reflects wider assertions of Māori cultural revival. As Roimata (the mother of the family) says, although ‘[t]he hills will be scarred for some time, and the beach front spoiled [...] the scars will heal as growth returns [...] and the shores [...] if left will become clean again’ (169).

Bearing distinct similarities to *Potiki*, *Kāmau* examines the circumscriptions faced by a fragmented native Hawaiian family as they are dispossessed of their ancestral home. It centres on the problems of a young tour guide, Alika Kaleiha‘aheo‘onākūpuna Kealoha, when the ‘Aloha Tours’ company he works for purchases the land on which he, his cousin Michael, and the dependants of a deceased relative live to build a hotel. This is possible because, despite residing there for generations, Alika’s family do not own the land. Whereas in *Potiki* the Tamihanas are partly able to resist unsustainable tourism demands through agricultural

subsistence, in *Kāmau* Alika already depends on the tourism industry for his livelihood. These issues are initially telescoped in scene two – which bears resemblances to *Potiki*'s Dollarman chapter – as Alika's boss, Jim Mortenson, attempts to alleviate the news by promoting Alika. Mortenson promises that the company will 'take care of you folks', and offers to facilitate Alika's relocation (Apio 2003: 23). However, just as Dolman's narrowly capitalist rationale precludes him from appreciating the Tamihanas' broader cultural and environmental concerns, Mortenson also subordinates historical attachments to economic calculations, advising Alika to 'treat this as a lesson in life' and recognise 'these changing times, they're for your benefit – if you know how to take advantage of them' (24). Alika faces a disempowering double-bind, forced to choose between resistance, unemployment, and potential poverty on one hand, or ongoing industry complicity and reduced cultural autonomy over the land on the other.

This affects Alika with spiralling severity as, plagued by memories and ghosts (particularly his mother's, who enters the play from amidst the audience and advises him to 'carry on' [78] – one of the titular term *kāmau*'s connotations), he also fields intense pressure from Michael relating to his acceptance of Mortenson's proposal. His cousin, whose subsistence lifestyle centres on protecting the family's ko'a (fishing shrine), refuses to accept the company's plan to 'make us one touris' attraction' (59), correctly anticipating Mortenson's intention to 'pay him to show the tourists how the ancient Hawaiians used to fish' (22–3). The cousins' argument escalates but ends unresolved, precipitating a final movement towards crisis for Alika. After debating his mother's and Michael's viewpoints at length, he eventually heeds the former's advice as she tells him to put the loss of land in context of what 'America's been doing [...] to our people for how many years' (64), and understand that Michael's lack of dependants permits his intransigent position. 'Michael don't like America', she says, 'and he don't take any of the benefits that come from it. Simple. He knows why he's angry and he knows who he hates. But not too many Hawaiians can live like that nowadays' (64). As Alika's familial responsibilities ultimately prevent him from exercising such polarised opposition, *Kāmau* ends with dispossession of the indigenous community. Whereas family solidarity and land ownership facilitate effective resistance in Grace's novel, Apio's play places central emphasis on circumscription and cultural compromise.

What might be made of these two conclusions' discrepancies? Does the Tamihanas' success in *Potiki* merely imply that land ownership is essential for successful resistance to mass tourism development? And is Alika's decision to continue working for the company symbolic

of nothing more than an indigenous culture that has been historically dispossessed and is now being disenfranchised by capitalist development strategies? The different outcomes could be read as relating to contrasting forms of internal colonialism, with Māori attaining greater political influence than native Hawaiians who Haunani-Kay Trask claims are ‘among the most subordinated Natives in the Pacific Islands’, representing ‘but one among five major ethnic groups’ in a ‘land base [...] one-sixteenth the size of Aotearoa’ (1999: 87). Such relative disempowerment might also be linked to tourism’s scale and influence in Hawai‘i compared to New Zealand: around 730,000 visitors arrived in New Zealand in *Potiki*’s year of publication, whilst over 6.3 million tourists visited Hawai‘i in *Kāmau*’s year of publication (‘Arrivals and Departures by Class 1955-2005’). Yet, although these points are crucial to interpreting indigenous communities’ negotiations of tourism development in these texts, closer examination of the tensions that attend dialectical plot summaries significantly complicates such readings.

Dialectical Constellation and Degrees of Compromise

One way in which the ‘success’ of the family’s resistance in *Potiki* is destabilised centres on the moral problems surrounding Toko’s death, given that it is indirectly precipitated by a refusal to compromise. The dialectical opposition between the family’s and the developers’ ideologies is encapsulated in Toko’s summation of their meeting with Dolman: ‘All of the people were proud of our Uncle Stan when the Dollarman came with all his money and his words, because he had words to match the Dollarman’s words, and he had treasure enough to match the Dollarman’s money’ (Grace 1986: 96). The family’s cultural ‘treasure’ depends on sustainable human–environment relations that are antithetical to Dolman’s capitalist evaluations. As Roimata states: ‘The land and the sea and the shores [...] were our science and our sustenance [...] our own universe about which there are stories of great deeds and relationships and magic and imaginings [...]. *Enough* for a lifetime of telling’ (104; my emphasis). To leave this environment or permit it to be unsustainably transformed, the family assert, amounts to self-destruction. On one hand, then, Toko’s demise emblematises communal sacrifice in defence of the non-anthropocentric principle that ‘land does not belong to people, but [...] people belong to the land’ (110). But is ‘enough’ a quantifiable entity and can there ever be ‘treasure enough to match’ the pain (and intimations of complicity) which, on the other hand, are associated with his death?

Roimata pursues these questions towards the novel's end:

The hills are quiet and the machines have been taken away. After a while the trees will [...] grow again and [...] the water will be clear. There is comfort in knowing these things, but is there *enough* comfort? Good can come from what is not good, good can come from sorrow [...] but is it *enough*? [...] His death had been with us a long time but not the manner of it. [...] His death brought Tangimoana back to us, brought others to us, gave us much that is good, but is it *enough*, can it be *enough*?

(159; my emphases)

Roimata's repetition of the adverb 'enough' exposes its limitations with respect to quantifying subjective experience, unsettling the antithetical logic of phrases like 'treasure enough to match the Dollarman's money'. This reflects how the inevitability of Toko's death (given his physical frailty) grates against the 'manner' of its execution, which in turn disturbs dialectically derived moral standpoints. Roimata's questions probe the weld between culture, nature, and collective ideology, asking whether Toko's death is a necessary sacrifice or if some sort of compromise might have averted the tragedy.³⁰ Such interrogations are partly undercut by Toko's allegorical resemblance to both Christ and Maui (the demi-god credited with fishing New Zealand out of the ocean), particularly as Grace 'enmeshes Christian and Māori [*sic*] narratives in a political struggle for land and cultural autonomy' (DeLoughrey 1999: 60), positioning Toko as saviour. Moreover, the fact that 'a *toko* is an elaborately decorated wooden figure' symbolising 'a Māori god', and that his final narratorial position involves 'enunciating the details of his [...] death [...] from a post-death time frame' (Fuchs 1994: 172; 178), suggests that his sacrifice might be redemptive as he becomes integrated amongst the other 'stories' represented by the carvings of the family's rebuilt whareniui. Yet, the intimation he also gives that struggles will be ongoing, and the way in which 'Grace resists the neatly tied closure of the traditional novel form' (DeLoughrey 1999: 78), undermines the possibility of a fully redemptive reading. Rather, the issues Roimata raises regarding resistance and compromise retain telling urgency in the context of future negotiations of tourism development demands.

In an essay on Māori approaches to tourism development in *Potiki* and *Dogside Story* (Grace's 2001 novel which depicts a millennium tourism enterprise managed by a Māori community),³¹ Holly Walker contrasts *Potiki*'s apparent insistence that 'Maori communities

³⁰ I elaborate further on concepts of sacrifice, necessity, and compromise in this chapter's third section.

³¹ It could be argued that *Dogside Story* presents a more topical configuration of Māori ideologies of development with respect to contemporary tourism practices. However, not only does *Potiki* speak directly to the dialectical tensions in Apio's work, but I would also guard against notions that one ideological paradigm simply 'replaces' another, not least because this remaps aspects of the linear logic of development this section seeks to complicate. As my analysis of *Potiki*'s projective dimensions shows, I am interested in addressing how a dialectical interpretation of this text helps shape understandings of

reject development outright' (2005: 221–2) with *Dogside Story's* exploration of how local 'participation can be used to carve a niche within the traditional development paradigm' (223), enhancing indigenous objectives 'whilst still employing Western tools' (217). Although Walker aptly examines how Grace's novels 'tread a middle ground between rejecting and accepting development' (217), she does not address extensively the implications of this 'middle ground' itself being highly variegated. As DeLoughrey puts it, *Potiki* investigates the 'tension-filled space between the "sacred" past and the desiring machine of capitalist land claims' (1999: 65). Identifying the specific function of this space is critical to producing a comparative methodology that does not reduce the narrative complexity of novels like *Potiki* 'to the familiar, representative Pacific tale of indigenous people versus *pakeha*' (Fuchs 1994: 170) or view their events solely in historicised terms, as products of specific social and political circumstances.

One productive method of theorising this is through Quayson's notion of 'constellated' dialectics. Quayson states that 'dialectical embedding' is central to his readings of both literature and society, arguing that 'any phenomenon, literary or otherwise [...] can be made to speak to a wide ensemble of processes, relations and contradictions' (2003: xxxi). However, instead of interpreting the function of these embedded dialectics in straightforward binary terms (as opposing poles) he prefers to address how tensions *within* such poles shed light on conflicts and ambiguities across the social domains they represent. This positions each dialectical pole as a cluster of 'constellated thresholds', consisting of many 'interrelating subsegments that are themselves in a dialectical relationship to various other subsegments in the other pole(s)' (xxxii–xxxiii). In this light, the ideological positions of capitalist tourism developers and indigenous communities in both Grace's and Apio's texts represent poles in dialectical opposition to one another which, when investigated individually, also harbour numerous internal conflicts or micro-dialectical 'subsegments'. This unsettles polarised readings of tourism development and sustainability, showing various ideologies of development to be contingent upon multiple factors that complicate simple dialectical binaries. Positioning this as an analytical framework confronts what DeLoughrey describes as the problem of 'instituting New Age axioms that

literary interventions into tourism development debates. The way in which it foregrounds land rights is especially relevant to the wider environmental sustainability questions raised in this chapter, including their colonial genealogy (as Clare Barker notes, the meeting with Dolman 're-enacts the foundational encounter between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand – the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi – since the meeting is focused on negotiations about land' [2008: 64]. The 'crucial difference' in this case is 'that the Tamihanas, all too aware of the Treaty's historical precedent of mistranslation and treachery, refuse to sign away their land' [68]). Nevertheless, discussions of *Dogside Story* that attend its different temporal, cultural, and biogeographical concerns would usefully augment the points made here, especially in relation to questions of participatory tourism development.

romanticize indigenous cultures for their ecological sensitivity’ (thereby essentialising ‘construction[s] of environmental ethics’) in the process of refusing to conflate ‘traditional western interpellations of the natural world with Maori epistemologies of the land and seascape’ (2007b: 181). It also helps negotiate a problem that Jim Butcher sees as endemic even to ecotourism theories that attempt to place indigenous communities at the centre of sustainable practices, namely an approach to local culture that is ‘profoundly functional’, conceiving the relationship between rural communities and their natural environments as essentially homogeneous or ‘static’ (2007: 163). Local knowledge in this sense is seen to represent an unchanging repository of cultural information rather than an entity in constant flux. By contrast, the effectiveness of a dialectically constellated approach can be seen through further examination of *Kāmau*.

Like *Potiki*, Apio’s play interrogates micro-dialectical tensions, dramatising multiple possibilities before concluding with Alika’s decision to continue working for the company. For example, discussing the spiritual significance of the ko‘a in scene eight, Michael relates how Alika’s grandfather told him that ‘ouwa family been here fo’ generations, we wen take care deese fish from da time of La‘amaikahiki. He tol’ me [...] take care dis place and my family goin’ live’ (67). Here, Michael articulates a form of ongoing human–environment interaction in which nature and culture are interdependent. Like the concept of environmental stewardship articulated in *Potiki*, this diverges from ‘western’ conservation ethics that seek to ‘preserve’ landscape from human use. It contrasts markedly with the effects Michael describes of an influx of visitors on the ko‘a after a ‘tour boat wen fin’ da school’: ‘Next ting I know, da bay stay full wit’ [...] all kin’ peopo. Dey had speas, baseball bats, machetes, shotgun – everyting. Was one frickin’ slaughta! Peopo wen crazy, hacking an’ shooting jus’ fo’ da’ fun of it. By da time was ova, mos’ a’ da’ fish was wasted’ (67). Such ‘crazed’ ecological abuse – in which the abundance of tourists and range of weaponry is inversely proportional to their effects on biodiversity – prompts Alika to break temporarily with his corporate tourism complicity.

On his next bus tour, Alika confronts the tourists (who are partly constituted by the audience) with a subverted version of his ‘Historical Sights Tour’ speech (19), rejecting its annexation of Hawaiian history to self-justifying American colonial ideology. As he puts it, his company ‘want me to tell you that our last reigning monarch, Queen Lili‘uokalani, wanted to give up her [...] kingdom to the United States for protection. [...] [W]hat really happened is that basically some American businessmen backed by U.S. armed forces overthrew the Queen [...],

took away our rights as Hawaiians and took our land' (67–8). Yet by jeopardising his career and future employability in this way, Alika simultaneously exposes the possibility of pursuing a different vocation. As he proceeds to tell Michael, following the latter's arrest for apparently attacking the company's security guards (a mimed recitation of events implies his agency in this 'crime' is minimal [73]), 'I was going come back fishing wit you. I figured we could find some new grounds an' between me an' you we could take care of Stevie [his niece]' (74). Rather than being in a position of straightforward dependency as a result of dispossession, Alika aims to negotiate multiple circuits of obligation in order to attain a more ethical livelihood. This is only thwarted by Michael's imprisonment. The dialectical framework within which the family operates is therefore deeply constellated, riven with tensions that undercut interpretations of the play's trajectory as merely 'reflecting' native Hawaiians' political circumscriptions.

In addition to disrupting plot-driven, historicist interpretations of *Potiki* and *Kāmau*, a dialectically constellated approach reveals points of commensurability between these texts which destabilise contrastive interpretations of their outcomes. This can be seen in relation to their depictions of intergenerational contestation, a key tourism development issue. Konai Helu Thaman argues that 'many Pacific Island people, especially the young, have lost the knowledge and awareness of their island environments, partly because of the forces of modernity, not least of which is formal education' (1994: 185). This consideration is evident in *Potiki* as Hemi (the father of the family) worries that the 'chosen poverty' attached to guarding the land, which involves 'breaking their backs [...] for [...] survival, getting enough food and a bit of money to keep them all' (146), might not endure younger generations' demands for less economically sparse lifestyles. However, the novel's portrayal of tensions attending the dialectic of 'poverty and self-destruction' challenges this concern. In particular, the family's decision to try 'to turn our backs on the hills and not look up' and 'to ignore, just adjacent to us, the changing shoreline [...] the yellow mud colour of the sea' (110), frustrates their university-educated daughter, Tangimoana, as it implies a kind of willed oblivion towards external events, which she believes must be confronted directly. 'She saw the strength of a bending branch to be not in its resilience, but in its ability to spring back and strike' (152), comments Roimata. Notably, though, it is Tangimoana's 'sharp boldness' (161) that ultimately inspires community members to demolish the tourism developments, despite the ethical transgression this involves; as Hemi says, "'I didn't think I would ever support [...] any action. But good has come of it, and I think it was [...] right'" (176). Tangimoana hence modernises tradition – as her 'confrontational tactics' both

‘reference Māori [*sic*] history of resistance and a code of *utu* (reciprocity)’ and update it by appropriating a traditionally male practice (DeLoughrey 1999: 77–8) – and indigenises modernity, harnessing her ‘western’ education (focused pointedly on law) in the service of native land rights. Intriguingly, this positions her simultaneously as anterior *and* posterior to previous generations as she reaches from the present into the past in order to help ensure the family’s future. This complicates interpretations of her as a ‘younger’ family member, just as Toko’s position as an ancestor at the novel’s end also disrupts linear understandings of intergenerational relations.

By comparison, Hemi’s commitment to non-violent stewardship of the land has the potential to render him something of an anachronism, as he admires the fact that ‘[k]ids were different these days [...] tougher’ (65) but also fears they will lose patience with his asceticism. He comments that, ‘two generations removed from the old lady [Granny Tamihana] on the one hand, another generation removed from his kids on the other [...] it was like being on a swing’ (148–9). Yet rather than rendering his ideology outdated, this metaphor of intergenerational traversal reflects the novel’s construction as a ‘continuous spiral of cross-generational, ongoing narratives’ (Fuchs 1994: 177). This temporal ontology sees micro-dialectical tensions, like intergenerational contestation, bound up in constantly changing and reconstellating ideologies of cultural and environmental development, positioning individuals within the larger communal bodies implied by Hemi’s comment, “[w]e are all of us” (176). This destabilises straightforward assertions of young people’s susceptibility to ‘corruption’ by the ‘forces of modernity’ represented by mass tourism development.

In the context of Hawai‘i, Trask raises similar concerns to Thaman regarding tourism’s ‘disruptive’ effects on cultural continuities across generations. She sees tourism as a form of ‘neocolonialism’ that ‘*is* co-optation’: ‘the ever-ready reply from Native sell-outs to those who continue to organize among our people. Our young people, especially, are vulnerable to co-optation’ (1999: 108; original emphasis). Trask’s criticisms could be levied at Alika in *Kāmau*, as he is subjected to the pressures of neocolonial ‘co-optation’ and might ultimately be described as a ‘Native sell-out’ (Michael asks, ‘You wen’ sell youa cousin like I was one fuckin’ sideshow?’ after first learning of Alika’s company’s plans [60]). However, as in *Potiki*, this reading is complicated by the different temporal economies the play employs. Not only does Alika derive advice from conversations with his dead mother but, countering the idea that older generations are more reactionary with respect to involvement in the vocational ‘forces of

modernity’, it is she who recommends that Alika should keep working for the company. Further, on a formal level, the underworld from which Alika’s mother communicates involves a temporal understanding where, as in *Potiki*, death is not a barrier to present-day cultural negotiations. Rather, it influences events in the play’s highly touristed world in ways that further disrupt dialectical oppositions between tourism and cultural practices rooted in histories of colonial resistance. Tourism is positioned both as a threat to native culture and human–environment relations, and as a way of sustaining them. The experiences of Alika’s and Michael’s ancestors disturb outright rejections of tourism by suggesting the industry may be negotiable in ways that are consonant with future environmental sustainability and cultural growth.

This observation can be extended by addressing another point of dialectical constellation that highlights how, whilst both texts portray indigenous communities’ struggles to assert autonomy in the face of corporate-controlled, mass tourism development, they also suggest ways in which tourists might be incorporated as part of community-based, human–environment interactions. For instance, both Grace and Apio foreground the importance of hospitality – connected to concepts of Māori ‘aroha’ and native Hawaiian ‘aloha’ – which includes sharing land with visitors. Such reciprocity can be seen as characteristic of island communities where limited access to desired spaces necessitates communal land-use epistemologies. A key aspect of the Tamihanas’ objection to attempts to convert their land into a tourist ‘amenity’ is the fact that, as they inform Dolman, “‘We’ve never told anyone to get off the beach or to stop catching fish. We’ve never stopped them cooking themselves in the sun, or prevented them from launching their boats’” (92). Indeed, their resistance to the corporation’s activities is supported by ‘these families, the campers, the weekend fishing people’ (93) along with local ‘environmentalists’ (97–8). Similarly, before learning of Alika’s company’s development plans in *Kāmau*, Michael states: ‘I guess soon or lata every place goin’ get peopo, ah. I guess we can share da place wit some moa fishamen’ (54).

This is extended in *Kāmau*’s sequel, *Kāmau A’e* (1998), which portrays events nine years later as Michael is released from prison and joins a native sovereignty group in an attempt to recapture the family’s land. Protesting against the hotel, the group strategically conscript some of its inquisitive clients into their service. For example, answering an imagined interlocutor from the tourist-audience, group member Wainana says: ‘No, I think ecotourism is something a little different. We’re not a tourist attraction, but tourists are welcome if you want to learn and

can respect that this is our land' (Apio 1998: 29). They gain media coverage by inviting tourists to 'a *paina*, a dinner party' which, a reporter states, 'apparently emptied out the hotel's own *luau*' and caused the tourists to come back 'asking why the hotel they're staying at was built on stolen, sacred ground' (45). Opposition to tourism's environmental appropriations is here articulated, somewhat counter-intuitively, through the very people who fund its growth. By enacting a dialectical reversal, positioning tourists as agents of politicised intervention and potential conservation, the group's actions demonstrate how a 'constellated' approach to touristic operations can yield powerfully transformative results. The 'little difference' between this form of host-guest interaction and ecotourism – at least as it is often currently organised – is based partly on the control the local group attempts to assert over land which has been co-opted by the hotel; on the contingency of their encounter; and on the sense of emergent collaboration that consequently arises. In this light, Grace's and Apio's texts create opportunities for multiple forms of strategic coalition with people beyond the indigenous communities they portray, revealing points of mutual compatibility and the potential for 'development' of renewed alliances despite contrastive agendas.

Formal Strategies and Projective Dimensions

Walker concludes her essay on development in Grace's novels by commenting on literature's capacity to 'challenge the traditional development paradigm in ways that other forms of discourse cannot' (2005: 216). Grace's depictions, she states, issue a 'fundamental challenge to the way development has traditionally been conceived' by portraying it beyond the 'the domain of academic, bureaucratic and commercial discourse' (227). Hence, in exploring 'the issues of development without needing to advocate or seek particular results', *Potiki* and *Dogside Story* 'subvert traditional, techno-bureaucratic modes of development discourse' (227–8). Although her claim that literature does not 'seek particular results' is debatable (DeLoughrey, for example, emphasises the level of 'political strategy' bound up in *Potiki* [1999: 70]), the form of 'subversion' Walker identifies has potentially liberating discursive ramifications. This is not least in terms of transforming intersecting social imaginaries as discussed in Chapter 1, a procedure that can be seen through formal comparison of Grace's and Apio's texts.

Potiki and *Kāmau* not only portray how indigenous cultures participate in continual processes of negotiation and change in relation to tourism development, but also in themselves

represent artistic interventions into these real-life events. For instance, *Potiki* both presents and contributes to a dialectically constellated, constantly evolving epistemology. Characterised within the novel as ‘stories’, and constituting a story itself, *Potiki* shows indigenous communities’ collective ideologies to be sites of both growth and continual contestation. Roimata asserts that ‘gradually the stories were *built upon*, or they changed’ (41; my emphasis). They therefore act as forms of counter-development, bound up in processes of cultural and environmental transformation that ‘define’ individual lives while simultaneously ‘curving out’ beyond them (41). As Paul Lyons states, ‘[f]or Grace, a people *is* its stories [...] and these stories engage “the stories from newspapers and television that we read and viewed each day” [...]. To imagine alternatives is a form of creating and living them’ (2006: 178; original emphasis).³²

Contrasting *Potiki* and *Dogside Story*, Walker claims that the novels ‘reflect changes in the political climate in New Zealand’ between their respective publications; the former engages with the ‘intense political action for Maori’ in the mid-1980s ‘in the face of perceived threats from mainstream society’, and the latter focuses on ways of ‘improving the socio-economic position of the Maori population’ (223). This implies a straightforward mirroring of social and political change, dramatising how Grace’s own ‘stance evolves from an outright rejection of Pakeha-style economic development [...] to an acceptance that the development paradigm may be negotiated to accommodate [...] Maori concerns’ (216). However, such readings are destabilised by the way in which *Potiki*’s generic blend of Māori mythology and ‘western’ realism contributes to *anticipating* the domestication of tourism development depicted in *Dogside Story*. The contingency, open-endedness, and constellated dialectical tensions that inhabit *Potiki* are partly produced by its generic commitment both to evading narrative closure and disrupting linear temporality.³³ As such, they actively pave the way for the participatory approach to tourism development portrayed in *Dogside Story*, changing the basis for future practice.

³² The quotation is taken from the final chapter of his book, which groups Apio’s and Grace’s work with several other Pacific island texts discussed in this thesis (including *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* and, more critically, *Shark Dialogues*) as portraying ‘antitourism’ perspectives. These put the ‘pains and pleasures and social situations of Islanders center stage’ (2006: 179), acting as correctives to romanticised tropes of brochure discourse. I agree with DeLoughrey that this offers ‘a useful introduction to the anticolonial, anti-tourist idioms of the region’s writers’, which deserve ‘more attention than [is] allotted’ in this brief and occasionally reductive survey chapter (2007a: 645–6).

³³ DeLoughrey (1999) offers a useful reading of Grace’s depiction of spiral temporality. Barker also emphasises the complexity of the text’s narrative technique from a disability studies perspective, likewise asserting that the novel’s trajectory ‘demonstrates the fundamental incompatibility of Māori conceptions of temporality *with* narrative formations that require closure or resolution’ (2008: 74; original emphasis).

Just as form reinforces *Potiki*'s projective dimensions, the *performance* of *Kāmau* – which incorporates the audience as tourists, members of the underworld, and detached observers of events – also heightens its depiction of different and often conflictual perspectives. By highlighting how individual affiliations are radically constellated, *Kāmau*'s audience is shown not merely to be watching a drama but engaging in a process of collective imagining that advocates intervention into correspondent processes in reality. This is exemplified in *Kāmau A'e*, which conflates audience members with hotel tourists, treating them, as Wainani notes, literally as 'a captive audience' that can be used 'to spread the word' (Apio 1998: 36). In Appadurai's terms, these performative strategies reinforce the 'fuel for action' constituted by the content of each play. By interrogating the implications of 'carrying on' associated with *Kāmau*'s title, Alika's decision to retain his job transforms from a form of passive acquiescence to an active cultural impulsion. This is emblematised by Apio's own decision to continue *Kāmau* by writing its sequel, the space for which is partly created, like *Dogside Story* in *Potiki*'s case, by *Kāmau*'s unresolved concerns. Moreover, it is not only testament to the ongoing relevance of the play but also pre-emptively fitting in the context of its titular connotations that it 'carries on' being performed in the Pacific: it was remounted by Honolulu's indigenous-focused Kuma Kahua theatre in 2007, receiving further positive reviews, and in 2008 it travels to American Samoa after being 'invited to take part in the prestigious Festival of Pacific Arts in American Samoa' ('Kumu Kahua's "Kamau" Heading to Samoa' 2008).³⁴ The ongoing production of *Kāmau* reflects the way in which the play itself performs a self-reflexive bridging function between representation and reality, demonstrating how the cultural challenges posed by Hawaiian tourist modernity need not arrest aesthetic interrogation of its effects. Like *Potiki*, it both advocates and functions as social activism, building on indigenous communities' existing repertoires of methods for negotiating industry demands.

Whilst differing notably in their outcomes, and speaking to divergent cultural epistemologies and experiences of internal colonialism, these dialectical readings highlight several points of mutual illumination that can help augment the often highly creative forms of indigenous activism regarding environmentally exploitative tourism development across the insular Pacific. They foreground the contingency of grappling with tourism development from various degrees of disenfranchisement, showing that the decisions which confront local communities are anything but straightforward, undermining facile cost/benefit analyses. At the

³⁴ For more information on the remounted play's reception, see for instance Wagenseller (2007).

same time, they assert that even as contested lands (and the cultures they sustain) are exploited and transformed, there are numerous strategies available for confronting, subverting, and enlarging autonomy over such developments. Crucially, nuanced engagement with micro-dialectical conflicts suggests ways of sidestepping some of the more paralysing implications of rigidly polarised approaches to tourism development. Michael's role within the native sovereignty group in *Kāmau A'e*, for instance, places him in opposition to Alika, whose views on tourism development and indigenous rights appear to have shifted further towards his corporate employer's ideologies during Michael's incarceration. Alika even repeats Mortenson's words from the previous play in condemning Michael's decision to contest the hotel's use of sacred land, saying: 'It's not our land and these aren't our islands anymore. I've got a family to feed' (Apio 1998: 12; see also 2003: 73). Yet this seeming complicity is complicated by how he has used his position as a means of empowerment with respect to environmental protection; as he asks rhetorically of Michael, 'for nine years now, while your righteous ass was rotting in jail, who you think made sure the *ko'a* wasn't buried under a parking lot?' (12).

Such friction is also manifested in a later scene involving the cousins, in which Michael frames his arguments according to a dialectical position aligned with the Tamihanas' in *Potiki*, stating that 'Ouwa souls tied to dis land – da sand between youa toes' (60). Alika responds that the hotel offers '[o]ver 200 full-time positions' to Hawaiians who are '[t]eaching our culture [...] our history. Going home and feeding Hawaiian families. Ours was the first hotel to even attempt to explain the sovereignty issue' (61).³⁵ One way of differentiating the concerns of this play

³⁵ Lyons points out that 'Alika's views in *Kāmau A'e* might be compared with those of George Kanahale, whose goals for restoring "Hawaiianess to Waikīkī" include establishing an authentic Hawaiian village' (2006: 226). In his article, 'Tourism: The Keeper of the Culture' (1992), Kanahale argues that 'the tourism industry has a moral responsibility to preserve and nurture native cultures in destination areas where their arts and crafts, customs and historic sites, among other things, are marketed, displayed, sold or exploited for commercial ends' (1992: 31). His attempts to achieve this in conjunction with capitalist hotel owners stemmed from how, in 1984, he and a group of like-minded entrepreneurs began working towards helping to 'Hawaiianize' the Ka'anapali Beach Hotel on the island of Maui after being approached by the manager. This involved designing 'a programme to integrate Hawaiian values and customs into the hotel's management philosophy and practice', with Kanahale asserting that at the time of writing the hotel had become 'recognized by its competitors, marketing specialists, tour companies as well as local residents, as the most Hawaiian hotel in the State – and, [...] one of the most profitable hotels in the industry' (30). Although Kanahale admits that 'this approach comes close to "commercializing" the culture', he nevertheless contends that 'we have to change mindsets not by preaching but by reasoning' and 'appeal to [hotel owners'] competitive logic' (31–2). He was also progressive in viewing ecotourism from an early stage as not merely an environmental practice, arguing that 'cultural tourism and ecotourism have inseparable interests, not least of which is a common challenge: mass tourism' (31). His influence continues to be felt within the Hawaiian Tourism Authority which, in 2006, appointed its first native Hawaiian chair, Douglas Kahikina Chang. In his keynote speech to the Hawaiian Visitors Bureau Annual Lunch in November 2006, Chang acknowledged that, as he 'moved up the ranks' of the

from those in *Potiki* and *Kāmau* is by addressing the way it highlights corporate tourism's transformation along cultural and environmental lines. Whilst by no means auguring a more sustainable future (there is a strong understanding of how the commoditisation of both can be seen merely as a form of profit-driven business diversification), this suggests that less ecologically destructive tourism enterprises must attend the manifold factors, including tourism-as-neocolonialism, that underpin current and future industry practices. Making pronouncements on ecotourism – or on other forms of 'ethical' tourism development – seems in this sense less important than attempting to understand how intersecting varieties of cultural and nature-based island tourism can be negotiated at the interface of competing, and often internally conflictual, ideologies of development.

Drawing on the philosophical insights of Clifford Geertz and Richard Rorty, Lohmann argues that an 'anti-global' alliance which seeks to resist the colonising processes of 'green globalism' involves

defending an intercultural space which is not a language nor a system nor an attitude, but rather a readiness, such as that found in the West in literary criticism or art history, to let incommensurable points of view alone, to be receptive as well as active, to move back and forth among separate social wholes seen as 'reciprocal commentaries, mutually deepening ... one upon another, the one lighting what the other darkens'.

(1993: 167)

The dialectical analyses of Grace's and Apio's texts offered here reinforce Lohmann's inference that literature presents a profoundly productive space through which to address the tensions between incommensurability and reciprocity that need to be emphasised when examining how future postcolonial island tourism development might embrace divergent ideologies of development. By accentuating 'transnational sodalities', foregrounding localised strategies for indigenising the global market, and contributing to the 'everyday cultural practice' where 'the work of the imagination is transformed' (Appadurai 1996: 40), such analyses can usefully augment indigenous communities' real and imagined negotiations of tourism development. In

hospitality industry, he 'became keenly aware that my professional and cultural lives were often at odds'. Indeed, he admits that he 'would have called it quits had it not been for a conference I attended in the late '80s with Dr. George Kanahale, Kenny Brown and many others from both the industry and host culture' (Chang 2006). For further details on the occasion of Chang's speech, see Radway (2007). Apio's appropriation of Kanahale's philosophies is therefore an important contributing factor to his plays' ongoing relevance in Hawai'i. Given the comparative focus of this section, it is also interesting that Kanahale acknowledges how a visit with several other Hawaiian businessmen to New Zealand in 1981 helped reaffirm 'our cultural and spiritual identity as Hawaiians' as '[w]e [...] learned a great deal about ourselves from our "younger Maori cousins"' (1992: 30). He proceeds to state that the experience prompted the formation of 'the WAIAHA Foundation dedicated to the study of Hawaiian values and culture, and the writing of the book *Ku Kanaka-Stand Tall, A Search for Hawaiian Values*. I readily admit that I borrowed the title *ku kanaka* or *tu tangata*, and a few other ideas as well, from Maoridom' (30).

this sense, imaginative representations can play significant roles in transforming the basis for more sustainable Pacific island tourism practices, from New Zealand to Hawai'i.

III. Tourism, Desecration, and Sacred Land

The readings of the previous two sections have indicated some of the ways in which the works of Caribbean and Pacific writers interrogate social constructions of natural environments and portray varying levels of contestation with respect to ecologically unsustainable tourism development. In the final section of this chapter, I want to bring together their respective discursive and dialectical approaches in order to examine whether there are any organising principles that can unite the points raised so far. For instance, what are the links between discursive demolitions of paradisaic tropes and the complex negotiations entailed by material and ideological contestations over touristically desirable land? And how might comparative criticism contribute to the anticipatory and transformative roles literature plays with respect to tourism development in both the Caribbean and the Pacific? Focusing primarily on Kamau Brathwaite's real-life battle against one potentially destructive form of tourism construction in Barbados, the section explores how notions of *the sacred* can be mobilised against exploitative development practices. It shows how this concept offers perspectives on forming more ethical frameworks for sustainable tourism that foreground the interdependence of cultural and environmental factors whilst also attending to economic sustainability demands.

Tourism and Notions of the Sacred

In recent years, both cultural and environmental commentators have examined with increased vigour the importance of the sacred in relation to their respective fields. From a postcolonial perspective, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin note that since the Enlightenment the sacred has been 'relegated to primitivism and the archaic' in comparison to 'secularism, economic rationalism and progressivism' (2002: 212). However, 'at the end of the twentieth century, debates about the sacred have become more urgent as issues such as land rights and rights to sacred beliefs and practices begin to grow in importance. A paradigm shift has occurred in this area, bringing a new consideration of the complex, hybrid and rapidly changing cultural formations of both marginalized and first world peoples' (212). Comparably, Charles Anyinam notes how increasing attention has been given to religious and sacred practices by

environmental scientists, commenting on how a similar paradigm shift in this field was emblematised at a conference on environmental degradation in 1990 when ‘a statement by a distinguished list of American scientists [...] asserted that efforts to safeguard and cherish the environment need to be infused with a vision of the sacred, because problems of such magnitude, and solutions demanding so broad a perspective, must be recognised from the onset as having a religious as well as a scientific dimension’ (1999: 127).

Discussing how the sacred is to be defined, Anyinam notes that the concept first gained currency in the anthropological work of Bronislaw Malinowski and Emile Durkheim. This was expanded on most notably by Mircea Eliade in his book *The Sacred and the Profane* (1959), which underpins numerous subsequent definitions of sacred space. The conversion of ‘ordinary (profane) space’ to sacred space reflects, according to Anyinam’s summary of Eliade, ‘the spiritual characteristics associated with both the physical features and the deeper, abstract implications delimiting a particular site as sacred’ (1999: 130). Jamie Scott also notes how the phrase captures ‘the sense of spiritual significance associated with those concrete locations in which adherents to different religious traditions, past and present, maintain a ritual sense of the sanctity of life and its cycles’ (2001: xvi). Yet, writing from a postcolonial perspective, Scott also notes that there are significant problems with these conceptions. For instance, he observes how some social scientists ‘have argued that Eliade’s opposition of the sacred to the profane recapitulates ancient Western dualisms’ (xvi). In addition, ‘Eliade’s phenomenological method tends to talk of sacred space in essentialist and essentializing terms, forgetting the ambiguities of economic, social and political relations in which all individual spiritual experience and institutional religious life are invariably implicated’ (xvi). Given the ‘economic, social and political’ pressures of tourism, then, part of my aim here is to highlight some ways in which postcolonial island writers’ engagements with the industry can contribute to more rigorous ideas of how the sacred might intervene in environmental sustainability debates.

As the analysis of Grace’s and Apio’s texts demonstrated, a chief facet of resistance to exploitative tourism development expressed by indigenous communities in both New Zealand and Hawai‘i involves opposition to the desecration of places endowed with deep spiritual significance, such as the Tamihanas’ urupa and the ko‘a on Alike’s ancestral land. Significantly, though, these are not spaces that require protection from all forms of human intervention. Indeed, their importance is partly derived from their continued incorporation in local communities’ changing rituals and cultural practices. This even admits levels of tourism, as in

Kāmau A'e, where Michael's native sovereignty group invites the hotel's tourists to join them in their activities at the ko'a. Although notions of the sacred in both texts are grounded in culturally specific epistemologies, their relationship to genealogically embedded ideas regarding custodianship over communal land represents a key point of similarity. Is the same true, however, for postcolonial island communities shaped by ongoing legacies of cultural rupture, such as those associated with mass diaspora and slavery in the Caribbean? Whilst the articulation of genealogical continuities in the insular Pacific partly underpins the importance of notions of the sacred to the region's writers, it is nevertheless intriguing that, in relation to tourism development especially, the concept also comes to the fore in the work of such eminent Caribbean writers as Brathwaite and Walcott. In this light, I want first to probe how the sacred is theorised in non-indigenous contexts, addressing both its limitations and potentialities with respect to environmental sustainability planning, before addressing points of mutual illumination between Caribbean and Pacific island experiences.

Over the last two decades, Walcott has become a conspicuously strong advocate of the need to understand how certain forms of tourism development are implicated in the desecration of sacred environments and to oppose them (literally) on those grounds. He was especially vocal in his condemnation of Hilton's choice to locate a new hotel (unashamedly entitled the 'Jalousie Plantation') atop St Lucia's most iconic geological formation, its twin volcanic peaks known as the Pitons, in the early 1990s. When asked about his response to the development in an interview with George Handley in 2001, Walcott stated forcefully that:

The dangerous thing about it becomes not the fact that another hotel is being built, but where it is being built, so that there is nothing sacred. [...] [T]he investor who can come here and think, "Well, it's just a small island. Who is going to care?" and then be supported by politicians, by the government on the pretext that it is very good for the island, he is doing serious damage to the mentality of St. Lucians who say, "Yes, we should do it because it is going to bring employment". [...] I am talking about the direct desecration of a thing. I am not even against hotels, really. I said so. I said build a hotel, but don't build it there. For Christ's sake, leave something that is really spiritual to St. Lucians more than just two big mountains sticking up out of the sea.

(Handley 2005a: 127–8)

This raises several important issues regarding this form of development. Firstly, exploitative external investment is sanctioned by the government, or the corrupt 'traitors' described by *Omeros*'s narrator as he descends into the St Lucian underworld, 'who, in elected office, saw the land as views / for hotels' (Walcott 1990: 288). As Huggan and Tiffin note, 'the continuing vulnerability of marginalized peoples is no longer simply a question of the colonized throwing off the shackles of colonialism, so particular groups can find themselves targeted by their *own*

governments' (2007: 4; original emphasis). This provokes the question of how governments as well as developers should be approached with regards to sustainability planning. Secondly, the psychological effects of this process on 'the mentality of St Lucians' who approve of employment opportunities at the cost of desecrating a profoundly 'spiritual' site reinforce Walcott's fear that such development is playing a negative role in the transformation and continued oppression of local culture, which for him is predicated partly on a sustainable relationship with the natural environment. This moves Walcott to invoke a religious register in an attempt to highlight the intrinsic or non-material value of natural features; as Paula Burnett observes, he sees tourism development in 'between the landmark Pitons [...] as "like building a McDonald's next to Stonehenge", or "writing 'Fuck you' on a wall in Mecca"' (2001: 53). Thirdly, though, it reinforces Walcott's refusal to condemn the tourism industry wholesale; rather, his objections stem from the instances in which it directly threatens local communities' cultural practices and future environmental interactions. How then might the work of creative writers help prevent this sort of development and contribute to the definition and protection of sacred spaces without either detrimentally affecting their ongoing use-value to local people or converting them from one form of unsustainable tourism site to another? These questions can be productively examined in relation to Brathwaite's real-life struggles against tourism development in the area of Barbados in which he had hoped to relocate permanently, CowPastor.

CowPastor and Namsetoura: Haunted Places, Appropriation, and Resistance

In the mid 1990s, Brathwaite moved to CowPastor, a rural area on the south-east coast of Barbados. He intended to use this space partly as a means of reorganising his extensive archives which were thrown into disarray by Hurricane Gilbert in 1988. He also wanted to open a cultural institute on the site to support the work of young artists. Shortly after settling there, however, he learned of government plans to transform the area by constructing what he calls an 'unnecessary and unethical road [...] for some new unexplained access to the airport' (Brathwaite 2005a).³⁶ He expresses his thoughts and objections to this in an open letter,

³⁶ All deviations from Standard English in this and subsequent quotations from Brathwaite are reproduced exactly; some longer quotations are reproduced as facsimiles according to typographic demands. There are certain conflicts over the specific rationale of the airport expansion, including arguments that (a) it is necessary in order to 'bring Barbados into compliance with the safety requirements of the International

available online in a section of the ‘Save CowPastor’ website which is dedicated to his struggle (and which also displays news, articles, suggestions, and support).³⁷ Brathwaite’s protest against the road’s construction in his letter focuses on its ‘unethical’ ecological effects. He describes it as an ‘offence [...] to the people who choose to live here, who are/were so fortunate to live here to love here’, perpetrated by ‘a willful remote control decision by Authorities too arrogant & high & mighty to discuss plans that involve all our futures fortunes w/us “out here”, who are still seen – MENTAL PLANTATION MENTAL SLAVERY – as chattel anti-heroes have no voice’ (2005a).³⁸ The development involves both the transformation of the landscape – ‘this old plantation well, the little Lake (or Pond) of Thorns – the natural water catchment for this area – filled in and flattened’ (2005a) – and the destruction of wildlife through a loss of pastureland. This includes not only fauna but also symbolic flora including ‘a fledgling BEARDED FIG-TREE (shrine of ancient African & Amerindian spirits) [...] a dear endangered species. cruelly unethically soon to gone’ (2005a). Part of the significance of this landscape – a clue to which is given in Brathwaite’s use of the term ‘are/were’ to describe CowPastor’s inhabitants – is that he believes it to be a sacred site, used for slave burials. This is explored in his genre-crossing portrayal of the events surrounding his struggle, ‘The Namsetoura Papers’ (2005), which not only dramatises the history of Brathwaite’s dispute with the developers but also depicts the visionary encounter he experienced with the spirit of a slave woman named Namsetoura.

Despite the hundreds of thousands of slave deaths in Barbados during the two centuries preceding emancipation, only one slave burial ground has been discovered on the island (although they are largely unmarked, Brathwaite considers the lack of research ‘a SCANDAL A CRIME AND [...] A VERY BAD OMEN!’ [2005e]). However, this graveyard, at Newton plantation, is ‘the earliest and largest undisturbed plantation slave cemetery yet reported in the

Civil Aviation Organisation’; (b) large metal objects in planes’ flight paths can affect their landing systems, and lights in the area can disorientate pilots; and (c) it will protect residents in the event of flight-related emergencies, whilst also functioning as an anti-terrorism measure. More information relating to these points which makes specific reference to Brathwaite’s concerns is available on the internet via the Grantley Adams International Airport website (see <<http://www.gaia.com.bb/>>).

³⁷ See <<http://www.tomraworth.com/wordpress/>>.

³⁸ It is worth pointing out that not only does this buttress Walcott’s anger at government-sanctioned forms of environmental exploitation within St Lucia but it also offers a productive point of comparison with geographer Jonathan Pugh’s provocative argument regarding postcolonial consolidation of state power in Barbados. Pugh suggests that, due both to anxiety regarding the imposition of ‘western’ development paradigms from external ‘donor agencies’ and to ‘the isolated and disconnected nature of local environmental movements in Barbados’, the state now ‘maintains the confidence [...] that it can speak on behalf of “the people” during environmental planning’ (2005: 193). The result is that, rather than empowering local solutions to environmental development problems, many communities are unable to intervene in centralised decision-making processes. Interestingly, given the dialogue in this section between Walcott and Brathwaite, Pugh concludes his article by stating that the St Lucian government is attempting to emulate the forms of centralised control enacted in Barbados (203).

New World' (including the US) and is located, as Brathwaite's narrator in 'The Namsetoura Papers' notes, just 'a few miles north of CowPasture & part of that complex of early southern Bajan plantations' (2005c: 38). The narrator also adds that 'we are now being told [...] that slave graveyards preferred the near of water – rivers ponds a waterfall the sea – if this was possible' (5). Given that the Newton plantation is only 'just over the hill from CP and is part of the same geological scroll', Brathwaite develops a well-researched argument 'that CP, with its water source – that pond – those large wells – and its VIEW OF THE SEA – is much more likely than Newton, to have been a centre of slave religions and ceremonies' (2005e); it is in this context that he calls it his 'sacred backyard space' (2005c: 5). This description requires some differentiation from Walcott's use of the sacred. Not only is the site significant in terms of understanding the links between Barbadian cultural and natural history, but Brathwaite domesticates the official discourse of sacred space (something that might be government sanctioned and conserved in the form of a national park for instance) by highlighting how space is reconfigured according to his own intervention. Often in cases of conflict over land, notions of ownership or, more frequently, guardianship are activated in relation to genealogical histories. However, Brathwaite yokes his own intention to *initiate* a genealogical relationship with CowPastor by turning it into an archive and cultural centre to its sacred history – suggesting that it is possible for 'backyard [...] space' and sacred place to be coterminous.³⁹ This undermines the kind of approach to conservation, often underpinning ecotourism initiatives, inherent in the creation of national parks and buttressed historically by colonial ideologies. What is especially intriguing is the fact that Brathwaite's depiction of his encounter with Namsetoura – which is significantly precipitated by his attempt to create a photographic record of CowPastor – involves a self-reflexive evaluation of how dialectical opposition can be reinforced by aesthetic representation. This makes 'The Namsetoura Papers' well suited to testing the meeting points between the discursive and dialectical approaches engaged in the previous sections of this chapter.

In the part of 'The Namsetoura Papers' beginning '**Xidus_Xidus**', Brathwaite describes his actions on the day he encounters Namsetoura (just on the cusp of 2000 [McSweeney 2005]), a

³⁹ Holger Henke offers another important perspective on this process, stating that not only has 'Brathwaite's writing style [...] surpassed many conventions' but 'his entire oeuvre is a re-creation of an authentic Caribbean voice, a re-indigenization and reoccupation of the moral and ethical space held by Caribbean indigenous and African peoples before the arrival of the colonialists' (2003: 54). Chapter 3 discusses reindigenisation in more depth from a native Hawaiian perspective.

time when he had resigned himself to failing in his attempt to defend CowPastor and having to relocate once more. He writes:

in dread & preparation. leaving < this one last chance to be home & at my age to be beautiful. we be- gin making an inventory of everything in our hearts [...] thirsting up all our images [...] now in these last words we wd use the camera. photographs of me mory. it's sun's eye illuminating my one eye into the last spirits & magicals I've nvr known before tho they are here. [...] ghosts we now know who won't leave us.

(2005c: 43)

Unlike the stereotypical, *studium*-oriented representations inherent in tourism photography that render images largely unitary, Brathwaite attempts here to use photography as a means of preserving an environment that is soon to be destroyed. He is particularly sensitive to the 'ghosts' of the past, which bequeath stories and historicity to landscapes.⁴⁰ This reflects de Certeau's position on how places are endowed with meaning from anthropocentric perspectives:

There is no place that is not haunted by many different spirits hidden there in silence, spirits one can 'invoke' or not. Haunted places are the only ones people can live in [...]. [T]hese 'spirits', themselves broken into pieces [...], do not *speak* any more than they *see*. This is a sort of knowledge that remains silent.

(1984: 108; original emphasis)

However, the depiction of the events that follow Brathwaite's attempt to construct a photographic record of the landscape and its 'ghosts' involves an important departure from de Certeau's spatial philosophy, in which 'spirits' perform primarily metaphorical functions.

After photographing various examples of CowPastor's flora, the narrator describes how his 'eye catch < / sight of a spider – *ananse* – then / the web'. But when he tries to take a picture of it 'in the grassfinder / of the camera – all comin in / is the bright afternoon in the iris / & the eye of camera'. On switching to a close-up lens, his 'new xpensive Sigma **STOP / WORKIN**' and he almost makes the 'fatal' mistake of opening the camera which would have 'lose us the few shots we hav / (e)leave inside / which i now >> kno is / how the SPIDERS makin me do / this - TO LOO / -SE ALL RECORD OF >> / DEM-IMAGES' (2005c: 44). Commenting on this section of 'The Namsetoura Papers', Adriana González Mateos states that Brathwaite's interest in the spider is 'not that of a naturalist. In Ghana, the Akan worship Ananse, a spirit that is also a spider. It gleams in the darkness and entraps our fears, drives away malignant energies, plays with people's certainties, and guards those places where our world comes into contact with

⁴⁰ There are confluences here with Pierre Nora's notion of 'lieux de mémoire' (sites of memory), which coincides partly with ideas about sacred space and storied landscapes. Designated as places 'where [cultural] memory crystallizes and secretes itself' (1989: 7), Nora sees them as products of modernity, symbolised by constructed histories which are necessary to replace ruptures in cultural memory. CowPastor is situated in a liminal space between ongoing articulations of cultural memory with respect to landscape, and constructions of sacredness via archaeology and historical archives. It thus challenges dichotomous understandings of sacred spaces as 'primitive' or pre-modern, sites of memory as modern.

other worlds' (Mateos 2006). Why then might this Ananse-figure want to intervene in Brathwaite's attempt to memorialise CowPastor photographically, and cause him to 'loose all record of dem images'?

As noted in section one, Sontag characterises the photographer as 'supertourist'. She also suggests that '[t]o photograph is to appropriate' (2001: 4); that the camera 'may presume, intrude, trespass, distort, exploit, and, at the furthest reach of the metaphor, assassinate' (13); and that 'the act of taking pictures is [...] a semblance of rape' (24). Despite his deep attentiveness to CowPastor's natural beauty, could we therefore read the problems Brathwaite experiences in attaining a photographic record of the area as figuratively linked to these kinds of appropriative manoeuvres? And, in the sense of photography as 'supertourism', are his actions in some way complicit with the very process of expropriation that is causing him to leave his home and transforming his land? Despite the suggestion of this, a more influential reason for his problems concerns his inability (following Barthes once more) to break CowPastor's ecological *studium* as fully as the site demands. Part of Ananse's tricky, contrapuntal purpose in this sense is to guide the photographer towards the hidden *punctum* of the scene. CowPastor is not only a site of threatened natural beauty but also one of deep cultural, historical, and spiritual significance: it has a sacred quality that requires more involved engagement than that provided by conventional photographic images. This *punctum* is represented by Namsetoura.

Still attempting to capture the spider and its web, the narrator describes how suddenly 'the whole / precious autofocus CRACK as if I have a heart attack or someone / cussin mwe' (2005c: 12). At this point, his wife Chad finds a 'lil ole / Kodak camerata try a few shots sheself and is from this box we get / this pic. ture. not of spiders spiderwebs. but this. the one shot out of a / whole wide roll of blacks & blanks of flim. **this Nam- / setoura.** and is she. sheself. who writin mwe this poem' (12; fig. 2 shows the picture [49], which also adorns the cover of his collection of poems *Born to Slow Horses* [2005]).

Fig. 2:



The point at which the lens cracks can be interpreted as an instant in which CowPastor's cultural and historical *punctum* 'pierces' the boundaries between reality and representation, life and death. The general 'commitment' to a field of interest that is applied, in Barthes's terms, 'without special acuity' (2000: 26) and which characterises the photographic *studium* (constituted in this case by the beauty of CowPastor's natural environment) is therefore literally 'broken' by Namsetoura. In this case, though, the *punctum* does not 'shoot out of' a photograph but seemingly from the physical surroundings themselves, 'pricking' the lens and reinforcing its inaptness for capturing the cultural and historical resonances of this sacred environment.

One challenge this presents to de Certeau's characterisation of haunted places as inert, mediated only by metaphors and stories, is that it is not the 'spirits' here that are 'broken into pieces' but the instrument of mimesis, the camera. A further challenge arises as this 'ghost', Namsetoura, does not 'remain silent' in the way de Certeau's theory suggests, but speaks to Brathwaite as follows:

tree hundred years I starin here under this
 spider web
 O bush
 ananse at my door of herbs
 [...]

an now you come disturb me
w/ yr camera
destroy
the ruin of my spiral with yr flash

O wash me now my child my metaphor
flesh of my flash
great great grandbrother
from this other world

Yu think they dis
-possessin yu? Yu tink you tall
Yu tink yu Rasta moultamaassaman

wreck
-on yu roots yu rave?
(50–2)

Namsetoura's anguished yet provocative interrogation of the narrator allows contention that de Certeau's emphasis on the 'silence' of 'spirits' has a Eurocentric bias, indebted to a 'western' empiricist tradition that sees spirit-worlds primarily as functions of the imaginary. Moreover, by calling the narrator '*my metaphor / flesh of my flash*', Namsetoura performs a significant mimetic reversal. Although Brathwaite appears to mediate by transcribing her words, her sentiments suggest that, not only is she the narrator's ancestral progenitor, but that he is a function of her imagination rather than vice versa – a metaphor fleshed out by the flash of her visionary intervention. One obvious counter-argument is that the only 'evidence' of Namsetoura's existence in 'reality' is Brathwaite's personal testimony and the photograph he presents as an image of Namsetoura. Hence, the encounter could be simply rendered the product of Brathwaite's imaginative engagement with the history of a place to which he is deeply attached. This would suggest that Namsetoura is no more than precisely the kind of 'invoked' spiritual figure described by de Certeau. Yet, the interface between history, memory, spirituality, and aesthetic production explored in 'The Namsetoura Papers' significantly complicates this conclusion. This becomes clearer through examination of the relationship between the *visible* and the *invisible* in assessing the 'sacred' function of the text's landscape.

As section two shows, the invisible is central to the how the indigenous communities in Grace's and Apio's texts conceive of their local environments as sacred. It is also vital to the ways in which Caribbean writers, like Kincaid and Walcott, confront asyndetic island place-myths by historicising visible aspects of local landscapes. As Jeff Baldwin rightly comments with regard to *A Small Place*, 'Kincaid lets us know [that] [...] Antiguan beach landscapes, like other touristed landscapes, are characterized by a certain dissonance between the visible and the

invisible, the unexamined and the manifest. Apparently natural, they are products of social relations at work in the context of ecological and physical processes' (2005: 222). In similar terms, then, the factual status of Brathwaite's encounter with Namsetoura is arguably *less important* than the power of a specific place to provoke intensely imagined experiences through consideration of its invisible qualities, particularly its historical dimensions. 'The Namsetoura Papers' therefore reads partly as a self-referential intervention into the politics of tourism development policies that threaten to desecrate the very spaces that have enabled industry expansion. However, this conclusion only accounts partially for the interrogation of 'the real' that the text presents. Refusing to accept that Namsetoura is primarily a literary construction or imaginative creation, both within 'The Namsetoura Papers' and in real-life interviews and correspondences, Brathwaite undermines binary understandings of the visible and the invisible as he asserts that the two are intimately entwined. By incorporating a photograph of Namsetoura in the text, he challenges the reader to accept her both as a function of the imaginary (CowPastor's normally invisible *punctum*), and as a visible participant in its contemporary ecological reality. In this sense, the genre-crossing, interdiscursive form of 'The Namsetoura Papers' is vital to its effectiveness.

This point is illuminated in Brathwaite's interview with Joyelle McSweeney, conducted shortly after writing 'The Namsetoura Papers' in 2005. The interview includes a discussion of contemporary 'catastrophes', such as the South Asian tsunami of 2004 and the hurricanes which ravaged New Orleans and the Gulf Coast of the US and Mexico in 2005, as McSweeney asks Brathwaite to consider 'how art can come out of catastrophe'. Brathwaite asserts that:

Art must come out of catastrophe. [...] What is it that causes nature to lunge in this cataclysmic way, and what kind of message [...] is Nature trying to send to us? And how are they connected, these violent forces that hit the world so very often – manmade or nature-made or spirit-made – they hit us increasingly violently. And I'm at the center of this, I feel – what I have experienced here at CowPastor is a miniscule version of the same thing. That one should have found a home, after a long period of peregrination, and within minutes of finding that home, to be told that you have to leave, on a flimsy, unethical excuse, is another form of catastrophe.

(McSweeney 2005)

This passage makes an intriguing distinction between nature in capitalised and non-capitalised forms. Although this may be a transcriptional quirk, it nevertheless draws attention to the physical and metaphysical dimensions of the processes Brathwaite discusses, which in turn reflect links between the visible and the invisible. The capitalised version of 'Nature' relates to the metaphysical dimension of 'catastrophe', associated more with a 'calamitous fate' (*OED* 2)

than the material processes of ‘nature’ that prompt disasters. However, rather than signalling an apocalyptic endpoint, Brathwaite comments that, ‘[o]ne thing about catastrophe, for me, is that it always seems to lead to a kind of magical realism. That moment of utter disaster, the very moment when it seems almost hopeless, too difficult to proceed, you begin to glimpse a kind of radiance on the other end of the maelstrom’ (McSweeney 2005). He thus establishes an interrelationship between the kind of ‘catastrophic’ ecological effects precipitated by globalised modernity’s most unsustainable practices, and an aesthetic genre which suggests a wider philosophical form of conceiving reality that allows disaster to be worked through. This is condensed in the ‘miniscule version’ of wider reaching global processes (here, tourism development) represented by CowPastor. Brathwaite’s encounter with the region’s conventionally invisible *punctum*, Namsetoura, is an example of how environmental destruction both provokes and demands recourse to the ‘magical real’, to a conception of ‘reality’ where the spiritual domain constitutes an inseparable aspect of its ecological specificity and texture. This undermines the kind of positivist distinction between the corporal and the ethereal, the ‘active’ living and the ‘silent’ dead, on which de Certeau’s characterisation of haunted places rests. The construction of ‘The Namsetoura Papers’ reinforces how, for Brathwaite, the ‘magical’ and the ‘imaginary’ are inseparable from the ‘real’.

Part of the importance of Brathwaite’s encounter with Namsetoura is that it forced him away from a primarily visual conception of CowPastor as he interrogates how the visible domain interacts with the invisible currents of cultural memory and historical circumstance. He tells McSweeney:

what she [Namsetoura] said is that I should do some real research, I should defend her sacred space, and I should become concerned therefore with the environment, both historically and spiritually, from which she had come. And soon after that I began to make it clear to the government of Barbados, without much response, that I was not going to leave CowPastor until I got some clear explanation as to why they wanted to build a road through this place.

(McSweeney 2005)

This has some important ramifications. Firstly, it enhances understandings of how the fragmentation of Brathwaite’s camera, as described in ‘The Namsetoura Papers’, represents the limitations of photography as a mode of fully comprehending or capturing CowPastor’s historically embedded but spiritually vital ecology. Complicity with touristic modes of appropriation is produced because visual records only constitute part of the story of any human dwelling place, as de Certeau’s narrative-oriented spatial theory recognises. Namsetoura’s

intervention prevents Brathwaite from representing this site through sight alone; instead she drives him to the archives, to historical resources, stories, and imaginative reconstructions in order to ‘develop’ a fuller understanding of CowPastor which he then self-reflexively refashions as aesthetic artefact. Crucially, the resulting text not only embraces generic aspects of the ‘magical real’ but is formally interdiscursive, incorporating academic research, archival and historical evidence, poetical texts, government speeches and edicts, the photograph of Namsetoura, and written transcriptions of oral testimony. In this sense, the visible dimension of CowPastor is reinforced by the conventionally invisible, with the resulting text constituting a cultural artefact inspired by a landscape under threat of development and ecological destruction.

It is also worth noting that this process (Brathwaite’s attempt to create a photographic record of CowPastor, his encounter with Namsetoura, his subsequent research, and the literary work this helped produce) energised and extended his original dialectical opposition to the development through discursive refashioning of its original logic. Conversely, this discursive intervention is reinforced and politicised by continued resistance in reality. This offers a powerful example of how the two reading strategies applied in this chapter are interrelated, providing points of mutual enlightenment. Yet, whilst this might seem a neat conclusion, at the moment of writing neither Brathwaite’s resistance nor his artistic interventions have succeeded in repelling the proposed development although, through internet publication especially, they have contributed to raising awareness about his struggle and its implications for other places facing similar challenges. In what ways, then, might further comparative consideration of the ideas raised here enhance perspectives on attaining goals like those described by Brathwaite?

Limitations of the Sacred

As the importance of non-living worlds in *Potiki* and *Kāmau* intimates, the struggle to protect sacred space from unsustainable tourism development portrayed in ‘The Namsetoura Papers’ has resonance in Pacific island contexts. In her work on Pacific island development, Emberson-Bain argues that, as “‘sustainable development’” flourished prior to colonial conquest, military occupation, the imposition of a cash economy, and the fostering of Western “‘development’” [...] [i]t is perhaps timely [...] that we look back into the past for clues as to how to build a self-reliant, sustainable future: a time to wake up some of the ghosts of yesteryear’ (1994: x–xi). This statement is particularly fitting with respect to those texts analysed in which ‘ghosts’

ironically ‘awaken’ living individuals’ awareness of tourism’s environmental interventions. For instance, ‘The Namsetoura Papers’ reinforces the observation that ‘[d]ue to colonial and tourist views of the islands as ahistorical, passive, and idyllic landscapes, Caribbean writers have had to recover a sense of historicity’ (DeLoughrey *et al.* 2005: 12). This ‘recovery’, in which the writer is roused by the spectral rather than vice versa,⁴¹ emphasises the ongoing role such ghosts can play in disrupting environmentally exploitative or insensitive forms of tourism development. Similar observations can also be made in relation to *Kāmau* (with respect to the role of Alika’s mother) and *Omeros* (in scenes involving the ghost of Walcott’s father, Warwick, and Homer/Omeros).⁴² What power, though, might these ‘ghosts’ have to disrupt the most environmentally exploitative forms of tourism?

One key challenge tourism development poses to land use ideologies that emphasise its social and spiritual value is that, despite their high cultural and environmental sustainability ideals, they tend not to speak directly to *economic* concerns, however ethically dubious these may be. This is enhanced by the fact that governments and policy-makers often assess environmental value through reductive cost-benefit analyses, measuring cultural factors arbitrarily and unfavourably. But can subjective notions like the sacred be reconciled with capital-driven logic? Should they be? Blamey notes that, whilst it is laudable for sustainable tourism advocates to construct ‘wish-lists’ concerning their conservationist aims, ‘they are typically very general in nature and [...] this leaves a significant gap between policy endorsement and implementation’ (2001: 15). Indeed, he cites one frustrated commentator’s complaint that: ‘Reading each principle in turn I found myself increasingly asking the questions, Why? How? When? With what? It soon became very tiresome ploughing through so many platitudinous points’ (12). In this light, the dramatisation of conflict presented in creative

⁴¹ There has been a concerted focus recently on issues of postcolonialism and the spectral, with the latter being ‘legitimated [...] as critical concept’ in works drawing, as André Lepecki observes in his own essay on the ‘postcolonial spectral’, on Jacques Derrida’s *Spectres de Marx* (1993) and its influential notion of ‘hauntology’ (Lepecki 2003: 123). See, for instance, Pheng Cheah’s *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (2003), which argues that the postcolonial ‘nation tries to reappropriate the state from [...] global capitalist forces so that it can fully incarnate itself’ (11), with the ‘haunted nation’ (‘possessed by the neocolonial state’) seen by Cheah as ‘the most appropriate metaphor for freedom today’ (12). Similarly, in *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism* (2003), Ranjana Khanna claims that ‘the affect of colonialism, understood as the spectral remainder of the inassimilable colonial structure of the modern nation-state, informs and shapes the temporality of contemporary nation-statehood’ (12).

⁴² For discussion of how Warwick and *Omeros*’s narrator engage with the form of tourism represented by a cruise liner moored in Castries, see Carrigan (2007: 151–4). This essay explores the rapidly expanding role of cruise tourism in the Caribbean through an ecocritically inflected analysis of its representation in Paule Marshall’s *Praisesong for the Widow* (1983) and *Omeros*. As such, it supplements the primarily land-based concerns of this chapter.

writing, along with protests made by individual writers against desecration of sacred spaces and related forms of aesthetic ‘contamination’, can seem insubstantial, even impotent when confronting such an economically powerful force as mass tourism.

One example of such impotence occurs in Albert Wendt’s novel *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* (1979). Hospitalised with a terminal case of tuberculosis, the novel’s anti-hero Pepe (who ‘writes’ this central section of the text) imagines a bleak, neocolonial future for Samoa in which ‘[t]he tourist trade is to become the new missionary trade, only this time the Bible is to be the Yankee dollar, and the priests are to be the tourist owners, and the altar of sacrifice is to be our people’ (1979: 189–90). Notably, although local people are portrayed here as sacrificial subjects, Pepe also suggests that tourists are victims of the same process of cooptation, ‘owned’ by those ‘priests’ of tourism, developers. He then asserts that: ‘Even my writer hero Tusiata [Robert Louis Stevenson] and his grave on Mt Vaea is going to be a tourist attraction where tourists will go to fuck their women with cameras’ (190). This statement holds many ambivalent implications (arising in part from the suggested correlation between Pepe and Stevenson, and from issues of cultural assimilation surrounding the consecration of a foreign artist), presenting tourism as an agent both of desecration and appropriation. The latter part of the quotation, for instance, seems highly suggestive in light of the earlier discussion of photography’s role in touristic conceptions of place. Are the tourists Pepe describes to be understood as fornicating with women who are wearing cameras, or are the tourists themselves wearing them? Indeed, are the women to be ‘fucked’ not by the tourists but by actual cameras? Or are the tourists using cameras to ‘fuck’ their women in the sense of to ‘ruin, spoil, mess up’ (*OED* 3.a)?

Such ambiguities telescope touristic and photographic practice in ways that have distinct resonance with Sontag’s observations on the latter, such as its penetrative, sexualised nature, its intrusiveness, its ‘possession of space’ (2001: 9), and its ‘colonisation’ of ‘new experiences’ (42). They highlight a sharp disjunction between tourists involved in multiple reproductive processes (sexual and photographic, spawning future tourists) and sites of literal death which are not only being desecrated but are also under threat of destruction (metonymic of wider processes of cultural demise). Hence, Pepe gloomily predicts that ‘after I die Samoa is going to be like [...] all the other tourist centres which are tropical paradises in the posters’: homogenised and ecologically degraded. In this dystopian milieu, a government ‘which is run by New Zealand Papalagi’ pursuing ‘what [it] calls “economic development”’ is creating a national condition that causes Pepe to assert: ‘My country does not need writers like me; it wants

tourists' (1979: 189). Yet even this 'economic development' is tainted and made unsustainable by the actions of tourists on Stevenson's grave. They contribute at once to the effacement of its sanctity and its incorporation into a commoditised touristed landscape in which the island's haunted places have been so thoroughly attenuated as to cease representing tourist attractions.

Despite the logic of this position, it is nevertheless important to note that another key problem in mobilising notions of the sacred in defence of more sustainable tourism alternatives is the way it risks alienating those communities most affected by such change. In this light, it is significant that Walcott's protests against the Jalousie Plantation 'earned him criticism from many of the local working class who viewed the development as a much-needed economic opportunity' (DeLoughrey *et al.* 2005: 24). He expresses his resulting frustration as follows:

I don't want to sound like someone preaching ecology, but that's the core of the question, and it's a moral question. And if people ignore immoral questions of landscape [...] then ultimately the damage is incalculable. So the person who is protecting the sacred piece of earth is doing more than the person who thinks that right now concrete and steel are going to do more for some other generation coming. That's now a world crisis. It's an emblem that the Pitons are an example of. [...] It's very hard to communicate that to people in Soufrière who can't feel some ancestral anything about it, but who know that these are two emblems of something more than, say, another building.

(Handley 2005a: 129)

In seeing the Pitons as an 'emblem' for much wider, globalised processes of development-led desecration, Walcott's position reflects Brathwaite's claim regarding CowPastor that 'my micro case here, is the macro case of us all. The little done unto mwe, is the burden down upon us all' (2005a). However, assimilating this argument in a way that is meaningful to local communities poses some vital moral and linguistic challenges. For DeLoughrey *et al.*, the 'reaction against one of St. Lucia's most celebrated native sons demonstrates that without a strong tradition of local consumption, many of the otherwise noticeable effects of misguided environmental policies go unnoticed on small islands because the hegemonic forces of tourism and neocolonialism have been adopted on the local level' (2005: 24–5). This implies that islanders remain victims, to some extent, of a form of continued mental colonisation. Yet, it is also possible that without a strong cultural practice of interaction with environmental features such as the Pitons, Walcott's message could still be interpreted as either 'green globalist' or simply irrelevant to present economic need. For example, he asserts in rather universalising terms that '[n]obody can go by the Pitons and not be really moved by the power they emanate. The same thing would be true of any other sacred location that has become cherished for some vibration it gives off' (Handley 2005a: 128). This foregrounds a problem with the term's imprecision:

arguing for environmental protection on the basis of ‘some vibration it gives off’ appears woolly when juxtaposed against the same land’s economic resource value. Such mobilisations of the sacred appear too inexact to have any impact on market-driven logic.

Walcott’s interview comments admit the importance of attracting local community support if an ethical position towards development is to be effective in combating exploitative proposals. This is difficult if, as Walcott recognises, the language in which counter-arguments are couched is itself estranging, particularly as the sacred and the ethical seem confusingly to coalesce. Walcott’s discomfort with being thought of as ‘preaching ecology’ highlights how religious and environmental moralising can be interpreted as similarly sententious. In this context, can sacred space be conceived in ways which, whilst remaining attentive to nature’s intrinsic value, also insist on economic factors’ relevance to communities whose local environments are being transformed by tourism? This question also bears import at a theoretical level to extending the application of postcolonial ecocriticism as a critical formation, especially in light of Huggan’s assertion that ‘global “ecological citizenship” requires commitments to human, as well as wider ecological justice, engendering the recognition that nature has extrinsic, as well as intrinsic value for us all’ (2004: 703).

A further obstacle noted by Walcott in using the sacred to support environmental arguments centres on how history and tradition are conventionally seen as vital to cultural assignments of sacredness (rather than merely ‘some vibration’). Definitions of the sacred tend to be overwhelmingly entwined with *indigenous* rights, based around continuity of presence and genealogical claims to custodianship of land. Hence for Anyinam, there is a distinction between ‘modern societies’, which ‘are characterised by [...] anthropocentric, mechanistic, and [...] utilitarian attitudes to nature’, and ‘the various traditions within indigenous societies’ that exhibit ‘intricate relationships with nature’ (1999: 138). The former are deemed more likely to corrupt natural environments than the latter, whose sacred spaces are ‘jealously protected from any forms of human pollution and environmental degradation and thus, contribute to the preservation of nature’ (138). However, not only does this polarise indigenous and modern – denying modernity to the indigenous while tacitly reinscribing stereotypes about ‘primitive’ societies’ ‘harmonious’ relationship with nature – but it also puts the kind of diasporic, creolised, and fragmented cultures of the Caribbean in an uncertain position. Does the region’s history of genocide and diaspora militate against environmentally embedded notions of the

sacred emerging outside the aesthetic domain in ways that have broader political as well as social significance?

Walcott intimates that the apparent lack of ‘ancestral’ feeling amongst ‘people in Soufrière’ acts as a barrier to seeing the Pitons as sacred and therefore objecting to their development. Yet, rather than understanding notions of the sacred as incompatible with historical experience in the Caribbean – something that Walcott’s and Brathwaite’s appreciation of their homelands’ sacred dimensions argues against – Walcott’s experiences reinforce the need to recognise how the sacred as a category involves a degree of flux, and can be *created* through present-day communities’ historical and cultural engagements.⁴³ Burnett makes a similar assertion when, discussing Walcott’s work, she notes that, ‘[i]n portraying the island “home” as “here”, not “elsewhere”’, writers express ‘the sacredness that the Caribbean community can feel for the place in which it now finds itself’ (Burnett 2001: 36).⁴⁴ As Richard Jackson and Roger Henrie recognise, ‘[s]acred space does not exist naturally, but is assigned sanctity as man defines, limits and characterises it through his culture, experience, and goals’ (cited in Anyinam 1999: 130). Importantly, it also embraces a commitment to futurity as well as a reverence for historical experience, linked to notions of endowment, which is bound up in Walcott’s and particularly Brathwaite’s creative engagements with tourism and the sacred. The key question that emerges in this light applies in different ways, but with similar ramifications, to Pacific as well as Caribbean island communities.⁴⁵ This concerns whether the environmental issues raised in postcolonial island texts which coalesce around notions of the sacred can be read in ways that connect meaningfully with negotiations of tourism development by these

⁴³ MacCannell’s argument regarding ‘sight sacralisation’ is worth noting in relation to this observation, as it centres on how tourism also sanctifies objects, endowing them with forms of sacredness. This involves marking out touristically significant sights or sites, ‘framing’ and ‘elevating’ them in order to set them apart from their quotidian context, and thereby ‘enshrining’ them (1999: 44–5). The problem here dovetails with those produced by forms of ‘western’ conservation that segregate touristed landscapes or objects from everyday contexts at the expense of local cultural practices. It also involves a substantial degree of spatial transformation, which can radically alter the context in which sacralised objects are couched.

⁴⁴ Burnett also observes that, ‘[s]peaking of his portrayal in *Omeros* of the Plunketts [...] Walcott has explained his view that a person not native to a place may become, through love of it, “spiritually native”’ (2001: 36).

⁴⁵ DeLoughrey *et al.* help clarify how Édouard Glissant for example distinguishes between the ways ‘atavistic and composite cultures [...] find rootedness in the (literary) landscape’. Whilst the former tend to ‘reify ethnic genealogy and origins, claim[ing] a “faultless continuity” in the land by rejecting creolization’, the latter generate ‘a sense of place [...] through a cross-cultural and synchronic aesthetic that is capable of imagining competing claims, lost histories, as well as a deep attachment to the natural environment in the present’ (2005: 21). I would argue, however, that the negotiations of competing ideologies of development discussed in relation to the indigenous communities in Grace’s and Apio’s texts, which reflect aspects of this creolised understanding of place, suggest that the distinction drawn by Glissant is less assured in the current climate of globalised tourism modernity.

regions' inhabitants. If so, to what degree do they collectively imagine possible engagements with tourism enterprises which avoid unnecessary *sacrifice*, either of artistic potential, sacred space, or financial capital?

Sacrifice, Aesthetics, and Multivalent Sacredness

The term *sacrifice*, which is frequently used in work on sustainable tourism alternatives, is appropriate in this context as it encompasses highly charged cultural, spiritual, and pecuniary connotations, referring to any offering to a deity in propitiation or homage (*OED* 1.a), a 'loss incurred in selling something below its value' (*OED* 5.a), and the 'destruction or surrender of something valued or desired for the sake of something having, or regarded as having, a higher or a more pressing claim' (*OED* 4.a). The multiple meanings of *sacrifice* also align it usefully with the sacred, which is itself situated between the secular and the religious, with the potential to communicate between different epistemologies and value judgements when mobilised effectively. The previous sections of this chapter provided several examples of the ways in which ecological sacrifice is bound up with economic concerns in depictions of tourism development in Pacific island texts. For instance, Roimata's interrogation of the manner of Toko's death in *Potiki* unsettles the degree to which she can regard the family's resistance against Dolman's company as successful, raising the complex question of whether his death was a necessary sacrifice. Central to the negotiation of this principle is a comparative scale or order of sacrifice which produces friction between the assertion of environmentally embedded cultural practices on one hand and economic demands and enticements on the other. Similarly, Alika's decision to sacrifice his principles so as to support his dependants in *Kāmau* seems excessive to Michael, provoking the latter's active opposition to ecologically exploitative tourism development in *Kāmau A'e*. Finally, the way in which Pepe condenses religious elements of colonial history with present-day pecuniary demands for ecological 'sacrifice' in *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* underscores how closely the two registers are linked.

By claiming that the Bible's significance to previous generations of missionaries is being replaced by 'the Yankee dollar' and 'the altar of sacrifice is to be our people', Pepe suggests that not only native cultures but also the environments which sustain them are becoming objects of sacrifice as they transform into 'tourist centres' or, as he sees it, 'con-men paradises' (Wendt 1979: 189). He thus invokes two senses of the term *sacrifice* which undermine the rationale of

this type of tourism development. The fact that the ‘higher or more pressing claim’ exerted by tourism over more sustainable forms of local land use is distinctly questionable implies that this sacrifice more accurately represents the loss incurred as something of great value is forsaken. Significantly, Pepe again suggests that such loss is felt not only by local communities but also by participants in international tourism. This complicates the ‘sacred principle’ of short-term profit even as it is wilfully pursued. As unsustainable tourism development consistently desecrates, transforms, and destroys the ‘paradise’ landscapes it markets, the attraction of these natural environments to tourists is liable to be transient. It therefore fails to meet even the World Bank’s capital-oriented definition of sustainable development as ‘development that lasts’ (cited in Sachs 1993: 10). Environmentally unsustainable tourism development is, in this sense, a sacrifice to the god of short-term gain, possessing a dubious economic rationale alongside a paucity of ecological ethics. As Holden states, ‘[i]t is in the long-term economic interest of all tourism stakeholders to conserve nature as a resource’ (2003: 105). To some extent, then, goals of sustainable development as understood from the historically embedded perspectives of Pacific islanders like Emberson-Bain or from a narrowly capitalist World Bank viewpoint overlap, even if their orientations differ vastly. Whilst there is more at stake in sustainable ecological use for local inhabitants than for those developing interests in the site from afar (both in cultural and economic terms), one of the most intriguing aspects of aesthetic products that deal with environmental demarcation, defence, and sacrifice in relation to encroaching development is their touristic significance.

Responding to the question, ‘[h]ow important is it to defend sacred spaces? Is it more important than defending art?’, Walcott asserts that: ‘It is stronger than art’ (Handley 2005a: 128). This positions ‘sacred spaces’ and writing in a hierarchical, rather than co-constitutive, relationship: it is less important to defend art as, without the existence of sacred spaces in reality, artistic potential is reduced. What Walcott’s comment here occludes (but which is evident in his wider oeuvre) is the possibility not only that cultural production can play an important role in defending sacred spaces, making it difficult to disentangle the two, but that the resulting aesthetic value attached to these places may also be crucial in preventing them from being developed unsustainably. A similar point is made regarding Brathwaite’s portrayal of CowPastor’s sacred and historical dimensions in a supportive email he received from Tomás Graves and published online. Born on another island which has experienced massive tourism expansion over the last few decades, Majorca, Graves is the son of British writer Robert Graves

and his email compares Brathwaite's present struggle to his father's staunch opposition to the 'savage development plans' proposed for the highlands in the 1960s. This resulted in 'a protection order on the whole Majorcan mountain range' (Graves 2005). In his email, Graves discusses the potential significance of distinctive cultural forms and institutes to future tourism enterprises. He argues that:

Mr Braithwaite's [*sic*] plans for a cultural centre and library is the sort of project that could give Barbados a much higher profile internationally than any airport access road could; in the cut-throat competitiveness of the tourist industry, sunny beach resorts are two-a-penny. In the long term, it's what lies behind the beaches that makes the difference; Mr Braithwaite [*sic*] is one of the island's greatest assets and his project could be a windfall for Barbados. Another lesson to be learned from our experience here is that the authorities gain much more international prestige by respecting a living artist than exploiting a dead one.

(Graves 2005)

Graves recognises the importance of cultural dimensions in differentiating tourism resorts, identifying the touristic potential of Brathwaite's plans for CowPastor as a source of empowerment in the struggle against its development into an airport access road. By defending a sacred space via the cultural text represented by the 'Save CowPastor' website, Brathwaite is creating an aesthetically mediated product that is not only touristically marketable, but which is also in tourism stakeholders' interests to protect from ecological destruction in order for its extrinsic value to be retained.

This argument is not alien to Brathwaite; indeed, he considers the importance of the aesthetic dimension in transforming specific environments in discussion with McSweeney. Commenting on the formal diversity of *Born to Slow Horses*, McSweeney states that, as it contains 'elegies, [...] drum songs, and newspaper clippings and letters, anecdotes, essays', it 'seems like the archive itself is almost becoming a poetic form for you' (McSweeney 2005). In response Brathwaite accepts this premise, saying: 'I suppose the only way to keep the archive is to write a poem!'. This prompts him to consider the relationship between literature and the natural environments it represents, commenting that in this way 'CowPastor becomes a poem too' (McSweeney 2005). Brathwaite intimates a co-constitutive relationship between writing and its environmental referent as, if either is destroyed in reality, both are diminished. Cultural productions can in this sense be seen to function as vital agents of protection as their refashioning of the environment into an aesthetic form draws attention to its value as a site of touristic appreciation. This is not to invert the hierarchy which Walcott constructs between sacred space and art, but to unravel it by showing how the ongoing adaptation of both is

interknit. Further, it offers an alternative logic regarding tourism developers' investments in such contested environments as CowPastor, the extrinsic value of which is potentially transformed by Brathwaite's work. In this sense, his aestheticised intervention with respect to the specific site of CowPastor helps endow it with a form of *multivalent sacredness*.

I use this term to suggest an interface between contrasting ideologies of development where the distribution of power is not stable but operates in a condition of flux as the interests of differently empowered actors oscillate between conflict and coalition. Embracing the nexus of past, present, and future genealogical claims (cultural sacredness), notions of nationally significant areas that safeguard nature's sanctity (environmental sacredness), and tourism-related economic concerns (the sacred principle of capital accumulation), it allows the extrinsic value of sacred spaces to become negotiable by multiple parties without collapsing the terms of discussion into a purely economic idiom. This challenges the essentialising of space which Scott sees as inherent in Eliade's comparative inattention to 'ambiguities of economic, social and political relations' (2001: xvi). Another advantage of conceiving sacredness in this way is that it avoids the kind of hierarchising tendency that attends Jackson and Henrie's 'typology for categorising sacred space at three broad levels' (Anyinam 1999: 132). As Anyinam summarises, this situates "'mystico-religious sites" (shrines, cathedrals, sacred groves, mountains, or trees)' above 'homelands (representing the roots of each individual, family or people – sacred only to believers)', and both above 'the lowest level of sacred space': the 'historical sacred sites that have been assigned as a result of an event occurring there' (132). It is worth noting that Brathwaite's 'sacred grove' at CowPastor embraces all three of these elements, but rather than privilege one over another, the multi-generic, interdiscursive form of 'The Namsetoura Papers' in particular draws them together (and juxtaposes them alongside economic considerations) in order to reinforce the broader points made by his 'Save CowPastor' campaign.⁴⁶ This non-oppositional approach to power distribution, which derives impetus from the meeting point between sacred space and cultural production, offers a means for conjunctions between environmental, cultural, and economic interests to be established in ways that have the potential to attenuate excessive sacrifice from all three perspectives simultaneously.

⁴⁶ It is also significant that, in its formal experimentation and use of multiple genres, Brathwaite's work in relation to the 'Save CowPastor' campaign frustrates assumptions regarding 'typical' postcolonial or environmental texts. Discussing 'aesthetic preference', Huggan and Tiffin state that 'it seems pointless to deliberate whether, say, social realism is to postcolonialism as nature writing is to ecocriticism when any number of examples can be cited to complicate either case' (2007: 9). Brathwaite's work uses generic boundaries not as a means to tap into conventional discourses but to unsettle the kind of generalisations about the form of postcolonial and environmental commentaries that are rejected by Huggan and Tiffin.

There is of course a clear sense of utopianism in this argument. I am especially mindful of its complicities with what MacCannell describes as corporate tourism's desire to promote a 'Utopian vision' in which natives profit without experiencing mistreatment. 'The desire for profit without exploitation runs so strong', he suggests, 'that even intellectuals can trick themselves into finding it where it does not exist; where, in my view, it can never exist' (MacCannell 1992: 28). It is for this reason that I use the qualifying terms 'excessive' and 'necessary' to indicate that some degree of sacrifice is inevitable in touristic encounters and forms of development, particularly as they attempt to negotiate the more intractable tensions between cultural, environmental, and economic concerns. Notably, the difficulty in confronting the power of short-term profiteering has led some commentators to emphasise the need for already-overdeveloped resorts to be designated 'sacrifice areas' in order to help preserve 'pristine' environments by concentrating 'tourist activity in existing and popular areas' (Wall and Mathieson 2006: 171). Yet this still relies on the kind of dichotomy between sacred and profane environments that fails to challenge the general rationale of unsustainable tourism development. In this light, part of the power of 'The Namsetoura Papers' is that it interrogates the rationale behind what is considered 'necessary' by developers and government officials, illuminating principles of multivalent sacredness and sacrifice that can provide different epistemological grounding for development debates.⁴⁷

Another problematic aspect to viewing landscapes in this way is that, like many forms of tourism development, '[d]esignation of particular places as sacred can be a mixed blessing because while special status normally gives such places priority for preservation and protection, it also encourages large numbers of visitors who can damage the very thing they want to see and experience' (Anyinam 1999: 132). If CowPastor does become officially recognised as sacred land, how should the potential tourism influx to this environment be managed? Walcott also acknowledges in 'The Antilles' that arguing for the protection of 'cherishable places' and 'occluded sanctities' is problematic as they can become 'as threatened by this prose as a headland is by the bulldozer', 'corrupted into significance' by writers' words (1998a: 82). However, as this does not prevent him from mentioning such places, the speech also registers

⁴⁷ The pages of 'The Namsetoura Papers' that deal with Barbadian Prime Minister Owen Arthur's speech on Land/Beach Policy in 2000 exemplify this (26–8). Arthur argues that the 'sacrifice' of the beachside library in Speightstown is necessary so that the building can 'be pressed into service to help with the continuing dev of thts [*sic*] country' (that is, converted into a resort for "tourisses" [26]). Brathwaite's interrogation of this speech challenges the discursive construction of 'necessity' (along with its material ramifications) in relation to the interface between tourism development and future cultural growth.

hope that the anti-exploitative tourism commitment it conveys will outweigh the greater ‘corruption’ it might exact upon its subjects. It foregrounds a self-aware understanding of how natural environments have extrinsic as well as intrinsic value, linked to their incorporation into communities’ social lives. This confronts their ghettoisation as environmental ‘museums’ just as vehemently as it opposes their transformation into blandly repetitive resorts. In this sense, the importance of ensuring that future discussions are guided by consultation with local ideologies of development could even be said to extend to the domain of aesthetic production.

Brathwaite, for instance, never intended to ‘preserve’ CowPastor’s environment precisely as it is but to ‘develop’ it in ways that are consonant with his own historically grounded intellectual and artistic projects. He states that ‘CowPastor was/is? [...] to be used’ as

a Bussa Institute & oumfö (Bussa beinz a/the leader of our on
(e) significant Bajan slave rebellion (1816) and now a National Hero of Barbados) a maroo (n)
intention where I might restore part at least of my broken IT Lib- rary of
Alexandria. have it available for research purposes etc the <<
whole CowPastor&CowPasture site xpanding to an artists’ space
(2005c: 40)

Here Brathwaite explains how he sees CowPastor as a ‘practiced place’ (de Certeau 1984: 117), continuously involved in artistic processes and research which in turn will ‘xpan’ the site. Projecting the local environmental future in this way, he highlights its cultural significance to the wider community, demonstrating how the natural landscape’s extrinsic value is vital to its protection from unsustainable tourism development. He then expresses his hope that:

puttin it this way will help frenms+people to become
alert in heart to the distinction - to the danger of the destruc tion - of the place -
and what - if not destroye(d) - it cd contribute <
to our continuing (!)development(!) and future trust
(2005c: 40)

The exclamation marks surrounding ‘development’ signal Brathwaite’s awareness of the irony in using this term, given its capitalist connotations. Yet the forward-looking orientation of his project stretches further than the short-term goals of such environmentally degrading industrial intervention: his aim is to create a ‘future trust’ (a term which embraces concepts of custodianship as well as legal claims) in a place that is protected from unsustainable development but not converted into a reserve.⁴⁸ Walcott makes a similar distinction in relation

⁴⁸ A similar ethic is expressed by Hemi in *Potiki*. Following the Tamihanas’ success in repelling the tourism developers, he reflects on the importance of protecting the natural environment for future generations: ‘With trees on the hills again our own corner is safe and we are who we are. For now it is safe. With trees on the hills we can keep our ground productive, our sacred places safe, our water clear. For all of us. Us, who live here now, and also those who belong here and will return one day, whether during their life or when they die. [...] We have a trust’ (1986: 176). Foregrounding the importance of how sacred land is bound up in the cultural rituals of local communities over generations, Hemi’s idea of

to his ‘occluded sanctities’ by seeing them as constantly changing entities, endowed with ‘the simplicity of rebeginnings’ (1998a: 82). This coinage invokes a sense of circularity and renewal divorced from linear notions of ‘progress’; rather than being free from change they are ‘not yet corrupted by the *dangers* of change’ (82; my emphasis) that emerge from unsustainable human–environmental interactions. If island tourism can be made consonant with these aims, there seems potential for it to be part of such development. It is hence possible that a more sustainable and culturally differentiated form of ecotourism, which attends to the sacred dimensions of space as well as its own economic principles, may find space to emerge.

‘Hotels are Squatting on My Metaphors’: Recuperation, Collectivity, and Critical Mediation

The final observations to make in this chapter relate back to the thesis’s wider methodological concern with theorising the function of the imaginary and its relations to forms of critical mediation. A further productive conjunction between postcolonial and ecocritical approaches in relation to the examples discussed here involves a commitment to the resuscitation of places where exploitative developments seem to have irrevocably exacerbated destructive colonial legacies. Despite the more positive potentialities emphasised here, a strong sense of frustration and even helplessness accompanies Walcott’s and Brathwaite’s respective engagements with tourism development.⁴⁹ For instance, expressing their indignation at tourism’s neocolonial dimensions, both Brathwaite and Walcott employ elegiac registers in contemplating current and future loss. Thus, in ‘The Antilles’, Walcott positions mass tourism as the modern apotheosis of histories of colonial abuse. He states that:

Decimation from the Aruac downwards is the blasted root of Antillean history, and the benign blight that is tourism can infect all of those island nations, not gradually, but with imperceptible speed, until each rock is whitened by the guano of white-winged hotels, the arc and descent of progress.

(1998a: 82)

a ‘trust’ coincides with Brathwaite’s, particularly in its importance to the continued ‘productive’ ‘life and health of people’ which looks backwards as well as forwards.

⁴⁹ Addressing the meeting point of helplessness and sacrifice, Brathwaite’s statement that ‘w/out community support’ he is being driven to ‘set afire to myself’ (2005a) is especially interesting. On one hand, this threat is qualified by his assertion that ‘I don’t really want to do dat, because my spirit flies so high – so many dreamstories and ideas seem to flow & flow’ (2005a). This again questions the logic of ‘necessity’, implying personal sacrifice is tied to ecological degradation and that, crucially, the loss of either would destroy ‘so many dreamstories and ideas’. On the other hand, the sense of real frustration conveyed by his threat underlines how even relatively empowered public figures can find it immensely difficult to find adequate forums through which to articulate their objections to the exploitative dimensions of centralised, government-led tourism development in small islands like Barbados.

His pun on ‘descent’ here is telling, as it suggests contemporary conceptions of ‘progress’ are both genealogically ‘descended’ from earlier historical forms of ‘decimation’ and are ‘descending’ downward in patterns of regression that are obliterating natural environments. ‘How quickly it could all disappear!’ (83) he states with a prophetic resonance that is echoed by Brathwaite in relation to CowPastor in the final line of ‘The Namsetoura Papers’: ‘gone all gone’ (2005c: 55). However, Brathwaite’s nuanced engagement with tourism development also suggests that, in certain circumstances (and perhaps more in relation to recent rather than long-term environmental transformations), it is possible to *recuperate* exploited environments, along with their cultural significance.

One of the most climactic moments in ‘The Namsetoura Papers’ occurs in the following passage, which extends the diatribe against how tourism development’s transformation of Barbadian ecology is impinging on local communities’ creative potential (a point which resonates with the importance placed on interconnections between the local environment and the Tamihanas’ ‘stories’ in *Potiki*):

Hotels are Squatting on my Metaphors

All the places where i use(d) to write my poetry in Barbados from (see BarabajanPoems (1994)) are gone. replace(d) by hotels & ocean-side apartments & enclav- (s) villas. See Norris Carroll's great poem in *Savona* 9/10 (1974), 'An this even ain't Georgia'. Along the entire west coast of Barbados, from SPoint almost to Animal Flower Cave, there are only about three 'Windows to the Sea' [sic] left, where once we were all free.

(28)

Brathwaite’s choice of verb here (‘squatting’) is highly suggestive. In one sense, it is linked to the processes of defecation and environmental pollution foregrounded in the opening of *A Small Place*, as Kincaid’s narrator tells her tourist-reader: ‘You must not wonder what exactly happened to the contents of your lavatory when you flushed it’ (1988: 13). It also recalls Walcott’s description in the passage above of how tourism can ‘infect’ the landscape, as well as the way in which he sees it as being ‘whitened by the guano of white-winged hotels’. As guano is a term for sea-bird dung, Walcott once more positions tourism infrastructure as a man-made parody of nature (this time as white-winged gulls).⁵⁰ In this light, the resonances of

⁵⁰ Although notions of defecation and disease are often used to counter the romanticisations of ‘western’ colonial discourse in Pacific island literatures (see, for instance, Keown’s discussion of how the ‘abject’ body functions in Hau‘ofa’s work [2005: Chapter 3] and Teaiwa [1999]), Trask’s poem ‘Hawai‘i’ (1994) presents a corollary to this which, as Keown notes, ‘contrasts tourist myths of beach paradises [...] with the realities of Hawai‘i’s damaged landscape, within which heiau (pre-Christian religious shrines) “lie crushed” beneath hotel lavatory buildings’ (2007: 130). Native Hawaiian artist Kapulani Landgraf’s photographic work also deals with similar issues. See especially *‘Āpuakehau Heiau* (accessible via the

Brathwaite's verb choice heighten the repugnance of hotels' ecological effects, particularly as they seem to defile Brathwaite's language along with the landscapes he describes. In another sense, though, 'squatting' also connotes an (often illegal) occupation of supposedly unoccupied space. It is therefore notable that Brathwaite did not choose a more destructive verb, such as 'obliterate'. One implication of 'squatting' is that, not only can 'squatters' be removed if their presence is deemed illegal – raising the question of how environmental ethics relate to legal issues surrounding tourism – but the space they occupy can also be at least partially restored to its previous state. The intrusion of hotels into Caribbean landscapes for Brathwaite does not necessarily signal an endpoint as the verb 'squatting' retains a sense of *reversibility* through which occupied land might at some stage be reclaimed. It therefore allows the possibility of environmentally sustainable change and future renewal which, for Brathwaite, is vital to continuing cultural development in Barbados.

By using a phrase constructed partly in reference to tourism infrastructure to imply that his 'metaphors' are both drawn from the 'natural' landscapes of Barbados and at the same time 'are' themselves these landscapes, Brathwaite further unsettles the notion that such development is completely inimical to his creative work (even if its prevalence puts it under increasing threat). This is not to say that he in any way advocates this form of environmentally segregating tourism development; rather, his phrase ironically places hotels in metaphorical service against themselves. This signals an important point of differentiation between cultural and natural sustainability which emphasises how widespread touristic exploitation of island environments need not necessarily arrest environmentally attentive creative productions. It also retains space through which the significance of such landscapes – degraded as they are at present – may yet be recoverable or become more sustainably transformed by future community intervention, offering a note of hope in relation to St Lucia's 'desecrated' Pitons.

Re-examining some of the ethical considerations raised by this chapter's textual analyses in this light, it could be argued that the urgency of these writers' defences of contested environments coupled with how they are endowed with multivalent sacredness augments Holden's approach to tourism ethics by entwining the 'long-term economic interest of all tourism stakeholders' with short-term actions. However, this does not necessarily rely on logic

Downwind Productions website: <<http://www.downwindproductions.com/kapulani.html>> which depicts a tourist sunbathing on the beach outside a hotel that has been constructed over the eponymous sacred site in O'ahu. By hand-etching historical text onto the photographic negative, Landgraf presents a powerful counter-narrative of place that memorialises its spiritual significance.

which promotes the ‘mask of a conservation ethic based upon an economic rationale’ (Holden 2003: 105) but on one in which both are unmasked, their points of conjunction revealed to be interwoven through analysis of their dialectically constellated concerns. This, though, raises the question of whether the impotence identified by creative writers regarding their works’ potential to effect wider policy change also applies to literary criticism. Can the kind of readings produced here play any useful part in advocating the relevance of aesthetically derived, ethical imperatives in political and corporate spheres?

Brathwaite is especially pessimistic about the potential of those with limited political influence to contribute anything significant to his cause. In response to McSweeney’s question: ‘What response do you want from people who read about your case and care about your poetry? What can people do?’, he states:

That’s the trouble. There’s nothing really that people can do. But if only... Let us say that one day George Bush’s wife might see the site – I’m just giving a fantastic example – and that she became so moved that she decided to speak to the President of Barbados and ask him what’s happening. All that I can hope is that the wider this thing spreads and the more people get to know, [...] the greater the chances that someone of real influence might be able to intervene. Because it seems to me that poets and well-wishers and journalists and literary critics are quite ineffective (laughs) for what I’m up against here.

(McSweeney 2005)

In expressing scepticism about the interventionist power of poets and critics, Brathwaite’s thoughts coincide with those of other commentators who have seen the aesthetic sphere as relatively limited in its ability to intercede in real-life politics and events. This is a charge frequently cited against ecocriticism and has led, in some cases, to attenuation of its more ambitious aims. Thus, Jonathan Bate argues that:

it would be quixotic to suppose that a work of literary criticism might be an appropriate place in which to spell out a practical programme for better environmental management. That is why ecopoetics should begin not as a set of assumptions or proposals about particular environmental issues, but as a way of reflecting upon what it might mean to dwell with the earth. [...] When it comes to practice, we have to speak in other discourses.

(2000: 266)

However, whilst it seems that, acting on its own, criticism’s interventions into phenomena such as environmental change and tourism development is necessarily limited, when understood *in conjunction with* other forms it might yet have an important role to play in effecting change. Even as Brathwaite seemingly belittles the efforts of poets, critics, journalists and well-wishers, he simultaneously offers an insight into the diversity of perspectives and audiences an internet-

based protest movement can draw together.⁵¹ If it must take a single, powerful person such as the Barbadian Prime Minister to exact change, such coalitions nevertheless have a vital role to play in catalysing this process.

These arguments apply not only to the example of CowPastor but, crucially, to how tourism is negotiated in postcolonial island communities more broadly. The ‘Save CowPastor’ website highlights how Brathwaite is attentive to comparative concerns and the importance of ‘cross-referencing’ them. For example, he is critical of an article by Peter Laurie in the *Daily Nation* newspaper which discusses the future of another site of natural beauty in Barbados, Hackleton’s Cliff. On one hand, Laurie worries that when tourism developers recognise the potential of the site’s ‘magnificent view’ they will ‘construct luxury villas/town houses (starting at US\$1 million) in a gated community’ which will prevent Barbadians from ‘enjoying a great natural heritage’. On the other hand, he expresses his ‘dream’ (which corresponds to some of the arguments addressed here) that the government will enter into a partnership with private interests to ‘create a beautiful park around an exquisite natural wonder that would be a great tourist attraction, a place for enjoyment and relaxation for Barbadians, and a commercial success, integrating rural development with tourism’ (Laurie 2005). Even though his aims are generally commendable – particularly if the logic does not merely promote a further instance of environmental conservation at the expense of social demands – Brathwaite cites this article as ‘another xample of how people, all concerned with the same general objective, are not connXing w/each other. I mean, a glance by Peter at the CP dasein, wd have made a great difference to Bajam attention; by IGNORING us, he makes a great silent devastating point’ (2005d).

Brathwaite suggests that, if journalists (alongside critics, poets, and well-wishers) are to be successful in their aim of transforming tourism development in line with local environmental ethics, a broad-based awareness of similar processes elsewhere is critical. Functioning in conjunction with how the collectively conceived ‘work of the imagination’ transposes and comparatively analyses specific examples, the anticipatory and transformative dimensions of art have important roles to play. Acting as ‘part of the conceptual repertoire of contemporary societies’, with the capacity to move readers to ‘intense action’ (Appadurai 1996: 58), the kind of critical and aesthetic engagements with tourism development exhibited in Brathwaite’s and

⁵¹ Indeed, there is an interesting quibble when Brathwaite suggests that Laura Bush might see the ‘site’ and react: is he referring to the ‘Save CowPastor’ website or to CowPastor itself?

Walcott's works help galvanise the kind of 'rapid oscillation' between literary and social domains that Quayson identifies as central to the 'anticipatory project' of art. This simultaneously reflects Trask's assertion (to offer another Pacific island comparison) that, '[I]like most Native people', contemporary Hawaiian writers 'don't perceive the world of creative writing as divided into categories of prose and poetry or fiction and non-fiction. Nor do we imagine ourselves crossing from political resistance into artistic creation and then back again. Life is a confluence of creativities: art is a fluid political medium, as politics is metaphorical and artistic' (2000b: 51–2). Such interpretations, which emphasise how imaginative writing and its readers can intervene in environmentally unsustainable tourism practices, are hence distinctly removed from the kind of text-centred reading strategies associated most strongly with the New Criticism of the mid-twentieth century.

This movement had a powerful influence on public perceptions of literary criticism, contributing in some ways to its detachment from the spheres of contemporary politics and social critique. However, despite their methodological differences, the analyses in this section still share a key feature with New Criticism. As Quayson notes, for New Criticism's key practitioners (I.A. Richards, William Empson, Richard Blackmur, and so forth), 'the aesthetic object, most often a poem, was elevated to a superior ontology and became the privileged gateway for knowing the world. Indeed, the aesthetic text acquired an almost sacred and awe-inspiring status' (2005: 122). If imaginative literature is viewed as a transformative entity, extending across multiple genres, which has the power to enhance the sanctity of sacred spaces even as it derives its significance in part from them, its intervention in the reading and refashioning of landscape hones understandings of what is 'sacred and awe-inspiring' about text and ecology simultaneously. Both aesthetic works and natural landscapes derive extrinsic value from continuous social practice and even, if the metaphor can be extended, from being 'touristed'. As they are incorporated into the 'conceptual repertoires' of real-life communities, texts and referents test the limit points of each other in the space that is often denoted the 'caesura' between representation and reality (Quayson 2003: xxii). This allows tourism's environmental effects to be negotiated according to its representation in various global social imaginaries, which are constituted partly in reference to aesthetic portrayals of the industry.

Comparative criticism represents one way of bridging such imaginative constellations, illuminating conjunctions that are not always readily evident. This reinforces the role it can play in breaking down the colonial legacy of islands as paradigmatically isolated environments,

shedding light on the potential for inter-island resistance movements and transformative strategies, and connecting aesthetic insights with sociological observations and their incorporation into tourism development policies. Readings which emphasise such principles as multivalent sacredness can be transposed across different social imaginaries, localised, and built into specific attempts to negotiate more sustainable and equitable tourism futures. They also complicate the notion raised by Gössling in the opening to this chapter that '[s]ustainable tourism [...] might [...] be a contradiction in terms' (2002: 554). Whilst tourism sustainability emerges as an often contradictory concept, blanket assumptions that involvement in tourism necessarily alienates local communities from traditional ethics unravel when confronted by depictions of constellated viewpoints and practices in island contexts. This is corroborated by the fact that, although Gössling sees tourism development in Zanzibar as impeding environmental sustainability, Cater turns to the same island's 'Misali Ethics Pilot Project' (part of the 'Misali Island Conservation Programme') in his work on ecotourism as representing '[o]ne of the very few examples worldwide that is trying to introduce an expressedly non-Western system of environmental protection into a threatened conservation area' (2006: 34). Addressing the complex interplay of different tourism sustainability conflicts, initiatives, depictions, and ideologies is one step towards diminishing unnecessary sacrifice and excessive environmental exploitation, both in Caribbean and Pacific island states and beyond.

Coda: Virtual Tourism, Literary Travel, and Cultural Production

The possible recoverability of sacred space outlined above is testament to the importance of exercising suspicion towards apocalyptic forecasts that render island ecologies paradigmatically fragile. Even though such tropes can be put to strong rhetorical use by writers campaigning for more nuanced sustainability planning, long histories of environmental transformation, driven by local community and state-level agricultural practices as well as colonial plantation economies, demonstrate how island ecologies can also respond robustly to such human interventions. However, there is still a pressing realisation in both regions that the kind of unsustainable consumption of natural environments in which island tourism is constitutively implicated has the potential to radically alter the balance of vulnerable ecosystems. In this light, one further consideration regarding the theorisation of sustainable tourism alternatives that dovetails with

the environmental representations of Brathwaite's 'Save CowPastor' website in particular is virtual tourism, which is having an increasingly pervasive influence on mass travel's mediation.

Tourism is now enmeshed in forms of virtual consumption, primarily through internet marketing and digital media. As Christian Krug notes, this is the case even for attractions that 'seem to be diametrically opposed to the digital and the virtual: nature reserves, national or public parks. "Locality", "authenticity", the "natural" and the "material" are the bedrock of these "protected areas" [...] and yet, such natural environments have become favourite sites for virtual tourists' (2006: 250). By presenting potential tourists with the opportunity to experience forms of 'travel' that do not require physical movement, virtual tourism has the obvious benefit of being far less environmentally destructive than many types of conventional tourism. This has significant implications for how local nature-culture relationships are maintained in island contexts. Krug speculates that '[v]irtual travel may help to preserve locations and environments that are in danger of losing their natural (and hence cultural) identity by an excess of modern-day tourism' at the same time as 'infus[ing] new life into the industry of "ecotourism"' (252). While this thesis focuses primarily on the discursive and material effects of contemporary tourism flows (the urgency of which remains undimmed as tourist arrivals spiral towards the one billion mark),⁵² the potential for virtual tourism to challenge or even transform how travel is conceptualised has intriguing ramifications for the future-oriented aspects of my argument.

Given the centrality of mediation (along with migration) to Appadurai's cultural theory of globalisation, one relevant methodological extension of his work relates to how digital media are intervening in both the production and experience of globalised localities. In this case, virtual tourism has the potential to affect how nature and the environment are conceptualised, a point which is also of key importance in interrogating the 'fundamental categories' of ecocriticism (Krug 2006: 257). Brathwaite's 'Save CowPastor' website is a good example of how the resources offered in cyberspace allow his own historicised engagements with topography, space, and place in contemporary Barbados to be disseminated, providing a very different kind of access to CowPastor's ecology than that offered by the proposed airport access road. Yet, whilst this might represent a positive intervention into understandings of island space, it is notable that some of the negatives associated with virtual tourism not only rehearse

⁵² According to World Tourism Organization estimates, world tourist arrivals reached 898 million in 2007 ('Developing Countries Lead Dynamic World Tourism Growth'). The Organization predicts that arrivals will reach 1.6 billion by 2020 ('Tourism 2020 Vision').

brochure discourse's exploitative simplifications but also augur further extensions of the colonially inflected, hedonistic experiences of island space described by Sheller (2004).

One concern regarding how virtual tourism intersects with issues of economic privilege is outlined by Jean-Michel Dewailly. He argues that, 'having given rise to growing flows of tourists, virtuality might contribute to managing them in a different way – in a sustainable way' (1999: 51). Although this process can help in dismantling tourism's mass-based operations, it does not necessarily follow that the patterns of exploitation explored here will be attenuated as a result. As Dewailly proceeds to state, a form of 'dual tourism' has the potential to emerge, in which 'the "wealthy" (in terms of both time and money) are offered the opportunity of using the virtual to refine their choice, before going to the field to experience it, while the poor have to be satisfied with just the virtual' (51). In this scenario, it is also possible that, even as unsustainable arrival volumes in island destinations are reduced, those affluent tourists who do continue to conduct physical visits will still be involved in furthering environmental segregation and ghettoisation, rendering access to certain local landscapes a virtual component of native communities' lived experiences. This suggests that, even if tourism were to develop exactly as Dewailly describes, the kind of materially embedded arguments regarding sustainability and environmental rights in this chapter would retain general relevance.

Another concern regarding virtual tourism's links to the variously mediated tourism environments discussed in the previous sections centres on how consumption in all cases involves selective and asyndetic manipulations of natural environments. As Krug points out, virtual tourism can "'highlight" views while eliminating the spaces in between, and hence the act of travelling' (2006: 268). This presents similar implications to those outlined in relation to Walcott's and Kincaid's counter-discursive depictions of 'paradisal' island space in section one, particularly in terms of presenting less superficial, more historically attentive ecological perspectives. Yet, just as Brathwaite's 'Save CowPastor' website uses online networks to offer a deeper understanding of place, virtual tourism also provides opportunities to enhance landscape consumption. An excellent Pacific island example of this is artistic collective *Downwind Productions*'s virtual representation of Hawaiian ecology on their 'Historic Waikiki' website ('Welcome to Historic Waikiki'). *Downwind Productions* describes itself as

a collaborative of artists, writers, teachers and activists who examine the impact of colonialism, capitalism, and tourism in Hawai'i. We distribute information and agitprop commodities through the marketplace and e-commerce to help tourists and locals alike

understand our complicity in the decimation of Hawaii's [*sic*] land and people, and to imagine different relationships with each other and with our own desires and longings.
(‘About Us’)

Their website offers dozens of ‘entry points’ into present-day Waikīkī, each presenting a counter-discursive narrative or place-history. It also offers a virtual ‘tour’ of Waikīkī from a local perspective, as well as timelines for the area that redress omissions of native perspectives from hegemonic histories.⁵³ The website therefore presents many fruitful avenues for study and virtual travel, warranting much more critical attention than this brief discussion affords. Crucially though, it provides a blueprint for forms of virtual tourism that are attentive to how cultural and natural histories are entwined. Such online resources have the potential to intervene in physical travel practices in ways that foreground the importance of local narratives of place.

Krug notes that some forms of virtual tourism already offer textual narratives of physical journeys through landscapes. ‘By substituting the act of reading for the act of travelling’, he asserts, ‘the digital product manages to at least approximate the principle of gratification by delaying the consummation of the view’ (2006: 268). This suggests an intriguing parallel with *imaginative* mediations of this process. Krug states that, ‘[w]hile virtual tourism [...] pertains to the computer age and denotes a postmodern phenomenon, the term also evokes literary and visual traditions long before the advent of computers’ (250). Its representational genealogy extends through complex histories of literary tourism in ‘western’ culture, from John Mandeville’s and Marco Polo’s respective *Travels* to ‘the Orientalist travel writing of the late 18th and early 19th centuries’, which also ‘afforded [...] the opportunity for virtual tourist impressions’ of distant places (250). Such forms of textual tourism deserve further consideration in their own right, particularly in terms of the production and consumption of postcolonial island narratives. As Huggan argues, postcolonial writing can be viewed as ‘bound up in a system of cultural translation operating under the sign of the *exotic*’, consumed by ‘predominantly metropolitan audiences’ (2001: viii; original emphasis). In this sense, he draws a connection between the way travel writing has been seen by Pratt to ‘produce the rest of the world for a Western audience’ and the production and consumption of non-‘western’ literatures (2001: i).

⁵³ In addition, two key collaborators in the ‘Historic Waikiki’ project, visual artist and academic Gaye Chan and art historian Andrea Feeser, have written what they ironically describe as a ‘coffee table book’ (or anti-tourist brochure), *Waikiki: A History of Forgetting and Remembering* (2006). Not only is this a counter-discursive intervention into the kind of historical erasures that characterise ‘Waikiki’s [*sic*] transformation from a self-sustaining community to one of the world’s most popular and overdeveloped vacation destinations’ (‘Shopping’), but it also shows how, rather than simply superseding printed material, internet projects such as ‘Historic Waikiki’ can be reinforced through interaction with them.

The point is made similarly by one of the characters at the end of Sri Lankan migrant writer Michelle de Kretser's novel *The Hamilton Case* (2003), Shivananthan. A Sri Lankan migrant to Canada who now writes fiction about his homeland, Shivananthan confides, with not a little self-referential irony on de Kretser's part, that: 'my stories proved very popular with readers in the West. They wrote to tell me so. *Your work is so exotic. So marvellously authentic*' (2004: 294; original emphasis). He goes on to assert that: 'The coloniser returns as a tourist, you see. And he is mad for difference. That is the luxury commodity we now supply, as we once kept him in cinnamon and sapphires' (294). The conflation between motives for textual and physical tourism expressed here suggest in turn that the forms of narration attached to virtual tourism are not simply correctives to more superficial ecological understandings. Rather, they are implicated in the very processes of cultural and environmental change that characterise touristed island societies more broadly. The next chapter examines this interrelationship's implications in terms of literary production specifically. Looking more at how postcolonial island literatures address issues of cultural articulation, indigeneity, and diaspora than at their consumption *per se*, it probes the tensions that emerge when these concerns intersect with tourism. It also expands on the more imprisoning dimensions of the industry's operations from the perspective of mass cultural consumption. This brings Caribbean and Pacific island perspectives into closer dialogue, furthering the case for their mutual consideration in the context of globalised travel practices.

Chapter 3: Tourism and Culture

Dean MacCannell opens his book *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (1992) with the following assertion:

tourism is a primary ground for the production of new cultural forms on a global base. [...] [T]ourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs.

(1992: 1)

His comments recognise tourism's capacity to act as a powerful agent of cultural and environmental change, both discursive and material, as it reshapes 'history, nature, and tradition' in furthering capital-driven objectives. Yet they also raise questions regarding the extent to which it makes sense to equate tourism's effects on social and ecological practices – culture and nature – in postcolonial island contexts. Is there a tension, for instance, between the 'production of new cultural forms' and environmental damage? And how might this be inflected by contestations of power, ownership, and representation in specific localities? Approaching such points, this chapter departs from my previous environmental focus by exploring how the kinds of emergent 'cultural forms' described by MacCannell in relation to tourism are represented in Pacific and Caribbean texts. In so doing, it expands on the emphasis placed in Chapter 1 on the need to differentiate between island cultures and environments when analysing their respective vulnerabilities to increasing numbers of visitors. The chapter therefore retains a central commitment to highlighting points of mutual reinforcement between different insular tourism experiences while also showing how the industry's cultural interfaces contribute to heightening aspects of island specificity.

In an article on the 'cultural politics' of tourism, Peter Burns argues that, 'while a plethora of social scientists have spent decades dealing with social issues of tourism, there is very little evidence to suggest that cultural sustainability [...] especially in poorer parts of the world [...] has gained the same level of importance as the physical environment, or indeed the same level of support as animal protection' (2006: 13). Such privileging of the environmental over the cultural is one of the major areas which postcolonial ecocriticism has increasingly begun to challenge.¹ The issue Burns raises regarding what he calls 'cultural sustainability' presents an

¹ As Huggan notes, one key form of 'critical dialogue' between postcolonialism and ecocriticism explores the '(cross-)cultural implications of current ecocritical debates', with 'postcolonial criticism [...] offer[ing] a valuable corrective to a variety of universalist ecological claims', including 'the peremptory

intriguing opportunity to further this. Burns sees cultural sustainability as involving ‘harmonious relationships between host communities, [...] tourists, and the supplying tourism business sectors’ (13). More specifically, HwanSuk Choi and Ercan Sirakaya assess the criteria for achieving such ‘harmony’ (an ideal which is arguably unrealisable given that some level of exploitation is inevitable in all tourism markets) through what they call ‘socio-cultural sustainability’ (2006: 1276). This ‘involves respect for social identity and social capital, for community culture and its assets, and for a strengthening of social cohesiveness and pride that will allow community residents to control their own lives’ (1276). These points chime with the conclusions drawn in relation to managing more environmentally sustainable tourism alternatives in the previous chapter; however, the ways in which ‘respect [...] for community culture’ is to be approached in the context of rapid and ongoing processes of cultural change requires more rigorous attention. Establishing the extent to which cultural sustainability is conceptually meaningful for postcolonial island communities is crucial to identifying how cultural concerns might be factored into wider sustainability planning.²

This chapter addresses what light anthropological, ethnographic, and sociological studies of tourism and culture in island contexts shed on these issues. It compares portrayals of tourism’s effects in islands whose cultures are persistently marketed as ‘traditional’ (as in the South Pacific), that are seen as lacking distinctive cultural traditions (as in the Caribbean), or where continuing processes of colonial assimilation profoundly influence indigenous cultural identities (as in Hawai‘i). In all these cases, I want to test the validity of interpreting tourism as an agent of globalisation, dependency, and neocolonialism which ruptures cultural traditions (or prevents the emergence of distinct cultures) in island states whilst at the same time cautioning against over-celebratory branches of globalisation theory that do not account thoroughly for entrenched experiences of loss, exploitation, and cultural imprisonment.

conviction, itself historically conditioned, that global ethical considerations should override local cultural concerns’ (2004: 719–20).

² This is all the more acute given that, as Johnston observed in 2003, although ‘a set of principles called the *Berlin Declaration on Sustainable Tourism*’ was drawn up by the UN Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) in 1997, asserting that ‘tourism should be restricted and, where necessary, prevented, in ecologically and culturally sensitive areas [...], there is still no accepted definition of what constitutes culturally sustainable tourism’ (2003: 125–6). There has also been little ‘support within government or industry for indigenous peoples, especially those with authority and perspective from the community level, to take the lead in developing appropriate criteria’ (126). For further discussion of this issue in relation to the CBD, see Johnston (2006: 264–77).

I. Cultural Touristification in the Caribbean and the Pacific

My approach towards the notoriously complex and contested category of culture draws primarily on what cultural tourism theorist Ron Ayres describes as two distinct but ‘intrinsically linked’ ways of interpreting culture. ‘First, at the most general level’, Ayres states, ‘societies can be seen as cultural totalities that have a common set of values and beliefs that provide order. Second, culture can be conceptualized as a form of expression that has its roots in social interaction’ (2002: 149). Although these are rather generalised definitions, they allow culture to be viewed both as a crucial facet of collective identity and as a set of expressive forms which not only characterise particular groups but also critique their changing social worlds. In addition, my analysis is partly guided by the logic behind Appadurai’s preference for the adjectival form ‘cultural’ over the noun ‘culture’ as it implies less a ‘substance’ than ‘a dimension that attends to situated and embodied difference’, particularly those differences involved in ‘the mobilization of group identities’ (1996: 13). However, I also address the ways in which literary texts self-reflexively constitute cultural productions, implicated in the processes of tourism-related change that condition the subjects they portray. This approach reinforces observations regarding the transformative role literature plays with respect to tourism futures, embedded in the real world whilst simultaneously contributing to the processes by which it is shaped.

One of the principle changes in anthropological theories of culture in the twentieth century involved a shift from seeing specific cultures as closed systems to understanding them as dynamic, contested entities which are never complete, ‘hybrid, often discontinuous inventive process[es]’ (Clifford 1988: 10). This is reflected in the different ways that tourism theorists have addressed cultural issues since the field’s inception in the 1970s. A brief examination of the importance of these changes in analysing tourism’s effects on non-‘western’ cultures provides a framework for approaching the various relationships between tourism and culture in this chapter. It also foregrounds the important role islands – especially in the Pacific – have played in these theories’ production.

The kind of fieldwork-based methodology that has come to dominate social anthropology derives, to a large extent, from the work of island-based ethnographers in the early twentieth century. As Godfrey Baldacchino observes:

The forays of Radcliffe-Brown (1922) in the Andaman Islands, Malinowski (1922) amongst the Trobriand (or Kiriwina) Islanders of Papua New Guinea, Mead (1928,

1934) in Samoa and the Admiralty Islands, and Firth (1936) in Tikopia led to the birth of ethnography and the consolidation of social anthropology as a discrete social science discipline with its own methodological rigour.

(2006: 4)

These researchers were pioneers of the functionalist method, seeing cultures as bounded systems in which specific practices or elements perform distinctive roles.³ Even though their work greatly enhanced European and American understandings of non-‘western’ cultures, displaying at the same time a degree of self-consciousness about colluding with imperialist projects (a fact that is sometimes subdued critically),⁴ it was nevertheless founded on binary divisions between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’, ‘savage’ and ‘civilised’ societies. In these models, so-called ‘primitive’ cultures were interpreted as relatively static wholes, isolated from the historical narratives of ‘western’ modernity, change, and ‘progress’. It is therefore notable that such theories were generated from island case studies where, as DeLoughrey points out, ‘an implicit connection between bounded space and culture’ became ‘vital to evolutionary anthropological models’ (2007b: 16). DeLoughrey also notes how this connection is exemplified by the anthropological term ‘culture island’, which signifies ‘an isolated group or area; especially: *an isolated ethnological group*’ (16; original emphasis). This space–culture conflation builds upon earlier tropes of island isolation which (as discussed in Chapter 1) were key components of ‘western’ colonial discourse. In theorising island cultures as timeless, pre-modern, and unchanging, anthropologists furthered their discursive detachment from the circuits of trade, migration, and exchange that more readily characterise insular histories (DeLoughrey 2007b: 15–16). However, their work’s influence is strongly felt in early studies of tourism’s effects on supposedly ‘isolated’ and bounded cultures.

Building on the assumption that ‘traditional’ cultures, particularly in island contexts, were relatively fragile entities whose ‘integrity’ was dependent on their detachment from modernity, early tourism researchers debated with great urgency tourism’s commoditising effects and its threat to ‘authentic’ expressive forms and social practices.⁵ Their research dovetailed with

³ See Clifford (1988: 29–32) and Edmond and Smith (2003: 2–3) for further elaboration.

⁴ For a summary of the conflict between anthropology as quintessentially colonialist and anthropology as characteristically self-critiquing, see Huggan (1997–8: 91–2).

⁵ Harrison and Price state that: ‘Some Western critics of tourism, especially in island communities, have focused almost entirely on its allegedly destructive effects on local culture’, often ‘ignor[ing] attitudes of islanders themselves’ (1996: 6). These interpretations overlap with those described by Bruner when he observes that: ‘In the late 1970s [...] there were a number of studies interpreting tourism as neocolonialism. [...] Tourism was seen in negative terms as corrupting local cultures and leading to exploitation and commoditization’ (2005: 259). Whilst he notes that, ‘[i]n recent decades, tourism scholars have turned to more interpretive and global perspectives’, he also asserts (as might be expected

increasing concerns regarding the homogenising effects of globalisation, engendering numerous investigations into the ways in which ‘traditional’ cultures were either being ‘corrupted’ by tourism or presenting versions of ‘staged authenticity’ to tourist audiences which did not correspond with their ‘real’ activities ‘offstage’.⁶ Yet, subsequent changes in anthropological practice, beginning in the mid-1980s, provoked marked departures from early approaches to culture in tourism theory, coinciding with growing opposition to notions of globalisation as an overwhelmingly unilateral, homogenising force. Indeed, researchers on the intersections between tourism and culture participated centrally in anthropology’s cultural or literary ‘turn’, characterised by an increased level of self-reflexivity and attendance to the role of narratives in shaping interdisciplinary research.

In his influential study, *The Predicament of Culture* (1988), James Clifford suggests that ‘modern ethnographic histories [...] oscillate between two metanarratives: one of homogenization, the other of emergence; one of loss, the other of invention’ (1988: 19). The dialectical relationship between these phenomena suggests that the effects of globalisation and its attendant processes (including tourism) are highly variegated, manifesting themselves in different ways according to the circumstances of specific communities and locales (see Chapter 2 for discussion of ‘glocalization’ in *Omeros*). Likewise, contemporary theorists working on tourism’s cultural effects in non-‘western’ societies emphasise the need for perspectives which do not ‘reduce complexity to a simple binary either/or choice’ (Meethan 2001: 46). Anthropologist Shinji Yamashita, who has studied tourism’s cultural effects in numerous Pacific islands, draws directly on Clifford’s work when she argues in relation to Balinese culture that:

The surprising thing [...] is not that its essence has survived being corrupted by modern Western civilization and has come down to us intact at the present day, but rather that it has survived by flexible adaptation in response to stimuli from the outside world. What is known as ‘ethnic culture’ today therefore can only exist within the framework of the modern world system, both political and economic. As a result, what we need are not narratives of homogenization or loss, but of emergence and invention. This theory of cultural emergence provides a critique of cultural assimilation.

(2003: 10)

Whether ‘narratives of homogenization and loss’ can be dismissed so easily is highly questionable; my own analyses emphasise the need to account for both emergence and loss

in a book on global tourism and culture) that ‘[a]ssessing the effects of tourism on the host society [...] is still an important research issue’ (259).

⁶ The notion of ‘staged authenticity’ has proved one of the most influential aspects of MacCannell’s early sociological tourism theory. See MacCannell (1999: Chapter 5).

simultaneously. However, Yamashita's insistence on the importance of understanding the 'flexible adaptation' of cultures is apposite. Indeed, the 'surprising' aspect of her observations is further reduced when contextualised alongside the fact that numerous cultures imagined as 'traditional' by early tourism anthropologists had already survived for many years through cultural and economic adaptation to the various pressures of European colonialism. While globalisation has extended these pressures in distinctive ways – as in relation to the rapid changes in media and migration emphasised by Appadurai – the dynamic histories of cultural and economic interconnection across archipelagic regions in some senses anticipated these processes, rendering them less alien to specific communities' changing cultural practices than closed-system models suggest. As discussed in Chapter 1, the insular Pacific is therefore increasingly interpreted as paradigmatic of cultural dynamism and inter-island hybridity rather than isolation and closure.⁷ Teaiwa argues that '[p]ossibly just as significant in terms of both historiography and cultural theory' as the anthropological ground broken by Malinowski, Mead, and Firth is the fact that 'scholarship based on research in the Pacific has been acknowledged as having anticipated the "invention of tradition" debate in Europe and America by several years', as in 'Peter France's 1969 study of Fiji, *The Charter of the Land*', 'Roy Wagner's *The Invention of Culture* (1975) and Roger M. Keesing and Robert Tonkinson's *Reinventing Traditional Culture: The Politics of Kastom in Island Melanesia* (1982)' (2006: 72–3). It is hence fitting that some of the most influential revisions of initial assumptions about tourism's deleterious effects on 'traditional' cultures have come from more recent Pacific island research.

For instance, Yamashita's assertion that, 'from the viewpoint of tourism, ways of thinking that are based on the opposition between global and local, or between tradition and modernity, appear to be wrong' (2003: 12) is partly indebted to Picard's work on cultural authenticity in Bali. Picard proposes a model of 'touristic culture' in which host societies are not passive victims of exogenous forces of change – implied by the ballistic connotations of tourism's 'impact' – but are instead internally adaptive, placing touristic demands in the service of continued cultural and economic development. As he puts it:

Far from being an external force striking a local society from without, tourism – or, rather, what I am inclined to call the touristification of a society – proceeds from within by blurring the boundaries between the inside and the outside, between what is 'ours' and what is 'theirs', between that which belongs to 'culture' and that which pertains to 'tourism'. [...] [I]nstead of asking whether or not Balinese culture has been able to

⁷ For example, the Fijian creative writer and critic Subramani states that: 'The larger Pacific will always be a hybrid space, and texts about it will always be hybrid texts' (2000: 185).

withstand the impact of tourism, we should ask how tourism has contributed to the shaping of Balinese culture.

(1997: 183)

Rather than advocating impact theories whose logic is based on the commoditised ‘corruption’ of cultural traditions, Picard prefers to focus on ‘the dialogic process through which culture has become Bali’s defining feature’; for him, tourism is ‘inevitably bound up in an ongoing process of cultural invention’ (Picard 1995: 47). Such arguments have been widely influential in approaches to cultural issues in tourism studies over the past two decades, contributing to revisions of concepts of authenticity, commoditisation, and cultural adaptation. They have led to more general acceptance that tourism (like globalisation) has not simply corrupted local cultural practices and identities but in many cases provoked economically entangled assertions of cultural distinctiveness.

Kevin Meethan notes that ‘traditions and heritage are key components’ of national cultures; their ‘uniqueness’ allows them to ‘become incorporated into the tourist system as commodities’, implicating tourism in ‘the creation and sustaining of national identities for both domestic and overseas visitors’ (2001: 103). In this context, notions of cultural ‘authenticity’, which have also come under strong pressure within anthropological discourse, are now seen as increasingly unhelpful when tourism and commoditisation are examined as intrinsic to wider social processes. Indeed, Bruner brands authenticity ‘a red herring, to be examined only when the tourists, locals, or the producers themselves use the term’: all ‘tourist productions’ and encounters, he asserts, are ‘authentic’ and ‘worthy of serious anthropological inquiry’ (2005: 5). Robert Wood also observes that ‘both Picard, in his studies of Bali, and Deborah Gewertz and Frederick Errington, in their study of the Chambri in Papua New Guinea, find that local people may interpret the very presence of tourists as a sign of the authenticity and continuity of their culture’ (1997: 10).⁸ These ideas are well-suited to literary interrogations, particularly in terms of addressing how notions of ‘authenticity’ come into view in social stories and narratives of cultural identity. There is, however, a significant tension that emerges in relation to the connection between tourism, culture, and categories such as tradition and authenticity on one hand, and the geographical regions under comparison on the other. Namely, do the theories on cultural touristification that emerge primarily from ethnographic exchange in the indigenous

⁸ This idea is not limited to non-‘western’ cultures: the tourist paraphernalia sold in London, New York, and Paris, for example, is not only kitsch but also contributes to ongoing projections of these cities’ cultural distinctiveness.

Pacific also apply to the creolised and culturally fragmented Caribbean? What methodological and theoretical concerns does this question raise?

Indigenous Articulations and Insularity

DeLoughrey notes that the tension between diasporic and indigenous perspectives in Caribbean and Pacific island cultures is especially marked. She argues that, as diaspora theory ‘has increasingly become a stand-in for the postcolonial predicament, it’s all the more important to insist on tracing its points of erasure, particularly its neglect of indigenous studies, which has an entirely different relationship to the history of land, of nation-building, and the nation state’ (2007b: 4–5). Drawing attention to how ‘the continuity of indigenous presence in the Pacific when contrasted to the decimation of native cultures in the Caribbean is a testament to the radical difference in the experience of colonialism in both regions’, she observes that ‘while the political methodologies of native sovereignty movements may not suit the Caribbean’s celebration of creolized and composite cultures, the transnational thrust of diaspora theory often poses a profound epistemological challenge to the profoundly localizing focus of indigeneity’ (5). In this light, exploring whether anthropologically oriented research on cultural ‘touristification’ applies to both Caribbean and Pacific island regions demands a method that accounts for frictions between the indigenous and the diasporic. DeLoughrey’s comparative rationale emphasises ‘how both regions share a complex history of migration patterns before and after colonization; how the island topos entails an exchange between land and sea that translates into the discourse of “ex-isles” and settlement; and finally, how these vital links between geography, history, and cultural production facilitate a reading of island literatures’ (5). Building on DeLoughrey’s attention to shared senses of insularity in relation to tourism’s cultural effects, I explore how island cultures (*both* Caribbean and Pacific) might be interpreted as indigenous in expansive and often performative ways, as local affiliations are continually constituted through a lived dialectic of movement and settlement.

This point emerges from the way in which comparative readings of cultural authenticity, commoditisation, and experiences of global modernity in the context of island tourism portrayals suggest forms of commensurability between different local and regional perspectives. In showing this, I draw on aspects of articulation theory as a means of accounting for the indigenous and the diasporic simultaneously. In his essay ‘Indigenous Articulations’ (2001),

Clifford explores a number of searching questions about how indigeneity is conceived in relation to diaspora studies and postcolonialism more generally. Noting ‘the mutually constitutive tension of indigenous and diasporist visions and experiences’, he asks: ‘Just how expansive can notions of indigenous or native affiliation become, before they begin to lose specificity, falling into more generalized “postcolonial” discourses of displacement?’ (2001: 470). He argues that approaches to this must address how ‘indigeneity’ is ‘both rooted in and routed through particular places’, how it involves ‘a complex dynamic of local landedness and expansive social spaces’, and whether it is more useful to consider ‘indigenous and diasporic situations’ as part of a continuum or to investigate ‘specifically indigenous kinds of diasporism’ (469). One of the most important challenges linked to these questions involves negotiating on one hand forms of pluralism that lose meaning if they become too capacious to describe specifically ‘rooted’ experiences, and on the other hand restrictive identity notions that are based on ‘exclusivist self-other definitions’ (470). It is in this context that Clifford finds Stuart Hall’s application of articulation theory especially useful. This is because it presents a means of negotiating the problems of either essentialising indigeneity as a ‘primordial, transhistorical’ category which ignores the ‘entangled, contemporary forms of indigenous cultural politics’, or positing indigeneity as a ‘postmodern’ construction involving ‘appeals to ethnicity and “heritage” by fragmented groups functioning as “invented traditions” within a late-capitalist, commodified multiculturalism’.⁹ The latter, Clifford asserts, ‘brushes aside long histories of indigenous survival and resistance, transformative links with roots prior to and outside the world system’ (471). By rethinking ‘the notion of invention [...] as a politics of articulation’ (480), Clifford seeks to enable a more productive dialogue concerning the ways in which categories like tradition are conceptualised in indigenous contexts.¹⁰ How though might this

⁹ The reference to ‘invented traditions’ refers to the heated debate – what Vicente Diaz and J Kehaulani Kauanui call the ‘debacle’ (2001: 323) – over the applicability of such notions to Pacific island cultures. This involved on one side anthropologists such as Roger Keesing and Jocelyn Linnekin drawing on arguments raised in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s influential collection, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), to suggest that ‘notions of the past are actually constructed in the present and reflect contemporary pressures. Therefore, when indigenous renditions of the past depart from archaeological, linguistic, or ethnohistorical data, they frequently are seen as fabrications, produced by activists for political ends’ (Feinberg 1995: 93). In turn, ‘many indigenous activists and some anthropologists have questioned both the ethical propriety and epistemological justification of Western scholars appointing themselves arbiters of truth regarding other people’s history and culture’ (93). For a summary of material from both sides of the debate, see Diaz and Kauanui (2001: 338–9).

¹⁰ This is consonant with Teaiwa’s position in her work on Pacific militourism. Houston Wood sees her 2001 doctoral thesis as refuting ‘suggestions in her earlier work that Pacific Islander identities be understood as opposing continental militarism and tourism’, asserting instead that ‘identities of contemporary Natives in Oceania are better conceived of as being continually articulated, disarticulated, and rearticulated, not only with militarism and tourism, but also “with other institutions, ideologies,

approach to tradition and cultural change relate to the social pressures associated with mass tourism's development in postcolonial island contexts more broadly?

It is worth noting first that the version of articulation theory Clifford appropriates is based on the work not of an indigenous cultural theorist but a diasporic Caribbean one. Hall's research on race and ethnicity in the mid-1980s details how his own interpretation of articulation theory is constructed in relation to Antonio Gramsci's notion of 'culture as the historically-shaped terrain on which all "new" philosophical and theoretical currents work' (Hall 1986: 23). This 'terrain' hosts a complex array of 'processes of de-construction and re-construction by which old alignments are dismantled and new alignments can be effected', representing a space where 'ideological change' can be conceived 'not in terms of substitution or imposition but rather in terms of the articulation and the disarticulation of ideas' (23). While Hall employs this notion in order to show how traditions and cultural practices are articulated in creolised contexts, Clifford sees the capacious 'middle ground' implied by the theory as having relevance to indigenous concerns, especially the way in which cultural traditions are constructed through 'hooking and unhooking particular elements' (2001: 477–8). In this space, he argues, affiliations can be posited between the '*diversity* of cultures and histories' that are housed under the 'banner' of indigeneity (472; original emphasis). This is a productive argument not least because it rearticulates (or re-routes) an already adapted concept emanating from creolised Caribbean experience in indigenous terms. It thus helps (re)construct the theory as a useful tool for illuminating points of commensurability between different postcolonial island cultures in relation to their experiences of mass tourism and globalisation. If the validity of recent developments in mainstream tourism theory in both Caribbean and Pacific island contexts is to be tested meaningfully, it becomes important to ask: are local cultures portrayed as being similarly 'articulated' in both regions, and are there grounds for an *insular* model of comparison that is culturally and historically attentive yet also attuned to points of consonance between forms of touristification across various island states?

Two aspects of articulation theory make it especially useful in thinking comparatively about island cultures. Firstly, it suggests a way of conceptualising cultural processes that does not conflate them uncritically with their local environments. Clifford states that, rather than seeing indigenous cultures as 'living bodies with organic structures', if viewed as an articulated

cultural forces, and presences such as femininity, masculinity, Christianity, 'race', the state, and capitalism'" (2003: 344).

series of ‘joints’, none of which are ‘firmly anchored’, groups can assemble and reassemble cultural identities in the present from various materials of their collective past (477–8). This anti-organic model offers a ‘nonreductive way to think about cultural transformation and the apparent coming and going of “traditional” forms’ (478); rather than being destroyed completely, they have the potential to seemingly disappear at certain times and re-emerge at others. Applying this in postcolonial island contexts helps differentiate cultural change from physical processes like ‘erosion’, allowing island cultures to be seen as entities that have distinct capacities for re-articulation and emergence. Secondly, it reduces the significance of genealogical *continuity* – fundamental to exploitative constructions of the ‘primitive’ Pacific and the ‘cultureless’ Caribbean – in the process of articulating ‘authentic’ cultural practices. Given that articulation ‘evokes [...] productive processes of consensus, exclusion, alliance, and antagonism that are inherent in the transformative life of *all societies*’ (472; my emphasis), Clifford states that ‘the whole question of authenticity is secondary’ in discussions of culture:

It is assumed that cultural forms will always be made, unmade, and remade. Communities can and must reconfigure themselves, drawing selectively on remembered pasts. The relevant question is whether, and how, they convince and coerce insiders and outsiders, often in power-charged, unequal situations, to accept the autonomy of a ‘we’.
(479)

This argument informs the following textual readings, which interrogate similarities between how indigeneity or place-affiliation – ‘the autonomy of a “we”’ – is articulated in the context of tourist modernity. Such an approach offers a means of working through reductive binaries between cultural authenticity and inauthenticity, the traditional (or primitive) and the modern, ‘western’ tourists and ‘non-western’ natives, highlighting points of commensurability between Caribbean and Pacific island cultures in relation to mass tourism’s commoditising demands.

The category of performance emphasised by Bruner also plays a crucial role in theorising this. Discussing his experiences conducting ethnographic research whilst employed as a lecturer on local culture for a Balinese tourism company in the late 1980s, Bruner describes how a conflict between his reflexive research agenda and his employer’s insistence on the ‘authenticity’ of Balinese cultural practices led to his eventual dismissal. The company objected especially to his decision to tell tourists how many of the ‘traditional’ Balinese dances and religious rituals they were witnessing were in fact relatively recent constructions, devised for a tourist audience (2005: 1–3). Bruner interprets this as ‘a confrontation between two metanarratives [...] that parallel in remarkable fashion historical developments within anthropology as a discipline, [and] changes in modes of ethnographic practice’ (3–4). The

‘master tourist tale, [...] shared widely within the tourism industry, was to take tourist performances as representations of an authentic culture that were to be accepted as given and to remain essentially unexamined’ (4). By contrast, Bruner insists that cultures are continually adaptive, frequently rearticulating traditions that, as Meethan puts it, contain ‘both material/symbolic elements which cut across accepted notions of boundedness, and [...] have the capacity to be made and remade for consumption within a global market’ (114–15). Arguing against ‘a fixed, static model that sees producers as in control, natives as exploited, and tourists as dupes’, Bruner prefers to see ‘tourist sites and performances as evolving and historical – or to put it more simply, as alive’ (2005: 12). This is not to deny the very real effects of ongoing exploitation, in which the impulse to assert the supposed historical continuity of the various cultural traditions tourists consume is bound up. Rather, it foregrounds some of the ways in which binaries between ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ are destabilised in cultural tourism interactions, producing space for future configurations to be articulated that are not characterised either by misleading notions of fixity or overwhelming descriptions of rupture and loss.

By seeing ‘tradition’ neither as a primordial category nor as a recently ‘invented’ one but part instead of the ‘practical deconstructive, *and* reconstructive, activities’ of indigenous groups (Clifford 2004: 158; original emphasis), articulation theory offers a language with which to discuss cultural practices wherein assertions of indigeneity can operate outside of reductive insider/outsider paradigms. It also embraces the ways in which globalisation’s localising dimensions (and the marketing of ‘unique’ cultural forms) involve numerous ‘[c]ontradictory processes of decolonizing/neo-colonizing, contestation/cooptation’ which ‘exist in dialectical tension, and sometimes open struggle’ (Clifford 2004: 155). In this light, ‘tradition’ need not be viewed as predicated on a binary relationship with ‘modernity’ or on genealogical continuity, but as involving continually contested and reconstructed cultural articulations which characterise groups at particular times. This configuration of articulation theory corresponds with the increasing rejection of the language of authenticity in mainstream tourism theory. It offers a means of examining whether the performative character of cross-cultural interactions in touristic contexts theorised by Bruner relates to broader cultural articulations, and whether these function differently in particular island contexts as they are represented in literary texts. It also permits a productive modification of Picard’s assertion that, ‘instead of asking whether or not Balinese culture has been able to withstand the impact of tourism, we should ask how tourism

has contributed to the shaping of Balinese culture' (1997: 183), with *Balinese culture* being replaced by *postcolonial island cultures*. This allows exploration of mainstream tourism theory's relevance both to the industry's representation in postcolonial islands texts *and* to cultures that have previously been separated by identity markers such as 'indigenous', 'diasporic', and 'creolised'.

Modernity, Indigenisation, and the Touristification of Culture

Alongside its role in unsettling polarised concepts of tradition, this chapter is also centrally concerned with tourism's role in furthering – as well as fracturing – increasingly globalised notions of 'modernity'. If the sociological analysis of tourism represents 'a method of gaining access to the process by which modernity, modernization, modern *culture* [...] establish[es] its empire on a global basis' (MacCannell 1999: xv; original emphasis), how do Caribbean and Pacific island texts interrogate tourism's involvement in processes of cultural commoditisation on one hand, and what Marshall Sahlins terms the 'indigenization of modernity' (1993: 21) on the other? Commenting on the binary structure in which 'modernity' is opposed to 'tradition', Clifford notes that 'diffusionist visions of progress have been challenged by two interrelated but distinct shifts: decolonization and globalization. Both unfinished changes, in different, interconnected ways, displace the coherent subject of a singular modernity' (2004: 153). He proceeds to state that, partly as a result of the increasing claims of '[p]eople from the margins – ex-“primitives”, women, racialized minorities – [...] for equality, for a public voice, for room to manoeuvre in contemporary settings [...], theorists have begun to recognize different inflections, articulations of a modernity fracturing into “modernities”' (153).¹¹

One useful aspect of the multiple modernities model is that it allows points of similarity between the ways in which individual communities experience tourist modernity to be explored without asserting that this modernity is itself uniform: if modernity is plural, so too is tourist modernity. Yet, because the densely repetitive stereotyping of tropical island cultures in

¹¹ The notion of multiple modernities emerged in relation to the work of cultural globalisation theorists such as Appadurai and Ulf Hannerz in the 1990s, and is characterised by Shmuel Eisenstadt as denoting 'a certain view of the contemporary world' that 'goes against the view of the “classical” theories of modernization and of the convergence of industrial societies prevalent in the 1950s, and indeed against the classical sociological analyses of Marx, Durkheim, and [...] Weber' which assumed that European or 'western' modernity would ultimately 'prevail throughout the world' (2002: 1). Whilst all societies are constitutively part of *global* modernity, for Eisenstadt the 'idea of multiple modernities presumes that the best way to understand the contemporary world – indeed to explain the history of modernity – is to see it as a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs' (2).

brochure discourse, which co-opts them as part of the ‘increasingly globalised culture industry’ (Huggan 2001: x), tourism nevertheless conditions their respective modernities in analogous ways. Indeed, it is this paradisaical trope’s persistent influence that again makes articulation theory relevant analytically. Clifford warns that articulation theory ‘cannot account for everything’ and does not suggest that ‘every cultural form, every structure or restructuration [...] has a radical contingency as if, at any moment, anything were possible’. Rather, ‘possible connections and disconnections are constrained at any historical moment. Certain forms and structural antagonisms persist over long periods’ (2001: 480). In this light, it becomes interesting to ask whether certain cultural articulations in specific islands bear resemblances precisely because the ‘restructuration’ involved has been ‘constrained’ by the global tourism industry’s commoditising demands. This is especially relevant in island contexts where, as Apostolopoulos and Gayle observe, ‘extreme resource scarcity and few viable alternatives’ have created a situation in which ‘modernization has become coterminous with tourism dependence’ (2002: 6).

In comparison to the homogenising processes outlined above, Sahlins asserts that the indigenisation of modernity ‘attempts to create a differentiated cultural space’ within a hegemonising ‘World System’ (1993: 20).¹² Some commentators, like Victor Li, see Sahlins’s conception of this process as ‘a little cavalier’ in its ‘relative disregard for the modernization of the indigenous’ (2001: 247). Yet Sahlins is not inattentive to this interrelationship, noting elsewhere that, while local ‘resistance’ movements are ‘responsive to the hegemonic threat of world capitalism’, ‘people are not usually resisting the technologies and “conveniences” of modernization, nor are they particularly shy of the capitalist relations needed to acquire them’ (1999: 410). Indeed, he suggests provocatively that ‘[t]his dialectic of similarity and difference [...] is a normal mode of cultural production’ which ‘is not unique to the contemporary globalizing world. On the contrary, its precolonial and extracolonial occurrences help explain the colonial and postcolonial’ (411). Sahlins’s historicised notion that the indigenisation of modernity goes hand in hand with the modernisation of the indigenous still implies to some extent that ‘modernity’ is a relatively new imposition from ‘outside’ rather than a product of cross-cultural encounters, an argument that again stems from anthropological assumptions regarding the ‘isolation’ of non-‘western’ cultures – and islands in particular – from modernity. Attending such tensions, the following analyses address how postcolonial island writers’

¹² This point has long been recognised in the aesthetic domain; for example, Wendt states in introducing *Nuanua: Pacific Writing in English Since 1980* (1995) that ‘[a]s with other introduced technology and influences, we indigenised writing, using it for our own purposes’ (1995: 1)

portrayals of tourism and culture negotiate conceptions of indigenisation as a largely ‘internal’ process, and touristification – along with the commoditising and ‘modernising’ forces it enfold – as ‘external’. It looks especially at the extent to which postcolonial island writers portray these two factors as co-constitutive, and how this might enhance comparative, cross-regional observations and methodologies.

My focus in this section is on works by two Caribbean writers and two Pacific writers: V.S. Naipaul, Albert Wendt, Epli Hau‘ofa, and Jamaica Kincaid. The first two texts – *The Middle Passage* (1962) and *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* (1979) – are located closer to the institution of jet-fuelled mass tourism, and deal more with the industry’s early development as colonial rule was coming to an end in both authors’ homelands (Trinidad and Samoa respectively) and America’s global influence was rapidly increasing. These are also key concerns in Hau‘ofa’s *Kisses in the Nederends* (1987) and Kincaid’s *A Small Place* (1988), which depict aspects of tourism’s role as a proponent of globalisation whilst continuing to highlight how ‘[d]ecolonization, [...] a catch-all term for many incomplete, diverse and uneven, processes’, is ‘shadowed by neo-colonization’ (Clifford 2004: 154). All four writers have notably diasporic affiliations, forging links through travel and migrancy across numerous islands and continents. It is from this interface between travel, writing, and tourism that the arguments regarding representations of island cultures are drawn.

Naipaul and Wendt: Touristification from ‘Above’ and from ‘Below’

The Middle Passage and *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* provide useful platforms for addressing issues of commoditisation and indigenisation as they offer insights into these processes at relatively early moments in the development of globalised mass tourism. At the same time, Tobias Döring states that *The Middle Passage* in particular ‘is an apt beginning to explore how Caribbean-English writing enters a postcolonial tradition because this text, with curious defiance, insists on ideological viewpoints which can only be described as colonial atavisms’ (2002: 21). Published in the year when Trinidad and Tobago elected full independence from the West Indian Federation, yet considered notoriously colonialist in its assessment of Caribbean

culture, Naipaul's first non-fictional text is fraught with tensions relating to the legacy of colonialism and the region's postcolonial future.¹³ As Döring observes,

the exasperating disdain for Caribbean culture that [Naipaul] articulates [...] has tended to obscure the manoeuvres of anxious self-positioning by which he steers between the different roles of West Indian native–migrant–tourist. Far more challenging than the notoriously objectionable attitudes, the curious rifts and ruptures of his text, address different traditions and their claims for the emerging project of West Indian writing. (21)

Döring's compound reference 'native–migrant–tourist' suggestively highlights the plural perspectives negotiated by Naipaul in returning to his homeland – and the Caribbean more broadly – as insider and outsider, native and tourist, throughout *The Middle Passage*. The chapter on Trinidad dramatises this most acutely, as Naipaul's 'personal involvement with the territory [...] does not allow for simple inside–outside patterns' to emerge (Döring 2002: 39). By interrogating such points of ambivalence, it is possible to gain a more finely grained understanding of the nuanced social analyses that operate in relation to tourism and culture beneath the surface of the text's conspicuously reactionary moments.

In his one-sided analysis of Naipaul's work, Rob Nixon argues that *The Middle Passage* is 'sympathetic neither toward the indigenous cultures that are being eroded by tourism nor toward the new, Americanized cultural values for which tourism is a primary conduit' (1992: 64). He also observes that, given Naipaul's infamous assertion that 'nothing was created in the West Indies' (Naipaul 2001: 20), there is 'peculiar' irony in the fact that:

while, on the one hand, he regrets 'how strong and ineradicable the wish is, among the bongo islanders, to act up to the tourist image', on the other hand, it is not at all clear what to his mind this process damages, given his dismissiveness toward endemic cultural forms. As is often the case in Naipaul's travel books, one is left suspended between two categorical negatives, the old and the new, without any positive recommendations.

(1992: 64–5)

It is no doubt contentious to imply, as Nixon does here, that readers are entitled to expect 'positive recommendations' from the kind of travel writing produced by Naipaul (or indeed from travel writing more broadly – as if the genre is somehow obliged to deliver authoritative policy evaluations). Yet, in critiquing the text's 'categorical negatives', he also raises the question of whether Naipaul provides any means of negotiating these in ways that might still allow positive insights into Caribbean tourism's cultural dimensions to come into view.

¹³ For a summary of attacks on Naipaul, see Strachan (2002: 153). It is worth noting that even more balanced commentators continue to assume rhetorical postures in relation to Naipaul; for instance, whilst Strachan is appreciative of Naipaul's refusal to romanticise Caribbean poverty, he still asserts polemically that Naipaul is 'wedded to a point of view that reeks of the prejudices of the West' (153).

Commenting on details of a Trinidadian landscape that he claims ‘has never been recorded’, Naipaul notes ‘how little local painters help’ by creating works which ‘seem to be aimed’ at ‘the vision of the tourist’, obscuring the ‘beguiling’ realities of the environment (2001: 58). Rather than observing how such artists’ works help constitute the very form of tourism that is evolving in Trinidad, Naipaul reads this as an example of what he later calls a ‘client culture’,¹⁴ wherein outsiders’ desires are privileged over expressions of local experience. His comment that art is like ‘almost everything else’ in Trinidad links to his interpretation of contemporary Trinidadian culture as exhibiting a strong ‘willingness to change’ (2001: 40). Such ‘willingness’ is not emblematic of positive social process in Naipaul’s view, as it remains conditioned by a colonial superstructure in which the expression of a coherent national culture based on local innovation is disabled by the will to ‘approximate’ European and American ‘standards’ (46). In making such observations it is, however, important to note that at this point in his career, having lived in England for a decade, Naipaul felt a profound estrangement from aspects of his Caribbean heritage and island birthplace. As he comments with respect to *The Middle Passage* more than twenty years later in his semi-autobiographical text, *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987), ‘[t]he fight between my idea of the glamour of the traveller–writer and the rawness of my nerves as a colonial travelling among colonials made for difficult writing’ (1987: 140). Rather than staying fixed, he revisits and revises his position regarding the region and its cultures during the course of his career.¹⁵

Further recounting the genesis of *The Middle Passage* in *The Enigma of Arrival* – which, like *A Way in the World* (1994), portrays a mellower and arguably more self-reflexive Naipaul – he acknowledges both his impatience with and his indebtedness to Trinidad. Reflecting on the genesis of his first travel book he states:

¹⁴ Naipaul comments in the prefatory note to the 1969 edition of *The Middle Passage* that: ‘A New Zealand writer, reviewing another book of mine, said that I was writing about the problems of a client culture and a client economy’ (cited in Nixon 1992: 141). Nixon argues that: ‘The mention of client economies and cultures [...] is at variance with his usual portrait of dependent mimicry as imitation from below’, implying that Naipaul was at the time ‘oblivious’ to the terms’ place ‘in the basic idiom employed by theorists of neocolonialism’ (1992: 141).

¹⁵ This is exemplified in *A Way in the World* (1994). More than thirty years after he recorded a similar set of observations in *The Middle Passage*, this later text opens with Naipaul describing his return to Trinidad for a funeral in the 1950s. Pointedly describing himself as ‘half a tourist’, the narrator observes on the first page that ‘[t]o go back home was to play with impressions’ (1994: 1). These include those of the semi-touristic narrator and his younger self in *The Middle Passage*, which is subtitled ‘Impressions of Five Colonial Societies’. The opening to *A Way in the World* hence represents a form of self-reflexive articulation that is receptive to the performative implications of ‘impressions’, implying that writing of this kind is less a process of detached observation than a mode of remembering, subject to change and re-impersonation.

It was odd: the place itself, the little island and its people, could no longer hold me. But the island – with the curiosity it had awakened in me for the larger world, the idea of civilization, and the idea of antiquity; and all the anxieties it had quickened in me – the island had given me the world as a writer; had given me the themes that in the second half of the twentieth century had become important.

(140)

Such themes include tourism, culture, and modernity, which are all explored in the Trinidad chapter of *The Middle Passage* and highlight various interrelationships between mainland metropolitan and insular experience. Rather than merely offering ‘categorical negatives’, these concerns anticipate more recent developments in cultural tourism theory and, despite the often (provocatively) contradictory logic in which they are couched, disclose key tensions regarding the changing relationship between tourism and culture. This is significant as, despite the ethnographic tenor of some parts of *The Middle Passage*’s Trinidad chapter in particular, Naipaul’s text also operates as a critique of Eurocentric accounts of island culture even as it adopts similar viewpoints.

Naipaul links tourist modernity to cultural exoticism and commoditisation. It is part of a process that he sees as governed by market forces over which the Trinidadian state and its inhabitants have relatively little control. Addressing how the specific brand of exoticism associated with modern mass tourism was a twentieth-century construct in *A Way in the World*, he states that: ‘After the First World War [...] tourists came for the sun [...] they came to be in places that were unspoilt, places that time had passed by, places [...] that had never been discovered. So history was set on its head; the islands were refashioned’ (1994: 73). Naipaul’s emphasis on post-1918 tourists’ desire for ‘unspoilt’, timeless, undiscovered lands reflects the ‘myth’ of the ‘unchanged’ paradise which, as discussed earlier, is central to ‘third world tourist marketing’ (Echtner and Prasad 2003). However, Naipaul’s representation of cultural commoditisation and the indigenisation of tourist modernity in *The Middle Passage* challenges the extent to which this ‘refashioning’ can be viewed merely as an exogenous process.

Naipaul states that ‘talk of culture is comparatively new’ in Trinidad. It represents an act of state-sponsored articulation, the ‘concept of some politicians in the forties’, which ‘caught on’ because ‘[t]he promotion of a local culture was the only form of nationalism that could arise in a population divided into mutually exclusive cliques’ (2001: 68). Significantly, the development of local cultural identity coincided with mass tourism’s rise in the region, with the industry becoming integral to cultural conceptions and performances. Naipaul states that: ‘It is only in the calypso that the Trinidadian touches reality. The calypso is a purely local form’, adding that

‘[t]he pure calypso, the best calypso, is incomprehensible to the outsider’ (66). At the same time, he criticises both the ‘hundred foolish travel-writers (reproducing the doggerel sung “especially for them”)’ who have ‘debased the form’, and those commentators who reject commoditised calypso performances. The latter group’s ‘knowing refusal [...] to be taken in’, he asserts, ‘is as foolish as their previous indiscrimination, neither reaction being based on a knowledge of genuine calypso’ (66–7). Instead, Naipaul attempts to offer a more reliable assessment of the process of commoditisation that has accompanied recent developments through locally derived, sociological knowledge. He claims that Trinidadians ‘are as much to blame as anyone’ for the ‘bastardization’ of the form, as they have adapted it according to touristic demands (67). ‘Just as they take pleasure in their American modernity’, he writes (with the possessive pronoun ‘their’ implying an indigenised form of modernity even as he describes Americanisation in terms of dependence), ‘so they take pleasure in living up to the ideals of the tourist brochure. [...] [T]heir talent for self-caricature is profound. The Americans expect native costumes and native dances; Trinidad will discover both’ (67). Here, Naipaul’s invective essentialises the attitudes of both Trinidadian performers and American tourists, eclipsing the possibility for subversion or the emergence of new forms of calypso which incorporate local economic concerns and touristic expectations. Further, his appraisal of cultural ‘debasement’ in relation to the tourist industry’s commoditising demands is based on subscription to principles of artistic wholeness, ‘purity’, and authenticity. It is therefore intriguing that Naipaul’s account of tourism’s effects on local culture is highly attentive to precisely those aspects of emergence and negotiation that current tourism researchers now widely treat as ‘genuine’ cultural forms in their own right.

One of the most ironic aspects of the portrayal of tourism and culture in *The Middle Passage*’s Trinidad section is that, even as it attempts to highlight patterns of Americanised cultural dependence, it also offers an imaginatively inflected reading of tourist modernity which suggests that Trinidadian cultural forms are being forged at this very interface – and not merely in imitative or crassly commoditised ways. The following passage on touristification occurs as Naipaul derides the reduction of Trinidad’s diverse cultural practices to tourist performance:

Few words are used more frequently in Trinidad than ‘culture’. Culture is spoken of as something quite separate from day-to-day existence, separate from advertisements, films and comic strips. [...] Culture is a dance – not the dance that people do when more than three of them get together – but the one put on in native costume on a stage. Culture is music – not the music played by well-known bands and nowadays in the modern way, tape-recorded – but the steel band. Culture is song – not the commercial jingle which [...] has become the folksong of Trinidad [...] but calypso. Culture is, in

short, a night-club turn. And nothing pleases Trinidadians so much as to see their culture being applauded by white American tourists in night-clubs.

(67)

Two key points arise from this biting critique. Firstly, despite censuring Trinidad's culture of mimicry, claiming elsewhere that the 'full meaning of modernity in Trinidad' involves 'all races and classes [...] remaking themselves in the image of the Hollywood B-man' (57), Naipaul nevertheless insists on a broader definition of local culture than is fetishised in brochure discourse. The 'night-club turn' is placed in context of a wider cultural milieu where new forms are created through popular folksongs, impromptu dance, and the indigenisation of consumer culture. Secondly, the passage dramatises how the manipulation of tourism itself constitutes a form of cultural articulation in a highly performative tourist borderzone. Whilst Naipaul, as a partly deracinated outsider, denounces local people's complicity in this process, he simultaneously sketches, here and elsewhere in the chapter, a vibrant culture of adaptation, based partly on extracting wealth from 'white American tourists'. If influences like 'advertisements, films and comic strips' can become included in Trinidadians' everyday cultural repertoires, then following Naipaul's logic it could be said that tourism here is also being domesticated as part of these repertoires.

Rather than reading this form of touristification in terms of a nascent framework of globalisation, Naipaul (understandably, given the time of writing) evokes the kind of colonial model of cross-cultural interaction defined by Pratt as the 'contact zone', characterised by 'conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict' (1992: 6). In addition, his harsh critiques link to a conception of island cultures that is indebted to early anthropology, seeing them as structural totalities. This underpins Naipaul's attempts to account elsewhere for 'the Trinidadian' personality (74; my emphasis), a supposedly singular entity produced by the island's 'picaroon' society, which must be 're-educated' in order to achieve 'political organization'; '[c]hange', he insists, 'must come from the top' (70–1). Ironically, the narrative simultaneously exposes how inventive forms of cultural transformation relating to tourist modernity operate at a grassroots level. This suggests an insightful counterpoint with the 'bottom-up' perspective on Samoan cultural touristification in *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*.

Compared to the suspicions that inhabit *The Middle Passage's* presentation of Caribbean change and modernity, Wendt's non-fictional work exhibits a notably different stance which has important bearings on how the relationship between tourism and culture is approached in his novel. Like Picard, in his ethnographic reconsideration of Balinese tourism's supposedly malign

cultural effects, Wendt asserts that cultural change is integral to Pacific island societies' ongoing negotiations of colonialism. Anticipating – and indeed contributing to – anthropological interpretations of cultures as dynamic entities, Wendt argued in the mid-1970s that: 'Our cultures [...] were changing even in pre-papalagi times through inter-island contact and the endeavours of exceptional individuals and groups [...]. No culture is ever static and can be preserved [...]. There is no state of cultural purity [...] from which there is a decline: usage determines authenticity' (1996: 644). Wendt augments this point in *Nuanua's* introduction, preempting Clifford's argument that '[a]ll-or-nothing, fatal-impact notions of change tend to assume that cultures are living bodies with organic structures' (2001: 478). He states that:

Colonialism has changed us radically but I don't support the outmoded and racist theories, such as the fatal impact theory, which underpin most colonial literature about us. According to these theories and views, we, the indigenous, have been hapless victims and losers in the process of cultural contact and interaction; our cultures have been 'diluted' and 'corrupted'; we have even 'lost' them. All cultures are becoming, changing in order to survive, absorbing foreign influences, continuing, growing. [...] Our story of the Pacific is that of marvellous endurance, survival and dynamic adaptation, despite enormous suffering under colonialism in some of our countries. We have indigenised much that was colonial or foreign to suit ourselves, creating new blends and forms. We have even indigenised Western art forms, including the novel.
(1995: 3)

His closing emphasis on indigenising the novel is interesting as it also raises the question of whether *The Middle Passage*, along with Naipaul's other travel writing, represents a form of generic indigenisation that reflects aspects of the touristification it depicts. As Naipaul states in *The Enigma of Arrival*, on returning to the Caribbean to write his first travel book in 1960, he was 'glamoured by the idea of the metropolitan traveller [...]. It was the only kind of model I had; but – as a colonial among colonials who were very close to me – I could not be that kind of traveller, even though I might share that traveller's education and culture and have his feeling for adventure' (1987: 140).¹⁶ This feeling of simultaneous closeness and estrangement also characterises aspects of Wendt's formal inventiveness with respect to the novel. It is notable, then, that Wendt held an 'admiration' for Naipaul which lasted 'until he became "cold" in his outlook on life' (Sharrad 2003: 68). This is evident in part from the way *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* draws on the epic construction and tragi-comic trajectory of Naipaul's *A House for Mr*

¹⁶ In its 'partial collaboration with and appropriation of the idioms of' colonial travel writing, *The Middle Passage* exhibits what Pratt terms 'autoethnographic' characteristics (1992: 7). However, the way it is produced through sustained interaction with the 'dialectical tension' between '[c]ontradictory processes of decolonizing/neo-colonizing' (Clifford 2004: 155), rather than in situations of directly colonial power relations, simultaneously positions it as a touristified cultural product, representing a significantly different example of generic manipulation.

Biswas (1961), especially in its depiction of local families' successes and failures in relation to the pressures of colonial society.¹⁷

Wendt's emphasis on the pressures colonialism exerted on local cultural practices reflects similar observations by Naipaul and roots both their work in a postcolonial context. They highlight the importance of insularity on local cultural practices, and even though loss and lack of invention predominate in Naipaul's text, it nevertheless attests obliquely to the importance of the adaptive survival of cultural forms (such as calypso) and the 'adaptability' of island cultures more broadly. Although there is a stronger sense of cultural cohesion in Wendt's work, this element is sometimes over-emphasised in analyses of the two writers. For example, Sharrad argues that, in comparison with Naipaul, 'Wendt has the greater resources for imagining something more than material and solitary gain' when dealing with individuals who are 'thrust into quests for success in societies that lack true goals' (140–1). The reason, he suggests, is that:

The aiga structure, the continued nexus between heredity and wealth in the social hierarchy, and the vestiges of indigenous belief systems all provide fragile but nonetheless real 'reefs' against the breakers of history. As Jean Guiart puts it: 'Wendt seems to assert two contradictory truths: island life is in a sorry state, but it is still there'. If we translate this in terms of Naipaul's work, it becomes something like 'island life is in a sorry state and it is *just* there' – that is, hanging by a thread and with no other dimension to it. To some degree, each writer seems to suggest that all one can do is laugh at oneself, but Wendt's laughter is ultimately less defeatist and self-mutilating: it offers a germ of redemption, not only for individual salvage but collective reformation. (2003: 141; original emphasis)

Some of Sharrad's points here are pretty wide of the mark, such as the relationship he establishes between the supposedly 'defeatist and self-mutilating' quality of Naipaul's work and the Caribbean's lack of communally forged 'traditions' comparable to the Samoan aiga (extended family). This appears blandly dismissive of the complex familial structures and local belief systems in Caribbean island societies, which have adapted and survived despite widespread experiences of violent rupture and fragmentation in the region. Putting this aside, however, the attention Sharrad draws to shared experiences of 'island life', and his emphasis on how individual 'salvage' relates to 'collective redemption', is intriguing. This is because both concerns impact on the ways in which *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*'s key tourism scene is interpreted with respect to *The Middle Passage*'s treatment of cultural touristification.

Generically, Wendt's 'dramatic and sprawling saga of social change in Samoa from around 1900 to the 1960s' (Sharrad 2003: 123) is a markedly different text to Naipaul's travelogue,

¹⁷ Indeed, *A House for Mr Biswas* is mentioned directly in Wendt's text (1979: 366), and Wendt's protagonist, Tauilo pepe, is described as 'one of the "mimic men", as one writer has put it so aptly' (368).

relating to very different historical circumstances and genealogies. Nevertheless, the role of ‘borderzone’ performance and portrayals of cultural articulation in both texts provides an important point of comparison. Wendt’s tourism scene is set just after World War II, and involves two of the novel’s central characters – Pepe, the narrator, and his friend Tagata. It depicts their attempts to persuade a group of American tourists to purchase cultural artefacts from their accomplice Lafoga during an encounter in the Samoan capital, Apia. Pepe begins by emphasising how the whole episode is stage-managed by locals, who notably play off discursive tropes attending island life:

before we arranged to meet these Yanks we arranged with friends of ours [...] to put a stall in the market to sell handicrafts and lei and things like that. [...] As we walk there Tagata describes Samoa to the tourists, like it is Hawaii which he has seen in the Hollywood movies.

(1979: 188)

This establishes an apparent example of counter-exploitation, as tourist-savvy islanders import tropical island stereotypes and manipulate them to their advantage. Yet there are notable ambivalences. The pair begin their routine by confounding the tourists’ expectations of primitiveness by speaking a Hollywood-inflected variety of English – causing one woman to exclaim, ‘I never believed they are as civilised as this’ (188). Whilst this seemingly follows Pratt’s model of transculturation – which describes ‘how subordinated or marginal groups [in the contact zone] select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant [...] culture’ (1992: 7) – the strict power hierarchies that underpin the theory become less assured as the scene unfolds. Whereas, in *The Middle Passage*, Trinidad’s touristic borderzone and its related economic interactions are depicted from Naipaul’s ‘top-down’, ethnographic perspective, the scene in *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* presents a grassroots negotiation between tourists and natives in which the manipulation of stereotypes functions as a slippery kind of ‘pidgin’ code. In this encounter, meanings remain unfixed, expectations confounded (particularly on the part of the tourists, as the bias of Pepe’s narrative necessarily celebrates), and numerous economic power relations are contested. In the process, Wendt’s portrayal of touristification and indigenisation highlights the emergence of a new, collaborative, and strangely intimate cultural practice.

This reading depends on several linked observations. Firstly, although the manipulation of linguistic codes has undertones of mockery (attached to notions of colonial mimicry [Bhabha 2004: 121–31]), it also operates as an inventive form of communication in a collaborative context where, as in Naipaul’s Trinidad, tourism is constitutive of cultural performance. Pepe

offers snatches of conversation between the tourists, Tagata, and Lafoga during his account, glossing the various linguistic codes involved as in the following example: “‘Howdy frands. Nice day, ain’t it?’” Tagata greets them in cowboy English. They are astounded. “Now, today we gonna show ya the real genuine Samoan markit” (187). Tagata’s use of ‘cowboy English’ reinforces the scene’s polyvocality. On one level, the incorporation of cinematic conventions in articulating cultural ‘traditions’ challenges the tourists to test the extent to which their expectations are compatible with actual experience. On another level, the locals’ eventual economic success in this scene suggests that this strategically polyvocal articulation of indigeneity may represent a more lucrative means of interacting with tourists than less diverse negotiations.

My second point addresses how the category of authenticity is worked through. The ‘real genuine Samoan markit’ Pepe describes is not just a ‘sham’, as Robert Chi suggests (1997: 79), but a ‘real’, touristified social phenomenon in its own right. Hence, even as the narrative celebrates the seeming ‘inauthenticity’ of the artefacts sold to the tourists – supposedly ‘ancient necklaces’ which ‘Lafoga and Tagata bought [...] for two shillings each from some kids’ and are actually ‘made of tooth-brush handles’ (188) – it also highlights how the experience of cultural performance takes certain precedence over specific products. Lyons suggests that this ‘antitouristic scene [...] is more than a satiric turning of the tables on the Westerners, including, implicitly, Western readers who look to Wendt’s novels for autoethnographic insight into the “Genuine Samoa”, with only a trickster novelist’s word to go on’ (2006: 185). He argues that:

in the process of seeming to take the reader behind the scenes of the arranged tourist market, [the] novel doubles the performances of the boys, and only arrives at another front. If, as Robert Chi suggests, Wendt often ‘interpellate[s] the reader as tourist’ and functions as a trickster ‘go-between’ [...], it is with pained irony toward the colonial history behind the contemporary scene of literary exchange, in which even the exposé of indigenous collusion becomes a commodity.

(185)

While Lyons is right to emphasise the pervasive influence of ‘western’ commoditisation on local cultural production, it is also important to understand how these touristified objects nevertheless gain value to both tourists and native vendors through the stories that are attributed to them, making them metonymic for a particular, historically embedded cultural practice. For instance, the ‘value’ of the necklaces can be read as reflective of the stylistic hybridity that characterises the polysemous, verbal encounter conducted by Tagata. This extends the points made in Paula Ben-Amos’s influential essay on ‘Pidgin Languages and Tourist Arts’ (1977)

which, as Christopher Steiner summarises, calls for an ‘analytic correlation between the languages that develop as a result of transcultural encounter under colonial rule and the art forms that arise under similar economic and political conditions’ (1999: 100). Understanding this scene as a form of performative cultural articulation rather than reading it via models of mimicry and transculturation (which rely on a structural relationship between dominant and subordinated groups) reinforces appreciation of the more contingent elements of the interaction. It encodes narratives of loss – like those highlighted by Lyons – and emergence simultaneously.

My third point deals with the kind of intimacy signalled by Pepe’s verb choice in his opening statement: ‘I will never forget one time Tagata showed me how to *make* the tourist dollar’ (187; my emphasis). This invokes a sexual register (*OED* 19.b) which implies a procreative act. Such ‘bringing forth’ of the tourist dollar is ambivalently consensual, both counter-exploitative *and* creative, with a mutually satisfactory outcome. The tourists acquire ‘traditional’ artefacts, the locals acquire money, and both derive narrative fulfilment from this transaction.¹⁸ Whilst never detached from wider networks of exploitation, this inventive act of cultural articulation nevertheless foregrounds how the touristification of culture is interwoven with the indigenisation of modernity. The scene’s contingent power balance hence puts binary relationships between host and guest, native and tourist, primitive and modern under pressure.

Naipaul’s and Wendt’s representations offer complementary perspectives on how touristified cultural invention functions in islands’ crowded borderzones. Their emphases on the performative potential of local groups to negotiate mass tourism demands – both in terms of Naipaul’s critical perspective ‘from above’, and Wendt’s more playful perspective ‘from below’ – suggests support for Jim Butcher’s suspicion that the recent trend towards ‘ethical tourism’ might be pandering to a vision of cultural ‘fragility’, particularly in ‘[p]oorer regions in the Third World’, which is detached from ongoing processes in reality (2003: 56). Taken to extremes, he argues that ‘the preservation of existing social and economic patterns’, seen as ‘intrinsically desirable’ by some ethical tourism programmes, has the potential to create ‘a vicious circle of fragility, or perhaps more accurately, poverty’ (56). In refusing to treat ‘modernity’ as being ‘at large’ (Appadurai 1996), such practices may be no more ‘ethical’ than the forms of mass tourism against which they are positioned.

¹⁸ Building on Lyons’s suggestion that Wendt’s interpellation of readers as tourists in this scene draws ‘pained’ attention to how ‘even the exposé of indigenous collusion becomes a commodity’ (2006: 185), there is also a sense that the form of cultural articulation represented by the text could be read as a creative, counter-exploitative, and consensual act, mirroring the touristic exchange it depicts.

Given the accentuation of discursive tropes of cultural fragility in islands (allied with ‘fatal impact’ theories),¹⁹ it is worth observing that while some of the preceding observations could be valid for tourist and native interactions in postcolonial contexts generally, they are nevertheless motivated by notably insular concerns. These include how tropical island stereotypes influence the kinds of cultural articulations natives consider to be most profitable. Lyons comments that: ‘The touristic template from Hawai‘i is being lowered on Samoa to the degree that the concept of something “genuine” seems itself spurious’ (2006: 185). As I have suggested, such assertions depend on a relatively reductive understanding of what is considered ‘genuine’, which partially disregards the mechanisms of cultural change. In this scene, the island stereotypes of brochure discourse are manipulated so as to assert a degree of autonomy over the process of touristic interaction. The fact that ‘Tagata describes Samoa to the tourists, like it is Hawaii which he has seen in the Hollywood movies’ (188) ironically foregrounds how Tagata’s notion of the island ‘paradise’ is as dependent on ‘Hollywood movies’ as his interpretation of American culture. This articulation of touristified culture is embedded in discursive stereotypes which paradoxically foreground an emergent cultural practice that dramatises the contingency of local traditions. Afforded just a few pages in Wendt’s epic, this minor – although by no means insignificant – touristic encounter is domesticated as part of a much larger storytelling practice, reflecting the way tourist brochure stereotypes and American cinematic conventions are incorporated into the economic strategies of everyday life.

What makes this doubly ironic is that Tagata and his friends also play off the very discourse of cultural destruction in island contexts that their actions negate: they add value to the vendor’s artefacts by emphasising not only their fabricated ‘ancientness’ (they are supposedly ‘hundreds of years old’ and ‘belonged to [Lafoga’s] great-great-great-grandmother’) but are also scarce, as there are ‘[o]nly two of their kind left’ (189). The tension between genealogical rupture and cultural articulation in this context renders the related cultural commoditisation radically uncertain as the object of commoditisation slips away. The scene presents a negotiation of emergent tourist modernity that draws both on insular cultural resources and discursive stereotypes in ways that illuminate ongoing traditions of negotiation, counter-exploitation, indigenisation, and narrative performance in Samoa – a point which is exemplified by how colonialism is addressed more broadly across familial generations in the

¹⁹ Macnaught offers a tourism-related critique of fatal impact theories in the Pacific, highlighting how they assign ‘Pacific Islanders a helplessly passive role in the conflict of cultures, ignoring a mass of historical evidence that it was often a two-way process’ (1982: 363).

novel. It could also be suggested that insular trade histories, involving an active culture of importation, underwrite adaptive incorporations of tourism in island societies like Samoa. Unlike the strict power hierarchies of colonialism, this allows somewhat freer – if still economically asymmetrical and often exploitative – interactions to occur. In this sense, the scene offers a grassroots corrective of the more negative, ‘top-down’ interpretation of island dependence portrayed in *The Middle Passage*, although both show how cultural reconstruction and polyvocal negotiation play important roles in Trinidadian and Samoan contexts. They also portray island cultures as bound up in processes of constant production at the interface between indigenous or local community practices and tourist modernity, which are telescoped in the context of crowded, contested, but also highly creative island borderzones.

In light of the positive readings of touristified culture and articulation offered above, it is instructive to return briefly to the more ostensibly pessimistic passage on future tourism development which follows *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*’s market scene. Pepe states that:

Our government, which is run by New Zealand palagi, wants [tourists] to come by the shipload so that Samoa can earn money for [...] ‘economic development’. My country does not need writers like me; it wants tourists; and I am sure that after I die Samoa is going to be like Hawaii and Tahiti and all the other tourist centres which are tropical paradises in posters but which are con-men paradises for stripping tourists naked.

(189)

The previous chapter noted some of the implications of how Walcott positions ‘Art’ as ‘History’s nostalgia’ in *Omeros* – a statement that ‘poses his virtuosic epic poem of the tourist era as a manifest anachronism’ (Melas 2005: 150), but which is undermined by the poem’s commitment to interrogating and intervening in St Lucia’s contemporary engagements with globalised modernity. The passage above also sees Pepe ironically frame writing as a backward-looking practice, which is not only powerless as a form of resistance to touristic homogenisation but is symptomatic of the distinctive cultural productions that are being discarded in favour of more narrowly profitable activities. There is of course an autotelic irony in Pepe’s statement because, even as he offers his portentous commentary on homogenising tourism development and cultural demise, the novel of which it is part stands as testament to ongoing cultural engagements with tourism and modernity that are anything but moribund. Indeed, as Wendt is self-reflexively aware in *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*, whilst Pepe, the internal ‘author’, is doomed to die, in reality Wendt himself is very much alive and offering a strong commentary on unsustainable tourism development in these pages. Yet Pepe nevertheless raises a pressing point: how is local cultural specificity retained if postcolonial islands are not only marketed to

tourists but also respond to tourism in culturally similar ways? This raises the further question of whether the indigenisation of modernity described here in relation to early mass tourism is enough to offset the homogenising effects of spiralling tourist influxes in an increasingly globalised era. These points can be addressed through focusing on representations of the links between tourism, cultural production, and globalisation in Hau'ofa's and Kincaid's texts.

Hau'ofa and Kincaid: Globalisation, Culture, and Creativity

Published a year apart (in 1987 and 1988 respectively), *Kisses in the Nederends* and *A Small Place* depict how mass travel and the neocolonial economies of which it is part have become increasingly prevalent aspects of daily life in many Pacific and Caribbean island states. Epeli Hau'ofa's satirical novel is set on the imaginary island of Tipota, which is distinct from but bears certain resemblances to Fiji (often considered 'the centre of the South Pacific', 'not only because of its relative size and wealth, but because it plays a central role as a bridge between the nation states of the Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian islands' [Howard 1991: 122]).²⁰ It follows the attempts of protagonist Oilei Bomboki to find a cure for the intense discomfort caused when he wakes one morning with 'a pain in the arse' (Hau'ofa 1987: 2), resulting from chronic fistulation. This has attracted readings that focus on representations of embodied experience and the ethnographic background of Hau'ofa's work.²¹ However, as Keown points out, *Kisses in the Nederends* provides 'a vehicle for a number of comi-satirical observations regarding political corruption and economic development issues in the Pacific' – 'social ills' that Hau'ofa attributes to 'the cumulative effects of colonialism and global capitalism in the Pacific region' (2005: 62). I will address tourism's role in relation to these by examining a section which extends the irony evident in Wendt's portrayal of the industry.

²⁰ Teaiwa notes that "Fijian influences" are palpable throughout the narrative, particularly in the names of the characters [...]. Fiji is described in the narrative as a location distinct from the fictional Tipota [...]; however, much of the satire in the novel, as Hau'ofa himself points out, is directed at certain academics and ideologues – many based at the University of the South Pacific in Suva – who supported the "Pacific Way" ideology in the pre-coup years' (Keown 2005: 205).

²¹ Keown argues that it is 'appropriate (given Hau'ofa's professional background) to consider *Kisses in the Nederends* within an anthropological/ethnographic context, recognizing [...] that Oilei's bodily affliction is represented as a metaphor for tensions between and across cultures' and as a novel which 'seeks to transcend the binary oppositions upon which much ethnographic, anthropological and colonial discourse has historically been based' (2005: 68). Likewise, referring to the fetishisation of Polynesian bodies in brochure discourse, Teaiwa states that Hau'ofa's 'inscription of the body in *Kisses in the Nederends* problematizes [...] militourist constructions by "naturalizing" the body without pandering to the exotic' (1999: 255).

Kisses in the Nederends's third chapter depicts the tourism-related success of Amini Sese, an unemployed university graduate encountered by Oilei while he is seeking a remedy for his ailment. Amini enters the text as he attempts to commit suicide by paddling out to sea, an act prompted by his lack of success in securing a job on leaving university. Failing even in his attempt to 'offer his body and brain to the sharks, since no one else wanted them', Amini survives after being serendipitously washed ashore in 'the enormous shell of what must have been a giant turtle' (Hau'ofa 1987: 47). Hau'ofa depicts how this auspicious event inspires Amini to reinvent himself as a cultural healer from within the shell. Drawing strategically on indigenous mythologies, he tells local villagers he was taken by 'our mighty sea god, the eight-headed Toke Moana [...] into the middle of the Pacific Ocean, where the spirit of the great turtle, Sangone, took me into his shell' (49). 'Sangone has appointed me his emissary and prophet', he proceeds to proclaim, sent 'to spread the good word, to heal the sick, make the blind see, [...] the lame to run and the moronic to understand. [...] [C]omrades all, spread the good news that tomorrow at noon the Sangone Health Resort will open for business!' (49).

The subsequent success of this enterprise once more sees locals capitalising on touristic expectations regarding tropical island life, accessing the markets generated by the village's location on a 'sixty kilometre' stretch 'known all over the world as the sunshine coast', 'dotted by many [...] hotels, the area being the tourist centre for the country' (47). Amini directly embraces this global tourism market via the mass media, with his business swelling to a size far greater than that portrayed in Wendt's novel. It also involves an inevitable and ironically depicted degree of cultural commoditisation, particularly as villagers mass produce miniature shells for tourist consumption. This in turn is undercut on one hand by tourism's simultaneous contribution to indigenising processes, as Amini weds his 'western'-style university education in 'Creative Accounting and Sociology' to a resuscitation of local myths (47).²² Not only does this benefit the community, but it also promotes the specificity of local traditions in the context of globalised tourist modernity. On the other hand, this celebratory reading is destabilised by the fact that Hau'ofa satirically and self-consciously appropriates the redemptive trajectory of local

²² During this scene, Amini places distinct faith in the cultural and entrepreneurial resources of local inhabitants to adapt to this new phenomenon in ways which will benefit the community. In this sense, his university majors are especially fitting: 'Creative Accounting' lends credence to his economic shrewdness, and 'Sociology' underwrites his skilled anticipation of local community adaptation in the face of increased tourism demand. Indeed, whereas in *The Middle Passage*, Naipaul plays the role of island sociologist 'from afar', critiquing mass tourism's extension of dependency cycles, a generation later Amini symbolises in part how the adaptation of sociological knowledge in island contexts can play a significant role in attracting and manipulating tourist flows at a communal level.

place-myths to highlight the tension between economic circumscription (with its tendency towards exploitation) and potentiality.

The episode is partly underpinned by a disturbing counter-narrative, linked to Hau'ofa's broader concerns with how 'colonialism, Christianity and international capitalism' in the Pacific islands have transformed 'hither-to self-sufficient, proudly independent people into wards of rich and powerful countries' (cited in Keown 2005: 62). This reading derives from the way in which the unlikely turn of events that sees Amini rescued from the ocean is at odds with the more brutal realities underpinning his initial attempt to commit suicide. Clifford states that, across the insular Pacific, '[p]eople think and act in ambiguous post/neo-colonial situations, in the tension – both contradiction and synergy – of decolonization and globalization' (2004: 157). In dramatising this process, Hau'ofa not only imagines an ironically utopian method of negotiating these pressures, but also highlights the dangerous contingencies that lace the intersections between individual lives, the cultures of which they are part, and the more destructive elements of globalised capitalist modernity. It is certainly significant that tourism is figured as a force for potential redemption, rather than simply a degrading agent of cultural commoditisation. Yet it is also important to note the implications of how utopian conceptions regarding local control over tourism development are satirically undercut, reflecting Pepe's more doleful predictions regarding Samoan tourist modernity's future progression in Wendt's narrative.

Keown notes that Hau'ofa's text draws formally on 'Tongan storytelling practices, where criticism of individuals and institutions is never expressed directly, but is instead communicated through humorous stories which satirize the target of criticism by means of comic allegory' (2005: 62). She also suggests that *Kisses in the Nederends* supports Fredric Jameson's assertion that '[a]ll satire [...] necessarily carries a utopian frame of reference within itself' (cited in Keown 2005: 82). Hau'ofa's generic manipulation and indigenisation destabilises the kind of utopianism inherent in the successful local manipulation of tourism markets, self-referentially emphasising at the same time how imaginative literature can illuminate a number of interwoven tensions regarding the kind of tourism development exhibited in coastal Tipota. This links to another benefit of articulation theory: the way in which it suggests not only a process of joining units together but also the act of speech. In this sense, writing – and the various oral practices it encodes – operates as a pre-eminent analogue of cultural articulation, with the language of

transformation associated with articulation theory suggesting a productive conjunction with this thesis's wider methodology regarding functions of the imaginary.

The significance of this can be seen in Hau'ofa's depiction of the serious if humorously negotiated implications attached to how the village of Vonu becomes 'both a South Sea tropical paradise and a health centre' (50). On one hand, a certain sense of local cultural specificity is retained through the marketing of Amini's shell, as processes aligned with cultural commoditisation emerge in relation to tourism here which 'engender new social relations that operate in *anti*-imperialist interests, empowering the previously dispossessed' (Huggan 2001: 12, drawing on Appadurai 1996; original emphasis). On the other hand, not only does the transformation of the village hold environmental ramifications, but the potential pollution caused by such infrastructure developments ('Airlines increased their flights to Tipota [...]. Restaurants and coffee houses soon dotted the waterfront of Vonu' [50]) is also symbolically amplified by how 'the sick and the diseased in body and mind poured in from the richest regions of the world' (50). This new wave of health tourists raises questions about the support structures that exist to prevent the spread of disease, particularly in a novel that consistently satirises the effectiveness of both 'western' and indigenous medicine.

Such questions highlight how even the kind of utopianism Jameson associates with satire can be accompanied by a dystopian counterpart. This is underscored contextually by histories of human and biotic decimation in the insular Pacific through the introduction of various diseases, and compounded by the toxicity associated with nuclear testing. In this sense, the text guards against simple valorisations of the relationship between tourism and cultural production even when islanders are able to negotiate the globalised industry advantageously; it uses Amini's suicidal counter-narrative and the disturbing ironies attached to welcoming legions of 'sick and [...] diseased' tourists to highlight the ways in which such developments can exact a severe toll on local populations. Hau'ofa's text alludes to how the object of consumption involved in Pacific island cultural tourism (as distinct from health tourism) continues to inherit the region's destructive colonial histories – with the potential for significant loss as well as emergence to occur within 'the tension [...] of decolonization and globalization' (Clifford 2004: 157). This is not due to supposed cultural 'fragility' but because poverty and invasive over-development remain constant dangers to how island communities retain control over their environments and everyday practices.

It is also instructive to recall that the publication of Hau'ofa's text in 1987 coincided with the two military coups led by Lieutenant Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka in Fiji. Both coups explicitly politicised racial tensions which stemmed from concern amongst indigenous Fijians – a group which is itself conspicuously marked by diaspora, with members tracing various Pacific island ancestries – regarding Indian–Fijian parliamentary control (achieved earlier in 1987 for the first time since independence). Inculcating, in Fijian writer Satendra Nandan's words, '[a] culture of violence and violations', wherein 'malevolence was gnawing the fabric of multiracialism', the dictatorial coups involved the expulsion of large numbers of Indian–Fijians, exploding touristic fetishisations of the island's 'social harmony' (2000: 12–13). The result for a booming tourism industry – characterised by the increasing air arrivals described in Hau'ofa's text – was in reality 'disastrous' as '[a] 75–percent decrease was recorded for visitors from the United States, Australia, and New Zealand' (Sönmez 2002: 173). The tension here between utopian imagining and political crisis highlights how the kind of cultural tourism expansion dramatised in this chapter of *Kisses in the Nederends* is distinctly vulnerable. The tragic or dystopian counter-narrative built into Hau'ofa's satirical text encodes the possibility of this kind of outcome, emphasising the importance of grounding forms of cultural articulation in a diverse array of social and economic formations whilst simultaneously exposing the pitfalls of over-reliance on tourism as monocrop economy. Despite this, though, the chapter's utopian element suggests that more positive manipulations of the mass tourism market by local communities can be produced through annexing the cultural resources attached to local mythologies. The creative appropriation and *rearticulation* of these through indigenous narrative practices offers one way of asserting island specificity which is bound up in turn with the wider touristification of culture. In addition, Hau'ofa's negotiation of the utopian/dystopian binary that frequently characterises discursive constructions of islands is a powerful and inventive means of remoulding these tropes to support forms of cultural critique.

The tensions exhibited in *Kisses in the Nederends* are brought into further relief through comparison with the Caribbean-based portrayal of mass tourism's cultural intersections in Kincaid's *A Small Place*. Also taking the form of a stylised travelogue, numerous critics have read its polemical interrogation of postcolonial Antigua's culture and economy as indebted to Naipaul's *The Middle Passage*, both in terms of form and content. Strachan observes that Kincaid's 'statements have often reminded Caribbean intellectuals of that pariah [...] Naipaul' (2002: 225), a point which is evident, for example, in an essay by St Lucian poet Jane King.

Building on Frank Birbalsingh's observation that *A Small Place* 'seems to reproduce many of the insights of *The Middle Passage*' (cited in King 2002: 900), King writes that:

Naipaul's most abiding sin is often said to be that he ends his books in despair, offering no hope to the Caribbean. This is certainly true of *The Middle Passage*. It is also true of Kincaid's books, where the people of the English-speaking Caribbean are said to have been so thoroughly corrupted by the English that they are incapable of decent self-government or of generating most of the attributes of civilized life.

(2002: 907)

King's misleading sentiments leave little space to articulate differences between the apparently despairing Naipaul's text and *A Small Place*. Neither do they attend to points of mutual consonance where intimations of more positive futures might be found; they frame both works as purely reactionary with respect to negotiating the circumscriptions attached to cultural touristification. However, writing from an environmental viewpoint, Nixon argues that Kincaid's text can be read as an attempt to return her supposedly paradisaical homeland 'to a transnational ethics of place', allowing Antigua to be viewed, 'like Naipaul's Trinidad, as a shadow island, a corrective to the spatial amnesia of a self-contained, regenerative English pastoral' that underpins certain aspects of tourist marketing (2005: 241). Examination of such parallels sheds important light on *A Small Place*'s more progressive aspects, particularly in terms of its portrayal of exploitative experiences of globalisation and neocolonialism.

Whereas the Naipaul of the early 1960s emphasises the negative implications of brochure discourse exoticism in relation to his characterisation of culture as 'a night-club turn', Kincaid's narrator makes scant mention in *A Small Place* of such touristic performances. One implication of this choice is that, by not referring to exoticist tourist displays, Kincaid is able to sidestep discourses of cultural 'bastardisation' in her narrative, with their associated references to tradition and purity. She emphasises the performative and contingent qualities of Caribbean culture, asking: 'what is culture anyway? In some places, it's the way they play drums; in other places, it's the way you behave out in public; and in still other places, it's just the way a person cooks food. And so what is there to preserve about these things? For is it not so that people make them up as they go along, make them up as they need them?' (1988: 50–1). The narrator's comments here reflect Wendt's assertion that: 'No culture is ever static and can be preserved' (1996: 644). What is particularly interesting about the course of this argument, though, is that such ongoing processes are presented as detached from the discussion of tourism development that not only precedes it but by which it is partly prompted (the narrator raises the topic of culture and education in relation to the proposed transformation of a waterfront library into

tourist ‘boutiques’ [48]). Rather than offering another example of how tourism and local cultural articulations are either antagonistic or co-constitutive, the narrator’s depiction of cultural malleability seems to suggest a level of disconnection between the two. This partly undermines the link between touristic culture, essentialism, and island primitivism in a globalised era.

A Small Place draws on structural oppositions between tourists and natives in order to expose their limitations, challenging the marketing of cultural ‘otherness’ prevalent in brochure discourse. It is this ‘otherness’ which the sort of tourist described by Kincaid’s narrator associates hermeneutically with the people and cultures he or she observes in islands such as Antigua. In so doing, the tourist transforms from a resident American or European ‘to being a person marvelling at the harmony (ordinarily, what you would say is the backwardness) and the union these other people (and they are other people) have with nature’ and ‘the things they can do with a piece of ordinary cloth’ (16). The parenthetical comments ironically highlight how the cultural differences between tourists and natives that are constructed on the basis of the latter group’s ‘otherness’ (marked through discursive oppositions between ‘modern’ tourists and ‘backward’ or ‘primitive’ natives) are put under erasure by the groups’ shared similarities as *people*. Hence, Suzanne Gauch argues that the confrontation of ‘otherness’ and its replacement with what she terms Antigua’s ‘ordinariness’ as a dwelling place is crucial to *A Small Place*’s effectiveness in undermining the exoticist island stereotypes of brochure discourse. The text, Gauch states, ‘addresses otherness by rejecting it in favor of ordinariness, an ordinariness that levels many of the distinctions upon which self and other are predicated’ (2002: 910).

It is hence provocative that, in discussing contemporary Antiguan, Kincaid’s narrator mimics the primitivist stereotypes of early island ethnographers that are embedded in tourist brochure fetishisations of native cultures.²³ According to the narrator, most natives in Antigua lack the ability to see the interconnections between tourism and neocolonial exploitation foregrounded in the text. She thus frames them as equally blinkered ‘primitives’, asserting that: ‘To the people of a small place, the division of Time into the Past, the Present, and the Future does not exist’ (54). This phenomenon – what she calls ‘a strange, unusual perception of time’ – is linked to the size of the island, as the narrator suggests that: ‘perhaps in a world that is twelve miles long and nine miles wide [...] twelve years and twelve minutes and twelve days are all the

²³ Alison Donnell also discusses how *A Small Place* ‘reiterates the radical possibilities of mimicry [...] by providing a complex example of the way in which engaging in an other’s discourse need not repeat the other’s values nor assume the position assigned to you within that discourse’ (1995: 114).

same' (9). Along with the description of Antiguanas as 'an exquisite combination' of 'children', 'artists', and 'lunatics', such sentiments appear 'suspiciously like condescension' to some critics (Holland and Huggan 1998: 52). However, this is partly undercut by contrapuntal descriptions of the tourist-reader, and 'westerners' more broadly. In a passage describing potential tourists' 'clichéd' feelings of 'puzzlement' and emptiness as they traverse the 'busy' streets of the 'large and modern and prosperous' cities in which they live (16), the narrator suggests that the experience of being a native in this context frames the individual as 'a nice blob just sitting like a boob in your amniotic sac of the modern experience' (16). This prenatal simile situates tourists and their experience of modernity in a timeless zone: the primordial sleep of the fetus. Clichéd stereotypes of the timeless native are hereby refashioned and applied to touristic participants in 'western' modernity, playfully implying that certain 'western' citizens 'don't know they're born'.

On one level this equivalence emphasises how both tourists and natives seem hopelessly manipulated by their respective experiences of modernity, remaining similarly alienated and distinguished primarily by economic rather than cultural factors. As she puts it, '[e]very native everywhere [...] would like to find a way out, every native would like a rest, every native would like a tour. But some natives – most natives in the world – cannot go anywhere. They are too poor' (18). Such sentiments support Gauch's insistence that tourist and native identities are not simply opposed but presented as mutually implicated in systems of ordinariness relating to the 'crushing banality and boredom' (18) of everyday life, and the economic inequalities that characterise globalised modernity. This also reflects aspects of Pepe's characterisation of tourism in *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* as 'the new missionary trade', which creates a kind of commensurability between tourists and natives in the sense that *both* groups are preyed on by capitalist tourism developers. Yet, rather than seeing this as a universally homogenising process, wherein both tourists and natives are exploited (albeit unevenly) and local cultural specificity is lost as island destinations coalesce into a 'hundred Havanas and mini-Miamis' (Walcott 1998b: 24), *A Small Place* positions itself as a kind of caustic antidote. One of the most potent functions of the kind of imaginative writing exhibited in *A Small Place* is that it heralds the potential to resituate ethnographic approaches to cultural tourism from the dual yet closely intertwined perspective of tourists and natives. As Nadine Dolby comments:

Kincaid allows us to ask questions that are not forefronted in either the debate about representation in ethnography or in the cultural wing of globalization theory. She forces the intimate and personal dynamics of economic inequality, neocolonialism, and

capitalism under the spotlight, through her analysis of the situated practice of tourism and the 'interacting' individual.

(2003: 59)

Dolby's emphasis on how Kincaid's text promotes forms of inquiry that have received less attention in other disciplinary contexts underscores the specific role writing plays within the modes of cultural articulation already discussed. A touristified cultural production in its own right, appropriating both tourist and native perspectives, *A Small Place* highlights on one hand how Antigua's import culture and implication in global travel flows buttress continued articulations of diasporic cultural identities. This offsets rooted experiences of indigeneity in Caribbean island contexts and beyond, ironically positioning all citizens in processes of touristification which, whether legislated for or not, are shaping contemporary cultural production. Writing hereby helps burst 'the amniotic sac of the modern existence' in a manner that does not so much reflect tourism ('visiting heaps of death and ruin and feeling alive and inspired at the sight of it' [16]) as represent a site of contestation that stages competing interpretations of diasporic connections and intercultural exchange in touristed island milieu.

It is also worth observing that the politicised nature of Kincaid's negotiation of the negative structures bound up in globalised tourist modernity is presented as a familial and formatively genealogical cultural practice. The narrator is notably supportive of the 'painfully frank' and deliciously 'notorious [...] political opinions' voiced by her (diasporic) mother,²⁴ including allegations regarding the Minister of Culture's involvement in a fraudulent racket centred on "'steal[ing] stamps from Redonda'" (50). Such support reflects the kind of act of disclosure constituted by *A Small Place*, which further compounds accusations against the Minister and was censored by the Bird administration on account of its frankness.²⁵ This suggests a further point of contrast with *The Middle Passage*'s overt valorisation of 'top-down' change. *A Small Place* could hence be read as a performative intervention into exploitative tourism development which both shapes and is shaped by the industry's discourses and material practices. Kincaid's writing articulates a burgeoning local tradition of political activism with respect to tourism and the wider forms of state corruption in which it is implicated, formalising its status as a mode of cultural expression in its own right.²⁶

²⁴ Kincaid's mother was born in Dominica (Ferguson 1994: xi).

²⁵ The Bird administration also 'informally banned' Kincaid from visiting her homeland for several years after *A Small Place*'s publication (Ferguson 1994: xiii).

²⁶ One possible objection to this interpretation centres on Kincaid's distanced relationship with Antigua, and the relative privilege that enables her to direct her writing (as in the case of her *New Yorker* pieces) at a primarily white liberal bourgeois audience. This has led to such biting parodies of her personae as the

These readings of *A Small Place* present a crucial challenge to MacCannell's claim that the tourist is 'one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general', as '[o]ur first apprehension of modern civilization [...] emerges in the mind of the tourist' (1999: 1). They insist that this assertion is faulty if it fails to account for the interrelationship *between* tourist and native viewpoints, at the same time suggesting that investigation into this interrelationship can help illuminate the interface between culture, modernity, and indigenisation in postcolonial island contexts more broadly. However, such forms of cultural equivalence (ironically couched in the framework of Kincaid's counter-island ethnography) raise a further key question: to what extent do they undermine the rationale for cultural tourism, giving its dependence on the fetishisation of otherness? This becomes particularly acute when there is a strong incentive for local communities to inhabit cultural stereotypes as, despite their often exploitative and neocolonial orientation, they nevertheless allow access to tourism's vast economic flows.

These points can be addressed through further consideration of writing as a form of touristified cultural production. Representations of tourism in texts like *A Small Place* and *Kisses in the Nederends* self-reflexively characterise the kind of cultural terrain wherein, as Stuart Hall has it, ideological change is articulated and disarticulated, and processes of touristification can be analysed in nuanced depth. By contributing to the indigenisation of modernity that accompanies cultural touristification, Hau'ofa and Kincaid implicitly confront Pepe's provocatively self-referential assertion that '[m]y country does not need writers like me; it wants tourists' (Wendt 1979: 189) by highlighting how cultural productions such as their own texts enhance island specificity. Such works also reflect the ambiguous import/export status of tourists and tourism, often being re-imported after being produced beyond their island subjects' geographical bounds. Yet they also draw attention to the limit points of this process, dramatising ongoing links between tourism and forms of neocolonialism that must be confronted through discursive reclamations of place-histories and assertions of cultural change, countering their suppression within brochure discourse.

These observations suggest a powerful imperative for mainstream tourism researchers to engage more seriously with the kind of perspectives generated within imaginative productions

following by Gary Indiana: 'Unguentina Carribou married early into an incredibly prestigious white publishing family, secur[ing] for her slender, rage-inflected memoirs of an entirely invented Caribbean girlhood a kind of inflated adulation' (cited in Paravisini-Gebert 1999: 18). More interesting from my perspective, though, is what might be gained from addressing how this ambiguous insider-outsider viewpoint is mobilised in ways that shed light on the contours and conflicts of Antiguan cultural articulation in the touristified present, especially through the intersection of 'invention' and reality.

that anticipate how cultural and industry interactions might be sustainably transformed. Indeed, they highlight ways in which this *creative process* might itself play a constitutive role in relation to more ethical, less exploitative reformulations of cultural tourism. Greg Richards and Judie Wilson note that, ‘as more [...] regions compete in (re)producing and promoting themselves for tourism and culture employing the same formulaic mechanisms, their ability to create “uniqueness” arguably diminishes, often assumed to lead towards the “serial reproduction” of culture’ (Richards and Wilson 2006: 1210). As a means of negotiating this, they champion ‘creative tourism’ – ‘an extension of or a reaction to cultural tourism’ that ‘offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in [...] learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken’ (1215). The exoticist machinery and powerful economic forces that underpin cultural fetishisation in postcolonial island contexts demand a strong degree of scepticism regarding the capacity of this form of travel to transcend the reactionary nature of paradisaic tourism marketing. However, this does not diminish literature’s capacity to dramatise the ambivalences and collaborative energies attached to these processes.

The texts analysed in this section offer nuanced perspectives on tourism’s potential not merely to stifle local cultural articulations but (as Richards and Wilson claim of ‘creative tourism’ practices) to ‘revers[e] the usual power relationships of the host–guest encounter’, ‘develop innovatory new cultural products’, and even ‘nourish the cultural economy’ (1221; 1215). Significantly, even as island writers’ critiques of neocolonial networks of exploitation are stringently acerbic, they also exemplify a certain ‘creative’ conjunction between tourism and culture. Richards and Wilson note that, ‘[i]n the tourism sector [...] much innovation is based on product innovation, which is either accepted or rejected by the consumer. Very rarely is the consumer actually involved in the creative process itself’ (1221). The readings here foreground the importance of such collaborative interactions with respect to instituting more sustainable tourism practices. They suggest that ongoing transformations of cultural tourism can be conducted in relation to the imaginative contract readers – who are also ‘consumers’ of sorts – share with the cultural texts produced in this instance by postcolonial island writers. These disrupt the ‘serial reproduction’ of culture and place, challenging notions of touristic homogenisation. Further, whilst exhibiting numerous important points of conjunction, these works also speak to the specificity of island experience attached to the cultural and geographical locations they depict. This is reflected not only in each text’s respective content, but also in the

particularity of their formal and generic negotiations. These contribute to an articulation of identity forged at the interface between global and local production, diaspora and indigeneity, which is characteristic of postcolonial islands' dialectical relationships with multiple forms of tourist modernity.

The instances of commensurability between all four depictions of tourism analysed here reinforce the collective rationale for cross-regional comparison, particularly in terms of mass tourism's participation in the exoticist logic of globalised cultural consumption. Concluding this section then, I want to draw attention briefly to a notable silence in cultural tourism theory. That is, although its practitioners have keenly retraced colonial anthropologists' steps in the insular Pacific, resulting in much groundbreaking ethnographic work, little of this has been applied to the world's most tourism dependent region, the Caribbean. The archipelago has received much sociological attention, inspiring challenging and insightful work on sex tourism especially.²⁷ Yet those analyses which do address tourism and culture in the Caribbean fail to engage fully with the recent theoretical trends outlined above. To offer a few examples, Pattullo acknowledges that 'there are now significant points at which the interaction between tourism and Caribbean culture has created a new dynamic' (Pattullo 1996: 179), but does not explore this in detail, relying instead on the dualistically determined logic of authenticity and cultural integrity. Likewise, Strachan's book on tourism and culture in the Caribbean makes virtually no reference to interdisciplinary tourism theory, continually criticising tourism's negative 'impact' on 'authentic' cultural forms without setting this in context of recent cultural tourism studies debates. And, to give another linked illustration, while David Duval's essay in Hall and Tucker's collection, 'Cultural Tourism in Postcolonial Environments' (2004), displays admirable sensitivity to the contestations surrounding the category of 'the authentic', the fact that his case study is based on the history and experiences of St Vincent's indigenous Carib population again indicates how tourism's effects on 'non-indigenous' Caribbean cultures continue to be bypassed.

The complementary portrayals of tourism and culture by island writers addressed here, which speak to a shared sense of postcoloniality in the face of globalisation and neocolonialism, therefore raise a worrying concern: might cultural tourism researchers' overwhelming focus on Pacific islands reflect, at some level, the long history of assumptions regarding the Caribbean's supposed *lack* of distinctive cultural traditions? This is not to suggest that tourism researchers

²⁷ See, for example, Pruitt and Lafont (1995); Kempadoo (1999b; 2004); Brennan (2004).

have paid less attention to tourism's effects on Caribbean island cultures because they subscribe to notions of the region as 'cultureless'. Rather, it raises the question of whether the fact that most revisions of early theories regarding commoditisation, authenticity, and tradition have been derived from case studies in the indigenous Pacific relates to how the two regions are marketed touristically. This is a serious point, for if such beliefs are being re-inscribed – unwittingly or not – at the level of academic inquiry, what hope is there of confronting the kind of mental colonisation exhibited by *The Guardian's* travel editor, Andy Pietrask, in 2001 when he asserted that: 'The Caribbean is, after all, about indulging the senses: eating, sleeping and, of course, snorkelling. You don't exactly go there for culture' (cited in Sheller 2003: 122)? It is in relation to such silences that comparative literary analysis can contribute challenging and revisionary perspectives to those produced regarding tourism and culture in the social sciences.

'Chasing Anthropology's Discarded Discourse': Cultural Articulation and Imprisonment

Just as the complex circuits of trade, cultural and biological exchange, travel, and subjugation involved in various forms of 'western' colonialism warn against simplistic characterisations of their power dynamics, so the relationship explored here between globalisation, decolonisation, and neocolonialism in island contexts encodes similar tensions. As Clifford notes, 'understanding this predicament' involves consideration of 'a messy world in which fundamentalisms, ethnic chauvinisms, and tourist displays flourish alongside First Nations revivals and the mobilization of local communities against environmental devastation or invasive development' (2004: 157). According to this model, the Caribbean's negotiation of culture, diaspora, and indigeneity reflects aspects of insular Pacific experience, particularly in terms of how the 'mobilization of communities' engages numerous forms of cultural articulation that tap into the contradictory processes that accompany global tourism's contemporary operations. This point is exemplified in Dolby's observation that:

A Small Place provides the skeleton of an emergent dynamic in ethnographic practice – that of connection – that can help to reshape the analysis of human encounters in a stratified and unjust, yet intertwined and entangled, world. Kincaid's critique of tourist practices, her relentless insistence that the tourist is not free, that self and other are not separate, and that the world is locked together in one relationship, furnishes a model of how to reframe ethnographic practice into a vital exploration of the ties that bind us together, with the promise – however distant – of remaking those ties anew.

(2003: 58–9)

This passage raises the question of whether Dolby's model of globalised modernity, in which 'the world is locked together in one relationship', is compatible with the connections between *multiple* tourist modernities addressed in the preceding readings of tourism and culture. How does a globalised yet 'stratified' world approach the potentially *imprisoning* conditions described by Dolby, and in what ways do they related to postcolonial islands' experiences of tourism in particular? According to Dolby, the awareness Kincaid raises of interconnections between history, politics, culture, and economics, both in Antigua and in 'western' tourists' homelands, 'disrupts the tourist paradigm, unfixes culture and place, and zeroes in on the historical and contemporary routes [...] that wind their way between seemingly unlinked places' (65). What such diasporically inflected comments elide is the retrogressive *fixity* associated with brochure discourse (to which her comment on interlocked relationships nevertheless alludes), along with its effects on cultural production.

Many of the readings in this thesis bear out Bruner's argument that, '[i]n replicating the colonial experience, tourism is conservative and even reactionary, frequently retelling outmoded stories, reproducing stereotypes, replicating fantasy, or simulating a discarded historical vision' (2005: 21). It is in this sense that he sees 'tourism [...] as chasing anthropology's discarded discourse, presenting cultures as functionally integrated homogeneous entities outside of time, space, history' (4). The points regarding manipulations of brochure discourse stereotypes and the plurality of cultural interactions in both Pacific and Caribbean examples significantly confront tourism's propensity to mobilise this 'discarded discourse'. They highlight some of the conceptual requirements necessary for imagining more culturally sustainable tourism futures through their historically, geographically, economically, and socially nuanced portrayals of industry interrelations. Hence, it could be said that Kincaid parodies tourism's resuscitation of outmoded anthropology in her counter-ethnographic travelogue precisely so as to underscore its bankruptcy in representing contemporary Antigua. However, the power of such stereotypes, buttressed by the more exploitative dimensions of the global tourism industry, means that there remains another, darker implication to Dolby's description of a world 'locked together in one relationship'.

In the conclusion to *A Small Place*, Kincaid's narrator suggests that at times it seems 'as if [...] the beauty' of the island 'were a prison, and as if everything and everybody that is not inside it were locked out' (1988: 79). This is of course ironic given the movement not only of tourists but also of migrants (such as Kincaid herself) and commodities across the island's

borders.²⁸ Yet in terms of the *image* she describes – the beautiful, paradisaical island, with all the cultural assumptions that attend it touristically – her sentiment chimes with one of the key (if often overlooked) conclusions to Picard’s work on touristification in Bali. He warns that ‘the Balinese are now prisoners of a cultural image promoted by the marketers of Bali as a tourist paradise. In as much as they are expected to display evidence of their Balineseness, the Balinese run the risk of becoming signs of themselves’ (1995: 61). Can this ‘risk’, centrally implicated in the way tourism pursues anthropology’s discarded discourse, be negotiated textually and what are its implications for cultural sustainability in postcolonial island contexts? And to take this a step further, what kinds of cultural articulations are required to negotiate forms of tourism that relegate native culture to the status of past history, actively erasing the possibility not only of its growth and transformation but its contemporaneous existence entirely? These questions are explored in relation to forms of cultural imprisonment in the next section, which focuses specifically on indigenous experience in Hawai‘i.

II. Tourism, Culture, and Reindigenisation in Hawai‘i

From the perspective of nativist scholars like Trask, Hawaiian history following Cook’s landing in 1778 and the inception of colonialism reads as a litany of cultural and environmental destruction which continues today in the form of mass tourism. The dizzying social and industrial transformations of the nineteenth century saw Hawai‘i change from self-sustaining archipelago to plantation economy; the native population fell from over a million to around forty thousand (Trask 1999: 19); and political control was eventually annexed to the US in 1898, following an illegal military takeover. This was consecrated in 1959 when Hawai‘i became America’s fiftieth state. Over the last century, the possibility of cultural growth for native Hawaiians has been circumscribed by increasing marginalisation and assimilation. This process is crucially buttressed by the ways in which the island’s dominant industry, tourism, fetishises native culture, marketing the island’s ‘aloha’ spirit as part of a paradisaical package that, in 2006, attracted over seven and half million tourists (‘Historical Visitor Statistics’). The island of O‘ahu, which ironically means ‘gathering place’, experiences one of the world’s highest

²⁸ Again, Kincaid’s critique plays off ‘western’ colonial discourse to some extent here, particularly what DeLoughrey calls ‘the myth of the confined islander, an ontological contrast to the mobile European male who produces world history by traversing space’ (2007b: 20). Elsewhere, DeLoughrey also outlines Kincaid’s attentiveness in *My Garden (Book)* (1999) to the long history of Antiguan botanical imports that have radically changed the local landscape (2004: 304).

tourism densities (Trask 1999: 140),²⁹ due not least to what Paul Theroux describes as ‘the huge sluttish pleasures of its Nipponized beachfront hotels’ (cited in Wilson 2000: 234). By focusing on Hawai‘i in this section, I will engage with the implications of this incredible overdevelopment’s portrayal in texts by writers with native Hawaiian ancestry. I address how indigeneity is articulated in this intensely multicultural state, particularly in light of the threat of cultural imprisonment identified at the end of the previous section. I also look at some of the ways in which the archipelago’s contested histories, and the cultural practices they inspire, speak to comparative Caribbean and Pacific island concerns.

Indigeneity, Americanisation, and Postcoloniality in Hawai‘i

Whilst this thesis uses the category of ‘postcolonial islands’ to signify shared colonial histories and their legacies in the globalised, neocolonial present, Hawai‘i’s official categorisation as an American state puts pressure on its claim to postcoloniality. As noted in Chapter 1, the cultural transformations resulting from Hawai‘i’s US annexation have estranged it from other Polynesian islands, even as its native group’s ongoing calls for sovereignty make its plight compelling. Although Waddell claims that, ‘[f]or many of us Hawai‘i is no longer part of the Pacific’, he admits that it still ‘draws us unceasingly. The sheer majesty and profound tragedy of the place’ (1993: 29). This tension between attraction and repulsion is well glossed in relation to institutional approaches by Lyons in his book, *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination* (2006). He describes how, ‘[i]n terms of both American studies and Pacific studies, much of the difficulty of approaching the U.S. role in Oceania has to do with the intellectual and conceptual “situation” of Hawai‘i as a U.S. colony’: as America ‘disavows having colonies in the sense of overseas territories’, Hawai‘i is not considered as ‘colonized but incorporated and Hawaiians are not colonial subjects but part of a multicultural citizenry that shares full political rights’. Hence, the ‘doubly faulty U.S. syllogism begins that Hawai‘i is part of the U.S. and Hawai‘i is part of Oceania, but does not know where to end’ (2006: 6).³⁰ This has led to

²⁹ Tourism density refers to ‘the ratio of the number of tourists per square kilometre on any one day’ (Momsen 2005: 215).

³⁰ Even though America remains the dominant cultural and economic force in Hawai‘i, extensive waves of competing colonial arrivants, particularly from Japan, and labour-related immigrants from such diverse locations as Portugal, China, and the Philippines, have also contributed to a profoundly heterogeneous and diasporic notion of contemporary Hawaiian identity. At the same time, however, over-emphasis of this process of creolisation risks sacrificing some of the specificities of Hawaiian cultural representation and indigenous articulations more broadly. Discussing writings by native Hawaiians like Trask and

disagreement amongst researchers working across various disciplines regarding the relevance of broad conceptual categories to the archipelago.

The friction between the postmodern and the postcolonial, which extends far beyond the specific case of Hawai‘i, is a good example of this. For instance, describing Hawai‘i as a ‘noncontiguous territory positioned within yet outside of the U.S. mainland cultural hegemony’, Rob Wilson argues that it has become

a postmodern island microstate of global cultural flows and local encounters. Inside this contemporary Hawai‘i [...] distinctive cultural articulations and political-economic entanglements into the transnational marketplace of global tourism and Asia/Pacific exchange are intermixed in person, code, and habit. It makes sense to speak of these Hawaiian Islands, then, not so much as a seamlessly confederated U.S. *state*, but as a site of heteroglossic spatiality. Hawai‘i is an island [...] that is [...] captured by yet outside capitalist regimes of knowledge and power where other stories of place, self, and belonging go on being circulated, imagined, contested, and sold.

(2000: 196; original emphasis)

What should be made of such ‘distinctive cultural articulations’ in relation to ‘the transnational marketplace of global tourism’ for which Hawai‘i is a powerful metonym? The multiple terminologies Wilson evokes in this passage seem to reflect in part the ‘heteroglossic’ quality which he sees as central to Hawai‘i – a point that bears clear literary implications. Yet it also emblematises the difficulty (or impossibility) of prescriptive categorisation in this context. My own sense of Hawai‘i’s postcoloniality relates most directly to concerns about the relationship between tourism and forms of indigenisation that extend the observations made earlier in relation to Naipaul, Wendt, Hau‘ofa, and Kincaid. Building in part on Picard’s theory of touristification, Bruner states that, ‘in areas with well-established tourism, as new culture is developed for tourists, the way local peoples tell stories about their traditions to foreigners influences how they talk about and express their own culture to themselves’ (2005: 22). In light of this, the following analysis focuses especially on how portrayals of tourism in ‘stories’ told by native Hawaiian writers contribute to shaping not only their form and content, but also wider understandings of Hawai‘i’s affiliations with other highly touristed, postcolonial island states.

Kanahele, Wood cautions that ‘various Natives dispute the claims of metropolitan scholars such as Homi Bhabha, Roger Keesing, and many others, who argue contemporary indigenous cultures are so thoroughly hybridized that appeals to precontact values should be viewed as romanticized fantasies. That such critics both inside and outside Hawai‘i deny the claims of Native writers [...] suggests many non-Natives remain committed to presenting themselves as experts who can speak on behalf of indigenous people more authoritatively than these people can speak for themselves’ (1999: 5).

Perhaps more than any other island region in the world, the Hawaiian archipelago and its diverse inhabitants live under a banner of exoticism that is perpetuated both within tourism marketing and through the islands' representation across various media. As E. San Juan, Jr puts it:

'Hawaii' is one of those words/terms so thoroughly fetishised that it seems impossible any more to grasp what its referent is, if that has not been completely erased by its status as a signifier fashioning its own signified. Michener's *Hawaii*, the film *South Pacific*, and an avalanche of tourist brochures, travel promotions and advertisements in magazines and on the Internet have all guaranteed to fix and sanctify Hawaii as an icon of the exotic, pleasure-filled Otherness or 'Fantasy Island' and to reproduce it infinitely. (2002: 71)

In terms of market share, Hawai'i's tourism industry vastly outweighs that of all other Pacific island states. As an article on island tourism in *Pacific Magazine* highlights, most of the insular Pacific's tourism industry is relatively small: 'In mass market tourism, only Guam (1.3 million visitors), Fiji (est. 530,000) and French Polynesia (est. 220,000) are "big" players. [...] All of these [...] are dwarfed, of course, by Hawaii's more than seven million annual visitor arrivals' (Takeuch and Magick 2006). Of the Caribbean islands, the Bahamas comes closest to approaching this kind of arrival volume, with around 5 million visitors in 2006. Other highly touristed islands in the region exhibit significantly lower figures, such as Jamaica (3 million), Barbados (1.1 million), and Antigua (725,000) ('Latest 2006 Tourism Statistics').³¹

The immense environmental pressures exerted by tourism are reflected in the scale of its social, cultural, and political effects on the archipelago. Elizabeth Buck states that the industry's pervasiveness means that:

Little about island life is not in some way affected by tourism [...]. Tourism is more than the large percentage of jobs and businesses that depend on it; more than the political clout of an industry that generates close to 40 percent of the state's gross product; more than the physical presence of tourists on crowded streets, highways, beaches, and parks; more than the allocation of limited land and water resources for hotel and golf-course development. It is all these realities plus a more subtle presence that operates at the level of sign, symbol, and social consciousness.

(1993: 179)

³¹ It is worth noting however that the respective geographical area of Hawai'i (11,000 square miles) and the Bahamas (5,400 square miles) allows some diffusion of visitors. Barbados (166 square miles) and Antigua (108 square miles) are far more circumscribed in this respect, although in all cases much tourist traffic tends to be concentrated in densely populated resorts. Hence, the single square mile of Waikīkī 'generates about 50% of [Hawai'i's] total visitor expenditures' (Sheldon and Abenoja 2001: 437).

It is therefore unsurprising that Hawai‘i is often cited as a warning sign to other island states experiencing lower – but in many cases sharply rising – levels of tourism development. As anthropologist Jocelyn Linnekin puts it, ‘[t]o many who live elsewhere in the Pacific, Hawaii illustrates a cautionary tale of tremendous economic success gained at the price of indigenous dispossession, wholesale social transformation, and cultural loss, not to mention a high cost of living’ (1997: 220).

Hawai‘i’s tourism industry tends to be visualised by other Pacific islanders either as a tourism development model to be avoided, or as the inevitable apotheosis of industry intervention in small island states. It is rarely (if ever) seen as an exemplar of sustainability in cultural or environmental terms. In *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*, for instance, Pepe specifically illustrates his belief that his country will become increasingly dominated by tourism with a reference to the archipelago, stating that Samoa will be ‘like Hawaii and Tahiti and all the other tourist centres which are tropical paradises in the posters’ (Wendt 1979: 189). Likewise, in revising his opinions on Tongan tourism in the late 1980s from an anthropological perspective, Charles Urbanowicz writes that ‘the advent of mass travel could “Waikiki” the beaches, and inundate local culture, as has already happened in certain parts of the Fiftieth State’ (1989: 105). Even Bali, whose visitor rate is now amongst the highest of Asia-Pacific islands and which has attracted so much cultural tourism research,³² constructed its tourism development strategy in relation to the perceived negatives of Hawaiian tourism. As Yamashita observes, ‘when tourism development was introduced by the Bali government, Balinese intellectuals expressed concern that the island would become a “second Waikiki”’, causing the government to adopt ‘the policy that “tourism exists for the benefit of Bali”, rather than “Bali exists for the benefit of the tourists”’ (2003: 54).³³ Bali’s strategy is intriguing as it illuminates how the effects of Hawaiian tourism have helped fuel the drive towards cultural tourism in other states. Hence, when Nevzat Soguk suggests that Hawai‘i can be read as ‘a metaphor for understanding other places and peoples whose travel stories hide between their letters the histories of displacement’ (2003: 33), the point may be expanded to embrace the way Hawai‘i has become a ‘metaphor’ for understanding broader trends in island tourism development.

³² Bali received 1.3 million tourists in 2006 (‘Direct Foreign Tourist Arrivals to Bali By Nationality By Month in 2006’).

³³ This is a common sentiment within postcolonial island communities. For instance, Taylor reports that, as early as 1959, ‘the lord bishop of Jamaica cautioned that the tourist industry should be changed by the island rather than the island changed by the tourist industry’ (1993: 171). Likewise, after giving examples from Fiji and the Cook Islands, Timothy Macnaught notes that: ‘Every Pacific nation has its variant of what Baron Vaea of Tonga optimistically calls “tourism on our terms”’ (1982: 361).

There is, however, a danger of framing Hawai‘i as paradigmatic of other forms of island tourism development. Not only does this becloud the myriad differences between the policies and experiences of individual islands, but it also glosses over the internal variations and indeed divisions within Hawai‘i. In the examples above, for instance, Waikīkī is seen as exemplifying unsustainable overdevelopment rather than Hawai‘i in its entirety. The need for sensitive differentiation also corresponds to discussions of Americanisation and internal colonialism within the state, and its relation to the tourism industry. As Lyons notes, these concerns reinforce the way in which ‘Hawai‘i tends to be pressed into discursive service as either a triumphalist scenario, a fully modernized/Americanized Oceanian place, or a nightmare scenario, an Oceanian place in which what is distinctively Oceanian has been lost through assimilation’ (2006: 7). As intimated throughout the thesis, this kind of utopian/dystopian binarism is often imprisoning in itself.³⁴ Such reductive logic contributes to stifling more nuanced analysis of Americanisation within Hawai‘i by constructing it as a relatively monolithic force and failing to account for the shades and textures of cultural negotiations with modernity across the archipelago. The more dystopian readings that underpin characterisations of Hawai‘i as a ‘cautionary tale’ not only echo outmoded fatal impact theories once again but, in reinforcing Hawai‘i’s distinction from other Pacific islands, also fail to acknowledge how its negotiations of tourism, internal colonialism, and globalisation can and do feed into strategic planning policies elsewhere.³⁵ This leads to the kind of sweeping dismissals of Hawaiian tourist modernity that prompted poet-activist Wayne Kaunualii Westlake to observe in 1980 that:

Pacific leaders [...] see Hawaii as a place where indigenous peoples’ traditions and heritage have been raped and bastardised, crushed and demolished, all in the name of Progress and the American Dream. Hawaii is no ‘role model’ for Pacific Island territories and emerging nations to imitate. If anything, it’s an example to avoid.

(cited in Lyons 2006: 7)

It is therefore important to emphasise how the archipelago is not simply a dystopian example of unsustainable practice but a space where, despite various forms of tourism-related exploitation, cultural growth and transformation is still possible. Notably, Linnekin asserts that, ‘[a]lthough Hawaii represents an extreme degree of engagement with tourism, the processes that’ shaped its industry formations ‘are common to several other Pacific and Asian societies’. Representative of the tensions involved in shifting from plantation colony to tourist destination,

³⁴ The clear environmental variant on this is discussed in more detail with reference to Sri Lanka and Frederick Buell’s notion of ‘postapocalypse’ in Chapter 4.

³⁵ As noted in Chapter 1, the first Sri Lankan tourism plan was constructed in the 1960s ‘by Harris, Kerr, Forster & Co., a firm of hotel and travel consultants based in Hawaii’ (Crick 1994: 27).

for Linnekin, 'Hawaii's present could be the future of some Asian and Pacific societies' (1997: 228).³⁶ There are of course dangers in positioning different islands' present and future experiences of tourism relationally in this way, especially as it reflects the linear development paradigms promulgated by economically powerful 'western' governments following World War II. Nevertheless, the potential for dialogic interaction between islands regarding future tourism trends suggests there could be distinct benefits to examining how and why Hawai'i's experience of mass tourism development might have significant implications within the Pacific and beyond.

Trask's assertion that the 'overpowering impact of mass tourism on island cultures is best studied in Hawai'i' (1999: 50) is intriguing as it suggests parallels not just between Hawai'i and the rest of the insular Pacific but also, in its general emphasis on 'island cultures', other postcolonial island states. Significantly, Hawai'i's experiences speak to those of certain Caribbean islands in ways that bridge experiences of tourism development between the two archipelagos. This relates in part to shared aspects of their colonial histories, and their respective transformations from plantation to tourism economies. Linnekin asserts that Hawai'i's 'extreme [...] economic dependence on tourism' amongst the Pacific islands, and 'the volume and commercialization of its "hospitality industry"', is linked to the decline in 'sugar's profitability [...] after World War II' (1997: 220). In this period, 'Hawaii was transformed from a largely rural plantation colony into a highly urbanized tourist mecca, with much of the boom occurring during the 1960s' (220). This mirrors industrial changes in the Caribbean at the same time, as independence for a number of islands was accompanied by the withdrawal of British support for the plantations. As Pattullo puts it, '[w]hen tourism overtook sugar as the major foreign-exchange earner it pitched the Caribbean into a new historical phase' (1996: 9), as 'primarily agricultural economies' were turned 'into pastures for pleasuring the leisured' (6). Yet, whereas Hawai'i's incorporation as part of the US annexed it directly to the kind of capitalist ideologies of development that largely marginalise indigenous communities, the Caribbean has been mostly subject to encroaching Americanisation. Hawai'i's development therefore also acts as an index for islands within this archipelago, with Walcott's narrator in Book Six of *Omeros* observing how St Lucia's 'gold sea' appears 'flat as a credit-card, extending its line / to a beach that now looked just like everywhere else, / Greece or Hawaii' (1990: 229).

³⁶ David Harrison likewise claims that 'the criticisms levelled at mass tourism in such destinations as Hawai'i [...] should be regarded as warnings of what might happen in other Pacific islands, rather than indictments of what has already occurred' (2004: 11).

Further comparisons between Hawai‘i and the Caribbean might relate to their respective experiences of native depopulation and genocide. Noting that the ‘endurance of local traditions in Pacific cultures’ stems partly from ‘the fact that many Pacific Island nations have not experienced the same degree of direct colonial control and/or economic exploitation endured by colonized cultures in certain other parts of the world’, Keown observes that: ‘Where colonization has been more systematic – as is the case in Hawai‘i and New Zealand, for example – greater cultural attrition is evident both in the huge reduction in the numbers of indigenes speaking their native languages, and in the decline or disappearance of pre-European cultural practices’ (2005: 193). Comparing Hawai‘i and the Caribbean in this light highlights how the plantation history of both contributed to the genocidal decline of native populations, with replacement labourers acquired by colonists through enforced migration. As a result, present-day Hawai‘i, like much of the insular Caribbean, has a very diverse population, characterised by forms of creolisation and hybridity.³⁷ It is however deeply ironic that, rather than acknowledging the tensions and histories of oppression this encodes, the internal colonialism that underwrites aspects of the tourism industry involves valorisation of the state’s ‘rainbow’ population – the ‘Melting Pot of the Pacific’, as A. Grove Day calls it from a hegemonic perspective (cited in Lyons 2006: 67). The notion of multiracial ‘harmony’ this encodes – which is centrally implicated in paradisaic island stereotypes – serves partly to ‘confuse and defuse the protest practices of Hawaiian sovereignty and land activists as largely “un-Hawaiian”, “racist”, and “antisocial”’ (Halualani 2002: xiv). This links to how Hawai‘i’s native population is consistently *written out* of existence within state tourist discourses, even as its ‘aloha’ ideology remains amongst the archipelago’s major cultural selling points.

Whilst the insular Caribbean’s creolised populations are often asked to enact tourism brochure stereotypes (as in Strachan’s claim that ‘many parts of the Bahamas have truly become a stage. Bahamians live on it’ [2002: 130]), the notion of native Hawaiians existing – being part of a *living* culture – is put under severe pressure by Hawai‘i’s dominant tourism narratives. These position indigenous Hawaiians as moribund (or already dead), their culture atrophied, encased in glass; they are tourist spectacles of the islands’ past. As Rona Halualani notes:

³⁷ Schultz notes that: ‘The link between Hawaii and the Caribbean is – perhaps unbeknownst to Caribbeans – also cultural; Jawaiian music, or reggae performed by Hawaii musicians, affirms the (perhaps one-sided) emotional link between island regions [...]. Bob Marley’s melodies, and many of his political sentiments, can frequently be heard over Hawaii’s airwaves, and one group [...] writes lyrics in Jamaican and not Hawaiian dialect’ (Schultz 1994). She suggests that linguistic affiliations, in the form of both regions’ intricate pidgin codes and their influence on local subject-formation, might explain this link.

In the modern and postmodern spaces of tourism, images of an antiquated nativism that is already dead are quickly consumed. Visitors rush to witness former native living sites, artifacts, and material traces of “what used to be the cultural past”. Tourist venues continue to represent Hawaiians as a people never meant to exist into modernity and as ‘dead’ in tours of empty, archaeologically framed cultural sites and homes of past *ali‘i* [chiefs].

(2002: xiii)

Tourism’s penchant for ‘chasing anthropology’s discarded discourse’ could not be clearer here: selectively activating fatal impact narratives, it erases contemporary indigenous concerns in favour of ‘imprison[ing]’ native Hawaiians ‘in the historical wax museum of culture’ (Halualani 2002: 240). Pincered in this way between the negative aspects of Americanisation on one hand, and touristic kitschification on the other, what prospects remain for meaningful articulations of indigeneity and cultural growth amongst the islands’ natives? Or, as Halualani asks, how are native Hawaiians, ‘as social-historical subjects, related to power in terms of the structural forces that invisibly inscribe how we see and enact “who we are” [...] [a]nd what are the ways in which we can actively move through framed conditions?’ (2002: xxiii).³⁸

Narratives of Loss and Forgetting: Paradox, Allegory, and Cultural Closure

In approaching these questions, I focus on one of what Lyons classifies as the three broad categories of writing collected under the heading, ‘Literatures of Hawai‘i’: the strand that represents ‘[i]ndigenous Hawaiian culture, with its sometimes primordialist poetic and historiographic [...] assertions of family relations among a pan-Pacific community, and more hybrid articulations’ (2003: 137).³⁹ Georgia Ka‘apuni McMillen and Kiana Davenport are both female novelists with native Hawaiian ancestry and different degrees of diasporic affiliation.

³⁸ Given Halualani’s emphatic ‘we’, it is worth observing that she begins her acknowledgements to *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (2002) by observing how, ‘[a]s a diasporic Hawaiian, the questions about my identity are never easy: I am Hawaiian but not a former resident of Hawai‘i, my ancestral homeland. I have been enculturated into my Hawaiianness by way of a differently assembled historical memory, as constituted by popular tourist sites and texts, official history books, Hawaiian summer camps, and photographs and stories of family I have never met. This different relation should not be deemed inferior, as it usually is by society’s many efforts to reauthenticate the original homeland site; rather, my positionality has provided me with a unique view and perspective on Hawaiian cultural politics’ (2002: vii). Once again, an expansive notion of postcolonial island identity is articulated here that challenges the binarism between diasporic and indigenous, island and mainland categories, and emphasises the importance of discursive identity affiliations.

³⁹ Like Hawai‘i’s postcoloniality, Hawaiian literature’s allegiance to different canons is contested. Depending on the circumstance, it is variously co-opted as American, Asian-Pacific, and Polynesian, with the term postcolonial arguably acting as a form of mediation between these different but not incommensurable designations. Lyons’s other two categories include one dealing with ‘*Haole* [white Caucasian, foreign] settler culture’, and another that splits into versions of the ‘local’ and ‘post-local’ and affiliates ‘Asian-led’ communities ‘with other sites of settler creolization and resistance’ (Lyons 2003: 137).

The latter complicates descriptions of their writing as ‘local’ – a term that has become increasingly popular as a means of frustrating what Lyons calls the ‘reductive taxonomies’ (2003: 137) involved in any sub-categorisation of the ‘Literatures of Hawai‘i’. Darrell Lum claims that some of the qualities that distinguish ‘[t]he literature of local writers’ include ‘a distinct sensitivity to ethnicity, the environment (in particular that valuable commodity, the land), a sense of personal lineage and family history, and the use of the sound, the languages, and the vocabulary of island people’ (1986: 4). Whilst this is as useful a summary as any, there are problems in over-emphasising the ‘local’. On one hand, it draws attention away from the transnational concerns expressed in many Hawaiian writings, and on the other hand it is often too capacious to be helpful; as McMillen states in one interview: “‘Local’ is big now – not really sure what this means’ (Cilano 2005: 396). Given that such labelling can be obfuscatory both critically and to writers themselves, my interest here lies more in texts’ cultural and thematic affiliations than in taxonomic refinement.

Davenport was born and brought up in Kalihi on O‘ahu, and currently divides her time between Boston and Hawai‘i. McMillen also grew up in Hawai‘i but spent more than ten years training and practising as an attorney in the US (in New York and New Jersey) before returning to work on the islands. Both address native Hawaiian considerations, foregrounding the kind of attention to ethnicity, lineage, language, and the environment identified by Lum. By comparing them, I am particularly concerned with how each negotiates the problems associated with the way indigenous Hawaiian culture is ‘deformed and troped’ through daily processes of ‘mass-tourist banalization’ (Wilson and Dissanayake 1996: 7). Although this approach privileges native Hawaiian experiences over those of other communities, one of the characteristic features of Hawaiian social and cultural categories is that, like contemporary genealogies, they are deeply intertwined. Hence, aspects of my discussion relate to numerous cultural groups, including the tourists whose individual presences, while fleeting, are bound up in the cultural processes addressed. This in turn demands an interrogation of the tension between the need to reassert a continuity of indigenous presence, and the importance of articulating changing manifestations of indigeneity that respond to both colonial histories and contemporary neocolonial experiences.

Much good work has been conducted recently on performance culture in Hawai‘i. For instance, in *Pacific Performances: Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounter in the South Seas* (2007), Christopher Balme explores how ‘the genre of tourist performances, perhaps the

quintessential and most maligned metonymic performance form, can also be “refunctioned” (in Brechtian terms) to subvert the very discourses being projected by the tourists’ (2007: 17). His analysis of performances at the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawai‘i (‘the largest tourist complex in the Pacific designed especially to represent Polynesian cultures’ [175]) suggests that ‘[w]hat tourists witness [...] is a network of apparent conceptual contradictions or paradoxes [...] best [...] encapsulated in the oxymoron “staged authenticity”, coined by Dean MacCannell’ (175). These contradictions, he adds, are ‘woven into a seamless whole of commercially successful tourist entertainment’ (175). Building on how such networks of ‘contradiction’ and ‘paradox’ characterise multiple forms of tourist and native encounters, my focus here centres on the intersections between tourism and culture *beyond* traditional performance spheres in Hawaiian texts. If Halualani is correct in stating that ‘[t]ourism, both as structure and site, reconfigures the range of meanings for Hawaiianness’ (2002: 134), what does this mean in the context of everyday cultural negotiations in spaces outside hotels, nightclubs, cultural centres, and street theatres?

McMillen’s *School for Hawaiian Girls* (2001) and Davenport’s *Shark Dialogues* (1994) are both novels with historical dimensions that offer distinct perspectives on tourism’s cultural intersections in Hawai‘i. *School for Hawaiian Girls* tells the story of Hawaiian schoolgirl Lydie Kaluhi’s brutal murder in 1922, its effects on her siblings, Sam and Bernie, and the efforts of Bernie’s granddaughter, Moani, in the novel’s present to uncover the repressed memories and consequences of Lydie’s death. Employing several different narrative viewpoints, it shifts between the plantation world of 1922 and tourist modernity in 1985, providing insights into the cultural changes affecting native Hawaiians in this period. In this sense, Sam’s perspective is especially insightful. A youth at the time of Lydie’s death, by 1985 Sam is an ageing tourism tycoon, owning a chain of hotels. Notably, he explains how he entered the industry in an effort to forget the injustices surrounding his sister’s murder, and the violent feelings it arouses. ‘[A]fter the funeral we didn’t talk about Lydie’, he states; ‘[o]ne thing I know is that people survive, however they can. For us that meant not talking about it. [...] For us that meant forgetting’ (McMillen 2005: 38). In interview, McMillen has commented that she intended to portray a ‘drama between the pretty sister, Lydie, and the plain sister, Bernie’ (Cilano 2005: 389), who also narrates key sections of the novel. McMillen describes how she

liked that the pretty one takes the hit, and the plain one somehow figures out how to survive. I see Lydie as a victim [...] as Hawaiians in general taking a big hit. What we were talking about before, regarding population statistics and explanations for them,

suggests that they were doomed. The rapid decline in population was horrible; people had to forget about it to survive.

(389–90)

These allegorical points illustrate a crucial paradox relating to the viability of cultural growth in the context of increasing ethnic marginalisation: what remains of native culture if you have to forget past genealogies in order to survive? Moreover, what are the implications if this survival is predicated on involvement in an industry whose paradisaic marketing discourses and crass cultural commoditisations demonstrate wilful amnesia towards the native oppressions on which its economic success is based?

Like McMillen's text, Davenport's novel poses important questions regarding indigeneity, marginalisation, and environmental destruction. Following a similarly historicising trajectory, and also conveyed through shifting narratorial viewpoints, it is an epic saga dramatising the changing fortunes of several generations of a native Hawaiian family linked by the matriarchal figure of Pono, who is 'kahuna' (a prophet or seer [Davenport 1995: 483]). It traces the genealogy of Pono and her four granddaughters (Jess, Vanya, Rachel, and Ming), whose stories occupy the second half of the novel and which is set contemporaneously in early 1990s Hawai'i. However, whereas *School for Hawaiian Girls* is concerned with the challenges surrounding the emergence of a Hawaiian middle class within an increasingly Americanised state, *Shark Dialogues* engages most strongly with native Hawaiian sovereignty struggles. As Mayumi Toyosato puts it, Davenport's novel depicts the 'historical events and political circumstances which have led to the colonization and marginalization of native Hawaiian people and their culture in the Hawaiian Islands, and it seeks a vision of cultural resistance. [...] Her "local story" aims to create a ground for the continuity of Hawaiian culture, and a deep attachment to the land and a sense of environmental crisis are prominent in the narrative' (2000: 71).

Despite their different orientations, McMillen's and Davenport's novels both offer complex portrayals of familial relationships, processes of cultural change, and genealogical tensions, which all intersect to varying degrees with the pressures and opportunities relating to tourist modernity in Hawai'i. In *School for Hawaiian Girls*, the possibilities for economic growth afforded by the tourism industry operate contrapuntally to the wider processes of cultural erasures and commoditisation in which they are enmeshed. Both Sam and Moani run tourism businesses, and their entrepreneurial manipulations of the industry are interwoven with the strains it places on their respective participation in continued forms of cultural articulation. In contrast, the most direct engagement with tourism in *Shark Dialogues* centres on Pono's

objection to its unsustainable development of ancestral land, leading to one of her granddaughters, Vanya, becoming involved in the guerrilla bombings of a hotel, along with several other culturally and environmentally destructive developments. Yet even though its narrative trajectory is substantially removed from that of *School for Hawaiian Girls*, Davenport's novel nevertheless presents a complementary paradox to the amnesiac survival strategy featured in McMillen's text.

Shark Dialogues's latter half focuses on the family's struggles against development proposals on the Big Island, whose coastline is much less developed than parts of O'ahu. These include plans, as Pono states, to "raze this rain forest of old *koa* trees, build five power plants [...] over ancient, burial shrines", construct a "huge spaceport [...] on the [...] grounds of our ancestors", and establish "a nine-hundred-million-dollar Riviera Resort" which "will [...] kill off everything this side of the island" (Davenport 1995: 188). In relation to this, Pono outlines the following dilemma to her granddaughters, to whom she is transferring ownership of the family's estate. Either they watch as culturally significant landscapes become developed beyond recognition, or they fight the development, risking economic ruin; opposition, Pono tells them, "will divide my workers" and "affect the coffee-harvesting season", as "*Haole* [white Caucasian, foreign] coffee distributors will blackball our plantation like before" (189). Moreover, given the ineffectiveness of previous discursive interventions in the form of protests and petitions, opposition would seem to necessitate violence in order to impact meaningfully on the development. The likely imprisonment that would result, however, promises to further fragment the community and attenuate cultural bonds. In this light, both novels raise complementary questions regarding the kind of pressures that emerge from negotiating the industry from within on one hand, and confronting it directly on the other.⁴⁰ Yet, whilst both texts once more portray tourism as bound up in narratives of emergence as well as loss, they also outline, in different ways, the *reindigenising* aspects of industry involvement, even as the latter threatens ongoing cultural articulations. By exploring how tourism partly provokes native actors to resuscitate cultural practices, it is possible to negotiate the paradoxical interface

⁴⁰ This reinforces the importance of viewing indigenous groups' approaches to capitalist tourism development as dialectically constellated. The tensions between these texts' depictions of tourism offer insightful counterpoints to those discussed in Chapter 2 with reference to cultural and environmental conflict in Apio's plays. As I proceed to discuss, the rationale for examining McMillen's and Davenport's texts separately here centres partly on differences between the *form* in which these issues are staged, particularly in relation to the imbrication of tourism, genealogy, and cultural articulation.

between tourism and culture in ways that do not foreclose the industry's potential to contribute to wider processes of growth, even in the context of its more imprisoning dimensions.

Reindigenisation and Familial Rearticulation

The choices and circumscriptions that affect *School for Hawaiian Girls*'s older generation offer a useful starting point from which to approach the novel's tourism-related tensions. Cilano states that Sam's career trajectory is 'of particular interest' given that, in dramatising the 'consolidation of his own individual power – from marginalized Native in Kohala to hotel-owning tycoon in Honolulu', his story 'mirrors the American immigrant narrative' (2005: 388–9). It also spans the narrative caesura between Lydie's death in 1922 and Moani's dual quest to uncover repressed family details and turn the school into a hotel in 1985. Sam's personal transformation into a successful business 'tycoon' is thus entwined with tourism's exponential growth in this period.⁴¹ The correlation between a need to overcome his grief at Lydie's death and his entrepreneurial involvement in the burgeoning tourism industry is signalled by Sam towards the beginning of the novel. As he puts it, '[t]hat was the only thing that helped me – work. Otherwise, I was hurting so bad I was ready to steal Gramps's canoe, paddle out and never turn around. Instead I took whatever jobs I could find' (McMillen 2005: 39). He proceeds to move from working in the subcultural, bootleg liquor industry – selling 'rot-gut' to 'desperate [...] *haoles* looking for cheap paradise' (39–40) – into mainstream tourism, stocking the bars first of ships and then those of 'the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in Waikīkī, where the tourists watched the sunset sipping gin and tonic, and listening to Hawaiian trios sing about the little brown girl in the little grass shack' (41). Despite the disjuncture between his own experiences as a native Hawaiian and the 'little brown girl' stereotypes marketed to tourists, Sam does not object directly to being complicit in this process. Rather he states:

I didn't care about anything except money. Even when I was making money, I still wanted to hurt somebody. [...] By the time the war started, I was stocking three hotels and two passenger lines with booze, beer and wine. That was how I cared for Mama until she died. Then, after statehood, the tourists began pouring in. I shifted my business to hotels. That was how I cared for Bernie and her daughter Haunani, then Haunani and her babies, Moani and Puanani.

(42)

⁴¹ Chapters 2 and 3 of Don Hibbard's book *Designing Paradise: The Allure of the Hawaiian Resort* (2006) provide a useful flavour of the scale of this boom.

The latent threat of violence intimated by Sam's continuing desire 'to hurt somebody' underscores the problems of using work to forget past traumas and their present manifestations. It also subtly hints at one of the dominant, contrapuntal narratives experienced by many native Hawaiians in this period: those who preferred resistance to complicity with the demands of an increasingly Americanised, capital-driven society were likely at some stage to be imprisoned (a process symbolised by Michael's unjust incarceration at the end of Apio's *Kāmau*).⁴² In contrast, by moving into the business of hotel ownership, Sam finds a means of providing for his extended family that underwrites Moani's future economic security in particular.

This summary of Sam's career development suggests parallels with dominant cultural narratives. For instance, Cilano observes how his 'social and economic transformation allegorizes his character development in a way that speaks to a larger (American) national imaginary' (Cilano 2005: 389). This is underscored by his familial position as 'great-uncle Sam', the symbolism of which is emphasised in the narrative when someone mistakenly asks Sam, "[y]ou're Moani's grandfather, right?", to which Moani swiftly replies, "[t]his is my *Uncle, Sam Kaluhi*" (76; original emphasis). His nominal association with this personification of America is partly suggestive of how, during the period in which Hawai'i became officially incorporated by America, native culture was forced to assimilate to the point of erasure. However, as Cilano points out, 'this allegorical trajectory plays out against the background of a novel deeply concerned with issues of Native claims to place and to familial connection'; hence the 'contrast' between immigrant and native stories 'denaturalizes Sam's transformation. [...] McMillen's novel uses the American immigrant allegory only to unsettle it' (2005: 389). Such a reading, Cilano proceeds to assert, 'implicitly problematizes the "local" terrain, thereby questioning the overlap between ethnic and indigenous identities in Hawai'i' (389). The novel's conflicts are enacted on this uneven ground, which bears relations to the kind of cultural terrain discussed earlier wherein ideological change is articulated and contested.

Sam states that, after Lydie's death, 'I felt like I was dead already. I wanted to tell the grave digger to stick me in a box too' (McMillen 2005: 38). In the context of Lydie symbolising native Hawaiians, Sam undergoes a broader sense of bereavement here that makes his own existence – and, by allegorical extension, that of native Hawaiians whose experiences of

⁴² The illustration used in publicity for *Kāmau A'e* – which also functions as a prop within the play and is included in the printed edition – is by Michael Harada and features a man sitting cross-legged, crushed inside a box-like structure with his face straining whilst he pushes against the roof. This is a potent visual emblem of the processes of incarceration affecting native Hawaiian communities in the play.

familial loss have been accentuated by a biased legal system – seem meaningless. This is reinforced by historical specificity, as Lydie’s emblematic death swiftly follows that of her namesake Lydia Lili‘uokalani, the last Hawaiian Queen, in 1917 (Lydie’s formal name is Lydia Kaluhi). Sam’s decision to concentrate on capitalist wealth accumulation, which is predicated on the logic of survival through forgetting, reflects the suppression of indigenous perspectives and histories by the US government in Hawai‘i. Yet Sam’s attention to the importance of ‘survival’, as when he asserts that ‘[t]he only way I survived was by forgetting the past, and looking to the future’ (38), serves to emphasise the tensions harboured by the term.

Definitions of ‘survival’ have some less than triumphant inflections, including ‘continuing to live after some event [...]; remaining alive, living on’ (*OED* 1.a) – a ‘triumph’ of endurance in some senses (Walcott 1998a: 75),⁴³ but also ironically implying that survival can represent a failure to die out – and ‘a surviving remnant; *spec.* applied to a surviving custom, observance, belief, etc’ (*OED* 3). This second definition is particularly relevant to the novel’s broader representations of Hawaiian cultural commoditisation, as it conspicuously describes how native culture is marketed within tourism discourse as a ‘remnant’ of a previous era.⁴⁴ Halualani states that, ‘in the tourist sphere, cultural parks like Waimea Falls Park inscribe a subject position that reenacts the death of nativism while historical sites such as the Iolani Palace discursively excise nativism from modernity’. Thus, ‘as you move from the Waimea Falls Park to Iolani Palace, Hawaiian nativism is signified as “this once was” to “this would never be”’ (2002: 134). Sam’s participation in this process helps render ‘alterity’ in paradisaic Hawai‘i’s ‘political, cultural and economic landscapes [...] invisible’ (Soguk 2003: 32).

The frictions that attend the family’s attempt to survive in the years following Lydie’s death are brought into further relief through the novel’s formal construction. McMillen adopts an antiphonal style to juxtapose different narrative voices. These call to and echo one another across the novel’s sixty-year caesura, overlapping to create a complex ‘talk story’ (a Hawaiian term for informal and often highly collaborative conversational narratives). This refashions oral modes of narrating individual histories derived from indigenous culture at the same time as it

⁴³ Smith also sees the ‘celebration of survival’ as a means of countering fatal impact theories and ‘accentuating the degree to which indigenous peoples and communities have successfully retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity’ (1999: 145). The problem with such discourse lies again in its valorisation of the ‘authentic’, measured here in ‘degrees’, which can fail to account sufficiently for transformative cultural articulations.

⁴⁴ For discussion of a Caribbean version of this trope in relation to Dominica’s indigenous Carib population, see Peter Hulme’s *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Caribs and their Visitors, 1877–1998* (2000).

indigenises the family saga. Reframing questions through this device in ways that speak to different gender, cultural, and intergenerational concerns highlights a slightly contrastive perspective on cultural survival in Bernie's narratives. Following Lydie's death in 1922, Bernie draws a metaphorical link between her sister and the surrounding environment as she looks at 'sacks of sugar stacked in a pyramid, the bags printed with the Kohala Mill label', imagining that her peers in the dining hall are 'spoon[ing] Lydie into their tea' whilst she 'folded [her] sister into [...] cake batter' (McMillen 2005: 71). This murderous commoditisation of a native Hawaiian body creates a pre-emptive link between the often genocidal practices of the plantation world and the symbolic 'death of nativism' which Halualani sees as being enacted in the context of contemporary Hawaiian tourism. Notably, though, the narration of this incident, which signals the beginning of Bernie's own decision to forget Lydie in order to survive, is juxtaposed closely with her present-day reflections on Moani's insistence to excavate this 'story about murder and death' (71).

For Bernie, the story relates directly to the dwindling Hawaiian 'race'. She states that:

it seemed to keep getting worse. After Lydie died, there was only Sam and me. When we die there'll only be Moani and Puanani, and how can Puanani count – becoming retarded and all of that? That left Moani, already thirty-seven, no man in sight. No hope of children or grandchildren. It was her own fault, working all the time and acting like she knew everything. Who wants to marry a girl like that?

When Moani dies, we're finished. It's the end of our line. The end of our race. [...] Two generations later, we're about to dissolve into the Pacific Ocean. Forget everything you've heard about happy-go-lucky Hawaiians living in an island paradise. It's an island, and we're Hawaiian. But that's about it.

(71–2)

Immediately following Bernie's description of 'folding' Lydie 'into the cake batter', this passage implies that Lydie's death, accompanied by the consumptive energies inherent in her being turned into sugar and eaten, precipitated a cultural decline that sees the family line finishing with Moani and Puanani (Moani's half-sister, who is mentally disabled).⁴⁵ However, Bernie's concentration on forgetting ironically effaces the fact that, not only has Moani already been married once (therefore finding someone who wanted 'to marry a girl like that'), but also that she, rather than her husband, terminated the marriage (56). This form of personal and genealogical autonomy connects on an allegorical level to the creative manipulation of economic forces that sees first Sam and then Moani succeed as tourism entrepreneurs. It therefore contrasts sharply with Lydie's death in a cane field, suggesting that the family has

⁴⁵ Bernie's thoughts regarding the family's gradual disintegration reflects Apio's description of a 'slow bleeding to death through 1,000 tiny cuts' aimed at native Hawaiians' 'cultural pride' (2001b).

found a means of wresting control from the self-consuming, colonial plantation complex that was allegorically ‘fed’ by Lydie’s blood. Yet in so doing, they extend the paradisaical myth that Bernie recommends should be forgotten.

Bernie’s critique is framed between an acknowledgement of historical processes that have marginalised native Hawaiians and an antipathy for the lifestyles of Moani’s generation. This point is well-dramatised in Cilano’s interview with McMillen:

CC: One of the most insidious things about the tourist industry in Hawai‘i is that it forces Hawaiians to commodify their culture [...]. You have the tourist industry operating in your novel on two levels: Sam, who is [a] sort of tycoon, and Moani, who is doing a much more grassroots sort of tourism. [...] Did you see there being a difference in approach between uncle and niece?

GKM: I actually saw them as being similar, those two. They are very driven. They both want to be successful. They both like *things*. They both seek to be successful in business, an instinct that runs counter to the stereotypes about Hawaiians. I was trying with these two characters to realize in a literary context a successful Hawaiian middle class – which represents most Hawaiians, I think. I absolutely intended to defy the stereotype that Hawaiians are lazy-ukulele-strumming-do-nothings, sitting under a coconut tree all day long. I never saw this growing up.

(Cilano 2005: 391; original emphasis)

On one hand, then, the correlation between Sam’s and Moani’s capitalist motivations undermines touristic notions of ‘[i]slanders filled with aloha’ who ‘give and give and give’ (Cilano 2005: 390), as McMillen puts it. Indeed, it places the tourism industry in service against its own stereotypes by illustrating the kind of cultural compromises and possibilities produced when it is *shaped* by native actors.⁴⁶ On the other hand, Moani could be also seen as the apotheosis of Sam’s (and, by extension, native Hawaiians’) assimilation into mainstream American capitalist culture, emblematised by tourism. For instance, she is ‘western’-educated,⁴⁷ materialistic, has little knowledge of native Hawaiian language, and possesses few details regarding her family’s complex history and the broader processes of cultural memory to which this is linked. However, these points are complicated by the specific *differences* between Sam and Moani.

The paradox associated with this repression but inability to fully forget or purge the past – which unsettles the degree of assimilation operating with respect to those Hawaiians described by Trask as ‘Native sell-outs’ (1999: 108) – is that it works against the commoditising simplifications of brochure discourse, along with those associated with the staunchly antitourist

⁴⁶ Moani’s innovative niche tourism business in particular contrasts with the ways in which Sam and, in Apio’s plays, Alika progress through pre-existing industry structures (although Sam’s involvement at a much earlier stage in the history of mass tourism arguably empowers him in relation to Alika).

⁴⁷ Bernie criticises Sam for educating Moani at ‘Trinity Girls School [...] with all those *haole* girls’, then at ‘a mainland college’, with the result that she returned ‘acting like she knew everything’, and ‘turn[ing] her nose at the food cooked because, she said, she was now a vegetarian’ (50).

agenda of nativist discourse. Indeed, Moani's desire to excavate concealed family narratives is partly motivated by the disjuncture between the lived experiences of post-annexation native Hawaiians and tourist brochure stereotypes. Even as Bernie rejects Moani's 'western' education, there is an ironic suggestion that aspects of it empower Moani in different ways from the kind of pedagogical experience offered to Hawaiian girls (like Bernie and Lydie) by such institutions as the titular, missionary-run school. Bernie states that 'Moani had it easy. At the School for Hawaiian Girls there was no such thing as tampons and girls riding horseback. No one said anything about what was happening to our bodies. [...] [O]nce I started bleeding I had to show Sarah Christian [the missionary teacher who also contributes to the contemporary narrative perspectives] a bloody rag each month. That was [...] how they thought they could weed out the pregnant girls' (92). By comparison, the conflict Moani identifies between her own self-independence and lack of cultural knowledge may have been heightened precisely because her educational experience occurred in institutions where Hawaiian narratives were subdued or silenced. Whereas the missionary education Bernie receives emphasises *knowing* repression, the attitude of ignorance purveyed in subsequent, Americanised education systems has the counter-intuitive effect of freeing Moani from such interpellative procedures. This reflects how she uses the ellipses inherent in brochure discourse to probe the very silences upon which its marketing strategies depend. Whereas Sam and Bernie, as representatives of a generation that needed to survive in order to provide platforms for autonomous cultural articulation, seem in danger of colluding with the repressions and omissions of dominant cultural narratives (epitomised by tourism marketing), Moani's negotiation of tourist modernity is centrally implicated in processes of cultural *reindigenisation*.⁴⁸ Opposing forms of cultural homogeneity, this notion feeds into the work of a generation of Hawaiians brought up in the context of increasing calls for sovereignty and assertions of cultural renaissance.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ I use this term in primarily tourism-specific ways to denote further forms of articulated indigeneity; however, it is also bound up with indigenous communities' negotiations of globalisation more broadly.

⁴⁹ The movement often termed as the 'Hawaiian Renaissance' became prominent in the 1970s. It resulted partly from a reaction against what Stephen Sumida describes as a 'silence that seemed to envelop the ancient traditional Hawaiian arts of poetry, chant, hula, and sciences reckoned useless in the tourist trade because outsiders presumably could not "relate to" them', and which 'were commonly but mistakenly thought dead' at the beginning of the 1960s (Sumida 1991: 226). Sumida notes how variously affiliated native Hawaiian artists and intellectuals used 'Renaissance' to 'describe their aim to revive knowledge and interest in the continued development of traditional Hawaiian arts – not merely its preservation' (226). This relates to notions of sustainability that guard against reductive (and at times exploitative) aspects of preservationist discourse. The Hawaiian movement reflects aspects of what has also been termed the Māori 'Renaissance', which involved indigenous communities 'generating structures for sustaining themselves in an environment quite opposed to their survival' (Stephen Turner, cited in Barker 2008: 37), not least through emphasising native cultural traditions, epistemologies, and languages.

This reading relies on a number of linked factors. The first relates to the symbolic implications of how Moani not only rejects Sam's offer, post-graduation, to work for him as 'a VP in one of his hotels' (13), but that, unlike his narrative of economic achievement built from impoverished roots, she *begins* telling her story from a successful position within the tourism industry. Sam expresses particular admiration for Moani's intelligence, self-reliance, and business initiative in relation to early forms of ecotourism. Despite not liking her idea of offering all-day kayak excursions at first, telling Moani that tourists "'don't come here for exercise'" but to be "'serve[d] [...] cocktails and T-bone steaks'", Sam appreciates her identification of 'a new market – adventure tourists', resulting in such rapid success that his 'hotel guests even asked about' her tours (42). From a gender perspective, Moani's negotiation of market trends highlights how, although she is initially supported by Sam, tourism can offer innovative opportunities for women to act independently of men within Hawai'i's entrepreneurial milieu. Further, by carving a *niche* within the tourism market, Moani symbolically contributes to a reinvention of local tourism practice from a native perspective. Establishing her business from a grassroots level, she executes a self-knowing indigenisation of paradise.

Unlike Sam, who had to work through the 'little brown girl' period of cultural touristification, Moani is able to conduct business more on her own terms. This involves a strategic negotiation of paradisaal island stereotypes which are contrasted with tourists' lived experiences after they embark on one of her tours. By naming her company 'Lost Paradise' and 'promising would-be clients, "...an unforgettable outdoor adventure to the hidden Hawai'i of yesteryear"' in the brochure (14; original emphasis), Moani participates almost inevitably in the entrepreneurial exploitation of paradisaal island place-myths, causing her to remain partly aligned with the cultural effacements of mainstream Hawaiian tourism marketing. However, her counter-exploitation of brochure discourse clichés does not simply involve their reinforcement. Rather, tourists are subtly confronted by contradictions of their individual expectations in relation to Moani's manipulation of stock marketing tactics. Thus, when a tourist 'showing off how much he knew' asks if the kayaks are "'*baidarkas?*"' ("Eskimo for tandem kayak"), Moani deftly demolishes the kind of quaint exoticism that conflates native Hawaiian and Eskimo constructions under an all-encompassing banner of indigeneity, replying that: "'These kayaks are made of [...] ultra-durable Nitrylon with synthetic and natural rubbers laminated over twelve hundred denier polyester"' (33). Such assertions help indigenise paradise by

emphasising how technological change can be productively harnessed as part of traditional designs, suggesting a simultaneous modernisation of the indigenous and indigenisation of modernity. Yet such cultural innovation – in terms both of kayak construction and Moani's adaptive entrepreneurialism – jars against the narrative of cultural loss told by Bernie and acknowledged by Moani in the novel's opening sections.

The early narration of the family's tourism-related successes positions them contrapuntally to the novel's other pressing, present-time trajectories: Moani's plans to sell up and follow her uncle into the hotel business, and her attempts to uncover the story of Lydie's death. Considering similar points to those Bernie raises regarding the end of the family line, Moani states: 'Pretend Pu was dead and I was alone. Who would take care of me one day? Even worse, pretend Pu was dead and pretend I was dead too. Who would remember us?' (56). As she proceeds to admit, '[e]ven though I was on the verge of a major career change [...] all I could think about was the fact that I had no Babies. [...] When I died, we were finished. Our family, our blood. Gone' (56). Ironically, Bernie asserts that Moani 'didn't [need] to worry' about being forgotten as '[e]veryone remembered her. Just look at the bulletin board at her office. There had to be one hundred pictures from her clients, their kids, [...] their dogs' (124). Yet it is partly Moani's recognition that her most abiding familial memories – indeed her family itself – consists largely of American tourists that propels her to unearth narratives relating to Lydie's death, which Bernie and Sam have suppressed. Intimate involvement in tourism hence provokes at one level her desire to resuscitate stifled family stories. Further, as she discovers she has another living relative, due to Lydie having given birth to an illegitimate child before her death, it also leads to a revitalisation of her 'ohana (extended family).

It is indicative of the novel's numerous internal paradoxes that, despite showing how questions of familial rearticulation bear complex relations to the processes of indigenisation described above, it probes the possibility of articulating a culturally dynamic form of 'ohana in the context of tourist modernity without ever directly invoking the native Hawaiian term. Cilano also states in her interview that, whilst the 'primacy of genealogy' is often conveyed as being 'of paramount importance' in Hawaiian culture, this is 'at odds with' how the 'novel was born out of family secrets and being kept from memories' (2005: 392). McMillen replies that they are indeed 'in conflict. The tragic, true history of the Kaluhi family [...] versus the happy-Hawaiian-'ohana stereotype', which is now 'really being exploited. Now, everything is 'ohana' (392). The novel uses tourism as a means of opening up this tension for analysis. In particular, it wrests the

notion of 'ohana from its commoditised, tourist-friendly form, and reintegrates it with concerns that this process has edited out.

One example is how incest is dealt with by Hawaiian communities. By attempting to track down Lydie's living descendant, CJ Moku, whose existence has never been revealed to her by Sam or Bernie and who she eventually discovers to be living on the island of Maui, Moani exposes an important seam of family history that sheds light on conceptualisations of 'ohana in changing cultural contexts more broadly. Illicit pregnancy is a theme that runs throughout the narrative. For instance, Lydie originally became pregnant either as a result of a youthful relationship with a local boy, Charlie Moku, or a brief, incestuous encounter with Sam (the novel tends towards the latter explanation, as Sam recalls in one narrative how he visited the child who 'looked like two Kaluhis put together', without 'one ounce of Charlie Moku in her features' [172]). Moani also describes the identities of Puanani's and her own father as 'big fat question mark[s]' (44). Finally, the novel ends with Moani and Puanani relocating to Maui in order to live with CJ Moku after Moani prevents Sam and Bernie (Puanani's legal guardians) from aborting Puanani's foetus due to uncertainty over paternity and Bernie's resistance to allowing 'this retard' to 'giv[e] birth to one more retard in the family' (187). Crucial to this sensitivity towards illegitimacy is the missionary education received by the older generation.

In one of the novel's flashbacks, an older Minister discusses with his younger counterpart the importance of instilling 'a sense of shame' and 'sin' amongst 'the Hawaiian' in order to counter illegitimate and incestuous births. He notes that: 'Their families don't condemn the behavior. The illegitimate infant is welcomed into the fold, given to another relation – *hānai*, they call it. [...] We've got to take a firm stand against sin, otherwise it's rewarded' (119). It is in this context that rearticulating 'ohana or familial connections – severed partly as a result of the 'sense of shame' that Sam and Bernie have learned to feel toward CJ's branch of the family – operates in a decolonising fashion, reclaiming the 'connections to each other' without which, McMillen tells Cilano, a loss of cultural 'information' is perpetuated. This 'doesn't have to be only a blood connection', she proceeds to say, '[i]t's important to find kinsmen, of blood and of the heart' (Cilano 2005: 391). In rejecting both 'western' nuclear family models, which ill befit the experiences of her family, and a history of missionary taboo regarding incest, illegitimacy, and (it could be argued in reference to Puanani) disability,⁵⁰ Moani helps articulate a more

⁵⁰ Barker emphasises the importance of not merely reading postcolonial representations of disability 'prosthatically' – a term used by David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder to describe how disability is often

fitting familial structure with respect to the intersections between native cultural traditions and tourist modernity. This works against both the forms of self-effacement and the cultural ossifications of paradisaal brochure discourse that are bound up in attempts to forget the past.

Importantly, though, this reconstructive, reindigenising process operates *in relation to* the stereotypes and demands of the tourism industry, as highlighted through analysis of Sam's objections to Moani's investigation into Lydie's death. He states that:

Papa never talked about that day. [...] Papa taught me how to keep my mouth shut. Listen, once you learn how to do that, you're on your way.

Unfortunately, my niece Moani never learned this basic lesson. She refused to keep her mouth shut about Lydie, even though I gave her a direct order to back off. Even though she saw that her questions were hurting me and Bernie. You see? Moani had a mean streak. Moani did what she wanted, when she wanted, and fuck anyone who got in her way. How come I knew this about her? Because she was just like me.

(110)

This passage reinforces Bernie's earlier assertion that, in excavating the past, Moani is acting selfishly. As she says, '[i]f I didn't want to talk about Lydie, then what gave Moani the right to talk about her? Lydie was mine first. It was my right to remember her. My right to forget' (125). Somewhat like a tourist intruding into private regions – through cultural memories, shepherded from direct commoditisation – Moani seems to be insensitively ignoring the 'basic lesson' of past generations that relates to her elders' assertions of privacy. Such painful probing could be interpreted as symbolising Americanised insensitivity to native Hawaiian cultural practices, with the associated intergenerational friction and power contestations threatening to unravel the more constructive cultural articulations that emerge from excavating buried histories. Indeed, Sam eventually destroys the old school – site of Moani's planned hotel – once again preventing access to certain landscapes of memory. However, this process simultaneously alludes to the entangled ways in which Americanised identities and ideologies are reconfigured so as to be incorporated within indigenous ontologies.

used 'as a crutch upon which literary narratives lean for their representational power, disruptive potentiality, and analytical insight' (cited in Barker 2008: 4). Barker is critical of how disabled characters are often situated less as individuated subjects than as 'master metaphor[s] for social ills' (Mitchell, cited in Barker 2008: 7), especially when 'the physically, cognitively or emotionally "damaged" child' gets uncritically 'equate[d] with nations and cultures emerging from their "damaging" colonial experiences' (2008: 3). Within *School for Hawaiian Girls*, Bernie exhibits precisely this 'prosthetic' tendency to 'equate' Puanani's mental disability (which engenders a child-like mentality) with the 'retarded' and moribund status of native Hawaiians in general. Applying Barker's emphasis on reading disability as 'a material, embodied component of identity' (2008: 6) to Puanani's role in the novel supports my argument regarding how less metaphorically limiting notions of contemporary 'ohana structures are articulated. Reindigenisation in this sense reactivates expansive notions of inclusion that embrace a diverse yet equally valued array of subject positions. Moving away from a primarily prosthetic reading of Puanani represents one way of offering useful perspectives on the material/metaphorical braid that attends how the reconstituted 'ohana in the novel's conclusion is extended by Puanani's own 'illegitimate' child.

It is notable that, despite her canny manipulation of contemporary tourism markets, Moani does in fact express a desire to appropriate the role of her clients. She comments that:

I had never been a tourist, actually, but times like this I told myself I needed to go on a vacation, maybe to one of the resorts in Bali. It seemed like everyone was going there. I needed to find out if the same thing would happen to me: I pay top dollar for a week in paradise and, therefore, believe I can do whatever I want. Wear stupid outfits. Waste food. Offend the natives.

(193)

The irony here is serious, as Moani positions tourism not only as escapism (with moving beyond island borders itself representing a form of cultural empowerment), but also as a means to test identity. Rather than simply symbolising assimilation into Americanised vocational practices and patterns of consumption, the inclination to *become* a tourist contributes towards countering industry-sponsored processes of cultural effacement. This part of the narrative dramatises the right for native Hawaiians like Moani to be ‘selfish’ (accessing multiple subject positions, including that of the wasteful tourist) if this can create space for restorative cultural articulations within the context of contemporary Hawai‘i. Building on Sam’s method of ‘surviving’ through engagement in capitalist entrepreneurial systems, the point is particularly subversive as it goes against the hyper-fetishised principles of munificence and modesty that underpin concepts of aloha in Hawaiian tourism marketing.

McMillen suggests that the notion of aloha, in its commoditised and overdetermining forms, can function in culturally imprisoning ways. As she puts it, the ‘imposition’ of tourist stereotypes in relation to native culture

is powerful for a lot of reasons, one being that it sells. It’s important economically to keep up the front of the Polynesian maiden, and everything that comes along with it: Islanders filled with aloha; they give and give and give. Those sorts of stereotypes are important to the tourism industry, which is chock-full of stereotypes. One of the things about these stereotypes is that they’re self-imposed. There’s so much put into adopting them and becoming a good Hawaiian who’s really nice all the time and gives it all away. You can’t be materialistic, you can’t make money, you can’t be successful in business or your profession. You’re stuck in the ghetto of being nice and demure. It’s a terrible thing to put on people. I’m not sure where it came from, but it’s definitely a part of the tourism industry.

(Cilano 2005: 390)

McMillen’s comments suggest that, like the concept of the ‘ohana, aloha may also need to be subjected to cultural reconfiguration as a result of the colonial past and its ongoing manifestations in Hawai‘i’s highly touristed present. Its vision of love and regeneration must also embrace some degree of the necessary pain and friction that is needed to prevent stories that are culturally constitutive (and, in the case of Moani’s genealogy, positively expansive)

from forever ‘dissolv[ing] into the Pacific Ocean’ (McMillen 2005: 72). Probing the faultlines of historical erasure, Moani’s familial rearticulation – which ends with her moving in with CJ Moku, helping to bring up Puanani’s baby daughter, and starting a fresh tourism enterprise – implies a more culturally sustainable vision of native involvement with tourist modernity in which processes of reindigenisation play important roles.

This is not to suggest, though, that the novel ends with an entirely utopian frame of reference. For instance, by moving away from Honolulu’s overdeveloped coastline to the south shore of Maui, Moani’s new enterprise (offering kayak lessons to ‘families with children looking for tropical adventure beyond the hotel swimming pool’ [192]) furthers the archipelago’s wider touristification. This has some worrying environmental ramifications, emblematised in a concluding scene that occurs several months after the narrative’s main events. Paddling around a sheltered reef with a divorced female tourist and her two children, Moani and CJ are forced to intervene when the mother encourages her sons to attract dolphins with tuna sandwiches. Although Moani considers it ‘the wrong time of day, the wrong location’ for dolphins, CJ nevertheless tells the woman that such baiting is “[r]eally a bad idea [...] for the dolphins, the water, the reef” (192), and Moani warns her that “[t]hrowing trash in the water is against the law” (192). The woman however argues (with stereotypically touristic insensitivity) that “it’s not trash. Just a tidbit”, continuing to instruct her children to feed the dolphins (192). Following this encounter, Moani relates how ‘[p]oor CJ [...] had no patience for the tourists, no sympathy for the families fleeing the Chicago winter for the Maui sunshine’; as the tourists drop more sandwiches in the lagoon, CJ shakes ‘his head in disgust and paddle[s] back to shore’ (193). The scene illustrates how the more ‘harmonious’ aspects of cultural articulation that emerge from this reconstituted ‘ohana are still partly undercut by the compromises entailed by tourism industry involvement, operating here at the interface between cultural and environmental concerns. Rather than signalling closure, the tensions this ending encodes suggest that processes of cultural reindigenisation will face significant challenges in the future, with tourism continuing to perform a characteristically ambivalent function. This suggests an illuminating point of comparison between the Kaluhi family’s generally productive negotiations of the industry, and the considerations that arise when reindigenisation operates primarily through opposition to mass tourism in Hawai‘i.

Shark Dialogues resembles *School for Hawaiian Girls* in its presentation of numerous intergenerational contestations within an extended Hawaiian family. These dramatise frictions between survival, personal growth, and ongoing cultural articulations on one hand, and contemporary Hawai'i's increasingly Americanised socio-economic climate on the other. The texts each focus on middle-aged women's relationships with the islands, with *Shark Dialogues*'s key characters identified (like Moani) as 'half orphans' (Davenport 1995: 3). Both narratives also involve excavations of buried histories between non-contiguous generations (grandparents and grandchildren) within their respective extended families. However, whereas in *School for Hawaiian Girls* such excavations are only partly achieved, *Shark Dialogues* offers a fuller account of suppressed stories, linked in particular to the older generation's perspectives on present-day cultural processes. Indeed, the novel opens by situating the silences in Pono's personal history as a kind of conundrum that teases the granddaughters' curiosity as they attempt to comprehend their various genealogical affiliations.

Before the historical part of the narrative commences, tracing the family's genealogy from the mid-nineteenth century to the year of Lili'uokalani's centenary (1993), the text opens in the present by juxtaposing short narrations from each of the four granddaughters as they are summoned to return to Pono's residence. For instance, travelling to the family plantation in Kailua – a touristed town '*where tin-roofed shops shudder, overflown by giant jets, where tour buses spawn foreigners [...] like eager, monied, giant flies*' (184; original emphasis) – Jess considers how she and her siblings '*were all mixed-marriage mongrels*' (6). Despite their fathers' different ethnicities (Hawaiian–Chinese, Filipino, Japanese/Korean/Mongol, and Haole), she notes that: '*To most locals, the girls were indistinguishable, called simply "Pono's girls" [...] of slightly different hues*' (7). Bound by a shared Hawaiian heritage and a childhood spent in Pono's care, the four follow symbolically different life-trajectories. Vanya (a Pacific island lawyer based in Australia) and Jess (a New York veterinarian) are diasporic subjects, whilst Rachel and Ming remain based in Hawai'i '*from which [...] they had never ventured*' (9). Even though each granddaughter's story is important to the novel as a whole, I focus here mostly on Jess and Vanya due to the central roles they play in relation to tourism, cultural articulation, and reindigenisation. Both women are representative of the dialectic between settlement and movement that is partly constitutive of Hawaiian culture, intimating at the same

time the disconnections and fragmentations that diasporic affiliations pose to native Hawaiian families. This contrasts usefully with Moani's non-diasporic perspective in McMillen's text.

As in *School for Hawaiian Girls*, processes of memory and forgetting play crucial roles in *Shark Dialogues*'s present-time events. However, whereas in McMillen's novel Moani is driven by the partly selfish desire to unearth the past, Jess characterises herself and Vanya as 'the movers, always running from Pono, trying to forget her, yet possessing a capacious need to remember. The woman was their genesis [...] the unraveled narrative they needed to solve' (9). Self-reflexively reinforcing the kind of counter-hegemonic intervention that the novel attempts to make into the dominant accounts of Hawaiian history and culture,⁵¹ memory and narrative are therefore presented as mutually entangled with respect to Pono and her granddaughters' relationships. As is evident from Vanya's broader political perspective, a fuller understanding of how family history relates to native Hawaiian culture can help mitigate the feelings of alienation in which '[e]ach loss [is] a disfiguring, so that who she was was no longer a fixed text' (12). The urge to confront this lack of self-fixity relates to her role as 'legal representative for Native Hawaiian Nationalist Women, urging militancy among all Pacific peoples, warning them they were being written out of history, that they would soon *unexist*. The greedy super-powers of the world would roll right over them' (11; original emphasis). The novel thereby positions counter-narratives of genealogical histories, memories, and experiences of marginalisation as productive means of resisting globalised homogenisation. What is particularly significant about Vanya's and Jess's actions in relation to the challenges affecting Pono's land and the surrounding area by (amongst other developments) the proposed Riviera resort is that they are entwined with both

⁵¹ This attempt has been received unfavourably by Lyons. He argues that: 'To oppose colonial falsehoods with a static reversal [...] is to create tableaux that are, if new and improved, touristic in their logic. A work such as Kiana Davenport's *Shark Dialogues*, while clearly an attempt to rewrite Michener's *Hawaii* by duplicating aspects of its structure from an anticolonial, woman-centered viewpoint – by turns Hawaiian nationalist and U.S. multiculturalist – can be predatory of culture as well' (2006: 183). Lyons is particularly critical of the novel's romanticised portrayal of Hawaiian history as grounded in 'glamorous and sensational adventure involving lepers, priceless pearls, and terrorists' (183). Indeed, he notes that a *Library Journal* review described the novel 'as "entertaining and educational" [...], much as reviewers responded to Michener and with as little knowledge of Hawai'i history or critical attention to Davenport's sources or descriptions of culture' (183). He asks 'whether the book duplicates the strategies of the tourist industry', freezing '[t]he world of authentic difference [...] into essence and product'. This 'product' is 'inherently recuperable by the crassest forms of tourism', which also implicates 'literary critics, textual travelers, or economists who patronizingly consider their commodifications of difference as a primary means of supporting "authentic" Oceanian cultural survival' (183). Aspects of Lyons's rhetoric strike the right chord, but would benefit from reformulation in line with related arguments such as Huggan's notion of 'the postcolonial exotic' (used to describe 'the global commodification of cultural difference' [2001: vii]). This allows for critical treatment of the novel as a touristified cultural production (inescapably entangled with the commoditisation of postcolonial writing more broadly), acknowledging how *Shark Dialogues* subverts some of the 'exoticist codes' on which it draws, 'redeploying them for the purposes of uncovering differential relations of power' (Huggan 2001: 32).

women's very conscious efforts to reindigenise themselves. In order to do this, however, they are placed in direct confrontation with culturally influential processes like tourism development. This suggests that the route to 'solving' Pono's narrative, which both granddaughters see as central to their own understandings and articulations of indigeneity, involves *resolving* some of the oppositional tensions between tourist modernity and ongoing cultural practices.

Throughout the novel, narratives of loss represent prominent aspects of contemporary native Hawaiian experience. This is illustrated when Vanya accompanies Toru (son of the family's Japanese immigrant maid, Run Run) to a local resistance meeting, populated by 'angry locals' tired of 'watching their island go to the highest bidder' (316). The narrator observes how the group 'listened silently, held in the equilibrium of waste and loss, the dying of their island, of all the islands' (317). This helps prompt Vanya's subsequent resolution to reject discursive intervention in favour of militarisation against the developments. This preference for violence stems from the continuing sense of incarceration that has resulted from a century of colonial occupation following Lili'uokalani's overthrow and imprisonment. As one participant argues at the meeting, there should be "[n]o more exploitation, [...] [o]ne hundred years we have been enslaved. Dey stole de throne from out our queen. Sovereignty too late, an empty word. Now time foah payback" (317).

As this sub-plot unfolds, the tensions that accompany Vanya's aggressive intervention into unsustainable development projects are telescoped in a discussion between her and Simon (her white Australian lover, who has been involved in grassroots struggles to assert indigenous rights for Australian Aborigines). Vanya's claim that "[t]here are certain instances when terrorism is imperative" (351) provokes Simon to begin the following insightful exchange:

'Look. Hawaiians are a small, small group. In ten, twenty years, you'll be almost totally assimilated. You know that. And most of them welcome progress. Fast cars, fast food, VCRs. So, what is it you're fighting for? What do you really want?'

'We want back our *land*. We want back our *seas*. We want to be visible. We want tomorrow like today. We don't want foreigners telling us what we *want*.'

(351; original emphasis)

Although Simon expresses understandable scepticism regarding the effectiveness of violent opposition to American colonialism, his description of 'most' native Hawaiians who 'welcome progress' – which befits both Moani in *School for Hawaiian Girls* and Alika in *Kāmau* – seems to preclude the possibility of this 'progress' being indigenised in turn.⁵² Hence, in asserting the

⁵² However, his point does coincide with Greg Burnett's criticism of how reindigenisation can operate as a means of extending "primitivist" desires [...] by dis-located Europeans and non-European elites' that

right not only to environmental ownership but also to *visibility*, Vanya's response accentuates a clear link between the cultural erasures of mainstream Hawaiian tourism discourse and the imperative to achieve widespread recognition of native Hawaiian concerns.⁵³ This underpins why her group chooses to bomb “[h]otels, mostly ...” (352). By focusing attention on the tourism industry's material infrastructure, the group aim to make ‘visible’ some of the issues that are subordinated by brochure discourse, in particular the notion (as Halualani notes) that native culture is detached from articulations of Hawaiian modernity, whose adaptation is partly constituted by this form of protest.

Resolute on this course of action, Vanya and Simon decide to work together in perpetrating acts of ‘terrorism’. Yet, despite detonating several bombs on the night of ‘[t]he Hundred Year Memorial to Queen Lili‘uokalani’ (352), their actions are only partially successful. Following media coverage of the results the next morning, the narrator describes how

[t]elevision cameras scanned wreckage of a storage building, housing drilling equipment for a geothermal plant in Puna District. Bomb damage to the plant itself was negligible.

Then, the face of a reporter broadcasting from another location. ‘In a perhaps-related incident, a bomb blast here at the Halenani Resort Complex early this morning was responsible for the destruction of a swimwear boutique and the loss of a staff member’s hand. Another bomb, a dud, was found inside the office of Dr. Rebirth, a so-called Cranial-Sacral Therapist [...]. Scrawled across the walls was the message: HERE IS OUR KINE LOVE TO YOU. *HULI!*’

(445)

Compared to the circumscriptions of personal autonomy caused by the group's actions (Simon and Vanya finish the novel in the secluded valley of Waipi‘o, facing an indeterminate future in hiding), the lack of significant damage exacted by their bombings seems to underscore the difficulties minorities face in combating a powerful majority. It also gestures towards the increasing fragmentation and diminishment of native Hawaiians more broadly. Yet perhaps one reason why Davenport spends over two hundred pages setting up an ultimately unsuccessful attack is to emphasise how such action can nevertheless still be culturally vitalising in failure.

conflict ‘with desires of many people in former colonies who seek’ a level of integration with ‘western’ cultural, ideological, and economic configurations (2004: 64).

⁵³ This dovetails with the actions of real-life sovereignty groups at the time of Lili‘uokalani's centenary. As David Baker notes, “[t]he creation of the ignorance sustaining the “visitor industry” can be observed in the media coverage that was devoted – or not devoted – to the commemoration of Lili‘uokalani's overthrow. For their part, some of the sovereignty leaders knew well in advance that the political success of their demonstration locally would depend in part upon their ability to project it nationally and beyond’ (1997: 646). Hence, Kekuni Blaisdell (‘spokesperson for Ka pākaukau, a coalition of Hawaiian groups’) asserted that “‘we’re not going to get anywhere [...] until we take our appeal beyond Hawai‘i’s shores. We must have U.S. attention – *global* attention! We have to get on CNN. It’s essential”’ (646). Despite this, on the night of the centenary ‘none of the nation’s major networks aired stories on the march’ (646).

One example of this can be observed in a scene where, driving past a golf-course populated by ‘*haole* tourists’, Toru catches himself ‘gaz[ing] out at them with almost a sense of affection. *When you hate something for twenty years*’, he thinks to himself, ‘*you get to know it well*’ (222; original emphases). Such feelings of ‘almost [...] affection’ are suggestive as they imply that opposition to tourism can breed strange and unsettling forms of intimacy. This is reflected by what remains as a result of the hotel bomb’s failure to detonate, namely, the group’s message of ‘kine love’ writ large. If this is taken to refer ironically to an unexecuted threat rather than its explosive object, it subtly affirms Toru’s self-contradictory ‘affection’. At the same time, it enhances the visibility of the group’s concerns in the heart of the provocatively named Dr Rebirth’s office without involving excessive bloodshed. The redemptive subtext here suggests that their action may be ultimately effective not through its immediate material outcomes but by its wider effects on social networks. This is encoded by the demotic register of the group’s message, incorporating pidgin English and native Hawaiian codes.

In addition, the act is linked to a process of ‘becoming indigenous’ on the part of its main instigators – a key issue given that the two sisters involved in the bombing are diasporic rather than island-based Hawaiians, Simon is Australian, and Toru is the son of a Japanese immigrant.⁵⁴ Researchers across various disciplines are now increasingly acknowledging that ‘[a]ctivism can involve processes of reindigenization that enlist discourses of community and tradition and ethnicity [...], a powerful language that often invokes a kind of “self-essentializing” that functions as a political strategy to confront historical and political forms of oppression’ (Walker and Walker 2008: 158). Described thus, such processes share affinities with Gayatri Spivak’s well-known notion of strategic essentialism. However, whilst this involves using essentialist ‘categories at times in order to make sense of the social and political world’, and is useful ‘as a short-term strategy’ through which minority groups can ‘affirm a political identity’ (Morton 2002: 75), tourism-related reindigenisation in *Shark Dialogues* operates on a slightly different basis. Despite the links between ‘strategic’ reindigenisation and political activism in the latter half of the novel, one significant point of similarity between the process as it is depicted in both Davenport’s and McMillen’s novels is that it is also bound up with ongoing forms of touristified cultural articulation that do not have overtly politicised ends.

⁵⁴ This suggests another important point of conjunction with similar processes in the Caribbean, as well as in other Pacific islands with diasporic populations. Conversely, the frictions between discourses of indigeneity and diaspora in island contexts can result in violence and civil conflict, as in Fiji and Sri Lanka (see Chapter 4).

In this sense, 'becoming indigenous' is complemented by 'indigenous becoming', a distinction drawn by Pratt (2007) to acknowledge the differences between what might be called varieties of reindigenisation. This second category helps further negotiate some of the restrictive and contradictory elements of essentialist conceptions of Hawaiian indigeneity by offering a processual, conceptual counterpart to more strategic articulations.

Vanya's approach to becoming indigenous is bound up with her commitment to militarised activism and her desire to disrupt the encroachment of unsustainable development in Hawai'i, emblematised by the Halenani hotel. Her decision to move from the discursive sphere, characterised by involvement in anticolonial conventions, to that of material intervention is challenged when Jess tries to tell her: "This is America, Vanya. You can't ..." (368). Vanya interjects by saying: "Don't tell me I can't *this*, can't *that*. The politics of retreat are finished. You've seen what's happening in the Pacific. [...] The point is, on a smaller scale, upheavals across the Pacific mirror what's going on around the world. Island nations are fighting back. Terrorism is now our Mother Tongue" (368; original emphases). In this sense, Vanya claims a position of indigeneity which is closer to the situated experiences of Pacific islanders than Jess, as a long-term resident of New York, can access. Such detachment is further heightened by the fact that the visibility of island nations' plights in the context of hegemonic media dissemination is distinctly limited; as the narrator notes, '[l]iving here now, [Jess] saw in the papers and on TV tragedies that never reached mainland America' (368).

This notion of attenuated indigeneity prompts Vanya to reject Jess's offer to contribute to her group's violent resistance plans on the basis not only that Jess is 'a healer' who does not have the 'temperament' to 'blow things up', but also that her perspective on Hawai'i reflects that of many US mainlanders and tourists. As Vanya puts it, "[y]ou came home looking for the past, some tropical Utopia. You romanticized us, now you feel betrayed" (397). Jess could therefore be conceptualised as a 'daughter for the return home', bearing similarities to the New Zealand-based Samoan migrants referred to in the title of Wendt's early novel, *Sons for the Return Home* (1973), whose eventual 'return' to Samoa annihilates their 'neo-romantic stereotypes of the Pacific' (Keown 2005: 23).⁵⁵ Yet, rather than dismissing Jess's place in relation to ongoing cultural articulations in Hawai'i, Vanya notes how her sister, in combination with her eventual partner Toru, can perform a contrapuntal function to her own militarised

⁵⁵ On his flight back to New Zealand at the end of the novel, the protagonist scrawls a counter-discursive message 'on the cover of the slick Technicolor tourist brochure which he found in the plastic bag of airline gifts' (Wendt 1973: 217), signalling a direct rejection of the place-mythologies it markets.

stance. Recognising the power of articulating indigeneity ‘of the blood and of the heart’, as McMillen puts it, Vanya states that, despite Jess’s previous romanticisms, “‘I will only feel betrayed if you and Toru die or go to prison. This won’t be a family anymore. It will be just me and Rachel, struggling with this place’” (397). By acknowledging the probability of imprisonment resulting from her actions, Vanya is driven to conceptualise other ways of negotiating the processes she opposes, claiming that the additional incarceration of Toru and Jess would at once undo the work she is undertaking and destabilise their respective ‘indigenous becomings’.⁵⁶ Cultural and familial reindigenisation in this context represents a multilayered process that is necessarily constellated between siblings, and which counters divide and rule logic by retaining ‘ohana affiliations.

In terms of real-life political correlatives, this bears relations to the Ka Lahui Hawai‘i native sovereignty movement, an expansive, grassroots organisation which builds ‘on Hawaiian cultural values’, ‘locating its political structure throughout Native communities’ (Trask 2000a: 380). As Trask observes:

Ka Lahui empowers its citizens while also enabling their participation through a democratic process illustrating how the governing body of the nation would operate once federally recognized. Rather than wait for the American government to include Hawaiians in the policy on recognized Native nations, Ka Lahui seized the political initiative and created its own self-governing structure, including a constitution.

(2000: 380)

The kind of political and non-political processes represented by these forms of cultural articulation constitute positive and potentially redemptive steps towards achieving a level of reindigenisation that is consonant with, for instance, the more emancipatory aspects of New Zealand biculturalism. At the same time, it also presents another base from which to negotiate tourist modernity’s commoditising demands. The reindigenising ‘ohana portrayed in the private sphere of Davenport’s novel reinforces the more public reassertion of lahui (the Hawaiian nation, envisaged as a coherent community) promoted by the Ka Lahui Hawai‘i constitution. Importantly, this does not compete directly with US citizenship but operates as a parallel policy, open to participation from non-native Hawaiians. As such, it underscores the importance of the differentiated approaches towards sovereignty associated with Vanya’s actions. For instance,

⁵⁶ Like Jess, Toru’s ‘indigeneity’ in relation to native Hawaiian culture and genealogy is complex. Both characters help reconstitute the arguably debilitating reductionism of Pono’s nativism (which she eventually relents by giving land to Run Run towards the end of the novel). As Toru tells Simon: “‘I was born here, that makes me Hawaiian. I fought this country’s war. They didn’t ask me, they told me to. [...] My broken bones, my blood, are in his [the plantation owner’s] soil. [...] I deserve ten acres, because I killed for it. I slaved for it, in a system that wants to keep us slaves’” (410).

whilst she and Simon remain marginalised outlaws at the end of the novel, Jess and Toru successfully deny involvement with the bombing, retaining control of the family's land and endowing themselves with resources to ensure that a legacy is left for future generations. Rather than simply equating culture with land ownership (the tensions of which are manifest in the comparison of *Potiki* and *Kāmau* in Chapter 2), the novel also valorises *discursive* bases for ongoing cultural articulation. Jess thinks to herself: 'What would be more valuable than genealogy', deciding to write down the family's 'wealth of history' which their offspring can 'use to aim at life, when life aimed at them' (476). Enhancing processes of reindigenisation, this action asserts the primacy of native Hawaiian genealogies in ways that are reinforced self-referentially by the form and content of Davenport's own historicised novel.

These issues of familial and genealogical rearticulation provide a meeting point between McMillen's and Davenport's texts. In his discussion of 'antitouristic writing', Lyons states that: 'Incarceration in both literal and figurative senses is at the heart of the complexes named here by "tourism"' (2006: 178). As he observes, 'contemporary Oceanian literatures protest the ways that imprisoning vision, the lockings up of peoples in colonial systems that lock out Islander languages and cultural forms, is a form of jailing and a contributing cause of it' (178). Lyons subscribes primarily to a counter-discursive method of reading representations of tourism in Pacific literatures (advertised by his 'antitourism' coinage), which arguably occludes the more ambiguous, dialectically constellated spaces between poles. However, his description of the 'imprisoning' aspects of the system speaks to the 'reactionary' and circumscribing forces that attend Bruner's characterisation of tourism 'as chasing anthropology's discarded discourse'. By examining forms of cultural compromise and negotiation that occur between the poles of touristic complicity and terrorist opposition in relation to McMillen's and Davenport's texts, it is possible to identify creative process of cultural articulation that attenuate the more imprisoning dimensions of paradisaic island tropes. The novels themselves are constitutive of this, with their respective indigenisations of paradise reflecting how the Caribbean and Pacific texts discussed in the first section of the chapter self-reflexively exemplify the reindigenising role tourism can play with respect to local cultural production. Their differences emerge most prominently in relation to political strategy. *School for Hawaiian Girls*'s lack of politicised intervention reinforces its subtle approach to the paradoxical relationship between cultural articulation and touristification; *Shark Dialogues* portrays more tactical forms of reindigenisation.

There are dangers to this latter process, though, particularly as it harbours its own culturally imprisoning dimensions. For instance, in his analysis of early twentieth-century French colonial policy in West Africa, James Genova observes how colonial administrators wanted the ‘rural population to better understand their place in the imperial order of things’ (2004: 55). This required retaining indigenous belief systems, rather than placing colonised populations in a confusing in-between position in relation to French and African epistemologies, prompting the ‘government general’ to pursue programmes that taught West Africans ‘how to be “authentically” African’ (56). Worryingly, Genova notes that this kind of “reindigenisation” of the colonized populations under French rule was a phenomenon throughout the colonial field in the 1930s, including in the metropole among conservative and Fascist politicians’ (56). A sceptical reading of the reindigenising processes depicted in *Shark Dialogues* might in this sense correspond with Lyons’s criticism of how the novel’s feminist appropriation of Michener fails to transcend forms of colonial mythmaking (or to ‘write back’ effectively enough). Moreover, the way in which Kiana Davenport (born *Diana* Davenport) rebrands herself via a strategic reindigenisation of her authorial identity could be viewed as a consummate exercise in exoticist marketing for the benefit of mainstream cultural consumers (Huggan 2001). However, the forms of reindigenisation ‘from below’ exhibited in the text complicate such negative conclusions. They foreground the practical enactment of culturally enabling relationships between ‘westernisation’ (with its allied processes of touristic commoditisation) and ‘indigenous becoming’. This is emblematised by how, despite the differences that attend McMillen’s and Davenport’s respective representations of reindigenisation, both narratives are products of the intertwined genealogies they portray.

Tourism Histories and Genealogies

According to Halualani, one of the most culturally threatening trends in Hawaiian tourism is the way in which, not only are post-contact narratives delivered to tourists from hegemonic perspectives (as in Alika’s tour bus speech in *Kāmau*), but that these narratives are themselves now being supplanted with ‘the historicizing of tourism itself into Hawaiian history’ (2002: 184). She states that:

With the alliance between dominant-vested historical memory and the tourist fantasy of getting close to and yet maintaining one’s safe distance from nativism, the era of tourism has dramatically changed into that of a postmodern throwback to the golden age

of travel. There are historical tours of the first hotels built in Waikiki in the heyday of the 1920s and 1930s; postcards, [...] advertisements, and Aloha shirts from the 1930s through the 1950s are emblazoned across tourist T-shirts and hotel displays as these become popular nostalgia kitsch and rare [...] collectibles. Thus, a new form of tourism is revealed, one that ironically relies on historical nostalgia for class-specific travel and popular consumption as a way to experience the golden and class-privileged past.

(135)

The concerns raised here speak directly to the problems of creating space for meaningful articulations of indigeneity within capital-driven, colonially inflected frameworks. These become all the more acute when the form of touristic historicising Halualani describes seems to go beyond drawing on ‘anthropology’s discarded discourse’ by ridding itself of native culture as it is currently experienced and retaining only its *representation* in the history of mainstream tourism marketing. As Halualani observes, ‘the images or faces of natives are not incorporated’ into these new historical narratives ‘but are articulated through other, silent signifiers’ (184). She is especially critical of how it is possible to find, ‘[s]ide by side, [the god] Ku, King Kamehameha, and the 1920s love-lorn modern couple in the Waikiki moonlight [...] stitched together as “Hawaiiana” (as the Hawaiian Historical)’ (187). Such ‘discursive suturing [...] sublates its original function as a politically conscientized practice. Framing early Hawaiian society in the same breath as the development of tourism, they were deemed complementary and continuous’ (187–8).

Taken to its extreme, this ‘sublation’ implies that the discursive operations of mass tourism substitute the complexity of indigenous cultural formations for a version of itself. Thus Halualani asserts that: ‘Tourism has encased/framed/museumed itself as naturalized history, as “Hawaiiana”, so who needs the native anymore?’; as a ‘nativizing raced and classed travel’ practice, ‘tourism established itself as native to the islands’ (190). These comments describe one of the most pernicious challenges to processes of reindigenisation conducted in the context of a self-lauding tourist modernity that wilfully eclipses native subjects from their own place-histories. Yet, tourism’s naturalisation as part of the historical master narrative in Hawai‘i does not blind all tourists to the other stories it suppresses, and neither is it non-negotiable by local groups. Whilst in the late 1990s, Houston Wood observed that ‘Kanaka Maoli [native Hawaiians] have [...] become so absent from the expected sun, sand, and sex that visitors associate with Waikīkī that some supporters of the tourist industry have lately begun fretting that this Nativeless image might be costing them some money’ (1999: 85), he also notes how such effacements prompted George Kanahēle to reassert Waikīkī’s ‘Hawaiianess’ in the context

of tourism, which he labelled: ‘keeper of the culture’ (Kanahele 1992; see Chapter 2 for more on Kanahele’s interventions). The merchandise offered by counter-discursive organisations such as *Downwind Productions*, which sells concrete blocks to Hawaiian tourists accompanied by explanations of the histories that tourist developments suppress, represents another powerful local negotiation of ‘Hawaiiana’ and associated cultural kitschification.

Halualani also notes that, by ‘[f]raming early Hawaiian society in the same breath as the development of tourism’ (tacitly negating the latter’s colonial affiliations), both ‘were deemed complementary and continuous’ (2002: 188). Clearly, such notions of straightforward complementarity are fatuous given tourism’s role in actively suppressing ongoing indigenous articulations (as highlighted by Sam’s career trajectory in *School for Hawaiian Girls*). However, rather than simply rejecting the historical link between tourism and native culture, the way in which both McMillen and Davenport represent tourism and culture as at times contrapuntal, at times co-constitutive, is reinforced by their texts’ formal strategies. These expose how familial genealogies relate to those of the industry, a link that is heightened in small island contexts where the industry’s pervasiveness, bound up in wider processes of globalised modernity, reduces the opportunities for independent cultural development.

In discussing tourism genealogies alongside cultural ones here, I am guided by Balme’s description of genealogy (drawn in turn from the work of Joseph Roach) as “‘the historical transmission and dissemination of cultural practices through collective representations” which form a network of interlocking discourses and practices that establish continuities over long periods of time’ (2007: 1–2). Considering genealogy both in a specifically familial sense *and* in terms of historical transmission – as a living entity, enacted and transformed in everyday life (Najita 2006: 23) – offers some insightful perspectives on both texts’ narrative form. *School for Hawaiian Girls* and *Shark Dialogues* each draw on aspects of the historical novel genre, with McMillen’s novel juxtaposing stories from two distinct years (1922 and 1985), and Davenport’s offering a more directly continuous, epic retelling of events spanning 1834 to the present time of the novel in the early 1990s. Notably, in the historical trajectories of both families, tourism is crucial to wealth accumulation. *Shark Dialogues*’s first half highlights how the family’s plantation is built partly on money generated when Pono’s grandfather ‘formed a small consortium and built a hotel in Waikiki’ in the late nineteenth century. Part of Pono’s narrative, which Jess expresses a desire ‘to solve’ in the text’s opening, is therefore entangled with the growth of the plantation industry and the constitution of tourist modernity. The ellipses in her

genealogy not only reflect the way Moani's genealogical investigations reach back to silenced ancestors like Lydie (representative of pre-contact Hawai'i and the mythology surrounding it), but are also bound up with similar cultural and economic concerns to those that underpin Sam's successful transformation into a tourism entrepreneur during *School for Hawaiian Girls's* narrative caesura. The complexity of these affiliations, with their diverse array of positives and negatives, costs and benefits, is such that it seems unhelpfully reductive to read tourism, cultural, and familial genealogies as anything other than deeply entwined in both novels.

Ironically, in *School for Hawaiian Girls*, Moani reassures a tour group after their trip has been postponed by telling them of the company's discounted "arrangement with one of Waikīkī's premier hotels". 'It was one of Uncle's Hideaways', she narrates, '[o]nce called quaint and charming by the travel guides, now the City wanted to provide it with historic landmark status' (McMillen 2005: 98). Reinforcing the way in which Sam's touristic ventures partly collude with the industry's culturally effacing effects, this example reflects Halualani's assertion that the 'Hawaiiana' associated with tourism artefacts and infrastructure has become central to the archipelago's historical narratives, as Sam's hotel becomes part of the metropolitan palimpsest. Yet, by refusing to assert the primacy of one narrative over the other, both McMillen's and Davenport's texts suggest that the interwoven nature of tourism and cultural genealogies means that the erasure of one diminishes the other. Hawaiian tourism and the native culture it fetishises cannot be fully understood without simultaneous contemplation of the narratives it subdues, whilst contemporary articulations of indigeneity are also incomplete if they do not attend to tourism's constitutive role in their formation. If both novels are considered in terms of the market forces and circuits of consumption that also shape their construction, their respective generic manipulations can be read as contributing to a richer and more involved tourism product. The complex and culturally variegated effects of mass tourism expansion in Hawai'i are foregrounded through the echoes and dissonances between the novels' antiphonal narrative perspectives – reflecting the competing accounts of place that render Hawai'i, as Wilson puts it, 'a site of heteroglossic spatiality' (2000: 196). It could hence be argued that the terrorist attempt aimed at the hotel in *Shark Dialogues* by Vanya's resistance group is *bound* to fail, as its destruction would symbolise partial demolition of a genealogy that has become culturally constitutive in ways that are enhanced by the novel's own historical articulations.

A powerful ambivalence still attends the lack of resolution of both novels' endings, which links to ongoing concerns over whether cultural sustainability will remain a viable concept in

the increasingly tourism-dominated future. For instance, *Shark Dialogues* concludes with the projective term ‘imua’, meaning ‘Go forward! Press on!’ (Davenport 1995: 479; this represents a slightly more active formulation than Apio’s ‘kāmau’ – ‘carry on’). Nevertheless, the way in which Vanya and Simon end marooned in the wilderness, leaving only Jess and Toru to maintain the family plantation, injects an unsettling contingency regarding further processes of decolonisation and reindigenisation. Meanwhile, the ambiguity associated with *School for Hawaiian Girls*’s conclusion relates partly to how the process of familial rearticulation undertaken by Moani leads her to target the family sector of the tourism market. This provocatively implies that her ‘ohana in some senses *incorporates* the family structures of tourists. Puanani’s daughter (also named Bernie) has been brought up amongst these touristic families “‘[s]ince she was six months old’”, Moani states, when ‘Pu [...] plopped her in the kayak between my legs’ (McMillen 2005: 191). Tourists hereby participate literally in Bernie’s socialisation, and could even be said to constitute aspects of her ‘ohana. This engenders a projective ambivalence, enhanced by McMillen’s decision to locate the novel’s events in 1985 rather than closer to the cusp of the millennium when the novel was actually published. It invites readers to imagine the possible trajectories of the child’s development in the interim, accounting for how processes of reindigenisation might have proceeded in this time. Thus, events like Sam’s destruction of the school, along with more recent tourism-related transformations in reality, indicate the propensity for cultural landscapes and repositories of memory to be appropriated and destroyed, auctioned in Hawai‘i’s capitalist tourism market to the highest bidder. Baby Bernie’s genealogical understanding – and the continued vitality of her ‘ohana more broadly – relies on the memorialisation if not the continued protection of such places. As such, the novel delivers a subtle imperative to continue processes of cultural and historical re-narrativisation in relation to tourist modernity. This situates it (like *Shark Dialogues*) as a powerful resource for shaping industry development in line with more nuanced understandings of the contested interface between cultural and tourism genealogies.

Returning in this light to the questions of cultural sustainability addressed in the opening of this chapter, the comparative readings in both sections have shown that the kind of ‘respect [...] for community culture’ advocated by Choi and Sirakaya requires acknowledging the slippery array of subject-positions embraced by such a concept. These include the differences between groups which, for Kincaid, cause Antiguans to ‘laugh at your strangeness’ (1988: 17), and the similarities that underwrite her various equivalences between tourist and native identities.

Powerful tensions remain attached of course to the industry's commoditising operations, not least as it can accentuate feelings of rootlessness or incarceration at the extremes of insular dialectics between movement and settlement. Yet, as the specific case of Hawai'i shows, this does not necessitate recourse to the kind of comparative victimisation rhetoric that attends Trask's claim that indigenous Hawaiians are 'among the most subordinated Natives in the Pacific Islands' (1999: 87). The archipelago's status as a 'cautionary tale', bridge and metaphor, for both the insular Pacific and the Caribbean, enhances the comparative significance of its writers' works in this context. By exploring how tourism's imprisoning dimensions can be negotiated not only economically but also in ways that enhance cultural growth and renewal, McMillen's and Davenport's novels further demolish blanket assumptions about cultural 'fragility' in island states. Like all the texts in this chapter, they assert that sustainability depends in part on a process of annexing tourism to evolving cultural ontologies and genealogical understandings.

Tourism, Terrorism, and Performance

In concluding this chapter, I want to move briefly away from the cultural concerns outlined above. This is in order to consider how a more successful form of terrorism than that portrayed in *Shark Dialogues*, and the state crisis it would likely engender, might affect the arguments made regarding processes of touristification in island contexts. Davenport's presentation of the tourism–terrorism nexus in Hawai'i grounds it in acts that are oriented more around a culture of performance than one of brutal contingency. As a result, the potential for real life destruction is shifted from the material to the discursive domain. To give an example, when Toru initially appeals to Jess and Vanya to join his resistance group, he reminds Vanya of her inclination to “bomb a military installation, a hotel. Hit them with guerilla forces” (Davenport 1995: 244). Following Vanya's response that “[i]t was just a way of getting media attention”, Toru insists: “We tried everything else. Demonstrations, legislation, begging on our knees. They don't give a damn about Hawaiians, we're history. [...] In ten years we'll be Disneyland. [...] You know what it takes. People want violence. Theater” (244–5). Two different but not incompatible points emerge from this speech. On one hand, terrorist action is seen as a way to go beyond merely 'getting media attention' or attempting to reshape 'legislation' through non-violent

protest. On the other hand, the product of such action continues to be conceived in performative terms, as a form of ‘theater’.

The latter point is reinforced at other key moments in the narrative. For instance, in deciding to assist Toru, Vanya subsequently considers her ‘years of courting the media, the speeches, years of shouting for her people’ to be ‘[t]heater, mere theater’ (316). This signals a tension between Toru’s motivation to engage in terrorist action – positing violence as a more effective performance ‘genre’ – and Vanya’s intimation that such action will transcend the ‘mere theater’ constituted by her previous commitment to discursive opposition. This is enhanced as performative and discursive metaphors overlay a similar discussion with Jess. Vanya conceptualises terrorism both as another language – “‘our Mother Tongue’” – and as a form of “‘fighting back’”, reminding Jess of the last decade’s events in “‘[i]sland nations’”: “‘Assassinations in Palau, military coups in Fiji. Armored tanks, the killing of schoolchildren in New Caledonia [...] all accelerated by the French bombing of the peace ship, Rainbow Warrior, in ’85’” (368). In response, Jess asks: “‘How much good can you do? [...] It’s theater, bad theater. Blowing up hotels won’t give Hawaiians back our land. Only sovereignty will’” (368). Her comments emphasise how Vanya’s terrorist plans fail to transcend the specific *form* of performance theatre implies, even if it represents a different genre within the form. Indeed, the negative qualification (‘bad’) suggests that violence may be no more productive than the discursive protest genre that Vanya has committed herself to rejecting.

The link between terrorist action and performance also chimes with the US Department of State’s definition of terrorism as ‘premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against civilians and unarmed military personnel by subnational groups [...] *usually intended to influence an audience*’ (cited in Sönmez 1998: 417; my emphasis). On a symbolic level, the outcome of the group’s actions – especially the lack of effective destruction – relates to the contradictions and circumscriptions facing native Hawaiians as a group incorporated *within* America, not least as this puts pressure on essentialist understandings of cultural and ethnic difference. As Vanya states after Toru initially suggests militarization, “‘[y]ou don’t attack our parent country. We’re part of the United States, remember?’” (244). The internal conflicts of native Hawaiian communities suggest that Vanya’s initial reaction is more valid than her later commitment to a ‘war’ which, as the text’s subtle intertwining of tourist and native genealogies suggests, can be considered as a form of self-mutilation. This is perhaps a Hawai‘i-specific point: the long interrogation of terrorism’s potential to affect material change within the

archipelago, and ultimate rejection of its efficacy, emphasises the ongoing importance of discursive methods for negotiating cultural inequalities that result from government policy and market-driven ideologies. However theatrical it might be, the threat of terrorist action can therefore play a significant role with respect to attaining native Hawaiian political leverage. As American journalist Ed Rampell comments, '[t]he state [...] is terrified that Hawaiian militancy, even the guerrilla warfare [...] predicted in Kiana Davenport's novel, *Shark Dialogues*, would destroy the tourist industry' (cited in San Juan Jr. 2004: 313). This in turn accentuates the power of discursive *representations* of tourism, nativism, and terrorism. By engaging terrorism's performative currency, portrayals such as Davenport's can help short-circuit the need for politicised violence.

Yet, while there is a possibility – or, given America's military power, necessity – of mobilising discourse in place of direct violence in Hawai'i, the question remains of what happens in island states where getting a voice in the media and participating in forms of discursive intervention is less effective. As Sevil Sönmez puts it, 'how do destinations burdened with political challenges deal with negative images? How does the industry manage the crisis of terrorism or political strife? How can it become immune to the effects of terrorism and political problems?' (1998: 417). These are particularly pressing concerns in islands where tourism is central to economic growth; as Sönmez argues in another essay, '[p]eace and safety are prerequisites to the success of any tourist destination, but more so for island destinations because they are viewed by tourists as more harmonious, if not idyllic, than mainland societies' (2002: 161). He notes that, although many island destinations exhibit 'a triadic interdependency [...] between peace and security, successful international tourism, and sustainable development [...], scholars have paid little attention to the magnitude of the challenges presented by sociopolitical problems to the development of sustainable tourism [in] islands' (162). Hawai'i's tourism industry has, as yet, not been subject to the kind of challenge to its profitability that results in extended and violent political discord. However, as Vanya's list of Pacific island unrest attests, other insular states are strongly affected by such upheavals.

Whereas in Hawai'i performative analogies of violent conflict can be interpreted as potentially liberating, in other contexts their deployment can be brutally reductive, at times even imperialistic. One prominent example is the US military's description of its activities in the Pacific Ocean during World War II as the 'Pacific Theatre of Operations'. This involves a dangerous discursive domestication of the material manifestations of violence. The resulting

metaphorical transformation becomes a means by which, as Bruce Kapferer puts it, ‘the dreadful theatricalisation of power’ is staged (2001: 62). This occurs in relation both to external threats and internal conflicts, with ‘[t]he political restructuring of many islands [...] during the period of decolonization in the 1960s and 1970s’ leading to independence, but failing to resolve the problems underpinning the fact that ‘at the dawn of the twenty-first century both the economies and political structures of many island nations remain vulnerable’ (Sönmez 2002: 162). Such vulnerability is exposed during periods of violence, which swiftly shatter paradisaical images of social harmony. This presents the challenge of how tourism sustainability is to be theorised more broadly in postcolonial islands experiencing forms of crisis and disaster.

Island Tourism and Disaster

The distinctions drawn so far between tourism’s effects on island cultures and environments have emphasised the importance of differentiating sensitively between social and natural sustainability concerns whilst at the same time exploring how the two are nevertheless variously enmeshed. Such readings have attempted to grapple with the ramifications of points made in Chapter 1 regarding how, ‘[e]ven where economically and ecologically sustainable development options exist, they may conflict with island cultures’ (Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002: 7). Disasters represent especially conspicuous instances of how cultural, natural, and economic forms of sustainability are put under extreme pressure, highlighting not only the tensions between them but also where they significantly coalesce. I use the term disaster – which features centrally with respect to Sri Lanka in the following chapter – in ways that also embrace what are sometimes referred to as crisis or emergency situations. The derivation of ‘crisis’ from the Greek root meaning ‘to decide’ contributes to its distinction from emergency (a ‘juncture that arises or “turns up”’ [OED 4.a]) as it describes a ‘decisive stage in the progress of anything; a turning-point; also, a state of affairs in which a decisive change for better or worse is imminent; now applied *esp* to times of difficulty, insecurity, and suspense in politics or commerce’ (OED 3). Crisis situations are therefore defined partly in relation to acts of human decision-making, which are often politicised. By contrast, disaster signifies ‘[a]nything that befalls of ruinous or distressing nature; a sudden or great misfortune, mishap, or misadventure; a calamity’ (OED 2.a). This suggests an event that can have social or physical dimensions, and which need not be expressly political, even if it impels political intervention. Although researchers remain divided

both on what constitutes a disaster and the ‘precise thresholds of when historical happenings are socially defined as disasters’ (Kreps 1998: 33), the term’s flexibility in describing a broad range of ‘ruinous [...] distressing’ or ‘calamitous’ phenomena, its power to galvanise attention in numerous discursive contexts (particularly mass media reports), and its inclusion of social and environmental factors make it well suited to discussing the crises and catastrophes that intersect with mass tourism practices.

From a discursive perspective, it is interesting that disasters often metaphorically indicate the limit points of more hopeful readings of cultural emergence or reindigenisation in highly touristed postcolonial island contexts. For instance, the pressures of marginalisation and the sheer force of cultural commoditisation in Hawai‘i are dramatised by the vast discrepancy between the archipelago’s native population and the millions of tourists who visit the islands each year.⁵⁷ Trask states throughout *From a Native Daughter* that Hawai‘i has been ‘inundated by foreigners’ (1999: 87; see also 3; 9; 50), using this extended metaphor to align the tourist influx with extreme *natural* processes and events. Trask does not use the verb ‘inundate’ idly. Rather, she activates its connotations of flooding to buttress her description of how ‘the statistic of thirty tourists for every Native means that land and water, public policy, law, and the general political attitude are shaped by the ebb and flow of tourist industry demands’ (3). According to Trask, this influx of visitors is not developing in step with the everyday ‘ebb and flow’ of tides but harbours the catastrophic potential of a ‘tidal wave’ (3).⁵⁸

Even though such conjunctions between social and natural processes are constructed more for rhetorical effect in Trask’s polemic than to offer coherent insights into very different threats to insular sustainability, it is nevertheless interesting that other postcolonial island writers create similar metaphorical connections between tourism and natural disaster. To offer a Caribbean example, Jamaican writer Michael Collins’s poem, ‘Ise’s Iron’ (1986), depicts some of the consequences of a hurricane in his birthplace:

It took a billion dollars out of the island:
It was a big wind that fattened out at sea,
a rowdy tourist that come and shake
the airport runways and give the fat sun
mad fits.

(1991: 786)

⁵⁷ The US Census of 2000 found that just over 80,000 people identified themselves as native Hawaiian, a figure which rises to over 280,000 when considered in combination with one or more other ethnicities (‘Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000, Hawaii’).

⁵⁸ Native Hawaiian activist Kaleo Patterson draws a similar comparison when he states that ‘the development of tourism in a place like Hawaii is like a tsunami, washing away all that is real and once was and leaving behind something new and foreign’ (cited in McLaren 2003: 33–4).

In portraying the hurricane's devastating economic and environmental effects as the metaphorical actions of 'a rowdy tourist', Collins's poem implies on one level that both are unwanted guests. But the association also invests them with similarly destructive powers, darkly intimating that the kind of damage caused by tourism and hurricanes is directly comparable. In this sense, all mass island tourism could be considered a form of 'disaster tourism', as the collective effect of touristic presence on their ecologies is seismic.

This observation is enhanced from an economic perspective by recalling how high levels of 'leakage' in Caribbean tourism see much of the income it generates siphoned away from the islands and returned to more economically powerful foreign states. Hence, both the hurricane and the 'rowdy tourist' (metonymic of the tourism industry at large) in Collins's poem could be accused of taking 'a billion dollars' from host economies. The comparison between mass tourism and natural devastation seems further fitting when contextualised against Mexican writer Octavio Paz's criticism of capitalist development's lack of ethics. Arguing that, whilst the market 'is highly efficient [...] it has no goal', Paz suggests that it suffers from a form of 'aesthetic impoverishment' which blinds it in particular to the ecological ramifications of its profit-oriented operations (cited in DeLoughrey *et al.* 2005: 22).⁵⁹ Yet though the market may well be ethically 'blind', studies of its demands are not. Few islands are targeted for tourism development at random, even if they are often subsequently co-opted as beach paradises that bear scant resemblance to local ecological specificities, and excessive naturalisation of industry operations threatens to gloss over tensions regarding human culpability for disastrous events. Unlike hurricanes and tidal waves, which raze whatever is in their paths, tourism development can be more selective; it is the extent to which it transforms and homogenises those environments it desires (as in Hawai'i's case) that partly dictates the level of 'destruction' it appears to exact. Hence, the bilateral function of the tourism/natural disaster metaphor in Collins' poem (and, less directly, in Trask's polemic) highlights an important contention within disaster studies, namely that 'disasters do not simply happen; they are caused' (Oliver-Smith 1999: 74). This implies that there is no such thing as a wholly *natural* disaster: disasters are always socially and historically conditioned. Likewise, social crises (such as war) cannot be conceived fully without accounting for their environmental dimensions.

⁵⁹ For further discussion of Paz's position with respect to environmental exploitation, see Handley (2005b: 201–2).

Trask's and Collins's respective use of natural disaster as a metaphor for tourism suggest that considerations of industry effects which do not account for the mutually constitutive character of social and natural processes in island contexts are fundamentally flawed. If the most searching vision of sustainability that emerges from postcolonial island texts is one which is simultaneously attentive to both these factors, as well as their intersections with economic concerns, another key question that emerges involves addressing how context-specific tensions between cultural and environmental issues might be practically worked through. Moving from the previous chapters' relatively macroscopic analytical considerations to the intensely intimate domain of sex, tourism, and embodied experience, the next chapter examines how this seemingly anthropocentric subject is bound up with wider ecological sustainability. Focusing firstly on the shaping influence of environmental factors with respect to the ongoing disaster of child sex tourism, it explores how this practice's intersections with other forms of crisis in contemporary Sri Lanka helps test tourism sustainability's limit points with respect to culture, nature, and embodied experience in postcolonial island contexts more broadly.

Chapter 4: Sex, Tourism, and Embodied Experience

Entangled in manifold circuits of power, and often deeply distressing and desire-fraught, sex tourism evokes a ‘peculiar poignancy’ as the ‘relationship between rich tourists and the sex workers they meet [...] is one of the rare occasions when privilege confronts poverty face to face’ (Seabrook 2001: xiii). Both discursively and materially embedded in histories of colonial desire, which have five hundred years of history in the Caribbean (Kempadoo 1999a) and extend from moments of ‘discovery’ and ‘conquest’ in other postcolonial island states, the intersection of tourism and sex is a potent example of how indices of global economic power, literally embodied by wealthy ‘western’ tourists, can become inescapably local in economically underprivileged regions. This chapter explores what might be gained by examining embodied experience and its related discourses in island contexts where different degrees of sexual exploitation are bound up in the daily workings of the tourist industry. In particular, it considers how the body’s portrayal as an extremely ‘labile and complex site of reciprocal exchange’ (Balme 2007: 2) provides an interface between social and environmental considerations, helping to express some of tourism’s most abusive dimensions as people from very different backgrounds are brought into ‘direct, immediate and inescapable’ contact (Seabrook 2001: xiii). The chapter begins by examining the links between sex tourism, animal abuse, and compound disaster in relation to this thesis’s secondary site of analysis, Sri Lanka, and then proceeds to integrate these readings with Pacific and Caribbean concerns. It concludes by addressing the ramifications of how postcolonial island writers deploy sex tourism and prostitution tropes to entire ecologies.

I. Sex, Exploitation, and Beach Ecology: Tourism and Compound Disaster in Sri Lanka

In his essay on ‘The Pitfalls of National Consciousness’, Frantz Fanon outlines the proclivity of ‘[t]he national bourgeoisie’ in newly decolonised states for ‘organiz[ing] centres of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts to meet the wishes of the Western bourgeoisie’ in ‘the name of tourism’. The result of this, claims Fanon, is that ‘the national middle class [...] will in practice set up its country as the brothel of Europe’ (2001: 123). Fanon’s sentiment here is prescient in its sensitivity to the importance of sex, prostitution, and embodied desire in contemporary forms

of tourism development – a relationship that ‘Brazilians term “prostiturismo”’ (Altman 2001: 107). From the sexualised marketing of destinations – ever prevalent in tropical island contexts – to more immediate desires for transactional relations, sex is intimately interwoven with tourism. Whilst the rise of sex tourism is certainly a global phenomenon, the first section of this chapter focuses primarily on its intersections with experiences of disaster in Sri Lanka. Reinforcing the sustainability questions framed in relation to Caribbean and Pacific islands in the previous chapters, it highlights how the embodied experience of those involved in sex tourism can still provide important bridges between social and environmental concerns in the deeply unsustainable context of an island undergoing multiple crises. Unconventionally foregrounding the *ecological* dimensions of sex tourism, the section shows how analysis of the ways in which the embodied exploitation of humans and animals is metaphorically linked can help resituate some of the challenges to littoral tourism sustainability in Sri Lanka and other disaster-afflicted island states. The fact that child sex tourism in Sri Lanka itself represents an overwhelming if often overlooked crisis suggests that its portrayal can offer particularly acute insights into these issues.

Sex Tourism and Body Methodology

Given that sex tourism is complexly implicated in numerous discourses, histories, and travel practices – extending from European colonialism to global tourism – it is perhaps unsurprising that the social sciences offer no single definition of the phenomenon. As Stephen Clift and Simon Carter comment, ‘to rigidly separate “sex tourism” from other forms of travel and tourism involving sex is to oversimplify a complex set of interrelations and interactions’ (2000: 6). The nuanced and plural systems of exchange, power, and agency implicated in tourism’s intersections with sexual practices resist overarching generalisations. For instance, while Clift and Carter note that ‘a normal working definition’ of sex tourism ‘is taken as travel for which the main motivation is to engage in commercial sexual relations’ (6), Martin Oppermann claims that this represents an ‘oversimplification of the whole concept and [...] an exclusion of the majority of sex tourism cases and settings’ (1998a: 2). However, less prescriptive definitions can tend unhelpfully toward diffuseness. Ryan and Hall’s description of sex tourism ‘as tourism where the main purpose or motivations of at least part of the trip is to consummate sexual relations’ (2001: x) is a case in point, implying that any sexually active couple holidaying

together are sex tourists. Kempadoo's notion of 'transactional sex' provides a more useful layer of nuance as she uses it to 'denote sexual-economic relationships and exchanges where gifts are given in exchange for sex [...] and an up-front monetary transaction does not necessarily take place' (2004: 42). Yet this in turn raises questions regarding the overlaps between prostitution and sex tourism. Oppermann asserts that '[s]ex tourism is inseparably linked with prostitution, but they are two different entities that just happen to share a lot of commonalities. One may consider their relationship similar to that of tourism and leisure: 70% the same but 30% different' (1998a: 1). Which 70%? The pitfalls of applying reductively quantitative models to complex social issues like sex work are well glossed by Dennis Altman, who asserts that:

We should be skeptical of those studies which claim to tell us that 36% of sex workers are positive/negative/use condoms or whatever; this assumes a fixed population, which is a dangerous fiction. It seems useful to think of prostitution not as a fixed state or identity, but rather as a continuum ranging from organized prostitution, through brothels, escort agencies, and so forth, to unpremeditated transactions resulting from chance encounters.

(2001: 103)

In this light, then, how might sex tourism be most productively approached?

Clift and Carter argue that "sex tourism" [...] is a highly dynamic phenomenon that exhibits rapid changes in only a short space of time', linked to how 'capital ebbs and flows in the world economic system' (2000: 7–8). It is certainly now big business; as Nancy Wonders and Raymond Michalowski observed in 2001, '[e]ven conservative business publications have noted the growing strength and globalization of the sex "industry"; *The Economist* [...] estimates that the global sex industry is worth "at least \$20 billion a year and probably many times that"' (2001: 549). As a result, Clift and Carter acknowledge that '[t]he more sophisticated studies of tourism prostitution have used a multi-disciplinary approach to the subject in which historical, cultural, political, religious and economic factors are taken into account' (2000: 8). Such complexities raise pressing methodological issues with respect to embodied experience, assertions of agency, and the way *literary* readings are situated in the context of social science research.

Building on Michel Foucault's work on sexuality, Ann Laura Stoler argues that 'sexual desire in colonial and postcolonial contexts has been a crucial transfer point of power, tangled with rapid exclusions in complicated ways' (1995: 190). Taking issue with Foucault's relative blindness to race and gender in *The History of Sexuality*, Stoler's work 'places questions of homo- and heterosexual arrangements and identities not as the seedy underside of imperial

history [...] but as charged sites of its tensions' (1995: 10). These questions are equally pertinent to analyses of sex tourism. If sex is understood as inextricably linked to contemporary tourism practice, its manifestations may also be read as 'charged sites' of tourism's tensions as they bring privilege and poverty into close proximity. This raises the kind of pressing questions articulated in Jan Jindy Pettman's essay, 'Body Politics: International Sex Tourism' (1997):

How [...] can we represent the bodies entangled in that form of international relations that is sex tourism? And in sex associated with bodies which are not only sexualised but nationalised, racialised and culturalised? How can we move women and children in the sex trade from a bodily presence to a voice/voices, in circumstances where power relations are so often loaded against them? How should we attend to particular bodies in a now globalised sex trade?

(1997: 104)

One main problem this raises involves the level of agency that 'women and children' are able to exercise in relation to their sexual experiences which, in the view of Wonders and Michalowski, seem primarily to offer 'advantaged men from the developed world [...] an opportunity, not only to experience fantasized sexual freedom with imagined uninhibited women, but also the opportunity to experience – in their bodies – their own privilege' (2001: 550).

Wonders and Michalowski's description sees sex tourism as reinforcing unequal and deeply exploitative power relations, a concern which maintains a position of central importance for research in the field. What space, though, does this allow for 'mov[ing] women and children in the sex trade from a bodily presence to a voice', and to what extent does it also reinscribe stereotypes regarding non-'western' destinations as sites of production, in this case sexual, for the consumption of 'western' actors? Wonders and Michalowski place specific emphasis on the need to 'shift attention from individual "prostitutes" as social problems to "sex tourism" as a form of global commerce' (546). In so doing, they move away from research that seems merely to pathologise prostitutes by addressing instead how 'the meshing of the supply and demand curves for sex creates a transnational business like any other' (546). They are particularly attentive to how mass tourism and migration are enacting substantial changes to conceptualisations of the international sex industry, noting that 'the continual development of new commodity forms' demanded by '[g]lobalized capitalism' (548) means that bodies become increasingly commoditised 'in both industrialized and developing countries' (551). Yet, comparing their ethnographic observations of sex industries involving migrant women in Amsterdam and local sex workers in Havana, they suggest that 'the actual practice of sex work reflects the positionality of each city within the global economy' (565). The effect is that:

Amsterdam, a highly developed global city in an advanced capitalist nation, manifests a highly organized and stratified form of sex tourism based on the commodification of the ‘otherly’ bodies of migrant women. In Cuba, the pattern is more characteristic of a developing nation as a primary producer. That is, sex tourism in Cuba involves the exploitation and consumption by foreigners of a local resource, in this case, Cuban women.

(565)

Whilst these observations are perhaps broadly representative of the circuits of consumption that characterise aspects of the global sex trade, they compound the problem of seeing sex tourism in economically underprivileged states as a case of ‘developed’ world demand being met by ‘developing’ world supply. One of the dangers of this over-simplified relationship is the way it links states to individuals, with sex workers in postcolonial islands like Cuba or indeed Sri Lanka conceived as embodied ‘producers’ locked in binary relationships with sex tourist ‘consumers’. This offers little space for degrees of negotiation and forms of agency, however circumscribed, to be asserted.

Altman argues that, even as ‘[s]ex is framed by social, cultural, political, and economic factors’ – especially the changes linked to globalisation and the forms of ‘greater inequality’ this provokes – it also ‘remains a powerful imperative resistant to all of these’ (2001: 1–2). As Amalia Cabezas suggests in her work on prostitution in the Dominican Republic, despite manifold inequalities, sex workers ‘are using the international tourism industry to create and pursue opportunities for survival, socioeconomic mobility and migration. In integrating themselves into a complex transnational sexual economy, they are realizing the power of their sexuality and the sexuality of power’ (1999: 122). The way in which these considerations are borne out in literary texts is central to the readings in this chapter. In a world where ‘[i]nternational prostitution appears to be increasing rapidly due to the spread of travel, migration, and liberal economic “development” across the globe’ (Cabezas 1999: 107), it examines the opportunities this allows for various assertions of agency amongst sex workers. At the same time, it also addresses how these practices’ extremely destructive aspects, including physical abuse, trauma, and the threat of AIDS (located at the ‘threshold’ of the disaster concept [Quarantelli 1999b: 4]), impede the emergence of more sustainable tourism practices.

The link between sex tourism and AIDS is just one example of the intersections between tourism and forms of disaster that are often accentuated in postcolonial island contexts. As I suggested in the conclusion to the previous chapter, it is vital to account for how sustainability is circumscribed by the fact that ‘in many developing countries – and despite its notable economic power – tourism is highly vulnerable to internal and external shocks as various as economic downturns, natural disasters, epidemic disease, and sociopolitical turmoil’ (Sönmez 2002: 161). Although disastrous events severely affect island destinations’ marketability as harmonious paradises, this does not preclude forms of tourism from continuing to prosper. War and civil conflict again constitute powerful examples. As Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio note, ‘[t]ourism and war appear to be polar extremes of cultural activity – the paradigm of international accord at one end and discord at the other. The two practices, however, often intersect: tourism of war, war on tourism, tourism as war, war targeting tourism, tourism under war, war as tourism’ (cited in Sönmez 1998: 436). Such interdependencies highlight the extent to which crisis situations not only contribute to warping more conventional tourism forms in specific places, but become constitutive of them. Linked to forms of ‘thanatourism’ (derived from the Greek ‘thanatos’, meaning death) and ‘dark tourism’, ‘disaster tourism’ stretches beyond war, taking sites of tragedy, violence, and death as its subject.¹ Such practices – which include slavery and Holocaust tourism; trips to battlefields, warzones, and scenes of human atrocity; and tourism of natural disaster sites – raise complex issues that are aptly summarised by Graham Dann and Tony Seaton when they ask:

Should such sites be memorialized? If so, what ethical issues have to be confronted and resolved? [...] Who should control the forms of heritage development at dissonant sites? Whose past should be privileged? How, in pluralistic societies with a diverse ethnic mix, is it possible to narrate histories that include all constituent variants equitably?
(2001: 25)

These questions become all the more intractable when contextualised by the fact that certain forms of ‘dark tourism’ are relatively unregulated, and are involved less with past events than with recent or ongoing crises as tourists defy travel advisories and visit disaster zones regardless of the dangers and ethical issues involved.

¹ The concept of thanatourism is defined by Tony Seaton as ‘travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death’ (1996: 240). ‘Dark Tourism’ was first coined by Malcolm Foley and J. John Lennon (1996).

Not all disaster tourism is necessarily exploitative. As Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt note, when Hurricane Mitch struck the Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador in 1998, the Honduran Institute of Tourism responded to a severe drop in tourist arrivals by promoting ‘a type of “disaster tourism”’, inviting ‘wealthy North Americans to witness the devastation caused by the natural disaster and to assist in the recovery programme’ (2003: 255). However, even post-disaster visitations with overtly benign motivations raise serious problems. For instance, following the South Asian tsunami of December 2004, which devastated coastal areas in Indonesia, Thailand, India, and Sri Lanka, an article published on 7 January 2005 in *The Times of India* reported that, ‘a massive inflow of charitable organisations and aid volunteers to the tsunami-hit areas’ has, ‘unseemly as it sounds, [...] spawned a new industry – disaster tourism’. Insisting that ‘their presence is doing more harm than good in many areas hit hard by the tsunami’, the ‘disaster tourist’ influx was ‘seen as the second giant wave’ by many people, particularly as such ‘tourists’ often possess little local knowledge or idea of what needs to be accomplished (‘Tsunami Spawns Disaster Tourism’ 2005). This is in addition to the more conventionally voyeuristic types of disaster tourists who seized the ‘lifetime opportunity’ to travel to tsunami-hit regions ‘wearing masks and loaded with latest cameras [*sic*] to capture post-tsunami images’, as Nirmala Ramanathan commented in January 2005 (cited in ‘Disaster Tourism – As Bad as Tsunami for Victims’ 2005).

Such circumstances pose significant challenges both to theorising and implementing more sustainable tourism strategies; hence, the effects of the tsunami on tourism represent an important part of this section’s Sri Lankan focus. Yet though the tsunami served to draw international attention to some of the problems associated with tourism-related development and forms of employment on the island, the disaster is by no means isolated but is linked to several other ongoing crises that contribute to the discursive framing of Sri Lanka outside the tourist brochures as dystopian or apocalyptic. Natural disasters, in the form of hurricanes and volcanic eruptions especially, and social catastrophes, such as civil conflict, severe poverty, and AIDS, have severely affected both community life and tourism markets in many postcolonial island states. However, few have experienced the kind of complex and concentrated interplay between multiple forms of disaster that characterise the last thirty years of Sri Lankan history, with the island’s fluctuating tourism industry now sustained economically by some of the most culturally and environmentally unsustainable tourism practices. This raises the urgent question, central to Sri Lanka’s function in the thesis at large, of what is to be made of an island that is not only

afflicted by experiences of *multiple crises* or ‘compound disasters’, but whose tourism market operates under this very sign.² My inclusion of Sri Lanka is geared partly towards showing how portrayals of this pre-eminent example of disaster’s intersections with island tourism can nevertheless advance perspectives on improving sustainability that are consonant with those of the Caribbean and Pacific islands addressed so far. I highlight especially how attention to negotiations of such negative tourism forms can shed important light on the cultural and environmental tensions identified in Chapters 2 and 3. This is not least by foregrounding how disasters ‘inhere in societal–environmental relations’ (Oliver-Smith 1998: 186) in ways that can be accessed by examining the mediating function of embodied experience with respect to tourism.

One powerful dramatisation of the tensions attached to how Sri Lanka’s tourism market operates under the sign of compound disaster can be found in a passage from Sri Lankan migrant writer Romesh Gunesequera’s novel *The Sandglass* (1998). A story of two antagonistic families that bridges Sri Lanka and the UK, it shifts between multiple time-frames and narrative perspectives, including those of Sri Lankan tourism entrepreneur Prins, and London-based migrant Chip. Throughout the novel, Chip describes how Prins became a ‘real business visionary’ (Gunesequera 1998: 79), recalling at one point how the latter attempted to make ‘tourism out of terrorism’ (41) after being ‘appointed General Manager of Gold Sands Enterprises – a group of hotels’ (79). After variously emphasising how Prins made money from ‘selling paradise experience between death camps and suicide bombers to tourists who didn’t care’ (195), Chip proceeds towards the end of the book to outline a darkly ironic scene in which Prins speculates on the potential for his next tourism enterprise.

Following a trip with his new fiancée, escorted by ‘a couple of photographers who wanted to do yet another book of the island’s vanishing wildlife’ (228), Prins tells Chip that:

‘I had had an idea, you know. I wanted to come up with a new kind of safari for our hotel business. There’d been all these rumours about the Tigers hiding down there, so I wondered whether I could dream up something. The place is brilliant, you know, for war-watching. If only they can shift the whole combat zone down there. Or maybe, in a few years, someone will dig another hell-hole there. Imagine: camouflage sarongs, sunset flares, Patriot missiles, tracer bullets. You could sit on the veranda and watch the explosions really colour up the sky. Why not? They say that this madness is what we do

² This notion of multiple crises relates to Quarantelli’s observations on what the UN labels ‘*complex emergencies* (or sometimes *compound disasters*)’ which are ‘used by those who are primarily involved in the provision of international relief and humanitarian assistance to victims of widespread and multi-related phenomena that result in extensive human suffering and misery’. These might include, for instance, ‘mixtures of civil strife, famines, genocidal activities, epidemics, and large-scale displacement and movement of refugees’ (1998: 263; original emphasis).

best, and it's better than the pimping of kids that passes for tourism now.' Despite his sarcasm, Prins's face was sad.

(229)

As the narrative recognises, while this proposal is ironically loaded, the 'sadness' attending Prins's expression stems from the fact that Sri Lanka's political climate channels tourism ventures into a number of highly undesirable forms. Gunasekera punningly shows how the political gravity of the role played by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka (the 'Tigers' in the passage, who have been violently opposing the Sinhalese ethnic majority since the outbreak of civil war in 1983) can be transmuted into the subject of a contemporary kind of 'safari tourism'. Such unsparing sarcasm acts as a counterweight to official tourism industry rhetoric in Sri Lanka, which makes scant mention of the more negative aspects of post-1983 developments. For example, current recommendations optimistically address the potential for diversifying the industry into 'separate segments, such as sports, history, beaches and eco-tourism' once arrivals top the one million mark (the figure in 2006 was 560,000 [Gunasekera and Momsen 2007: 91]). This echoes the desire expressed by a younger and less cynical Prins earlier in the narrative to 'develop a modern cultural identity alongside the traditional tourist industry', moving beyond "'handicraft, handicraft, handicraft'" and showcasing instead "'Modern art. Street theatre. TV shows, cartoons. Anything with a pulse'" (Gunasekera 1998: 209). However, the practicality of implementing such desirable industry diversification is undermined by extreme tourism market fluctuations, often relating to the latest bout of violence. Hence the irony attending Prins's proposal for 'war-watching' is undercut by the fact that, rather than representing a ludicrous idea, it may actually suggest a viable enterprise in a country where 'the pimping of kids' to tourists constitutes one of the more buoyant industry configurations.

Tourism in contemporary Sri Lanka is of course far more diverse than this sex-and-war dyad admits; like all tourism markets, it is subject to constant and often drastic change which is not merely defined by current levels of hostility between the LTTE and the Sinhalese military. It is therefore worth noting that Gunasekera's portrayal of Sri Lanka in *The Sandglass* has been criticised by Seneth Perera who states that 'no individual or community can be exemplified as offering a positive outlook'; Sri Lanka is presented as 'a theatre of war for 365 days of the year', implying that 'the island has nothing to offer unless the visitor is a pedophile' (cited in

Salgado 2007: 150–1). Whilst this arguably misses the irony with which the novel is laced,³ it echoes Prins's own early-1990s observations on Sri Lankan tourism, which highlight twin concerns relating to external perceptions of pre-tsunami Sri Lanka. But to what extent does the prevalence of such 'dark tourism' practices foreclose the possibility of achieving greater tourism sustainability in Sri Lanka, and how might literary depictions of intersecting disaster discourses shed light on this? Approaching these questions requires more detailed exploration of how experiences of compound disaster affect Sri Lankan tourism.

Like many other highly touristed postcolonial islands, Sri Lanka is subject to the 'work of the image constructors' who, as Crick states, make 'Third World tourist destinations into veritable paradises where time-honoured themes in the depiction of the "other" – primitivism, simplicity, sensuality, excess, harmony – [...] are fervently recycled' (1994: 4). In this context, it hardly needs emphasising that the enduring experience of a civil war which has so far claimed over 75,000 lives ('Sri Lanka [LTTE]') accentuates the inappropriateness of such paradisaical discursive fashioning. Still retaining telling relevance today, Crick notes that, '[w]ith communal violence just beginning to flare up in 1983, Sri Lankan anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere observed that it was a truly ugly irony that Air Lanka should still be advertising Sri Lanka as "A Taste of Paradise" when the island was going up in flames' (195). It is testament partly to the powerful role Sri Lanka continues to play in many tourists' imaginations that, despite the unresolved conflict, the island retains a significant exoticised appeal.

Since 1983, Sri Lanka's potential to re-establish a strong mass tourism market has been emphasised by impressive arrival figures in years when violence has been more subdued. Thus, 'as racial upheaval had abated' by 1992, 'tourists started to return, and the government once again had begun to hail tourism as a panacea for economic growth. Tourist arrivals in 1994 were the highest ever recorded in Sri Lanka' (Beddoe 1998: 46). More recent hostility has dealt significant blows to the industry, though, particularly as it has involved tourism-related targets. For instance, in 1998 a 'suicide bomber devastated Sri Lanka's holiest Buddhist shrine, the Temple of the Tooth, a major tourist attraction in the city of Kandy'. And another 'major crisis [...] befell the industry' following the '2001 terrorist attack on the Bandaranayake International airport [...] the only port of entry for the vast majority of tourists'. As Gunasekera and Momsen observe, '[t]he violence and ensuing instability turned the island into a destination only the

³ Salgado, for instance, cites John Thieme's argument that Gunasekera's 'scripting of the nation as a past or fallen paradise is self-conscious, as the distance between characters' Utopian vision and the impossibility of sustaining such perspectives is foregrounded' (2007: 148).

adventurous would consider' (2007: 90). After the announcement of a ceasefire as peace negotiations took place in 2002, visitor arrivals once again reached a new high; however, 'internal political rivalries over the distribution of aid for victims of the 2004 tsunami led to the virtual collapse of the ceasefire in 2006' (90). The success of the industry in attracting visitors remains largely entwined with the degree of conflict experienced on the island. This is complicated, though, by the way in which other dominant forms of representation regarding Sri Lanka have clustered around aspects of the island as disaster zone, with associated practices also bearing considerable imprints on tourist fluctuations.

The complexity of how multiple disasters are interwoven in Sri Lanka emphasises the importance of considering them as long-term processes that pervade numerous aspects of social life. The tsunami represents a pressing example of this. Sönmez notes how, in relation to such disasters as civil war, Rory Scott has 'effectively stressed the potential for long-term damage: "... whereas a natural disaster creates havoc and passes, a political crisis may last for days, months, or even years", totally destroying the fragile concept of image for a developing tourism industry' (Sönmez 1998: 433, citing Scott). Whilst this may be the case if disasters are considered simply as event-based phenomena, it is notable that the tsunami has, at different times since 2004, superseded, dramatised, and in some cases even precipitated the deepening of other state crises. As Jane Ingram *et al.* point out in their discussion of post-tsunami planning in Sri Lanka, 'reactive policies generated under urgent pressures often fail to address the root causes of vulnerability and, in the long term, may even amplify the social, economic and environmental weaknesses that turn natural hazards into large-scale disasters' (2006: 607). This can be manipulated in sinister ways, such as those outlined by Naomi Klein's book, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (2007). This exposes how the global spread of neoliberal, 'free market' ideology is based on the systematic exploitation of crisis-shocked populations, primarily for the purpose of land acquisition (Klein 2007: 8) – a process which entwines event-based disasters (including wars) with long-term economic poverty and associated environmental abuse. Yet, whereas the tsunami is almost universally recognised as a disaster, debates over whether 'conflict occurrences ought to be treated as "disasters"' have 'plagued the field of disaster studies from its beginnings' (Quarantelli 1998: 239). For Quarantelli,

[d]isasters are consensus occasions while riots are conflict situations. By consensus, is meant that those participating in the situation are generally in agreement that the crisis should be brought to a halt. This does not mean that there is no conflict in disaster

occasions [...]. However, what is absent is a division into competing groups or factions, at least one of whom is interested in making the situation worst [*sic*] for other parties. The latter can be seen in wars, revolutions, ethnic/religious clashes (like in contemporary Bosnia, Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland), riots, terrorist attacks.

(241)

Although Quarantelli cites Sri Lanka to illustrate his point, the island's position as a site of compound disaster complicates such straightforward categorisations. The following analyses therefore retain the term disaster as a means of ensuring that the intricate links between the tsunami and other crisis phenomena, like mass impoverishment and war, are not occluded.

Analysis of the intersections between the apocalyptic dimensions of both forms of disaster (war and tsunami) can also shed light on how Sri Lanka as macrocosm and local communities as microcosms establish themselves in what Frederick Buell has termed (in relation to depictions of environmental crisis since the 1970s) a 'postapocalyptic era' (2003: 96). In Buell's environmentally oriented conception, '[r]ather than dispelling apocalypse altogether, living in "postapocalypse" is closer to experiencing a very *slow* apocalypse' (105; original emphasis). This nevertheless 'raises a further possibility', as ongoing forms of risk and degradation prevail, 'that future change could come suddenly and seemingly out of the blue' (106), as in the case of the tsunami. Linked to this is the way Sri Lanka challenges conventional conceptions of disasters as, in Kreps's words, '*nonroutine events*' – 'unusual and dramatic happenings' distinguished 'from the reservoir of everyday problems and concerns which confront humankind' (1998: 34; original emphasis). Such definitions raise the historicised problem of how, as Kenneth Hewitt puts it, the 'tacit assumption of an unexamined normality' is to be grappled with when one community's 'extraordinary situation' may be another's 'everyday' experience (1998: 80). This relates both to quotidian negotiations of 'forces such as overpopulation, debt, underdevelopment, rapid urbanization, pollution, global warming, militarization, and so forth' (80), as well as to the specific 'postapocalyptic' conditions which frame Sri Lanka, in Kapferer's words, as 'a postcolonial state in crisis' (2001: 36).

Oliver-Smith notes that disasters rely on populations being 'in a socially and economically produced condition of vulnerability' (1998: 186). This links the disastrous effects of war and natural catastrophe to the social vulnerabilities engendered by legacies of colonialism, and the present circumscriptions resulting from involvement in neoliberal economic markets. As Kapferer observes with respect to the latter, 'the opening of the economy profoundly affected the social fabric of the island', with '1977 mark[ing] the start of a sharp increase in ethnic strife' (2001: 37). To summarise briefly, economic crisis in Sri Lanka emerged from the intense – and

also arguably cataclysmic – restructuring that resulted from the election of the right-wing United National Party (UNP) in 1977 after seven years of left-wing rule by the Sri Lankan Freedom Party. Governed partly by a ‘pro-Western’ ideological stance, particularly towards the United States (DeVotta 1998: 461), the UNP’s decision to follow the IMF and World Bank’s neoliberal Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in return for aid was geared towards increasing economic profitability. Tourism in particular was encouraged by these revised economic policies as a key foreign-exchange generator – an initially successful move as ‘tourist arrivals increased by leaps and bounds each year’ between 1977 and 1982 (Crick 1994: 34). Yet, as investors made large amounts from the industry, those at the other end of the scale were left with relatively circumscribed options, as ‘[b]each-side development’ tended to ‘create tourist ghettos’ (Beddoe 1998: 47). Exacerbated by war and (post-2004) the tsunami, such conditions help contextualise the way in which tourism in Sri Lanka ‘is about sun, sand, sea – and, as Sri Lanka has also learned – the sex that foreigners can purchase’ (Crick 1994: 33). Such compound crises have contributed to the island’s exoticisation as a site of prostitution and sexual license which, as the example from Gunsekera emphasises, appeals especially to male homosexual paedophiles.

This experience is not, of course, a Sri Lanka-specific phenomenon but rather ‘a consequence of globalization’ (Seabrook 2000: xi), extending through many destinations. As O’Connell Davidson points out with respect to global SAP trends:

At the same time as intensifying poverty and unemployment amongst already vulnerable women and youth, global economic restructuring [...] encouraged an expansion of the commercial sex industry. For example, since the 1970s, world financial institutions have encouraged indebted nations in Latin America and South-East Asia to respond to economic crisis by developing tourism[,] [...] creat[ing] [...] a highly concentrated, effective demand for prostitution.

(2005: 46)

It is therefore notable that ‘[t]he first international report of child prostitution in Sri Lanka was conducted in 1980’ (before the outbreak of war), and it ‘claimed Sri Lanka to be a major center for international pedophile activities’ (Beddoe 1998: 48). Similarly, Crick reports that ‘[c]hild prostitution was a very real concern in 1982. German “gay” magazines were quite openly speaking of the cheapness and allure of small Sri Lankan boys’ and surveys placed Sri Lanka ‘second to the Philippines in 1981 for the prostitution of young boys, estimating that 2000 boys aged between 8 and 17 years old were in the trade’ (1994: 60). Yet while this was observed by the government, few measures were taken to combat the practice; indeed, ‘a move to adopt

harsh measures to deal with the problem was stopped by the Minister of State himself in 1983 when he withdrew draft legislation because the tourism downturn caused by mounting civil unrest seemed to solve much of the difficulty' (Crick 1994: 60). This reasoning swiftly proved specious. Crick states that: 'it is evident that in 1993 many of the problems apparent in 1982 are still there', before proceeding to speculate that, 'given the way in which the violence tended to divert other tourists elsewhere', the 'very downturn may have led to the percentage of paedophile tourists going to the island greatly increasing over the past decade' (199). Sri Lankan child sex tourism can hence be considered a disaster-expedited phenomenon which is also rooted in the global effects of neoliberal economic policies.

Child Sex Tourism and Crises of Visibility

Given its status as a 'marginal' or 'liminal activity' (Ryan and Hall 2001), sex tourism can offer instructive perspectives on the nexus of disasters in which it is ambivalently placed. Child sex tourism represents an especially liminal form of 'disaster' for three reasons. Firstly, its status as a long-term process tends to segregate it from event-based disaster conceptions, although Quarantelli defends the importance of identifying disaster subsets 'on the basis of exceptions to routines in the major institutional sectors of society' (1998: 244) – a description which characterises Sri Lankan child sex tourism. Secondly, it occupies an uncertain space between conflict and consensus due to the severely circumscribed levels of agency relating to children's involvement, situating it between war and natural disaster according to Quarantelli's definitions. Thirdly, it not only reflects general trends in the international growth of sex tourism, but also represents a highly surreptitious form of this. Dianne Perrons points out that 'formal statistics are rare because [sex tourism] is generally clandestine. Governments are ambivalent, because it contributes to foreign exchange earnings and makes a significant contribution to the economies of the countries involved' (2004: 112–13). There is an acute crisis of visibility with respect to child sex tourism in Sri Lanka, as government 'blindness' in relation to the phenomenon, resulting partly from economic need in times of ongoing crisis, has meant that for years there has been very little solid evidence regarding the scale and nature of this aspect of the tourism industry.⁴

⁴ In 2006 however, the Sri Lankan tourist board launched a two-year 'Zero Tolerance for Child Sex Tourism' campaign, supported by UNICEF, which aims to eradicate the phenomenon by targeting

The lack of information about Sri Lankan sex tourism relates to a paucity of research opportunities – government-sponsored or otherwise – in the crisis-hit state, which impacts negatively on the organisation of effective intervention into child sex markets. Indeed, rather than seeking to institute legislation regarding the sex trade, Oppermann (drawing on Richard Symanski) observes that ‘[o]ften, the state attempts to *reduce* the visibility of prostitution whereby acceptable levels “are determined by the existing moral climate, available resources and the behavior of those who define the immoral landscape”’ (1998b: 153; my emphasis). This is especially worrying given that, in a 1993 report for *Save the Children*, Kevin Ireland asserts that ‘[e]ven more than in the Philippines and Thailand, the evidence available on the extent and nature of the sexual exploitation of children [...] is drawn from a narrow base’ (1993: 30). One of the reasons for this is that, much as the war has reduced Sri Lanka’s attraction as a holiday destination for many tourists, it has also attenuated the propensity of academic researchers to conduct fieldwork on the island. For instance, Crick describes at the beginning of his study how it resulted from ‘work carried out [...] from December 1980 until the end of January 1981’ and ‘from April to October 1982’ (1994: ix). He proceeds to state that, ‘by 1986, when I was ready to look at my field material in a concerted fashion, the political situation in Sri Lanka had deteriorated so markedly that I decided not to make another visit but to write a book based on the material I already had’ (ix). Eventually published in 1994, and based largely on pre-war research, this remains the most recent monograph on Sri Lankan tourism available to date.

In light of this lack of nuanced information, it is difficult to assess what is to be done to improve the working conditions and expand the options of those people who, as a result of the various circumscriptions affecting Sri Lankan communities, have chosen to engage in sex work as a means of economic survival. Some of the best recent attempts to highlight the disastrous aspects of children’s involvement in sex tourism have been produced by NGOs in consultation with local governments across South-East Asia in particular.⁵ Yet these at times display a tendency to obfuscate key issues through deployment of emotionally impassioned rhetoric – often linked to specific institutional agendas – in research that draws wide-reaching conclusions from a limited empirical base. For instance, the ‘rapid assessment’ of the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) conducted by the International Programme on the Elimination

‘tourists, children and teenagers’ as well as hotel keepers, journalists, families and community leaders’ (Mead 2006).

⁵ Although sex tourism is very much a global phenomenon, its prevalence in this part of the world is particularly conspicuous, with one commentator asserting that ‘Bangkok has become the global brothel’ (cited in Altman 2001: 10).

of Child Labour (IPEC) for the International Labour Organization in Sri Lanka in 2002 usefully substantiated the supposition that ‘existing demand in society for sex-with-children’ contributes to CSEC alongside tourism, with surveys ‘finding that paedophiles were not always foreign tourists and included people from the local community’ (Amarasinghe 2002: xvii). It also established that ‘female children get involved in commercial sexual activities at a younger age than male children’; that ‘[t]he majority of girl respondents were involved with local clients’, whereas boys’ clients ‘were mostly foreigners’; and that, ‘[a]s a result of the hidden nature of the issue, children in commercial sex hardly enter the rehabilitation process’ (xvii). However, the survey only canvassed 120 children, due in part to the fact that ‘commercial sexual exploitation is not only a sensitive topic, but its activities lie hidden in society’ (xvi). As primary author Sarath Amarasinghe notes, the questionnaires were ‘not expected to give a representative sample of the population involved in commercial sexual activity, or the children exploited’ (xvi–xvii).

There are also problems associated with the particular focus on children. IPEC’s survey begins by outlining the institution’s support for the declaration made at ‘the World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, held in Stockholm in 1996’ that CSEC is a ‘modern form of slavery’, and its agreement with the assertion made by the movement to End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT) that ‘children have become casualties in the march towards a global society, and have been made into objects to meet sex demands from adults, both local and foreign’ (xii). Whilst these are urgent arguments, O’Connell Davidson points out that the ‘general impulse to separate children out as a special case when speaking of economic, social and political problems’ also raises serious questions, particularly as ‘the same structural factors can underpin both adults’ and children’s entry into the sex trade and make them vulnerable within it’ (2005: 1; 3). This is not to say that children and adults are similarly susceptible to sexual abuse in general. Rather, campaigns like CSEC which see adults as being ‘in a position to make choices, whereas children are incapable of making an informed decision about whether or not to trade sex’ are flawed as they ‘assume that the social categories “adult” and “child” refer to monolithic, homogeneous groups, and so overlook the reality of many people’s lived experience’ (3).

O’Connell Davidson importantly qualifies this by saying that ‘it would certainly be true to say that nowhere in the world are persons under the age of 18 to be found amongst those sex workers who enjoy the highest earnings, best conditions and greatest control over their working

lives, and that they are often found in the lowliest, most exploited and most vulnerable positions in the sex trade' (34). Nevertheless, she contends that 'many children trade sex as part of a survival strategy in just the same way that many adults "choose" prostitution because it is the only or best means of subsisting open to them' (34). In addition, she states that it is not

always clear that CSEC represents *the* central or most significant aspect of a child's oppression. If children trade sex because they will starve if they do not, or use prostitution as part of a strategy to escape a life in which they are hungry and barefoot and/or experiencing physical or sexual violence, for example, then to identify their commercial sexual exploitation as *the* factor threatening their 'physical, psychological, spiritual, moral and social development' (ECPAT, 1999 [...]) seems rather to put the cart before the horse.

(142; original emphases)

The sexual exploitation of children is without doubt physically and morally destructive in myriad ways, and in the age of AIDS has more acutely disastrous ramifications than ever before. Yet accounting for how less destructive survival strategies might emerge requires addressing the nexus of problems that, in the Sri Lankan context, relate to the multiple forms of state crisis which curtail the implementation of more sustainable options.

O'Connell Davidson concludes her book by arguing that we need to 'find other ways of imagining our connections with each other' than those conditioned 'by the binaries of Western liberal thought' (2005: 148). In this context she suggests that 'telling *more complicated stories* about children's presence in the sex trade not only is vital to the formulation of effective, context-appropriate policies and interventions with regard to specific groups of children, but can and must also contribute to a broader political project' (2005: 151; my emphasis). Taking literary representation as an example of where these 'more complicated stories' might be found, the subsequent readings explore how reconfigurations of genre and the portrayal of embodied experience in relation to sex tourism can act as bridging points between human and nonhuman considerations, especially in terms of the lack of visibility that is often accorded to both domains. Focusing on Chandani Lokugé's second novel, *Turtle Nest* (2003), I ask whether place-specific notions of *ecological* sustainability can negotiate tensions between cultural and environmental concerns, particularly when both are conditioned by a postapocalyptic milieu characterised by compound disaster.⁶

⁶ It might be contended that focusing primarily on one text here risks rehearsing the kind of over-arching conclusions associated with more limited child sex tourism surveys. However, rather than treating literary representation as another source of 'empirical' evidence, I address how it helps highlight the kind of questions that need to be asked in order to improve tourism sustainability in exploitative environments. In this sense, I draw on Ismail's assertion (via Spivak) that 'to learn from the singular is not to need several instances of objects deemed analogous in order to make conclusions or find meaning' but to draw

Lokugé was born in Sri Lanka, migrating to Australia in 1987 when she was in her mid-twenties. This diasporic perspective strongly informs the semi-porous boundaries between tourist and native identities in *Turtle Nest*,⁷ which uses a blend of narrative perspectives to tell the story of an impoverished contemporary beach community on the south-west coast of Sri Lanka. It centres on the return of eighteen-year-old Aruni Ratnayake, who was born on the beach but abandoned by her mother, Mala. The offspring of an adulterous encounter Mala shared with her employer, Mohan, while working as his domestic servant, Aruni seeks to find out why Mala abandoned her as a baby on Mohan's doorstep before disappearing from the community forever. Having emigrated to Australia with Mohan and his wife Neela when she was 'about eight' (Lokugé 2003: 7), Aruni's return is also marked by a desire to find out about 'my people [...] my home' (9). Attempting to extract information from the remaining community, she learns that only one member of her family, Mala's brother Priya, continues to live on the beach in the present time of the novel.⁸ Priya has become a forlorn, traumatised, and almost silent figure, partly as a result of the fact that, as one tourist-vendor 'remembers vaguely', his 'family was wiped out all in one year' (15). Unable to establish any form of direct communication with her uncle, Aruni turns to Simon, an elusive voyeur and long-time friend of the family who now sells kurumba (drinking coconut) on the beach. Over the following days, he gradually reveals parts of Mala's story to Aruni. The narrative style of the novel, however, is fragmented, negotiating individual characters' perspectives both in the present time of the novel, and via flashbacks to the years of Mala and Priya's childhood and adolescence on the beach. This draws attention to the histories embedded in the local landscape, and throws light on how this impoverished, littoral community is bound up in national and global processes, not least through tourism. The narrative technique also foregrounds competing perspectives on the series of tragic events that befall Mala and her family, juxtaposing them with Aruni's current experiences.

inference from how 'singular narrative moments' provide insights into ensembles of questions that span multiple discursive fields (2005: 172).

⁷ Lokugé states in interview that the 'migrant's double vision [...] is one of the most energetic areas of the creative process' (Athique 2006: 349).

⁸ Dates are vague throughout the novel, although it is evident that Aruni is born after the outbreak of civil war in 1983, and references to popular music such as Coldplay (31) suggest that the novel's present time is roughly contemporaneous with its composition in reality.

As Aruni discovers, her mother grew up at a time when the village's once vibrant fishing economy was rapidly declining, superseded by dependence on a fluctuating tourism industry. Further hamstrung in the present by deteriorating economic opportunities, which are linked to increasingly globalised 'free trade' policies (such as the way Japanese 'dragnet fishing [...] trapped the fish in the high seas, leaving little for [local] men who fished in the mid sea' [88]), the fishing community has grown moribund. Simon tells Aruni how, over the last couple of decades, 'the beach boys have come instead to live off the tourists. They learned their trade from one another, and by fourteen and fifteen, they knew all there was to know about drugs, prostitution, pimping and God knows what else' (88). The description of how local boys 'learned their trade from one another' invokes a notion of 'apprenticeship' that foregrounds how tourism-related wealth generation became central to social life on the beach, and human-environment relations more broadly. The effects of economic circumscription are further compounded by civil conflict; Simon remarks that, '[a]s the war went on and on, the rich tourists stopped coming over, so all those others in the fishing village who lived off the tourists went empty handed' (47). The novel's localised presentation of sex, tourism, and beach employment thus connects contextually to broader historical and sociological considerations, as confluences of disastrous processes lead to modes of subsistence based increasingly around prostitution and drug-pushing. Bound up in these economies, the novel's flashbacks depict how both Mala and Priya enter into sex tourism at the respective ages of fifteen and eleven. In so doing, they expose urgent questions regarding the challenges posed to assertions of agency in relation to sexual dynamics on the beach.

Lokugé emphasises in interview how *Turtle Nest* explores the 'tragic [...] long-term effects of [...] [sexual] exploitation of children and what it has led to, like the beach boys who grow up in that culture' (Athique 2006: 352). Yet her portrayal of this nevertheless unsettles the logic of NGO campaigns that target child sex tourism's eradication on the basis that 'there can be no "voluntary" child prostitution [...] because children are incapable of making a free and informed choice to enter prostitution' (O'Connell Davidson 2005: 30). O'Connell Davidson acknowledges that children cannot 'control the conditions in which they live' and should not 'be viewed as authors of their own destinies' (55); however, seeing Mala and Priya *only* as involuntary 'victims' of forces beyond their control denies levels of individual agency, categorically objectifies notions of 'the child', and fails to address child sex tourism's root

causes or its intersections with other forms of disaster.⁹ In contrast to this, Lokugé portrays Mala in particular as conducting a fraught yet powerful negotiation of financial and ethnosexual economies. Although Priya is deeply concerned about Mala's decision to defy their mother's warnings 'about the dangers of getting caught in the suddha's [white man's] net' and being 'lured into the tourist hotels and cabanas far down', Lokugé does not represent this as a wholly unidirectional process.

Differentiating between the age and motivations of the siblings, Lokugé foregrounds several key considerations regarding how, 'as tourism encroaches upon village communities' in Sri Lanka, the 'boundaries of child-adult relationships are stretched as children become part of the tourist product' (Beddoe 1998: 43). Mala's initiation into the local sex trade is connected with her entry into adolescence, and increasing sexual awareness; '[i]t all began when Mala started to grow up' (55), states the narrator. Indeed, when Priya first observes that, by 'smiling in her wayward way with a white man' (75), Mala's behaviour may lead to a sexual encounter, she is described as 'all grown up. No one could say she was only fifteen' (74). 'Swaying her body with that secret rhythm that glued men's eyes to her' (75–6), she chooses to initiate sexual relations with tourists partly for economic gain, but also through sexual curiosity. Indeed, even after being ostracised from the beach later in the novel, she still dreams of 'the hotel rooms back in the village, and the white men who had guided her to taste the secret pleasures of her body' (166–7). Mala's body is positioned here as an important site for negotiating racially charged patterns of beach consumption, as Mala exercises some degree of control over its commoditising demands by instigating sexual encounters. These lead to forms of self-fulfilment, even as they involve the kind of highly uneven and exploitative power relations that cause her to become pregnant with a 'half-white-half-brown baby' (107) who is eventually sold by her father 'to a beggar colony' (115). Whilst the outcomes of Mala's sexual encounters are tragically inflected, then, they nevertheless contribute to challenging sweeping generalisations about 'developing world' production and 'developed world' consumption. This highlights the limitations of such economically geared models in describing embodied dynamics of this kind, showing instead how they are dialectically interwoven to a considerable extent.

⁹ Indeed, O'Connell Davidson provocatively questions the implicit (even unconscious) motives of many anti-CSEC campaigners when she argues that 'the discourse on child prostitutes as "sex slaves" is one that sets out not simply to rescue individual children who are exploited within the sex trade, but also to redeem certain cherished cultural categories' (31), especially 'western' notions of childhood 'innocence'.

If Mala exercises a powerful yet highly circumscribed degree of agency in her sexual encounters, can the same be said of Priya? Whereas Mala's entry into sex tourism as a relatively worldly fifteen year old can be contextualised in terms of a transition to post-adolescence, Priya's involvement begins when he is only eleven. Indeed, during his first sexual transaction with '[a]n old, white [...] tourist' (106), he is effectively raped. The tourist entices him with offers of 'chocolates and cigarettes' (110), knowing that 'the boy had little choice, and that he must succumb. If not today, then tomorrow or the next day' (112). Yet, although Priya's decision is based partly on the tourist's predatory coercion, partly on his lack of exposure to the proposed transaction's specificities (he has only 'a vague idea' about the man's intentions), he is also acutely aware of the economic realities that afford him no greater sustenance than 'plain tea' for breakfast, causing '[h]is hunger [to] grow with the day' and leading to his 'craving' for chocolate. As he is 'too weak and timid' to 'even sell a shell or a garland of beads to a tourist without a bigger boy cuffing him [...] and grabbing the money' (111), Priya understands that involvement in sex work represents one of the most viable economic options available to him.

Beddoe argues that 'younger children, mostly boys' become 'easily lured' into engaging in transactional sex in Sri Lanka 'by the thought of pleasing foreigners and getting some money for their family' (1998: 49). While her comments characterise Priya's entrance into sex tourism, this does not occur without some diminished assertion of agency. For instance, although he is unaware of the physical realities of involvement in transactional sex tourism, he is nevertheless 'excited that he had been employed at last to do the work of the bigger boys' (113), and keen to answer his mother Asilin's questions as to 'why he could not earn some money by mending a net or repairing a boat' (111) and contribute to the family's income. From a broadly sociological perspective then, both Priya's and Mala's experiences bear out – albeit to significantly different degrees – observations made by sex tourism researchers working in postcolonial island contexts. As Kempadoo recounts in relation to her research into female sex work in Curaçao: 'Broader structuring factors nestled together with women's personal and conscious decisions and acts, produc[ed] situations where women were simultaneously bound and free, coerced and constrained, victims and agents'. She describes such 'fluidity and porousness' between dialectically opposed positions as 'striking' (2004: 65). This complicates some the more overweening abolitionist rhetoric associated with the work (and institutional agendas) of

external NGOs.¹⁰ At the same time, though, Lokugé's *aesthetic* depiction of child sex tourism as bound up in a wider array of metaphorical and generic concerns challenges whether the recognition of diminished autonomy in these contexts destabilises more straightforward abolitionist arguments in any meaningful ways. If sex tourism is becoming a deeply formative part of childhood experience, how does this compromise sustainability theorising?

Commenting on the Movement to Prevent Child Prostitution's assertion that '[i]n the Sri Lankan context to use the term "prostitute" to describe the occupation of these children is misleading, for they are "consenting partners" to a homosexual relationship and willing to lend themselves to sexual abuse for money and goods, promises of jobs and a life abroad with their lovers', Ryan and Hall state that:

for the majority of the children involved such promises do not come true. Many children suffer mental and psychological trauma while the rate of sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS, has increased dramatically during the 1990s. [...] [T]he extent to which abused children go on to act as pimps themselves indicates the potential for the cycle of abuse to continue.

(2001: 127)

Even though commentators like Cabezas identify the potential for sex workers 'to create and pursue opportunities for survival, socioeconomic mobility, and migration' (1999: 122), it is important to ask whether the debilitating effects of tourism's intersection with multiple disasters in postapocalyptic Sri Lanka *forecloses* the possibility of such empowering opportunities from arising. And if this is the case, does Lokugé's tragic depiction of the physically, psychologically, and morally disastrous dimensions of child sex tourism portend anything other than social destruction, emblematising the difficulty of transcending 'cycles of abuse'?

In approaching these questions, I explore first how the novel's metaphorical conjunction of human and animal experiences impels an environmentally oriented perspective on a conspicuously anthropocentric phenomenon. This involves drawing on Shields's argument that, because 'environments are participated in, being both an object of reason and a container of the thinking subject who does not so much "interact with the whole environment" as participate in and depend on it', it is possible to identify a 'tremendous complicity between the body and environment' as 'the two interpenetrate each other' (Shields 1991: 14). I am interested in how Lokugé's interweaving of human and environmental processes, particularly in relation to the titular sea turtles that breed on this stretch of the Sri Lankan coast, presents ways of working

¹⁰ See O'Connell Davidson (2005) for a nuanced exploration of these agendas with respect to the global child sex trade.

through some of the most challenging sustainability issues raised in this context. Secondly, I examine whether the idea of sex tourism as a ‘charged site’ of tensions relating to postapocalyptic Sri Lankan tourism involves extending observations of individuals’ embodied experiences, through human and nonhuman communities, to the ways ecologies are constituted, imagined, and lived. This requires addressing how Lokugé reconfigures tragic conventions in ways which challenge the notions of predetermined helplessness that often attend discussions of vulnerability in disaster situations, and which relate to tropes of insular fragility.

Sex, Tourism, and Human–Environment Interrelations

Mala’s introduction to the text comes as a little girl who watches as ‘a baby turtle dropped off the sky with the rain’ and lies squirming on the beach (Lokugé 2003: 17). She attempts to nurse the injured creature, but after leaving it briefly to find food she returns to see that ‘the beach boys had got it. She screamed as they threw it like a ball from one to the other over her head [...] until her mother came out to scold her’ (17–18). Asilin’s consolation is pragmatically gloomy: “‘Child, that miserable creature is better dead [...]. Or else when it grows as big as a house, it will be cut up for raw meat’” (18). As the connection between abused turtles and sexually exploited children becomes manifest in the novel, Asilin’s commentary raises the question of whether people who experience severely circumscribed or impoverished lives, ending in intense pain and tragedy, are also ‘better dead’.¹¹ When not at the mercy of the beach boys who commoditise their bodies as tourist attractions (offering, amongst other things, glass-bottom boat trips to their breeding grounds), turtles are mostly meat for eagles. The novel’s epigraph reinforces the human–turtle link in relation to such processes of predation:

... far out, among the rocks of Lihiniya Island, dozens of baby turtles hatch under sand, and crawl out. They search blindly, and scramble to the silver sea. The eagle swoops. In mid-air the infant splays its limbs and reaches trustingly into the shell-crushing talons.

On the mainland, a woman rests against a coconut tree, her arm raised and circled around it. She sees, in silhouette, the eagle on the craggy ledge, dismembering its prey.

(v)

¹¹ The human–turtle link is also provocative given Marian Scholtmeijer’s comments regarding representations of animal victims in locations, like the beach in *Turtle Nest*, that are ‘situated between the wilderness, with its defiance of human control, and the city, with its obsessive celebration of civilization’ (1993: 180). She argues that these are often sexually charged domains, as they invoke ‘that similarly troubled region of the human psyche, that sexual wilderness which human culture seeks most fervently to prune and transform’ (180).

The suggestive correlation established here through notably sexualised imagery is cemented when this scene is replayed later in the novel from Mala's perspective as she 'leaned back against a coconut tree and circled her arms around it in tired abandonment' while looking towards Lihiniya (186–7). Illegitimately pregnant for a second time and on the verge of being compelled to leave the beach forever, the book portrays Mala as fulfilling a pattern of pre-determination with respect to the beach's various predator–prey relationships.

Like turtles caught perennially in eagles' talons, impoverished families such as Mala's ultimately appear to have little choice but to submit to fates that are beyond their power to control. This invites a correlative reading that extends to the level of national allegory, with the dismemberment enacted by eagles on turtles having strong political connotations. Meaning both '[t]o divide and partition (a country or empire)' (*OED* 2) and '[t]o cut off, separate, sever, from the main body: chiefly in reference to a country or region' (*OED* 3.b), the fate of baby turtles is redolent of ethnic divisions within Sri Lanka (a divided or 'dismembered' state). The analogy would therefore position the island as subject to larger forces, manipulated by global power interests and decimated by internal brutalities. This also links to more local involvement in sex tourism, given the negative outcomes of Mala's and Priya's narratives following their entry into the industry. The seeming agency they assert in relation to this could be read as little more than a form of self-expedited exploitation, as they embrace the 'talons' of those same economic forces that position Sri Lanka as a baby turtle at the whim of eagles' appetites.

One way in which these points are simultaneously underwritten and undermined relates to how agency amongst the beach community is differentiated, allowing for degrees of counter-exploitation that upset direct correlations between local residents and turtles, tourists and eagles. Throughout the novel, the abuse of turtles is conducted primarily by the beach boys. Although prompted by tourist interest in the creatures, the boys manipulate turtles instrumentally as a means of acquiring money from tourists. This can be seen during the first meeting, in the present time of the novel, between Aruni and the local gang who offer her and Paul (a fellow Australian hotel companion, with whom she becomes intimate) a chance to see 'turtles, black and white and brown [...], laying eggs, and beautiful corals at the bottom of the sea' (12). Contributing to the voyeuristic economies that are entwined with sexualised, physical interactions throughout the novel, this proposal – which their leader, Premasari, later asserts '[a]ll tourists go for' (229) – raises questions about invasive commoditisations of the natural environment, sponsored by tourist desires. These intrusions into the turtles' breeding grounds,

which can disrupt future reproduction patterns, interpenetrate attitudes regarding the instrumentalisation of human bodies. Tourism's role with respect to both is depicted as doing little more than enhancing the dominance of predatory practices on the beach.

Circumscribed like Mala and Priya by limited economic opportunities, the beach boys' agency operates within a kind of predator-prey model through which social survival is perpetuated. This often includes moves to initiate sexual contact with visitors, as the boys glance 'surreptitiously at the hotel windows for a lonely tourist' (174) with 'predatory eyes' (120). The link between their treatment of tourists and animals is viewed by Paul with suspicion, despite (or perhaps because of) his role as a guidebook author on a '[w]orking holiday [...] writing up a series on tourism in down south Sri Lanka' (11). He disapproves especially of the way Aruni interacts with the boys, allowing them to 'cluster around' (51) her and accepting their presents. Drawing near her protectively, '[h]e wonders whether Aruni knows what she is doing – behaving with such familiarity with these boys who seemed so feral to him' (51–2). Paul's consideration of the beach boys as 'feral' betrays a tendency to objectify and animalise them which bears obvious debts to colonialist descriptions of natives as brutal, savage, uncultivated animals (*OED* 2.a). However, it also registers a sense of the boys being '[o]f deadly nature' (*OED* 1.a). This is darkly prescient of their final interaction with Aruni, which is indirectly engendered by her similarly problematic romanticisation of the boys, and her attempts to be seen as part of the beach community.

Appearing initially 'from nowhere', 'flung onto the beach like a coconut desultorily husked by the sea' (2) and occupying an ambiguous place in the text due to her diasporic identity ('in her motherland, she is neither tourist nor local' [72]), Aruni longs for local acceptance in ways that contribute centrally to her involvement with the beach's power dynamics. On entering the text, she is first figuratively aligned with the dismembering eagles, forcing her desire to excavate Mala's stories on Priya and Simon. 'She knows nothing of this place', the narrator states, yet '[s]he wants to zoom in at once, to the very core of it' (3). This invasive appropriation of others' life-narratives – from which she feels they are 'barring her', even though 'it is *her* story, hers more than anyone else's' (3; original emphasis) – prompts Simon to think that '[s]he wants to gut them out [...] without a care for the blood and pain that would spill' (5). But he also considers her to be '[d]esolate and confused', with 'the eyes of [a] broken-winged bird' (3). This ambivalent subject-position, located in the shifting space between exploiter and victim, underwrites why the beach boys call her 'kalu suddhi', meaning 'black-white woman' (72–3).

Aruni's denial that such comments' latent aggression presents a threat to her safety ultimately leads to her being viciously abused in the novel's conclusion. Refusing to heed Simon's warnings that "[y]ou must be a bit careful on this beach, missy" (25), as it 'is not always safe' (50), the denouement sees Aruni being enticed by the beach boys from her hotel in order to see turtles laying eggs on the sand. Despite noting that '[t]here was hardly any moon', and recalling that 'turtles by habit laid eggs on full-moon nights' (236), she allows herself to be hurried across the deserted beach, towards the sea. Once isolated, the beach boys 'held her by the arms [...] clamped shut her mouth, stifling her screams' (238), and eventually take turns to rape her.

The gang violently counters Aruni's romanticisation of their shared relationship by objectifying her like a turtle, an association that is enhanced by the movements of her body. The narrator notes how: 'The wind flung her cloth out and away from her like violent flapping wings', as she 'struggled for release' (237). The term 'flapping' establishes a direct link with an earlier scene, where Aruni takes Paul to see a 'massive' turtle that has been 'forced upside down' by the beach boys and is 'flapping its short stumps against its inner sides' (128). Whilst Aruni's environmentalist sympathies prompt her to persuade Paul to pay the boys to release the turtle, he considers the gesture futile as he 'is quite sure they will not free the turtle. They will force it away to another hotel, and then when it is exhausted and starved, they'll dismember it for the meat' (129). Such abusive cycles characterise the book's ending, with beach-space seen as an increasingly sub-human domain where turtles present no more than profoundly negative mediations with the natural world, local culture has turned 'feral', and all ecological actors are bound up in a pseudo-Darwinian 'survival of the fittest'.

In this sense, the brutal gang rape represents a consummation of sex tourism's destructively unsustainable energies, heightened by wider ongoing experiences of compound disaster. It also bears out two points made by Altman in relation to sex in conditions of poverty and civil conflict. Drawing on work by Graeme Simpson and Gerald Kraak, he notes that 'many young men who feel powerless and marginalized in a world of rapid change will turn to violence, and rape "becomes a way of symbolically reasserting their masculine identity"' (2001: 8). On a more figurative level, he also states that '[u]nder conditions of civil war' – and particularly those stemming from 'new outbreaks of local conflicts and unrest' following '[t]he triumph of liberal capitalism at the end of the Cold War' – widespread rape means that 'sex becomes as much a realm of torture as of pleasure' (7). Aruni's rape could therefore be seen as an assertion of the beach boys' own diminished autonomy, conditioned by the experience of engaging in sex

with tourists from deeply disadvantaged positions, and accentuated by the further circumscriptions of living in a time of civil conflict.¹² This in turn inflects forms of local environmental abuse, including exploitation of sea turtles, and dramatises the ways in which the beach environment can ‘become a theatre for violence and killing, as well as for commerce and escape’ (Hulme 2005: 59). Such metaphorical conjunctions imply that extended participation in sex tourism within Sri Lanka’s postapocalyptic milieu is inimical to environmental as well as social and cultural sustainability. Yet, as the next section suggests, the novel does offer some positive perspectives on the kind of considerations that must be engaged if this deeply unsustainable form of tourism is to be effectively negotiated.

Tragedy, Gender, and Community Constellation

Characterised by the elegiac silences and ellipses that emerge from intertwined narratives of death, loss, exploitation, and disaster, the text is distinguished generically by a strong tragic seam. This is particularly relevant to collective experience in postapocalyptic Sri Lanka, given tragedy’s link with catastrophe. Derived from the Greek meaning ‘sudden turn, conclusion’, catastrophe can be used generally to refer to the ‘change or revolution which produces the conclusion’ or denouement of a dramatic piece (*OED* 1), and more specifically to signify ‘a conclusion generally unhappy’, ‘a disastrous end’, or a ‘calamitous fate’ (*OED* 2). However, the novel’s ambiguous lack of closure, relating both to the natural environment and to the fates of the main characters, unsettles the possibility of interpreting it directly in these terms.

Despite being a conspicuously protean entity, changing over time and adopting numerous culturally specific guises, it is notable that significant challenges have been made to tragedy’s capacity for environmental representation, along with more predictably Eurocentric sentiments regarding its genesis and application.¹³ Both issues are relevant to *Turtle Nest*’s negotiation of the genre given its cultural context and environmental sensitivity. The notion that tragedy is fundamentally unsuited to depicting ecological issues is the central claim of one of

¹² The rape could also be read as allegorical of wider political events, with the way in which Aruni – the minority outsider with a tenuous claim to indigeneity – is brutalised by the gang reflecting certain tensions between supposedly non-native Tamils and the Sinhalese majority. This could be seen as a violent consummation of the rifts between diaspora and indigeneity in postcolonial island contexts more broadly (mirrored to some extent by events in Fiji).

¹³ ‘Europe alone provided tragedy as we know it’, asserts Clifford Leech for instance (1989: 12). Although this statement was written decades ago, it continues to be reprinted in volumes such as *New Critical Idiom*’s current introduction to literary tragedy.

ecocriticism's more quixotic founding works, Joseph Meeker's *The Comedy of Survival* (1974). Trained both as an ecologist and a literary critic, Meeker claims that 'structures in nature [...] reveal organizational principles and processes which closely resemble the patterns found in comedy. Productive and stable ecosystems are those which minimize destructive aggression, encourage maximum diversity, and seek to establish equilibrium among their participants – which is essentially what happens in literary comedy'. Set against his belief that '[c]omedy and ecology are systems designed to accommodate necessity and to encourage acceptance of it', Meeker sees tragedy as 'concerned with avoiding or transcending the necessary in order to accomplish the impossible' (cited in Cheney 2003: 83). Hence he claims that:

literary tragedy and environmental exploitation in Western culture share many of the same philosophical presuppositions. Neither tragedy nor environmental crisis could have developed as they have without the interweaving of a few basic ideas that have attained in the Western tradition an importance far greater than they carry in other cultures.

Three such ideas will illustrate the point: the assumption that nature exists for the benefit of humanity, the belief that human morality transcends natural limitations, and humanism's insistence upon the supreme importance of the individual personality.

(Meeker 1997: 24)

In *Turtle Nest*, Meeker's arguments come into conflict. On one hand, the novel appropriates tragic tropes such as attempting to 'accomplish the impossible' – which applies, in different ways, to both Mala's and Aruni's attempts to intervene in the operation of dominant social structures. Yet, on the other hand, it emerges in relation to non-'western' cultural reference points and its tragic protagonists (particularly Mala and Aruni) are highly sensitive to the local environment's non-instrumental functions. This tension has important ramifications for interpreting *Turtle Nest*'s aestheticisation of sex tourism and sustainability.

It is worth noting first that, despite their tragic trajectories, none of Lokugé's principal characters is the subject of tragedy in the conventional sense, especially in terms of the expectation of closure through death. For instance, discussing Priya's dull facade mid-way through the novel, Aruni compares him to Coleridge's ancient mariner. Paul asks if he was saved at the end of the poem, to which Aruni replies, "'not entirely. He just lived to tell the tale'" (Lokugé 2003: 125–6). The uncertain degree of closure that accompanies this ambiguously tragic parallel suits both Priya – who remains deeply traumatised at the end of the novel, and Mala – whose death is never confirmed, and who returns to Aruni ethereally in the concluding pages. It also extends importantly to Aruni's narrative in the present time, which offers no further closure regarding the outcomes of her rape, how it affects her future plans, or

her relationship with Paul. *Turtle Nest* therefore only ambivalently realises or deliberately deflects from stock expectations of tragic catharsis (the process of purgation and emotional release). This suggests that, rather than reading it as a novel that flirts with tragedy but holds back from engaging its conventions fully, it is more productive to understand *Turtle Nest* as a reconfiguration of the genre, representing a form of ecology that involves a meeting point of postcolonial issues and environmental concerns.¹⁴

To elaborate, another tragic trope the novel subtly reworks is that of dismemberment.¹⁵ This can be seen to link, for example, the literal dismemberment of turtles by eagles and humans, the more metaphorical severing or dismemberment of Mala and Priya's family, and the tragic dimensions of state dismemberment discussed above in relation to the war. Yet, like death, no actual human dismemberment is portrayed within beach space. This is emphasised as Mala and Priya's parents are both literally dismembered when they move *beyond* the island-within-an-island represented by beach-space – pointedly killed in a 'suicide bombing at Kochichikade' (118) that left their bodies so mangled they could only be 'identified [...] by the silver cross still hanging from Asilin's neck' (117). On a social level, then, one implication is that, despite the severe forms of exploitation that occur within the novel's beach environment, straightforward classifications of these as tragic are destabilised when set in context of the bloodshed associated with ethnic conflict on the island. There is a sense that, given the genocide that characterises Sri Lanka's recent history – which sees the nation literally at war with itself – to consider tragedy in individualistic terms is less meaningful than understanding it as *collective* experience. This presents a challenge to the form of tragedy conceptualised by Meeker, raising the question of whether the aestheticisation of collective tragedy might still be consonant with environmental processes, particularly those which, like ecocide, have tragic dimensions.¹⁶

¹⁴ The movement described here between literary form and tragic events in reality has also been addressed by Quayson in his work on the execution of Nigerian writer and activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa (which itself resulted in part from his opposition to the social and environmental damage caused in Nigeria by the Shell Oil company; see Quayson 2003: Chapter 3 and Young 1999). For Quayson, literary paradigms like tragedy can 'provide tools by which to analyze political actions at the dual levels of structure and agency', helping to 'further our understanding of process, change, and contradiction' in relation to 'postcolonial history' (2003: 58).

¹⁵ Noting the centrality of this to Greek tragedy, Jennifer Wallace comments that 'moments when we witness acts of violence and dismemberment' are '[c]entral to the ambivalence of tragic performance' (2007: 104).

¹⁶ The link between tragedy and disaster becomes further manifest in relation to whether they make sense as experiential categories without human reference points. For instance, Dombrowsky argues that '[d]isasters are simply the collapse of cultural protections' (1998: 25); at what point, then, does environmental destruction achieve social and cultural recognition as catastrophe? From whose perspective, and for what reasons?

The text's evasion of closure could therefore be related to the inappropriateness of signalling tragic endpoints when ethnic conflict continues in Sri Lanka. At the same time, it also gestures to the fact that such closure is unsuitable for describing the environmental processes at work in the novel. Whilst the fate of the turtles – already endangered and subject to further extreme pressure and possible extinction – could be considered tragic, it must still be placed in the context of wider ecological processes in order to avoid further romanticisation of their condition. As Marian Scholtmeijer comments in her work on animal victims in modern fiction, animals 'impress their reality upon narrative, not by the stability but by the instability of their presence. They refuse to be incorporated neatly into the cultural field' (1993: 8). This includes attempts to interpolate animals and their natural habitats into generic templates without formally reworking these so as to account for such 'unstable' subject-positions. Hence, just as *Omeros* concludes after intense speculation on St Lucia's future by deliberately evading environmental closure, finishing with the line: 'When he left the beach the sea was still going on' (Walcott 1990: 325), this novel likewise ends by adjusting tragic conventions that might otherwise condemn beach ecology to viciously dystopian cycles of self-consumption. Such a tactic is all the more relevant in island contexts where, as emphasised throughout this thesis, culture and nature are all too frequently characterised in terms of fragility, seen as teetering on the brink of annihilation, rather than as open-ended processes (albeit subject to postapocalyptic reconfiguration in Sri Lanka's case).

These generic negotiations also have significant implications for how the novel's various tourism-related, embodied experiences are interpreted. For instance, although the final rape scene represents both the vicious counter-exploitation of a tourist with an idealised view of beach ecology, and the hopeless extension of current brutality (reflecting local and national incarnations), it ultimately allows an intense connection to be forged between Aruni and the spirit of Mala – real or imagined. Struggling against her captors, Aruni hears Mala saying: "'Don't be afraid, [...] I'm here, I'll be with you'" (238). After this, Aruni 'gave up struggling. [...] She felt the fear drain away. She felt she was coming home. She felt she was home, on this wet sand, with this body up close against hers' (238–9). On one level, these lines darkly suggest that sexual exploitation is the most direct route to community integration, intimated by the various connotations of 'coming home'. However they also show how even extreme violence can open up a perspective on tackling the energies and economies through which it is generated.

J. Edward Mallot comments that: ‘it is the physical body that often becomes a focal point in the literatures of trauma; writers seek to make bodies the real texts by which others’ experiences can be understood’ (2006: 166). Significantly ‘bounded’ in one sense, the body becomes “‘the small, focused universe of the tormented and a vehicle for rendering unimaginable experience tangible to readers’” (174–5). In Mallot’s analysis of Shauna Singh Baldwin’s *What the Body Remembers* (2000), the body offers a means not only of expressing events that are ‘truly “unspeakable”’ but also functions as a medium wherein ‘one woman’s lived corporeal experience can speak through the bodies of multiple women’, particularly as ‘hopes, fears and desires’ are relocated and physically transferred (174–5). The connection forged between Mala and Aruni in *Turtle Nest*’s conclusion reflects these points, as their respective embodied experiences and objectifications throughout the text adopt similar import. This reinforces the body’s capacity to act as a bridge between human and nonhuman concerns in postcolonial contexts where exploitation of individuals whose stories are buried and of animals whose rights need theorising more fully is registered in potentially transformative ways. In *Turtle Nest*, the multidirectional character of the text’s human-animal metaphors – situating animals not so much as ‘symbols’ that protect ‘culture from awareness of its hostility towards real animals’ (Scholtmeijer 1993: 295) but as participants in a complex ecological system for which human actions are as much a metaphor as vice versa – insists that a delicate balance needs to be achieved with respect to cultural and natural forms of sustainability, acknowledging their mutual (although at times contradictory) entanglements.¹⁷ Hence, rather than acting as a point of hopeless closure, which would imply the tragic inevitability or even predetermination of cycles of abuse, the narrative’s ending demands a refocusing of the assumptions made throughout, particularly those surrounding Mala’s empathy for nonhuman nature.

The transgressive yet environmentally attentive role Mala plays in relation to sex tourism raises critical questions regarding gender, ethics, and community constellation that all impinge on wider sustainability concerns and bring discussions of generic reconfiguration into further relief. Whilst the beach boys’ subsistence strategies function collectively to replace the previous, fishing-oriented community, their sexualised dominance of beach space contrasts sharply with Mala’s experiences. Rather than constituting the kind of harmonious unit fetishised in paradisaic island tourism marketing, the fishing village functions in the text’s flashback scenes

¹⁷ Scholtmeijer also comments that ‘the full significance of victimization of animals can hardly be attained where animals are merely literary mechanisms or symbolic figures’ (1993: 294).

as a cauldron of interpersonal, and often gendered, conflict. Whereas Aruni's objectification by members of this conspicuously anti-romanticised community stems from her transgression of identity boundaries, Mala is stigmatised as a result of her 'bold and knowing' (89) behaviour towards both tourists and locals. As the narrator observes, 'the village gossiped about Mala all the time. It made Priya blush when even the smaller boys began to joke about his sister. They said everybody knew Mala was a free-for-all – a basketball that could be shoved from hand to hand' (90). This description of Mala as 'a basketball' not only highlights how locals as well as visitors such as Paul objectify individuals, but suggests that this is done in order to devalue their autonomy and domesticate its radical implications. In particular, the form of economic independence Mala gains from engaging in transactional sex with tourists is transgressive partly because it threatens structures of male dominance.

Mala's ostracisation is compounded by men who 'stream [...] insults' at her and 'flashed their torches at parts of her body' (98–9), and by neighbours who 'slung buckets of excrement on the front door of Jamis's house' (100). Such smearing seems on one hand communally self-protective, a way of guarding against the morally destructive aspects of involvement in sex tourism. The problem with this arises firstly when such codes do not apply directly to the beach boys, and secondly when Mala is objectified by the community in similar ways to the animals suffering local abuse. This second point is particularly problematic as it seems to enhance, rather than contribute towards disrupting, 'negative cycle' interpretations of beach ecology. Mala's objectification as 'a basketball that could be shoved from hand to hand' is metaphorically pre-empted by the way in which the beached turtle she tries to resuscitate as a small child also ends up being thrown by the beach boys 'like a ball from one to the other' (17). Her desire to return captured beach fauna to their natural habitats is therefore connected to the sexual economies in which she participates, with processes of objectification underwriting their respective exploitation. Worryingly, the ethical codes of the local community seem to have become partly entwined with the economies of sex tourism and its associated abuses. Not only in her characterisation as a 'basketball' but also through the objectifying illumination of 'parts of her body', Mala becomes a site of commoditisation which diminishes her subjectivity. The textual correlation between Mala and the animals she tries to protect implies that a reduction in environmental exploitation is at some level bound to the capacity of Mala (and others like her) to assert autonomy over the beach's economies of consumption, sexual and otherwise. The logic of this is not to justify less gender-segregated forms of sex tourism on the beach, but to show

how the novel's commitment to addressing community frictions must be taken as a starting point for any informed process of consultation concerning industry visibility and regulation in Sri Lanka. Without this, not only do stories such as Mala's have the potential to remain invisible or suppressed, but wider ecological sustainability cannot be fully theorised or achieved. This is further compounded by the relative lack of mobility and economic opportunity in postapocalyptic Sri Lanka, which contributes to *enhancing* the insularity – in the sense of detachment or isolation – of spaces like *Turtle Nest's* beach.

In terms of environmental imperatives, part of what is illuminated here are the important contrasts that attend the human–turtle conjunction, involving variegated degrees of human vulnerability and animal victimisation, especially as the turtles cannot intervene in their own exploitation. In this sense, the novel counterpoints Scholtmeijer's assertion that 'even our best efforts at breaking down cultural constructions and realizing an authentic vision of life rely oftentimes upon the victimization of nonhuman animals' (1993: 294) by suggesting that cultural *reconstruction* in the context of the tourism economies of this Sri Lankan beach depends in part on attenuating such victimisation. Yet it also urges a subtle differentiation between human and nonhuman concerns on the grounds of agency that is reinforced by its evasion of tragic closure. Any attempts to effectively regulate or indeed eradicate sex tourism need firstly and obviously to be conducted with the aim of offering more sustainable alternatives for local communities.¹⁸ But given that most commentators agree that, if it is possible at all, the cessation of sex tourism requires a departure from dominant, late capitalist forms of development (a possibility which, for the foreseeable future, seems distinctly unlikely),¹⁹ one of the most urgent requirements involves addressing how the considerations of current sex workers, and particularly those like Mala whose culturally embedded environmental sympathies offer a powerful locus of knowledge, can help shape the social and ecological responsibilities of future tourism developments. As the novel highlights, this is an especially thorny aim given that, while the collectively dehumanising economies of consumption that characterise beach space need to be punctured in order for its destructive energies – symbolised by Aruni's rape and related instances of animal victimisation – to be dissipated, its cycles of abuse have seen Mala expelled

¹⁸ The importance of finding better alternatives is key; otherwise, attempts such as that found in the 'Zero Tolerance for Child Sex Tourism' in Sri Lanka campaign to enable children to "feel safe in saying 'no' to being pulled into the sex industry", as UNICEF Sri Lanka's Yasmin Haque has it (cited in Mead 2006), remain partly irrelevant.

¹⁹ For example, see Seabrook (2001: 167); Kempadoo (1999a: 29); O'Connell Davidson (2005: 46). This problem is explored further in the next section.

from the very environment that could benefit from her positive integration. Ironically, such cycles are reinforced by blanket attempts to 'eradicate' child sex tourism in Sri Lanka.

At present, much of the strategising centred on curtailing sex tourism involves either demonising sex tourists and encouraging more responsible travellers (which tacitly casts local communities as helpless) or instigating attempts to '[r]evive feelings of social responsibilities of the community, so that the community would be vigilant about those practicing [*sic*] commercial sex' (Amarasinghe 2002: xviii). This seems flawed as it conceives 'social responsibilities' as a 'lapsed', homogenous category, whilst its emphasis on vigilance is not only patronising but also sponsors the kind of stigmatisation that Lokugé's novel suggests works against sustainability in the long term. By contrast, the text emphasises the need for these considerations to be worked through in ways that confront external management impulses both to segregate social and environmental sustainability planning and to 'eradicate' child sex tourism without (a) addressing the deep structures of inequality that provoke it or (b) giving voice to those actors (currently grappling with various forms of abuse, stigmatisation, STDs, and difficulties raising children) whose insights might propel future sustainability planning. Awareness of how various enfolded processes of objectification characterise abuse of both sex workers and animals can help fine-tune the kind of context-specific sustainability planning required in vulnerable ecosystems. At the same time it also has the potential to empower local community members, particularly vulnerable women and children, with respect to processes of tourism development. The aestheticisation of compound disaster and reconfiguration of tragedy – as collective, environmental, non-cathartic, postapocalyptic – which *Turtle Nest* presents can in this sense enable more expansive social and environmental tourism practices to be conceptualised. This includes the muddy but critical admission that the specific disaster represented by child sex tourism is bound up in the wider social, economic, and environmental pressures emerging from this localised ecology's interaction with larger experiences of compound disaster. It is through reconsidering these processes together – and not by isolating and hierarchising one form of disaster over another – that sustainability might emerge in the long term. As Ingram *et al.* put it, '[v]ulnerability reduction requires a holistic understanding of the complex interactions between the physical, environmental and social factors that contribute to it' (2006: 612). To give a practical example of this, I will briefly address how the insights generated by these readings of sex tourism, embodied experience, and environmental abuse relate to contemporary disaster management in Sri Lanka, which brings me back to the tsunami.

Arguing in an article in *The Sydney Morning Herald* on January 11, 2005 that the South Asian region affected by the tsunami has been ‘neglected’ by “‘big-name” Australian writers’, Susan Wyndham cites *Turtle Nest* as an example of lesser-known literature that is ‘starting to emerge from Asian immigrants to Australia and their children’. She notes how the novel is ‘set on the stretch of beach washed away by the tsunami, and [Lokugé] was there with the turtle farmers last month. Her book is already a historical account “of the peaceful times of one year before”’ (Wyndham 2005). Confusingly, the phrase in inverted commas is not attributed, raising questions about the degree of irony it might be trying to articulate, given that the novel’s violent ecology is anything but ‘peaceful’. Regardless of this, though, the suggestion that the tsunami’s devastating effects on the beach portrayed in *Turtle Nest* (and others like it) render the novel ‘a historical account’ is troubling, particularly in light of the future-oriented reading offered here. This is accentuated by the way post-tsunami disaster management has affected subsequent forms of development (touristic and otherwise) in coastal Sri Lanka.

In October 2005, Tourism Concern (a UK-based NGO dedicated to ‘fighting exploitation in tourism’) published a report entitled ‘Post-Tsunami Reconstruction and Tourism: A Second Disaster?’. Principal author Alison Rice opens the report with the following important observations:

ten months after the disaster, thousands of survivors are still [...] in temporary camps. Many of them are being refused permission to return home. Governments and big businesses have plans for the beaches – and the plans don’t include the people who used to live and work there.

Tourism is the new occupying force. [...] Having suffered so much on 26 December, the local communities now find themselves disempowered and their rights and interests marginalised.

If we are not careful, only holidaymakers, governments and big business will benefit from the new post-tsunami tourism. Our future ‘paradise’ holidays will be enjoyed at the expense of survivors who not only lost family, friends, their homes and possessions, but are also about to lose any hope of a future.

(2005: 5)

Expanding on how the sentiments expressed here intersect with official policy, Nadarajah Shanmugaratnam writes that, ‘[w]hen I reflect on turning a disaster into an opportunity, I am not enchanted by the post-tsunami vision of the Sri Lanka Tourist Board: “In a cruel twist of fate, nature has presented Sri Lanka with a unique opportunity, and out of this great tragedy will come a world class tourism destination”’ (2005: 2). Here, ‘nature’ conveniently washes away social problems whilst presenting glorious new tourism opportunities – a ‘tragedy’ with a

convenient end-stop. As Shanmugaratnam recognises, ‘the cruelty of the human disaster is explained away entirely as a work of nature’; the failures of human policy with respect to disaster preparation and management – especially in terms of the capacity ‘to act effectively and impartially’ – are ‘blacked out’; and ‘nature’ is ‘credited for offering an opportunity to transform the Lankan coastal areas [...], as if nature has swept away the pre-existing socially embedded institutions [...] and left the beaches ready to be taken over by the “hospitality industry”’ (2). Notably, Shanmugaratnam states that: ‘I am not against tourism but the Tourist Board’s lack of sensitivity to the social and political dimensions of the “great tragedy” it speaks of and the apparent disregard for the complexity of the challenges of post-disaster development are disturbing, to say the least’ (2).

This analysis is reinforced by much local opinion. Rice comments that: ‘The quest for a luxury tourism industry is driving much of the reconstruction plans and local communities have not been consulted. There is strong evidence of corruption and a climate of repression of dissenting voices’ (2005: 11). She then quotes Klein’s discussion of how reconstruction seems to be ‘victimising’ local people ‘all over again’. Klein notes that, while ‘hundreds of thousands [...] were still stuck in sweltering inland camps’, a group of ‘the country’s most prominent businesspeople [...] were handing the coast over to tourist developers at a frantic pace’ (cited in Rice 2005: 16). This is bound up with her notion of ‘disaster capitalism’, which involves ‘perfecting’ the ‘strategy’ of ‘waiting for a major crisis, then selling off pieces of the state to private players while citizens [are] still reeling’ (Klein 2007: 6; see Chapter 19 for analysis of disaster capitalism in post-tsunami Sri Lanka). It is therefore unsurprising that doubly disenfranchised locals ‘called reconstruction “the second tsunami”’ (cited in Rice 2005: 16). As Shalmali Guttal, a researcher with the NGO Focus on the Global South, comments wryly: ‘We used to have vulgar colonialism [...]. Now we have sophisticated colonialism, and they call it “reconstruction”’ (cited in Klein 2005).

Juxtaposing these points on post-tsunami tourism development in coastal Sri Lanka alongside Wyndham’s comment regarding how *Turtle Nest* now represents ‘a historical account’ of pre-tsunami concerns helps emphasise the dangers attending this position. Conceptualising the tsunami as a ‘great tragedy’ in a less glib manner than that displayed by the Sri Lankan tourist board requires consideration of how the event’s tragic dimensions are embedded in the kind of broader social and environmental processes described in Lokugé’s novel (and hence in the actions of *people*, not just destructive nature). Given that *Turtle Nest*

powerfully resists tragic closure in relation to intersecting experiences of compound disaster, consigning the novel to the status of ‘history’ suppresses the critical insights it offers into how the issues it portrays might be negotiated in the future. Indeed, the testimonies regarding post-tsunami tourism management suggest that the processes of community disenfranchisement it depicts threaten to continue being repeated and exacerbated. Such displacement augurs not the ‘erasure’ of undesirable elements from swanky new developments – the aim of ‘blank is beautiful’ ideologies that reflect the colonial *terra nullius* principle (Klein 2007: 3) – but increased instances of sex tourism and environmental abuse as communities fragment.²⁰

There is a tension, though, between the emphasis I have placed on the ecological reconfiguration of tragedy as process in *Turtle Nest* and the devastating, ‘out of the blue’ change exacted by the tsunami, which realised the threat of sudden transformation that characterises postapocalyptic environments (Buell 2003: 106). Certainly in hard-hit areas, where up to 98 percent of the dead were ‘[s]mall-boat fishing people’ (Klein 2007: 388), the possibility of seeing natural disaster as part of a long-term, postapocalyptic process is severely curtailed. Nevertheless, overly apocalyptic assertions of depopulation also play into the hands of disaster capitalists, augmenting a process of tourism-related dispossession that, as Klein points out, had been initiated two years *before* the wave struck (2007: 391). The ‘disaster’ of reconstruction was embedded in plans to capitalise on the 2002 civil war ceasefire (signalling the temporary cessation of a different disaster), which demanded that ‘[m]illions of people’ sacrifice their homes and traditional livelihoods ‘to free the beaches for tourists and the land for resorts’ (Klein 2007: 393). In this context, the degree to which the potentially disastrous medium and long-term effects of the tsunami, both socially and environmentally, can be considered non-processual or ‘out of the blue’ is distinctly limited. This still leaves the question, though, of how *Turtle Nest*’s nuanced portrayal of these procedures might contribute to crisis alleviation in the future. As discussed with reference to Brathwaite and CowPastor in Chapter 2, one resulting imperative regards the need for such insights to be presented as economically and ethically meaningful to tourism corporations and governments. This is all the more challenging as both stand to benefit, in the short term at least, from perpetuating a ‘divide and rule’ tactic with respect to local community opinion and potential resistance, fostering conflict rather than consensus and

²⁰ Indeed, these may be even less visible, even more unregulated than practices portrayed in *Turtle Nest*, as communities become dispossessed of the limited foothold provided by tenancy of coastal land.

allowing neoliberal rationale to drown objections to the exploitative aspects of ‘world class’, ‘luxury tourism’ development.

In this light, *Turtle Nest*’s representation of island tourism and compound disaster raises at least two key points. Firstly, it challenges Quarantelli’s definition of disasters as events which, whilst not necessarily free from conflict, involve no ‘division into competing groups or factions, at least one of whom is interested in making the situation worst for other parties’ (1998: 241). The experience of intense poverty and the ways in which Sri Lankan sex tourism presents a morally debilitating threat to survival that is accentuated by ongoing civil conflict and overshadowed by nature’s volatility demand more robust definitions of disaster than those establishing ‘general’ oppositions between consensus and conflict. Motivations in this sense are contingent on numerous considerations that feed in and through the experience of compound disaster. Failing to name the events portrayed in *Turtle Nest* as disastrous – with the demand for meaningful resolution in the long-term which the concept conveys – effectively contributes to perpetuating the destructive energies that, as the novel emphasises, prevent more sustainable social and environmental practices from materialising. This is an important observation not least because it offers a platform from which to critique both the ethical *and* economic viability of disenfranchising tourism policies.

Sönmez phrases the problem of sustainability in disaster-stricken islands as follows:

It is unrealistic to believe that islands suffering from ongoing political problems, poverty and the inevitable violent crime that it spawns, can develop strategies for sustainable tourist industries until their major problems are resolved. Ironically, moving toward sustainable development would solve much of the internal strife that riddles some islands.

(2002: 165–6)

Reinforcing this observation, he states that: ‘although international tourism offers these islands a realistic and permanent solution, it is jeopardized by the very problems it can help eliminate’ (177). This double-bind again partly underwrites how island communities are positioned as ‘helpless’ in the face of conflict and disaster, and therefore subject to external management. One method of negotiating this is to break down problems in ways that enable realistic attenuations of exploitative practices and gradually introduce greater options for local communities, particularly where sex tourism is a dominant industry form. However, without a holistic framework (such as that presented by *Turtle Nest*’s intersecting concerns), there is the potential, as Dombrowsky notes, for disaster problems to be defined ‘according to the solution at hand’. This involves ‘cutting reality into the parts that fit into the organizational capabilities to handle

them'. Such approaches fail to 'focus on the vital problems of the victims, but on the solutions they have at hand or can provide' (1998: 22).

The second key point regarding *Turtle Nest's* depiction of tourism and compound disaster suggests another double-bind as counterpoint to the one described by Sönmez. Importantly though, rather than accentuating the problems associated with 'breaking down' disaster phenomena into more manageable forms, it illuminates how unsustainable tourism development is itself vulnerable to the kind of financial downturn that characterises its negative effects on local communities. This provides an economic as well as social and environmental rationale for placing intensely marginalised actors (such as child sex workers) at the centre of sustainability planning. Although some villagers in *Turtle Nest's* coastal community blame the war for the fact that most visitors are 'poorer tourists coming in on cheap deals' (Lokugé 2003: 47), inculcating a culture in which even less reputable activities like sex tourism take the place of paradisaal package tours, the novel's emphasis on how the profitability of beach tourism enterprises is implicated in the negative cycles of local ecologies suggests that such declines are only partly political. In this context, lack of local consultation – and attendant complicity with the objectification, stigmatisation, and abuse of vulnerable people and animals – seems almost to render governments and tourism corporations 'helpless' in preventing disruption to their enterprises, rather than local people. External intervention of this sort is shown to perpetuate the form of postapocalypse that renders tourism markets unpredictable, threatening long-term investment and industry diversification, which most developers consider economically desirable. Importantly, *Turtle Nest's* own counter-intervention into these processes projects the possibility of seeing the beach as a creative space from which new practices can emerge. As Denning has famously shown, whilst it is often threatening, traversing the beach can also bring productive change and renewal. The mediating function played by the titular turtles with respect to both humans and the natural environment recalls the fact that, even though such boundary crossing 'is always dramatic', it carries with it the potential to 'adjust' the 'balance' of continually changing island ecologies (Denning 1980: 31–2). By subtly illuminating marginalised perspectives on future social and environmental sustainability with respect to tourism, Lokugé's text suggests that, just as the reproductive energies that underpin the beach's representation (and are emphasised by the novel's title) can be manipulated in disastrous ways, this ecology can also be a breeding ground for more positive ideas if sensitively approached. In this sense, one of the 'undesirable' social phenomena that the corporate tourism industry's expropriating tactics

attempt to ‘erase’ – what its agents might term sex worker ‘infestation’ – could ironically help solve some of the social, environmental, and economic challenges posed by resorts.

With these points in mind, the novel can be aligned with Buell’s assessment of American representations of environmental crisis. He states that, ‘[f]or the most part, even when most clearly political, this literature shows no clear path out of crisis’ but ‘pulls back the curtain on a portrait of deformation and fixes readers’ gazes on it’ (2003: 333). Buell continues to assert that literary engagement with serious global environmental issues ‘does not ask for a look of panicked horror, an urgent effort to change, and then denial and forgetfulness until the next look’; rather, it demands ‘that audiences realize just how deeply in the soup they themselves are and how difficult and uncertain solutions are’ (322). However, in contrast to this, the locally based concerns of *Turtle Nest*, extending from specific beach ecologies to the case of Sri Lanka as a whole, *do* suggest a need for forms of ‘urgent effort’ with long-term ramifications. These may well involve theorising numerous ‘difficult and uncertain solutions’ but, unlike the wide-reaching problems with environmental sustainability discussed by Buell, their outcomes involve more immediate reductions of human and animal abuse on a small but potentially expansive scale. If cycles of abuse can be effectively linked to perpetually declining cycles of profitability – and Lokugé’s imaginative representation suggests a powerful correlation – the economic impetus behind further unsustainable tourism development might be threatened in ways that can be redemptive from short, medium, and long-term perspectives simultaneously. Rather than offering uncomplicated solutions, though, *Turtle Nest* inspires reorientation of urgent debates, provoking important questions regarding local consultation (how, for instance, are the beach boys to be involved in more sustainable tourism transformations?) which need rapid attention if deeply damaging tourism forms are to be countered. Without such debates informing actions, the potential for less destructive futures to emerge may be lost; the unregulated sex trade will continue to flourish; and Sri Lanka’s coastal environments will be subject to further avoidable degradations.

II. Gendered Islands, Tourism, and Prostitution Discourse

The perspectives gained in the first part of the chapter on interrelations between compound disaster, sexual exploitation, animal abuse, and tourism sustainability in coastal Sri Lanka have helped illuminate how, despite the severe circumscriptions facing the island, it nevertheless inspires debates comparable to those surrounding the insular Pacific and Caribbean. Indeed,

Turtle Nest's negotiation of tensions between cultural and environmental sustainability offer instructive insights into some of the ways in which similar contestations might be tackled in postcolonial island contexts globally. In order to address these in more macroscopic terms, the second part of this chapter moves away from highly localised examinations of sex tourism and embodied experience so as to address how the points these raise extend from sexualised negotiations of individuals and communities to entire islands. Discussing Sri Lankan sex tourism's implication in wider practices of consumption that embrace 'scenery, sights, [and] culture' as well as people, Ireland notes that: 'It is not uncommon for the basis of such tourism to be compared to prostitution in a wider sense, with reference to the extent to which the culture and environment become part of a package to be consumed and, in the process, corrupted and degraded' (1993: 68). This raises the question, however, of the extent to which 'culture and environment' are 'consumed' in similarly 'degrading' ways, characterised via readily translatable metaphors of sexual exploitation. If portrayals of grassroots prostitution in environments such as *Turtle Nest*'s littoral world telescope urgent issues regarding local sustainability strategies and the interface between culture, nature, and sex, what happens on a transnational level when the cultures and ecologies of different touristed island regions are conflated through prostitution metaphors and sexualised discourse? The following sections address this by exploring how concerns regarding tourism and prostitution in postapocalyptic Sri Lanka compare to perspectives on the same sexualised nexus in Caribbean and Pacific island writings.

Naturalisation, Culturalisation, and the Sexual Consumption of Islands

Sri Lankan migrant writer Shyam Selvadurai's novel, *Funny Boy* (1994), is best known for engendering debates about portrayals of homosexuality in Sri Lankan literature. As Minoli Salgado points out, it has been interpreted by Harry Thomas as

'the story of one young boy's interior formation and integration set against *the backdrop* of his country's disintegration' ([Salgado's] emphasis) – a backdrop that was almost effaced in Sri Lanka where the novel was primarily positioned as a gay text, and responses ranged from one writer's enraged evaluation of the novel as filth to a national debate on the need to repeal the anti-sodomy law after the Sri Lankan President read it.
(2007: 20)

Notably, this intersection between civil unrest on a national level and the forging of sexuality on a personal level operates partly in reference to the tourism industry. The novel traces the social

and sexual identity construction of Arjie, its first-person narrator, during the late 1970s and early 1980s. As such, Beverley Pennell and John Stephens characterise it as a kind of subverted Bildungsroman: rather than portraying the typical ‘integration of the young adult into society’, it ‘problematizes the desirability of subscribing to normative social regimes, especially those structuring gender and sexuality’ (2002: 169). The text also challenges Bildungsroman conventions by questioning the possibility of social integration in a state entering civil crisis, particularly as Arjie is part of an economically privileged Tamil family.

Funny Boy highlights how changes occurring immediately after the UNP gained power in 1977 are manifested in the private domain, enlarging the social and pecuniary opportunities available to Arjie’s family. As they participate in an increasing number of cocktail parties and formal dances in section three, revelling in ‘the sudden availability of imported goods’, Arjie learns from his father’s conversations that the family is benefiting from ‘the new government and something called “free economy” and “the end of socialism”’ (Selvadurai 1995: 102). This culminates with their entry into the tourism business as Arjie’s father becomes co-owner of a newly constructed beachside hotel south of Colombo (on the same stretch of coast that is depicted in *Turtle Nest*). By section four, the business is thriving, and Arjie’s father invites Jegan, the son of a family friend who has come to work for him, to see the hotel for the first time. Significantly, given the sexual themes that pervade the novel and tourism’s centrality to enhancing the family’s pre-war prosperity, this is the only scene to deal directly with sex tourism. Nevertheless, it does allow the obvious ironies attached to state practices – such as maintaining an anti-sodomy law while permitting widespread rises in child sex tourism – to be subtly engaged. Although the plight of impoverished community members such as those depicted in Lokugé’s novel is not rigorously examined (Arjie’s privileged position distances him from such considerations), the short allusion in this scene to the economies and social practices that underpin the family’s business success offers a useful counterpoint to *Turtle Nest*’s events. In particular, it foregrounds how interpersonal issues, enmeshed with sex and embodied experience, connect metaphorically with more macroscopic, national concerns.

As Arjie’s father takes drinks on the hotel veranda with Jegan, observing the beach in the background ‘crowded with foreigners and local villagers’, Jegan suddenly asks: ‘Is what is happening what I think is happening?’ (170). Arjie narrates the rest of the scene as follows:

I turned to look down the beach now, wondering what Jegan had seen. There was nothing out of the ordinary. As was usual at this time, there were many foreign men around. A lot of them were talking to young boys from the village.

‘Yes,’ my father said.
 ‘And they come back to the hotel?’
 My father shrugged. ‘Sometimes.’
 ‘You don’t mind?’
 ‘What am I to do? They have paid for the rooms. Besides, if I tried to stop it, they’d simply go to another hotel on the front.’
 ‘But isn’t it illegal?’
 My father chuckled. ‘I don’t see any police out there, do you? [...] It’s not just our luscious beaches that keep the tourist industry going, you know. We have other natural resources as well.’

(170–1)

This passage emphasises how legal and moral concerns are overruled by the need to ensure tourism’s continued economic viability even before the outbreak of war. One example of how the problems of pre-war industry expansion were being probed can be found in a 1982 article entitled – with dark irony, given the following year’s violence – ‘Sri Lanka’s Image Blasted’. Published in *Asian Business* and quickly reprinted in Sri Lankan newspaper *Weekend*, it claimed that Sri Lanka ‘had become a jungle of “beggars, greedy hoteliers, dishonest shopkeepers, touts, rip-off artists, pimps and prostitutes”’ (Crick 1994: 58). Whilst hyperbolic, this nevertheless chimes with aspects of the beach economy depicted in *Funny Boy*. In contradistinction to child sex tourism’s lack of official visibility, the scene above suggests that, not only are such practices highly legible aspects of everyday beach life (Jegan swiftly identifies overtures to sexual exchange, and Arjie views them as ‘nothing out of the ordinary’), but that they are also tacitly state-sanctioned (the area is unpoliced, rendering the visible invisible in the sense of legal monitoring). Yet, even though similar points might be readily extrapolated from *Turtle Nest*, the conclusion of the passage offers a further troubling perspective on the domestication of child sex tourism, as Arjie’s father describes the local boys as ‘natural resources’. This discursively reinforces stereotypes regarding ‘third world’ production of ‘raw materials’ for ‘first world’ consumption, converting the specificity of Sri Lankan children’s bodies to undifferentiated and dehumanised ‘amenities’. Such processes could be seen as accentuated in island contexts, as resource scarcity augments conversion of human bodies into commodities. These are then naturalised and amalgamated with wider environmental attractions like the beaches which, in being described as ‘luscious’, are at the same time partly sexualised.²¹

The way that distinctions between individual sex workers and island environments are conflated in this passage is symptomatic of tourism discourse in economically underprivileged,

²¹ Moreover, in assigning this description to Arjie’s father, the discursive objectification of local children is shown to be both worryingly class-based (would he be so blasé about reducing his own son and his peers to tourist ‘resources’?) and intimately entwined with the way local tourism entrepreneurs contemplate their responsibilities regarding child sex tourism.

postcolonial states more broadly. For instance, discussing how the vast disparities on which Caribbean tourism is founded are effaced, Sheller explains that:

the 'naturalisation' of the social and economic inequalities of the contemporary tourist economy occurs via three steps: the objectification of Caribbean people as part of the natural landscape, the equation of that landscape (and hence those who people it) with sexuality and corruption, and finally the marketing of the Caribbean via imagined geographies of tropical enticement and sexual availability.

(2003: 31)

As the Sri Lanka examples show, this is not a Caribbean-specific phenomenon. Rather, it is often the case globally that '[r]eceiving states are feminised, and along with women are aligned with nature, receptivity, and sexual allure and danger. These images collude provocatively with colonial representations, though this time they may be called up and sold by ex-colonised or Third World men and states, too' (Pettman 1997: 97). It is hence unsurprising that host nations' relationships with tourism have been conceived through prostitution metaphors, particularly given the economic necessity that underpins industry dynamics in many 'third world' states.

There are problems attached, though, to the way in which the tourism-as-prostitution metaphor functions, and to the gendering of destinations more broadly. Citing Nelson Graburn's conviction that many 'developing' nations 'are forced into the "female" role of servitude, of being "penetrated" for money, often against their will', Oppermann notes that such approaches only 'scrutinize one particular part of the whole world sex tourism industry, namely tourists from the developed to developing countries who engage in sexual activities with commercial sex workers' (1998b: 154). They therefore fail to account for the complexity of local involvement in the trade at the same time as reinscribing production/consumption binaries. Although gender is a crucial category in sex tourism practices and their related discursive ensembles, Sri Lanka's male homosexual sex trade emphasises the importance of not essentialising wider industry operations through male/female stereotypes. This carries weight on a global level. For instance, feminist theorist M. Jacqui Alexander explains how, during her early work on tourism and neocolonialism in the Caribbean, she 'only narrowly engaged the question of the organization and production of gay tourism, assuming largely that the processes of ideological and material exploitation [...] followed a trajectory that was intrinsic to heterosexualized tourism and the operation of neo-colonial states alone' (2005: 66). However, following a visit to Jamaica, she found evidence for 'a systemic, interdependent relationship between heterosexual capital and gay capital', in which 'capitalist competition' pushed 'these two systems to draw from the same epistemic frameworks, to consume from the same site' (66).

This recognition emerged in relation especially to the ‘covert racial trade in illicit sex’ in Jamaica’s Negril Beach area, ‘an issue of which everyone was aware (including the police) but reluctant to discuss’ (67). Given the emphasis I have placed on the importance of interpreting postcolonial island tourism practices both in particularist terms (inflected by local environments, politics, social structures, and colonial histories) and via transnational comparison, it is notable that Alexander proceeds to assert that ‘[t]his trade pertained as much to heterosexual practice as it did to same-sex desire among men. The transactions seemed to carry that same covert valence of unnamed knowing that Shyam Selvadurai described on a beach in Sri Lanka, in his coming-of-age novel *Funny Boy*’ (67).

Quoting likewise from the passage discussed above, Alexander not only observes how ‘this scene in Sri Lanka bears close resemblance to the sexual contours of Bahamian tourism’ described earlier in her book, but also that it ‘raises an important question regarding whether the erotic consumptive patterns of white gay tourism followed the trajectory that had been mapped by white heterosexual capital’ (67). Her comparative analysis is interesting from my perspective firstly because it emphasises careful contextualisation both of the gendering of islands and the metaphorical uses of prostitution discourse in relation to tourism, highlighting the importance of negotiating over-simplifications of these phenomena when addressing the intersections of transnational industry and interpersonal practice.²² Secondly, its association of sexual economies on Jamaican and Sri Lankan beaches brings Caribbean and South Asian examples of insular sex tourism into dialogue. Of course, the extent to which these two industries’ characteristics reflect one another swiftly breaks down when the postapocalyptic dimensions of contemporary Sri Lankan experience are engaged more directly. Yet, as neoliberal economic agreements were instituted in both Sri Lanka and Jamaica in 1977,²³ there are significant grounds for comparing how ‘free market’ strategies that position tourism as developmental panacea for islands are interwoven with their global eroticisation.

Even though the tourism/prostitution correlation applies to many postcolonial tourism destinations, links between forms of sexual and environmental exploitation are often acutely expressed in island contexts. For instance, recalling the issues touched on in the 1982 article regarding the seedier side of pre-war Sri Lankan tourism discussed in the previous section, it is

²² It is worth noting, for instance, that the prevalence of male prostitution in the Caribbean also complicates gendered characterisations of states, particularly as relatively wealthy ‘western’ women occupy empowered positions (for more on this so-called ‘romance tourism’, see Pruitt and LaFont 1995).

²³ The discussion with former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley in *Life and Debt*, addressed further below, provides an insightful introduction into these negotiations from a Jamaican perspective.

significant that earlier in the same year, Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwis voiced related concerns in an address to the Tourism Marketing Conference in Colombo. Crick notes that during this speech, de Alwis ‘made [the] memorable remark that Sri Lanka was “not the only girl on the beach” [...]; she was not, in other words, in a position to rest on her laurels by virtue of having a captive market since there were so many other tourist destinations offering very similar attractions’ (1994: 48).²⁴ Here, Sri Lanka, like the Caribbean, is explicitly gendered in a way that further beclouds distinctions between culture and nature, islands and individuals. Whereas local sex workers are naturalised in the extract from *Funny Boy*, here Sri Lankan ecology is correspondingly culturalised as a ‘girl on the beach’ whose sexual availability casts the whole island as a metaphorical prostitute. This has significant ramifications as the ‘girl on the beach’ trope is also prevalent in other examples of postcolonial island tourism marketing.

Discussing the genealogy of key tourism marketing tropes, Strachan notes that colonial conceptions of the Caribbean as ‘a wholly exploitable, penetrable space’ in which ‘landscape is feminized’ provided an image from which ‘[t]he Caribbean has never been able to extricate itself. It survives today in the brochure representation of the Caribbean as a woman on a beach, alone and inviting’ (2002: 30).²⁵ He then examines a postcard bearing the slogan, ‘wrapped up in the Bahamas’, which depicts a ‘barely clad, slender, black beauty lying in repose on the sand’, ‘wrapped in the Bahamian flag’ (30–1). As Strachan observes, the image implies that ‘[t]he land, the woman, and the nation [...] are all awaiting penetration and possession’ (31). Read alongside the Sri Lankan examples of how nature and culture are mapped onto one another in processes of tourism-related commoditisation, this highlights the discursive tendency for island nations to be reduced in ways that reinforce sexually exploitative practices. The condensed image of the girl on the beach – a landscape component that functions itself as a hyper-commoditised and archetypically iconic island-within-an-island – is centrally implicated in the homogenising processes of brochure discourse. Such sexualisation has also been disturbingly used in the Pacific to mask the devastation of nuclear testing. Observing how the name of the Bikini Atoll (which was blasted by ‘twenty-five nuclear bombs between 1946 and

²⁴ de Alwis’s characterisation of Sri Lanka continues to be repeated in contemporary tourism development planning. For instance, in February 2007, the Sri Lankan newspaper *Daily Mirror* reported that, in a speech on foreign investment, new Minister of Investment Promotion and Enterprise Development, Sarath Amunugama, also ‘stressed that Sri Lanka was not the only girl on the beach’ (‘Amunugama Wants BOI to Think Big, Targets \$4b in FDI’ 2007).

²⁵ DeLoughrey also concurs that ‘the island is often represented as a female body’, citing as evidence Diana Loxley’s observation that, historically, “‘an unrelenting feature of island discourse is that the adventurer-hero of this free environment should not be constrained by the hegemonising power of the feminine’” (2007b: 13–14).

1958') was co-opted to describe the popular bathing suit, Teaiwa argues that: 'By drawing attention to a sexualized and supposedly depoliticized female body, the bikini distracts from the colonial and highly political origins of its name' (2000: 91). In light of these discursive manoeuvres then, it is crucial to note how, while it is vital for competing destinations to advertise the distinctiveness of their 'attractions', the *seductiveness* of islands conditions notions about their sexual economies, as well as their sexualisation more broadly.

A potentially debilitating kind of hermeneutic circle is introduced when islands are metaphorically represented as alluring girls on beaches: they are further miniaturised or simplified. As I noted in Chapter 2, Cartier states that, 'if the beachscape is the ultimately seductive natural environment, then the island, the oceanic island, is that essence reduced', 'the ultimate beach' (2005: 15). Given the culture/nature conflation embodied by the 'girl on the beach' trope, the attractiveness of islands to tourists appears enmeshed in the same discursive machinery as stereotypes regarding sexually available natives: both are commodities that can be similarly possessed and consumed. Further, if beaches are often mobilised in brochure discourse as reductive synecdoches of islands, local inhabitants – reduced metonymically to the sexually alluring girl on the beach – are co-opted by another system of embodied insularity. Part of the exoticised beach-package that attracts so many tourists to island destinations, they become falsely detached from the social realities of their own communities and from those of their visitors. Portrayed as isolated human islands, their commoditisation and potential abuse is underwritten by a politics of hedonistic disconnection that is linked to tourism's involvement in processes of environmental pollution and desecration.

Sheller summarises these issues well from a Caribbean perspective when she states that:

The West Indies are inscribed as 'resorts' beyond civilisation, utopian/dystopian places where the normal rules of civility can be suspended. The deep layering and reiteration of such representations of the Caribbean has reinforced an imaginary geography in which it becomes a carnivalistic site for hedonistic consumption [...]. The transgression of moral boundaries serves to reinforce the constitution of geographies of difference that define the North as 'civilised' and the Caribbean as 'unreal' [...]. These touristic performances reflect a long history of the inscription of corruption into the landscapes and inhabitants of these 'pleasure islands'.

(2004: 34–5)

Reflecting on the 1982 Falklands War, former Argentinean Foreign Minister Guido di Tella noted wryly that 'the problem with islands in general is that they have sex appeal' (cited in Dodds 2003: 188). However, rather than being perennial or 'timeless', this allure is eminently corruptible: island 'utopias' often bear the imprint of a dystopian obverse through which they

can be imaginatively transformed.²⁶ In both cases, though, touristic consumption of island cultures, environments, and inhabitants is often bound up with colonially inflected fantasies of possession. This suggests that, if prostitution discourse is characteristic of many forms of postcolonial tourism, islands could be said to represent the most tangible *embodiments* of how this operates materially. Yet there is a danger of over-emphasising the culture–nature links evoked by such observations, which speaks to the emphasis placed throughout this thesis on the importance of differentiating sensitively between social and environmental sustainability in island contexts. Such concerns are critical to the following analysis of how Walcott and Trask draw on prostitution discourse in their respective polemical engagements with exploitative tourism practices. This reintegrates Caribbean and Pacific perspectives by looking comparatively at how their macroscopic use of sexualised metaphors can present community-level problems in the process of developing more sustainable practices.

Tourism is Whorism? Prostitution Discourse in Walcott and Trask

One of the most direct early Caribbean examples of how the tourism-as-prostitution trope has been mobilised politically is in the anti-tourism rhetoric of Evan X. Hyde, who led the Black Power movement in his homeland of Belize (then British Honduras). In a 1970 interview, he coined the pithy if problematic phrase ‘tourism is whorism’ (‘Tourism is Whorism’ 1970) as he rejected the industry’s alignment with ongoing colonialism (Belize achieved independence in 1981). The sentiment chimed with other anti-colonial movements which rejected the repetitions of plantation economics that seemed wedded to certain forms of Caribbean tourism in the 1970s especially. Pattullo notes that during this period ‘there was alarm about cultural dependency, the way in which the region’s beliefs and values appeared to be determined by North America. This process followed the long-time cultural conditioning by Europe through colonization’, with the Caribbean being defined ‘not [...] by its own peoples, but by tourists and others according to their own needs and perceptions of sun-baked islands’ (Pattullo 1996: 180). Notably, the link between this process and prostitution is of central figurative relevance to Walcott’s criticisms in

²⁶ This operates with alarming speed in both directions, as in the aftermath of natural disaster, or in response to a declaration of armistice following periods of war. John McLeod’s essay, ‘When Memory Dies: Tourism, Terror, and Literary Representations of the Sri Lankan Civil War’, provides a brief commentary on the problematic transformation of Sri Lanka from warzone to tourist destination, showing how tourism can be ‘complicit in the very acts of forgetting and disappearance which also characterised the effects of the war on perspectives of Sri Lankan history’ (2005: 173).

‘What the Twilight Says’ (also published in 1970) of how Caribbean ‘folk arts’ have been reduced to emblems of an ‘accommodating culture [...] adjunct to tourism’ (1998b: 7).

Drawing conclusions from his experiences in St Lucia and Trinidad, Walcott argues that:

The lean, sinewy strength of the folk dance has been fattened and sucked into the limbo of the nightclub, the hotel cabaret, and all the other prostitutions of a tourist culture [...] and who dares tell the Tourism Boards and Cultural Development Committees that the blacks in bondage at least had the resilience of their dignity [...] while their descendants have gone both flaccid and colourful, covering their suffering with artificial rage or commercial elation?

(24)

Walcott’s critique here has clear affinities with the sentiments expressed by Naipaul in Chapter 3, particularly the latter’s claim that Trinidadian culture has become ‘a night-club turn’. Here, however, Walcott articulates his objections through a distinctly sexualised idiom, seeing commoditised cultural practices as ‘prostitutions’ with no collaborative value for local people beyond economic exchange. In this sense he amplifies the sense of disgust attached to Naipaul’s pronouncement towards the end of *The Middle Passage* that: ‘Every poor country accepts tourism as an unavoidable degradation. None has gone as far as some of these West Indian islands, which, in the name of tourism, are selling themselves into a new slavery’ (2001: 198). The discourse of impotence Walcott invokes in describing contemporary Caribbean cultural performances as ‘flaccid’ also bears relations to the sentiments expressed by Pepe in *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* in Chapter 2. Yet, whilst this rhetorically foregrounds the forms of exploitation that accompany tourism-related commoditisation, the generalised assumption that prostitution is a submissive act occludes the more subversive forms of agency encoded in the industry dynamics described by Walcott. This is also evident in other sexualised interrogations of tourism’s negative effects which, despite manifold social and historical differences, present a further important comparison point between Caribbean and insular Pacific perspectives. Culture is a major category around which these critiques coalesce, as is stressed by the title of the essay with which this thesis opens, Trask’s “‘Lovely Hula Hands’: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture’.²⁷

Like Walcott, Trask argues that: ‘The latest affliction of corporate tourism has meant a particularly insidious form of cultural prostitution’ (1999: 17). In defining her key term she

²⁷ The title of the essay includes a reference to the prolific hapa-haole (‘of white descent’) composer R. Alex Anderson’s 1939 song ‘Lovely Hula Hands’. It foregrounds the way in which native Hawaiian women are represented synecdochically by exoticised body parts: the lyrics explicitly sexualise native hands, with the chorus reading: ‘I can feel your soft caresses of your hula hands / Your lovely hula hands / [...] / All tender meaning / [...] / Fingertips that say Aloha’. The conventional synecdoche of ‘hands’ for ‘workers’ ironically highlights the commoditised nature of such dances in the context of Trask’s essay.

explains that, '[b]ecause of mass-based corporate tourism, our women have become purveyors of our dances, our language, our islands [...]. This is cultural prostitution, often with our own people's willing, if unexamined, participation' (106). She notes how the state is explicitly feminised, objecting to a form of US colonialism which not only suggests to 'most Americans' that 'Hawai'i is *theirs*: to use, to take, and, above all, to fantasize about', but also creates a situation in which 'Hawai'i is "she", the Western image of the Native "female" in her magical allure' (135–6; original emphasis). Trask's deployment of prostitution discourse involves a relatively unilateral consideration of gender dynamics so as to maintain the polemical force of the metaphor, reinforcing the kind of stereotypical oppositions between 'male' dominance and 'female' subservience that Alexander warns should be guarded against. She states that her notion of cultural prostitution 'refers to the entire institution that defines a woman (and by extension the *female*) as an object of degraded and victimized sexual value for use and exchange through the medium of money' (140; original emphasis). Corresponding with Walcott's description of Caribbean culture as 'flaccid', this characterisation also positions native Hawaiians as disempowered victims of cultural 'emasculatation'. She proceeds to assert that: 'The *prostitute* is a woman who sells her sexual capacities and is seen, thereby, to possess and reproduce them at will, that is, by her very "nature"' (140; original emphasis). The analogy suggests that commoditisation 'naturalises' Hawaiian culture as an exploitable entity that serves to gratify mass tourist desires.

One problem with such polemic is that its emphasis on prostitutes as *women* conflates local culture and native communities with the gendering of islands in tourism marketing. Although Trask admits that '[t]here is much more to prostitution than my sketch reveals' (140), and that she is 'interested in using the largest sense of this term as a metaphor in understanding what has happened to Hawaiian culture' (140), the effectiveness of this is discursively limited by its blunt engagement with prostitution's entangled dynamics and the wider ramifications of its metaphorical use. As with Walcott's 1970s conception of tourism's effects on Caribbean culture, the notion that prostitution is unilaterally demeaning glosses over the many embedded power contestations and assertions of agency it can involve, and crucially threatens to alienate those employed within the sex industry whose individual subjectivities are reduced to generic metonyms. Moreover, situating the practice as a rhetorical means of 'convey[ing] the utter degradation of our culture and our people under corporate tourism' (140) risks estranging the wider, highly variegated general tourism workforce, whose members are also negotiating the

contradictions involved in working within the industry. In this light, lack of attention to prostitution's social and metaphorical complexity renders aspects of both Walcott's and Trask's polemics superficial with respect to the touristic phenomena they describe.

Further pitfalls associated with this tourism-as-prostitution rhetoric are revealed from recalling that, in finding himself at odds with the local workforce whilst objecting to the Pitons' development in St Lucia, Walcott again compares the proposed infrastructure's effects to prostitution. He states in interview that, by resisting the *Jalousie* development:

I mean more than just to hate the idea of the hotel, or to challenge it, and if possible to have stopped that hotel from being built there, because aesthetically it is like a wound, and if I could look down at that hotel and see what I see, and it looks like any other hotel, then the Pitons will become what? They become prostitutes; you're making them whores. Basically you're saying it's okay to violate the landscape, it's okay to desecrate it, because they're the real thing that's bringing people money.

(Handley 2005a: 129)

By invoking prostitution as a means of analytical critique, Walcott equates landscape 'violation' with enforced sex work. Environmental desecration is figured via a cultural metaphor, with prostitution becoming shorthand for the kind of 'utter degradation' described by Trask. In this light, it is arguable that when Walcott complains of the difficulty in 'communicating' his own sense of the Pitons' sacredness 'to people in Soufrière who', according to him, 'can't feel some ancestral anything about' the landscape (Handley 2005a: 129), the alienation expressed by some community members to his points may be partly due to this use of prostitution discourse. Not only does it demean any locals who are involved in sex tourism, but there is again the sense that those employed within the industry more broadly are implicated in sexualised circuits of abuse.

This reflects Trask's contention that, '[d]espite their exploitation', many native Hawaiians second their 'complicity' with corporate tourism 'to the economic hopelessness that drives Hawaiians into the industry' (1999: 145). She states that:

Of course, many Hawaiians do not see tourism as part of their colonization. Thus, tourism is viewed as providing jobs, not as a form of cultural prostitution. [...] This is a measure of the depth of our mental oppression: we cannot understand our own cultural degradation because we are living it.

(145)

Such pathologising of prostitution reinforces her rhetoric's failure to account both for the lived realities of sex workers, and the specific ways these coincide with and differ from other forms of tourism-related employment.²⁸ In attempting to explain cultural (and, in the case of the

²⁸ Trask's sentiments do correspond, however, with Kincaid's frustration regarding how Antiguans 'speak of emancipation as if it happened yesterday', yet 'cannot see a relationship between their obsession with slavery and emancipation and their celebration of the Hotel Training School' (1988: 55).

Pitons, ecological) change through prostitution discourses, both Walcott and Trask elide important points of specificity with respect to social and natural sustainability issues. This engenders a contradictory tension regarding attempts to intervene in exploitative practices which, if the critique is stretched, render the diversity of practices collected under the banner of tourism invisible, even as they purport to ‘lay bare’ the parallels between tourism, prostitution, and sexual exploitation. Both tourism and transactional sex are hence simplified in ways which offer little conceptual insight into the mechanisms for achieving greater industry sustainability.

The point is amplified by Lisa Law in the following passage:

Prostitute bodies are the objects of a disciplinary power that polices morals and public health, and become marked by the practices they engage in [...]. These practices are surveyed, regulated and controlled – usually but not exclusively through the machinery and technologies of the ‘state’ – and this exertion of power creates much knowledge about a pathologized subject (‘prostitution’). The discourse of prostitution therefore produces a singular and unambiguous prostitute identity that is reflective of the (sexual) practices in which they engage.

(2000: 24)

By comparing the effects of tourism to forms of prostitution, both Trask and Walcott collude in producing the kind of ‘singular and unambiguous prostitute identity’ critiqued by Law. This is ironic from the perspective of insular analysis as it relates to the problems associated with undifferentiated approaches to specific islands. Yet, despite the criticisms outlined above, both Trask’s and Walcott’s uses of prostitution discourse simultaneously counter such effacements of particularity, providing potentially productive perspectives on tensions between wider cultural and environmental sustainability issues.

‘From the Shame of Necessity’: Islands for Sale and the Prisonhouse of Colonialism

Law’s characterisation of the state as a locus of power with respect to prostitution is reflected in Trask’s assertion that:

Hawai‘i, like a lovely woman, is there for the taking. Those with only a little money get a brief encounter, those with a lot of money get more. [...] The State [...] will give tax breaks, build infrastructure, and have the governor personally welcome tourists to ensure they keep coming. Just as the pimp regulates prices and guards the commodity of the prostitute, so the state bargains with developers for access to Hawaiian land and culture.

(1999: 144–5)

By positioning the state as ‘pimp’ (the drive to ensure ‘tourists [...] keep coming’ adopts clear sexual overtones here), Trask views its development strategies as central to the ‘prostitution’

complex she describes.²⁹ Reflections of this can also be seen in the Caribbean, particularly through the similar conclusions Alexander draws in her analysis of the Bahamian tourist economy when she argues that ‘state institutionalization of economic viability through heterosexual sex for pleasure’ has important ‘economic and psychic’ ramifications as ‘the state actively socializes loyal heterosexual citizens into tourism, its primary strategy for economic modernization, by sexualizing them and by positioning them as commodities’ (2005: 27; 29). In Sri Lanka’s case, it is similarly significant that the ‘only girl on the beach’ comment came from the then Minister of State. Both Trask’s and Alexander’s commentaries are aligned with Law’s Foucauldian reading of state interventions into prostitution, which involve surveillance and regulation of bodies and foreclose articulations of independent or polysemous identities. It is in this sense that the *lack* of differentiation in Trask’s metaphorical description of cultural and environmental prostitution (she speaks here of ‘land’ as well as culture) is apposite: it telescopes the similarly commoditising strategies affecting all aspects of island ecologies as a result of capitalist tourism development.

One effective aspect of Trask’s culture–nature conflation links to how a holistic relationship between land and society is fundamental to native Hawaiian epistemologies (with parallels existing across numerous Pacific island cultures, as discussed in Chapter 2). Drawing on native Hawaiian artist and historian Lilikala Kame‘eleihiwā’s discussion of how the ‘*mo‘olelo*, or history of Hawaiians’, is found in the genealogies from which ‘Hawaiian identity’ is derived, Trask notes that one key component of ‘our great cosmic genealogy, the *kumulipo*’ centres on “‘the interrelatedness of the Hawaiian world, and the inseparability of its constituent parts’” (1999: 140). This involves the kind of “‘familial relationship to land’” (141) that motivates certain contestations in Apio’s plays, and relates to issues raised in the New Zealand context of Grace’s work. It also underpins Trask’s observation that:

the commercialization of Hawaiian culture proceeds with calls for more sensitive marketing of our Native values and practices. After all, a prostitute is only as good as her income-producing talents. These talents, in Hawaiian terms, are the *hula*; the generosity, or *aloha*, of our people; the *u‘i*, or youthful beauty of our women and men; and the continuing allure of our lands and waters [...].

The selling of these talents must produce income. And the function of tourism and the State of Hawai‘i is to convert these attributes into profit.

(144)

²⁹ Lyons notes that ‘[t]he pimp-prostitute metaphor is widespread in Oceania’, citing Tahitian poet Turo Raapoto as saying: ‘Yesterday the [noble] savage, today Tahiti is first of all a nice butt [...]. The product “Tahiti”, which the Bureau of Tourism sells to the world, isn’t it a place of prostitution where the women are easy and cost next to nothing?’ (2006: 225).

Here, cultural practices (hula and aloha), embodied attributes ('youthful beauty'), and the physical environment are all 'prostituted' in accordance with their capacities for generating wealth, with 'more sensitive marketing' aimed at ensuring their sustainability as tourism products rather than attenuating their respective exploitation. Further, in claiming that, as an 'object of degraded and victimized sexual value', Hawaiian "'āina, or lands, are not any longer the source of food and shelter, but [...] of money' (143), Trask highlights how the dependence on imports that has become increasingly characteristic of postcolonial islands worldwide is bound up with ecological use-value. This has some clear cultural parallels.

As Walcott indicates from a Caribbean perspective in his Nobel speech, the hedonistic and paradisaic marketing strategies that position the region as 'a blue pool' of 'inflated rubber islands' wherein the American 'republic dangles the extended foot of Florida' are produced in relation to 'how the islands from the shame of necessity sell themselves' (1998a: 81). What results 'is the seasonal erosion of their identity, that high-pitched repetition of the same images of service that cannot distinguish one island from the other' (81). The way Caribbean island commoditisation co-opts culture and nature is evident here from Walcott's use of a term with strong geological connotations ('erosion') to describe processes of identity change whilst at the same time invoking a register of consumption (the Latin root of 'erode' means 'to gnaw') that reflects the market-driven nature of mass tourism development. The sense of economic 'necessity' that underpins this reductive image of the Caribbean, and contrasts with Walcott's assertion that '[t]here is a territory wider than this – wider than the limits made by the map of an island' (82), gestures towards the imprisoning effects of regional poverty, which is bound up in cycles of dependency and prostitution as the islands 'sell themselves'. This portrayal of how conscription to neoliberal development ideologies contributes to cultural and physical island transformation reinforces the more microcosmic observations regarding sex tourism and economic privation in Sri Lanka.

One reason why prostitution becomes a catch-all metaphor for island tourism links to how the industry has in many cases replaced more diverse development schemes, creating what Brathwaite calls an 'economotomy' (2005b). As he inimitably puts it,

[i]n physically 'small' tourist 'destinations'(!) like Bahamas, the Virgin Islands, the Dutch antilles [*sic*] and now increasingly in Barbados, all the local 'industry'/production has gone – sugar, nutmeg, cotton, coffee, [...] to be replaced by the concrete & profits of tourism and its new connecting offshoot(s) – the local building bloom.

(2005b)

Nature here is envisaged not just as being transformed by tourism development, but strategically *replaced*.³⁰ This underpins Brathwaite's punning observation regarding how '*plotted plants*' are preferred to '*growing trees*' (2005b; original emphasis). A highly restrictive form of dependence is hereby fostered, putting islands in what Walcott calls 'a very perilous and fragile' position (Handley 2005a: 127). Walcott's evocation of the contested discourse of 'fragility' applies most directly to fiscal imperatives. As he proceeds to say, 'economists have settled down into an idea that tourism is the alternative to agriculture', creating a situation in which 'the generosity of tourism becomes the equivalent of a waiter looking for a big tip, and depending on that big tip for sustenance, for his livelihood' (127). Although this is felt most acutely in highly tourism-dependent regions, such as the Caribbean and Hawai'i, it is nevertheless a concern for all island communities that are subject to the industry's pervasive economic influence.

This financial perspective brings some of the clearest contours of tourism-as-neocolonialism into view. The neoliberal economic problems associated with structural adjustment programs in islands across the Caribbean are compared by former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley to colonial power relations, although he does not foreclose the possibility of wresting control over the industry from multinational corporations. In his 1995 foreword to Pattullo's book, Manley states that:

The vacation industry is clearly here to stay. But the question which we dare not ignore is whether we [...] are going to have the wit and the will to make it the servant of our needs. If not, it will become our master, dispensing pleasure on a curve of diminishing returns while it exacerbates social divisions and widens that legacy of colonialism.

(1996: ix-x)

It is precisely this postcolonial perpetuation of master/servant dialectics that DeLoughrey *et al.* identify from an ecocritical perspective when they state that a Caribbean 'poetics that imagines what Buell has named the "environmental unconscious" may serve to rekindle our environmental awareness that has been lost since the advent of industrialization, [...] but it may also simultaneously serve to reflect the prisonhouse of colonialism' (2005: 22).³¹ There are of course significant differences between the forms of incarceration experienced by populations in the various islands discussed in this thesis. For instance, Manley describes in Stephanie Black's documentary film, *Life and Debt* (2001), how IMF and World Bank loan restrictions in the

³⁰ This concern has haunted Brathwaite throughout his career, as in the following lines from his poem 'Francina' (1969): 'hotels where there were pebbles, / casinos where the casuarinas sang, / and flowing fields of tourists for our daily bread' (1973: 214).

³¹ Buell uses the term 'environmental unconscious' to signal the potential of achieving 'fuller apprehension of [the] physical environment and one's interdependence with it' (Buell 2001: 22).

1970s created a situation in Jamaica where only short-term support was offered ‘to get you out of the bind’, creating a situation where long-term development was almost impossible and circuits of dependence were wilfully perpetuated (Black 2001). Yet his belief in the possibility of making tourism ‘the servant of our needs’ and therefore achieving further economic autonomy differs significantly from the severe circumscriptions attached to the ‘cycles of abuse’ experienced in postapocalyptic Sri Lanka, despite its greater resource diversity and larger land-base. Hawai‘i presents a further point of contrast, as the relative economic development that accompanies its position as an American state attenuates over-arching notions of dependence even as the island has become heavily import-oriented, with tourism adopting the central place in maintaining a ‘familiar one-crop monopoly economy’ (Brathwaite 2005b). The ‘prisonhouse of colonialism’ is in this sense felt not so directly on a national level as in relation to the kind of marginalised native Hawaiian experience discussed in Chapter 3, resulting from internal colonialism.³² With these differences in mind, however, the prevalence of the tourism-as-prostitution trope in island contexts nevertheless speaks to a set of shared experiences of relative poverty, both on national levels and within specific communities. It is also linked to a diminishment of possible subject-positions on an individual basis, and to the monocultural appropriation of land for resort development. Recognition of this prompts Strachan to claim, in terms which reflect Trask’s rhetoric, that ‘the Caribbean is a whore paid to play the virgin’ (2002: 89). This reductive binary is symptomatic of wider discursive constructions of islands as paradisaic utopias (as reflected in picture postcard aesthetics) or dystopian wastelands (as in postapocalyptic Sri Lanka).

Such observations cast serious doubts over the extent to which the strategies derived from literary readings can contribute to negotiating the deep-set structures of discursive and material exploitation associated with corporate-driven tourism development. If local or national crises put a dent in sustainability planning on one level, the perpetuation of neocolonial power relations within a globalised framework could be read as an ongoing disaster for economically underprivileged island states, undermining the conceptual possibility of sustainable tourism wholesale. This creates a direct parallel with more locally grounded analyses of sex tourism, as commentators are frequently pessimistic about the possibility of attenuating sexual exploitation in this exact context. Altman for instance states that he is ‘sympathetic to the views of Hoigard

³² This said, the wealth disparities caused by rampant capitalism are currently putting increasing numbers of people across various social groups at risk of losing their homes in Hawai‘i, particularly on O‘ahu.

and Finstad who argue: “One should, in every way possible, try to make it as easy as possible for the women while they are in prostitution. One should simultaneously work to provide them with better alternatives to prostitution”. Nevertheless, he remains ‘deeply skeptical that the latter is realistic without changes in the socioeconomic structures of almost all societies which go beyond even my utopian hopes for a radical politics’ (2001: 114). Likewise, Seabrook concludes *Travels in the Skin Trade: Tourism and the Sex Trade* (2001) by asserting that:

It might be possible to eliminate sex tourism, but it cannot be done simply by targeting either the customers or the sex workers. It is feasible, but extremely difficult, because the struggle would have to be waged against a form of development that impoverishes vast numbers of people and leaves them with little choice of occupation.

(2001: 167)

Even though there are clear limitations to over-emphasising connections between the choices and embodied experiences of individuals, and the macroscopic circumscriptions facing tourism-dependent states (not least because it threatens to reinforce notions of ‘helplessness’), Altman’s and Seabrook’s comments reinforce the significance of examining correlations between the two phenomena. Are there any ways, then, in which imaginative works suggest that these entwined, micro- and macroscopic circumscriptions can be productively negotiated? Addressing this, the last part of the chapter turns again to Walcott’s *Omeros*, and the *allegorical* implications of his depiction of Helen.

Helen at the Halcyon

Walcott’s approach to tourism in his later work moves increasingly away from the kind of culture-specific considerations expressed in ‘What the Twilight Said’. For instance, in his 1986 interview with Hirsch he states that:

Once I saw tourism as a terrible danger to a culture. [...] But a culture is only in danger if it allows itself to be. [...] During the period I’m talking about, certainly, servility was a part of the whole deal – the waiters had to smile [...] and so forth. In tourism, it was just an extension really of master/servant. I don’t think it’s so anymore. Here we have a generation that has strengthened itself beyond that.

(Hirsch 1996: 220)

Walcott notably rejects the ‘master/servant’ dialectic employed by Manley, outlining a more projective vision which, while still highly attentive to the kind of structural inequalities associated with neoliberal development policies (as his subsequent work attests), also

emphasises the potential for less restrictive industry negotiations on a cultural level at least.³³ In this sense, it is significant that Walcott's feelings just prior to writing *Omeros* correspond to the increasingly ecological nature of his concerns with tourism sustainability and exploitation, which foreground the interdependence of culture and nature from a St Lucian perspective and inform the various depictions of tourism in his epic.

One of the most powerful ways in which questions of cultural, environmental, and economic sustainability are telescoped in Walcott's poem is through the island's metaphorical relationship with Helen. Encapsulating issues of gender, prostitution, and tourism-related exchange, this once again situates embodied description as a locus from which to analyse the macroscopic 'located subjectivity' (Cartier 2005: 2) of landscape. It also embraces community-level cultural issues, and more individuated forms of social and sexual exploitation. The link between Helen and St Lucia – known as 'Helen of the West Indies' (Walcott 1990: 311) – extends to the level of allegory as her negotiation of the circumscriptions facing individuals in contemporary St Lucia coalesces with, and acts as a cipher for, those faced by the island more widely. In this light, the ways in which her touristic engagements draw attention to the sexual attractiveness and commoditisation of female bodies are especially significant.

Helen enters the poem in Book One looking for 'work as a waitress' (33). However, she is rebuffed on account of her past actions and personality: on being told 'the tables was full', the narrator comments that:

What the white manager mean
to say was she was too rude, 'cause she dint take no shit
from white people and some of them tourist – the men

only out to touch local girls; every minute –
was brushing their hand from her backside.

(33)

Helen describes to two restaurant workers how 'she get fed up with all their [tourists'] nastiness' in her previous job 'so she tell / the cashier that wasn't part of her fucking pay, / take off her costume, and walk straight out the hotel / [...] not naked completely, I / still had panty and bra, a man shout out, "Beautifool! / More!" So I show him my ass. People nearly die' (33–4). The scene cuts in two directions, condensing the entangled politics of resistance with forms of voyeurism and the harassment of women working in the tourism sector. At the same time,

³³ Clearly, the notion that 'a culture is only in danger if it allows itself to be' depends on a differentiation between contemporary forms of commoditisation and histories of cultural decimation attached to enforced diaspora and genocidal colonial histories. This foregrounds another material point around which notions of tourism-as-(neo)colonialism require careful navigation.

Helen's refusal to accept sexual exploitation as part of her vocation links allegorically to how opposition is staged on a national level. In particular, her objection to the fetishisation and misuse of her body recalls Walcott's own criticism of development in the Pitons.³⁴ Burnett observes that:

The critique of tourism incorporated in *Omeros* is informed by this campaigning stance. When Helen quits her waitress job [...] Walcott is drawing attention to the particular self-debasement that the economically vulnerable islands enact when they effectively prostitute themselves to the rich North as sites for tourism fuelled by erotic fantasy. Helen, who symbolizes the island, is heroic in her refusal of tourism's degradations, though at personal cost, as if Walcott wishes to suggest that a stand can be made.

(2001: 54)

The level of 'debasement' Burnett describes is encapsulated in Pattullo's summary of Walcott's ultimate position on the Jalousie development: 'Selling the Pitons, he concluded, was like selling your mother into prostitution' (1996: 3). Yet, even as Helen's individual 'refusal' of tourism's sexually exploitative dynamics dramatises the possibility of collectively rejecting such processes, the nuances attached to *Omeros*'s subsequent portrayals of her also highlight the problems (or 'personal costs') associated with this act. The difficulty Helen proceeds to experience in finding work reflects the island's limited employment options, unsettling the prospect of achieving individual, communal, and national economic stability that does not comply at some level with the demands of tourism operators and the markets they manipulate.

Burnett's reading of Helen's 'refusal of tourism's degradations' is complicated in Book Two, for instance, when Achille continues to compare the process of touristic commoditisation in which both Helen and Gros Îslet (the village where the majority of *Omeros*'s community is based) participate to self-expedited prostitution. Observing the weekly Friday Night Street Party, which is now a popular tourist attraction in the town, Achille focuses on Helen's negotiation of the crowds as she enjoys "the music, / the people" (Walcott 1990: 110). The narrator describes how, refusing to join in himself, Achille:

watched her high head moving through the tourists,
through flying stars from the coalpots, the painted mouth
still eagerly parted. Murder throbbed in his wrists

to the loudspeaker's pelvic thud, her floating move.
She was selling herself like the island, without
any pain, and the village did not seem to care

³⁴ These are imagined in Book Seven as part of Helen's body, with the narrator collapsing distinctions between desires targeted at her and at the island when he asks: 'Was that immense enterprise on / the baize tables of empires for one who carries / cheap sandals on a hooked finger with the / Pitons for breasts?' (312).

that it was dying in its change, the way it whored
 away a simple life that would soon disappear
 while its children writhed on the sidewalks to the sounds

of the DJ's fresh-water-Yankee-cool-Creole.

(111)

The passage reflects part of a larger critical commentary in 'The Antilles' on what Walcott calls 'the dangers of change' (1998a: 82), which sets a more romanticised, provincial past against the negative aspects of involvement in tourist modernity. Achille's rage, which responds to the imminent loss of Helen to Hector, relates once more to his frustration with St Lucia's transition from its agricultural past to a tourism-oriented future. The commoditised nature of such change reflects forms of prostitution for Achille – a type of 'whoring' that afflicts individuals, communities, and the island as a whole. Hence, he predicts that 'the sandy alleys would go and their simple stores, / the smell of fresh bread drawn from its Creole oven, / its flour turned into cocaine, its daughters to whores' (1990: 112). What is perhaps most worrying about how such predictions affect *Omeros's* internal logic and its ramifications for conceptualising sustainability is that, rather than finding resources through which the sexually exploitative aspects of tourist modernity – literally and figurative – can be rejected, Helen and the island she allegorises seem only to enact diminished negotiations of these processes in the poem's conclusion.

Following Hector's death and her reconciliation with Achille, the last description of Helen comes in *Omeros's* closing pages, symbolising the kind of future both she and St Lucia more broadly might be involved in forging. The narrator states that:

You can see Helen at the Halcyon. She is dressed
 in the national costume: white, low-cut bodice,
 with frilled lace at the collar, just a cleft of a breast

for the customers when she places their orders
 on the shields of the tables. They can guess the rest
 under the madras skirt with its golden borders

and the flirtatious knot of the madras head-tie.

(322)

This conclusion, with its acquiescence to the inevitability of tourism-related service and its hint of continued sexual exploitation (undermined to some extent by Helen's own proprietary gaze, which forces 'you [to] lower your eyes / away from hers' as '[s]he waits for your order' [323]) has caused division amongst critics. On one hand, for instance, Loretta Collins states that Walcott's 'depiction in Helen of a strong woman character who ultimately refuses to be dominated by either men or postcolonial tourist enterprises' works 'to align him with Caribbean

women writers who attempt to unsettle rigid colonial hierarchies of race, class, and gender' (Collins 1995: 160). On the other hand, Luis Fernando Restrepo reads this passage as exposing how Walcott's representation of Helen as 'social metaphor appears to rest on several assumptions of the colonial discourse about women'. Restrepo argues that, throughout the poem, 'Helen is seen as nature, as an irrational being, and as a prostitute', and that this depiction therefore contributes to, rather than subverts, the ways in which 'during the past two centuries the figure of the black servant and prostitute have been essential to the development of an iconography of the sexualized female' (2001: 263). He also asserts that Walcott portrays Helen's body as 'a site of capitalist alienation. She wears plastic sandals, lipstick, and a "national costume". Dressed up for the tourists, she herself becomes a commodity' (262).

There are some interesting implications attached to the fact that this 'national costume' is a waitress's uniform. On an allegorical level, the detail dovetails with Sheller's observation that:

In St Lucia, [...] the sexual nature of the Caribbean is written onto the land itself. Here the former owner of the 'luxury' island of Mustique, Colin Tennant, operates a bar known as 'Bang Between the Pitons', situated in the symbolic 'cleavage' between the two breast-shaped hills.

(2004: 34)

In this sense, as sexual exploitation and (neo)colonial desire overwrite and homogenise so much of nature and society, sustainability seems to recede as a chimerical ideal. Continued affiliation with sexualised, commoditising tourism practices that are literally embodied through Helen and which affect both social and environmental domains suggest that, even as Walcott's allegorical depiction of Helen-as-St Lucia appears to destabilise exploitative patterns of consumption and control (Collins), it simultaneously reinscribes the very discourses that underwrite such patterns' emergence (Restrepo). This contradiction links directly to the circumscribed and arguably unsustainable position in which Helen and St Lucia are left at the end of the poem: both are still dependent financially on forms of tourism that promote their raced, gendered, and sexualised consumption.

Yet there is a more productive way of reading the various tensions surrounding Walcott's representation of Helen which, as Burnett notes, has often been criticised in over-generalised fashion by critics keen to repudiate 'masculine discourse's capture of the trope of the female body as territory symbolizing the nation' (2001: 45).³⁵ This involves addressing how these

³⁵ Burnett explains how these readings flatten individual specificities, arguing for instance that Elaine Savory's criticism of how Walcott's female characters bear "no relation to the feisty, emotionally various, strong, vulnerable and generally complex picture emerging by black women themselves" takes

tensions reflect the complex ambiguities built into her allegorical construction. The relationship Helen shares with St Lucia as an ecological whole does not imply a simple one-to-one mapping. As Jameson observes in his much-maligned essay on ‘Third-World literature’ and national allegory, ‘the allegorical spirit is profoundly discontinuous, a matter of breaks and heterogeneities, of the multiple polysemia of the dream rather than the homogenous representation of the symbol’ (1986: 73).³⁶ Such ‘polysemia’ is characteristic of *Omeros*’s allegorical dimensions, and is bound up in the kind of dialectically constellated representations of person, community, and location that unsettle readings which rivet relationships prescriptively in place. Susan Stewart comments that ‘[r]arely has a poem resisted allegory as strenuously as *Omeros* does[;] Hector is [Homeric] Hector, but in his taxi, *The Comet*, he is also Phaeton’ (2002: 320). However, the ‘resistance’ to allegory she identifies might more accurately be seen as a manipulation of precisely the interpretative plurality that a nuanced use of allegory invites; *Omeros*, as Stewart identifies, employs heroic and allegorical types only to undermine their stability.³⁷ This links to Walcott’s attempts throughout the poem to demolish discursive forms of simplification that threaten to efface the complexities of everyday St Lucian life (see Chapter 2). Readers are asked to remember that Helen, and the symbolic ensemble she represents in relation to the island more broadly, is only one constituent of a highly diverse and variegated community that exhibits a wide array of continually modifying attitudes to tourism involvement, and contributes to the material and conceptual forging of contemporary St Lucia.

Helen’s final position as sexualised waitress at the Halcyon undoubtedly foregrounds metaphorical questions regarding ongoing neocolonial power dynamics within St Lucia. Yet it

no account of such personas as Helen and Ma Kilman in *Omeros*, who display all the qualities listed’ (2001: 46).

³⁶ Whilst this essay has been roundly criticised for its incredibly over-generalised conception of ‘third world’ cultural production (see especially Ahmad 1994: 95–122), Imre Szeman (2001) has more recently made a provocative case for its continued relevance to cultural and globalisation studies.

³⁷ In adapting Homer’s *Iliad*, Walcott draws on the allegorical resonances of Helen as an object of warfare – both at an interpersonal level, involving conflict between Achilles and Hector, and at a state level, alluding to how St Lucia ‘changed hands between France and England thirteen times before an 1814 treaty awarded it to the English’ (Breslin 2001: 12). However, whereas in the *Iliad*, the future of the Greek and Trojan states is constitutively bound up in the battle between Menelaus and Paris over Helen’s love, such individual–state correlations are more ambivalently realised in *Omeros*. This charts a deliberately different kind of history through its creative negotiation of epic form. As I note elsewhere, ‘*Omeros*’s status as an epic is contested. Walcott himself disavows it as such, and critical opinion is divided over whether it represents a relatively unproblematic extension of the canonical genre, a rejection of epics’ “imperial” complicities, or a postcolonial redefinition of the form’ (Carrigan 2007: 150). In this context, Walcott’s Helen is less a political signifier than a meeting point of multiple social, historical, economic, and ecological tensions, all of which find consonance in her and the island’s involvement with contemporary tourism and are interrogated at the level of content and form. As such, even as her body is co-opted allegorically and commoditised as an object of touristic desire, space remains for assertions of autonomy that are arguably denied to Homer’s Helen due to her political overdetermination.

also undermines the kind of straightforward correlations between tourism and prostitution articulated by Achille in the Gros Îslet scene in Book Two. It is worth emphasising that, although Walcott is consistently sympathetic to Achille (contentiously termed ‘the protagonist of *Omeros*’ by Burnett [2001: 23]), there are nuances in his characterisation which undercut nostalgic ideals of St Lucia as non-commoditised space. These are reflected on an allegorical level: while Achille outlives Hector and wins back Helen, the paternity of Helen’s unborn child (representative of St Lucia’s future) is not resolved. Moreover, his influence over its upbringing is also symbolically uncertain, with Ma Kilman commenting to Seven Seas in Book Seven that: “‘Achille want to give it, / even is Hector’s, an African name. Helen don’t want no African child’” (318). This suggests that, rather than reading Achille’s pastoral romanticisation of St Lucia as intrinsic to the poem’s projective morals, it is more helpful to view him as one who is at times *too* fixed in his figurative conception of St Lucia’s changing ecology. In jealously asserting that Helen is ‘selling herself like the island’, he rehearses the broad contours of Walcott’s non-fictional polemic against the ‘whoring’ of St Lucia for the purposes of tourism development, but fails to achieve any significant material intervention.

This ironically highlights the problem associated with unilateral and patronising conceptions of prostitute identities. Like more restrictive, one-to-one forms of allegory, these threaten to flatten the often intricately embedded dynamics that characterise the relationship between tourism, sexual exploitation, and forms of embodied experience. Such problems are further compounded when simplifications of this sort are magnified to encompass island nature and society as a whole. The process has the potential to reflect the kind of colonially inflected, discursive miniaturisation of islands – evoking the domesticated belittlement that converts islands into laboratories – even as it accentuates aspects of tourism’s most endangering practices. This exposes the flaws associated with failing to understand prostitution as one subject position amongst many, and Helen herself as individual rather than archetype who nevertheless embraces a historically differentiated constellation of ‘Helens’. As Burnett observes, Walcott’s epic, like the Nobel prize he accepted not as himself but as ‘gens Ste. Lucie’ (cited in Burnett 2001: 36), ‘focuses [...] on the plural “Helens” of all St. Lucian women’ (2001: 174). This helps negotiate the imprisoning forms of closure implied by a one-to-one allegorical reading of *Omeros*’s ending. Walcott’s aggravation of narrow allegorical mappings, and his creative manipulation of epic conventions, speaks to a complexity of island experience that cannot be overdetermined via generalised registers of sexual exploitation. But it could also

be argued that the reductive force of the prostitution discourse employed in his non-fictional rhetoric foregrounds the ways in which a phenomenon that compromises future sustainability can be shown through imaginative representation to involve more nuanced social dimensions. Such tensions might be seen in this light as enabling spaces from which conceptions of less imprisoning futures can emerge.

Of course, one allegory does not fit all. It is clear that positioning prostitution as an overarching metaphor for internal processes of insular exploitation risks uncritically collapsing sexual economies with broader cultural or environmental sustainability issues, even as it raises provocative points of comparison. Moreover, as with all the readings in this thesis, there are limitations as to how readily place-specific analyses can be expanded and transposed, like so many templates of exploitation, from one island to another in a process that can potentially co-opt whole regions in ways that ironically reflect the insular homogenisations typical of brochure discourse. It is therefore possible to contend that the reason why Jameson's conception of disjunctive, polysemous allegory applies so well to Caribbean texts like *Omeros* is due to the region's own discontinuous cultural history. At the same time, however, trans-regional island comparisons that attend to a shared sense of *postcolonialism* – foregrounding the widespread and no less profound disjunctions that resulted from rapid European colonial expansion – suggest that the specific negotiations of place, society, and genre encapsulated in Walcott's epic retain relevance beyond Caribbean contexts. This is compounded by the fact that, even as tourism commoditises and homogenises diverse cultures and physical environments, it is also implicated in the kind of *disintegration* of communities and environmental endangerment depicted in *Turtle Nest*.

One example of this, which is again derived from interrogation of the industry's sexual dimensions, can be found in Seabrook's observation that:

It is a savage irony that sex tourism should be one symptom of globalisation, the 'integration' of the whole world into a single economy, when both the workers in the industry and the clients from abroad are themselves the products of disintegration of local communities, the dissolution of rootedness and belonging, the breaking of old patterns of labour and traditional livelihoods; and the psychic disintegration of so many people caught up in the great epic changes, of which they have little understanding and over which they have less control.

(2001: 169–70)

Representations of sex tourism and embodied experience foreground the contradictions embedded in these events on multiple levels, situating related processes of social fracturing as 'charged sites' from which insights into intersecting forms of cultural and environmental

exploitation can be gained. They also offer crucial ways of apprehending more fully the ‘great epic changes’ in which many individuals are implicated, encapsulated so brilliantly by Walcott’s own negotiations of epic form. Rather than submitting to these processes’ more destructive aspects, this kind of imaginative work helps perform the traversal between fictional and social domains that for Appadurai is vital to achieving progressive social – and, it should be added, environmental – change. It hence provides an enabling array of confrontations to the ‘prisonhouse of colonialism’ in the era of late capitalist globalisation. This challenges projections of insular futures that rely more on continued circulations of utopian/dystopian clichés than on the spectrum of subject positions that more readily characterise changing configurations of island natures and cultures.

Conclusion

Give us
this day
divine guidance
in our choice
of tourists
technical advisers
investors and entrepreneurs.

[...]

Grant that we may receive
HIGH CLASS tourists who will
appreciate
our cultural diversity
our primitive grotesque artefacts
and revel in
the unadulterated beauty
of our virgin bushes
and natural environment.

Lead
our young men and women

not
into the temptation
of prostituting
their bodies
for the tourist market
particularly
in the Hotel Industry
as has inevitably
happened
in more developed countries.

[...]

This
we ask you
heavenly father
in the name of Burns Philp
Air Vanuatu
and the Tourist Authority.

Grace Molisa, 'Vatu Invocation'
(1983: 66–8)

My conclusion's epigraph is taken from a poem by Ni-Vanuatu writer and activist Grace Molisa which shares affinities with some of the more astringent critiques of postcolonial island tourism examined in this thesis. Commenting on Molisa's work as a whole, Ngaire Douglas states that: 'Generally nothing of the colonial inheritance escaped the stabs of her pen' (1997: 87). 'Stabs' is an appropriate term given that, like many of the other pieces in Molisa's repertoire, 'Vatu Invocation' (1983) is partly a vehicle for invective against the various forms of contemporary Ni-Vanuatu exploitation connected to the islands' colonial history.¹ Recalling aspects of *School for Hawaiian Girls* and *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*, the poem's ironically religious tenor emphasises conjunctions between colonialism, missionary culture, and tourism development in the insular Pacific. However, whereas McMillen's and Wendt's texts highlight possibilities for negotiating the industry that derive from its *differences* from forms of colonial intervention, Molisa's poem is more unilateral in the links it draws between both systems' operations. Although not unremittingly negative – there is at least a suggestion that the state can exert some autonomy over industry development by 'choosing' the most beneficial kinds of 'tourists / [...] / investors and entrepreneurs' – its attention to this choice's circumscriptions implies a strong

¹ This point is felt all the more acutely when factoring in the poem's position as the final piece in Molisa's collection *Black Stone* (1983). This placement reinforces its themes in relation to such preceding poems as 'Victim of Foreign Abuse', 'Traditional Leaders', 'Custom', and 'Neo-Colonialism'.

anti-tourism agenda.² It therefore reflects the relatively reductive rhetoric of insular victimisation that mars Trask's work (as discussed in Chapter 1).

Such comparisons appear to place Molisa's inverted sermon on the 'threat' of tourism and neocolonial dependency at odds with the more constructive literary contributions to ecological sustainability addressed in this thesis. As the previous chapters have shown, even works that convey relatively entrenched anti-tourism sentiments – *The Middle Passage*, *A Small Place*, and *Shark Dialogues*, for instance – also illuminate more positive ways of conceiving industry relations. Taken together, these not only compel literary and cultural critics to examine how nuanced depictions of tourism inflect broader textual concerns, but also enhance core debates within mainstream tourism studies. In particular, they underscore the importance of attending to the variety of local *narratives* that emerge in dialogue with past, present, and future tourism configurations. The textual readings in this thesis have examined how discursive demolitions of paradisaic island tropes are bound up with dialectically complex forms of industry negotiation. This has highlighted the important roles postcolonial island writers' portrayals of tourism can play in extending conceptualisations of the interface between cultural, environmental, and economic sustainability. By contrast, Molisa's cynical presentiments regarding Vanuatuan mass tourism development in the early 1980s seem to offer little by way of addition. Yet, as I suggested in relation to Trask's comments in this thesis's opening, one of my aims throughout has been to show how even the most narrowly anti-tourism positions serve as sites from which productive insights into wider sustainability debates can be drawn. In this light, Molisa's poem, which indigenises the Lord's Prayer by evoking a litany of challenges associated with postcolonial island tourism, offers some useful perspectives on my concluding observations.

Written in the context of an emerging Pacific island tourism market which, like the Samoa of *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*, is on the threshold of significant expansion, 'Vatu Invocation' sardonically foregrounds the importance of receiving visitors who 'appreciate [...] cultural diversity', respect the 'beauty' of the (pointedly sexualised) 'natural environment', and do not 'tempt' the islands' 'young men and women' to 'prostitut[e] / their bodies / for the tourist market'. Focusing on the three strands of touristic interaction analysed in the preceding chapters

² The relationship Molisa establishes in this poem between tourism and neocolonialism is underscored by a deeply ironic manipulation of external aid idioms, especially in her punning use of 'Grant' in the second stanza. This highlights the economic links between external aid and tourist income in small islands that are transforming from MIRAB to TOURAB economies (Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002), questioning the degree of control they can exert over a process which retains strongly neocolonial dimensions. As such, its sentiments provide an interesting counterpart to the concerns with neocolonialism and external aid exhibited throughout Hau'ofa's satirical collection, *Tales of the Tikongs* (1983).

(culture, nature, and sex), the poem represents a concentrated statement on the problems associated with negotiating the touristic consumption of these interwoven facets of island life. The difficulty of achieving a sustainable balance between local resource management, intergenerational equity, and the demands of what Molisa's narrator terms 'corporate greed / and / individual / pleasure seekers' (1983: 66) is compounded by the distinctly uneven political and economic power relations that continue to inflect everyday experience in Vanuatu. This places the islands in a bond of ongoing fealty to their former administrators, with the 'Heavenly Father' of the invocation depicted as 'omnipresent / in London / Paris / and Canberra' and gazing down upon those who are 'doomed / to the colonial legacy of / watching / passively / from the periphery' (66). Yet although such stereotypical fetishisation of Pacific island culture and nature reinforces rigidly paternalistic – even voyeuristic – notions of these metropolises' influence in the archipelago, the imaginative connections Molisa draws between 'peripheral' island hosts and mainland tourist experience have some intriguing ramifications. These become apparent when considering the intertextual relationship this poem shares with a gently ironic piece published a decade earlier by American humorist Art Buchwald.

'The Tourist's Prayer' (1973) conveys the imagined orisons of 'western' tourists in relation to their travel expectations, opening with the lines: 'Heavenly Father, look down on us, your humble obedient tourist servants, who are doomed to travel this earth, taking photographs, mailing postcards, buying souvenirs'. After detailing a number of stereotypical tourist pleas – regarding, for instance, protection from 'unscrupulous taxi drivers', serendipity in finding 'inexpensive restaurants where the food is superb', and hope that 'the natives love us for what we are and not what we can contribute to their worldly goods' – the poem ends with the invocation: 'This we ask of you in the Name of Conrad Hilton, Thomas Cook, and the American Express. Amen' (cited in Khan 2005: 29–30). Still widely quoted and anthologised, 'The Tourist's Prayer' first appeared three years before MacCannell's groundbreaking sociological monograph, *The Tourist*. As discussed in Chapter 3, MacCannell's book opens by positioning the tourist as 'one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general' (1999: 1). This assertion is pre-empted by Buchwald's own use of the most widely recited Christian prayer to present tourism as a mode of 'religious' practice whose mass participation places it in an archetypal relationship to the rituals of modernity.³ At the same time, Buchwald also

³ The links between tourism and religious practice are amongst some of the earliest to have been analysed and typologised within mainstream tourism studies. MacCannell's notion of 'sight sacralisation' (1999:

anticipates the correlation drawn by Zygmunt Bauman in the mid-1990s between the pilgrim as a ‘metaphor for the modern life strategy preoccupied with the [...] task of identity-building’, and the tourist as part-metaphor for a more characteristically ‘postmodern strategy moved by the horror of being bound and fixed’ (1996: 26).⁴ However, as I discussed in relation to *A Small Place* in Chapter 3, the heavily tourist-centred view of modernity that emerges in different ways from Buchwald’s, MacCannell’s, and Bauman’s works represents only a partial account of the processes of exchange in which host ecologies are constitutively involved. As Molisa’s refashioning of Buchwald insists, if notions of ‘modern man’ – or indeed ‘modern civilization’ (MacCannell 1999:1) – are to be deemed meaningful, they must be seen as intrinsically bound up with the viewpoints, experiences, and cultural productions emanating from touristically fetishised states.

Significantly, Molisa’s reconfiguration of Buchwald’s ‘holy trinity’ of capitalist tourism entrepreneurs (‘Conrad Hilton, Thomas Cook, and the American Express’) in the conclusion to ‘Vatu Invocation’ creates a direct link with similar corporate interventions in the South Pacific. This is especially relevant in terms of the legacy of Burns Philp – a Thomas Cook equivalent which began offering tours of New Guinea in the late nineteenth century, and proceeded to appropriate substantial quantities of indigenous land (not least in Vanuatu) during its early twentieth-century expansion (Van Trease 1987: 116). The conclusion to Molisa’s poem therefore subtly foregrounds the interrelationship between early Pacific tourism expansion and the kind of contemporary conflicts over land use that, as Apio’s and Grace’s texts show, are often central to articulations of local sustainability practices in island states. Furthermore, although the respective trinities of ‘higher authorities’ in Molisa’s and Buchwald’s texts are appealed to from extremely different positions of power and exploitation, it is notable that – as in numerous examples throughout this thesis – both tourists and natives are variously manipulated by these capitalist organisations. This establishes another point of mutuality between seemingly contrastive viewpoints which is self-reflexively reinforced by the collaborative (if archly critical) exchange that Molisa initiates with Buchwald. Derived from the imaginative interface between touristic and postcolonial island perspectives, such affinities

44–5), as noted in Chapter 2, contributed importantly to founding this discourse. For an early assessment of the links between tourism, ritual, and pilgrimage that draws on MacCannell, see Graburn (1983: 11–17).

⁴ Although this provides another important connection between tourism and religious practice, Bauman’s postmodern identity metaphors are plural rather than singular as, for him, ‘postmodern life is too messy and incoherent to be grasped by any one cohesive model’ (1996: 26). Alongside the tourist, they also include what he terms the stroller, the vagabond, and the player.

present a further route into the multifaceted dimensions of sustainability debates. They suggest that this highly decentralised industry can be negotiated partly through nuanced consideration of how tourists and natives are participants (as I began Chapter 1 by observing) in the same system of desire, exchange, and circumscription.

Although several of the texts in this thesis offer more involved insights into these issues, I have chosen to conclude with Molisa's poem in order to show how it also enhances the non-prescriptive and often entangled tourism sustainability considerations raised throughout the previous analyses. I also want to emphasise the importance of maintaining the kind of expansive dialogue between different modes of representation that has been central to the diverse collection of perspectives assembled in this thesis, reflecting the variety of island ecologies more broadly. Rather than mapping a geographically determinate discourse of boundedness onto insular cultural productions, I have shown how postcolonial island writers' representations of tourism engage in open-ended forms of social and environmental exchange. The material and textual interplay this involves is embedded in my methodological approach, which attempts to contribute to a much wider set of debates that extend across the postcolonial field and literary studies in general. The readings in this thesis have not only affirmed literature's projective dimensions but tried to account substantively for *what* is being transformed in the process of writing, reading, and collective imagining. In the opening to his book, *Post-Colonial Transformation* (2001), Bill Ashcroft discusses the forms of 'change and adaptation' associated with the 'resilience' of 'colonized cultures' (Ashcroft 2001: 2). Although he asserts that, '[b]y taking hold of the means of representation, colonized people throughout the world have appropriated and transformed those processes into culturally appropriate vehicles' in a 'struggle over representation' (2001: 5), he draws back from suggesting that cultural productions are constitutive of fundamentally different forms of transformation to those which operate in society more broadly. As he puts it, 'artists, writers and performers only capture more evocatively that capacity for transformation which is demonstrated at every level of society' (5). Whilst Appadurai's description of the collective 'work of imagination' supports this socially pervasive notion of transformation, Ashcroft's description of cultural production as merely an 'evocative' means of 'capturing' these procedures fails to account fully for the complex interrelationship between the artistic and the everyday.⁵ It positions the aesthetic domain more as a commentary on (and component of) over-arching processes of cultural transformation,

⁵ For a further critique of Ashcroft's notion of 'post-colonial transformation', see McLeod (2004: 12–13).

rather than as a boundary-crossing procedure between the different imaginary frameworks outlined in Chapter 1.

The latter point has been central to the close reading techniques of this thesis, guided by the theoretical dialogue initiated with respect to work by Appadurai and Quayson. My analyses have been organised with the aim of providing concrete insights into how the nexus between imaginative writing, audience reception, and literary critique can enhance collective action and transform understandings of what is possible across various intersecting social imaginaries. This has involved foregrounding the productive conjunctions that arise from transnational, inter-island comparison when negotiating exploitative tourism demands, and maintaining an active commitment to interdisciplinary methods. The latter especially has helped augment the emerging dialogue between postcolonial studies and ecocriticism that I have engaged with here, highlighting the constructive interactions that can take place between the aesthetic domain on one hand, and the social and environmental sciences on the other. In so doing, I have contended that it is important not only to show *what* aesthetic works can contribute to wider discussions, but also to explore the *mechanisms* through which this exchange might be facilitated.

The specific relevance of this thesis's readings to progressive research agendas across the tourism studies field can be seen in relation, for instance, to participatory methods that reject how '[s]ocial scientists have far too frequently treated the real world as merely a source of examples with which to validate their theories' (Dodman and Dodman 2006: 102). Arguing against such approaches as a result of grassroots work in Kingston, Jamaica, David Dodman and Jane Dodman emphasise the need to focus instead 'on the lived experiences of individuals in a variety of settings' (102), privileging local knowledge and the diversity of community opinion in assessing social and environmental change. It is therefore significant that Dodman and Dodman also assert that '[c]ultural productions in the forms of art, literature, and music can provide a rich vein of historical and contemporary information about social processes', with the 'use of visual imagery and stories' offering 'integrative insights into the separate realities of diverse groups of people, based on the situated interpretations of both "narrators" and "readers"' (100). Whilst broadly consonant with the aims of this thesis, Dodman and Dodman's statement exhibits the potentially reductive tendency to mine literary texts for sociological detail in line with specific research agendas. This is where a methodological approach that is attentive to how the interplay of the social and the aesthetic is bound up with cultural productions' *formal* complexities represents particularly fertile ground for critical development. Integrating such

analyses into the policy-oriented networks associated with interdisciplinary tourism studies can enhance notions of sustainability in political spheres. This in turn promises to help propel the ongoing decolonisation – both conceptual and pedagogical – of tourism studies as a field.

One way of progressively augmenting this process relates to how issues of uneven wealth distribution within tourism economies can be confronted in the context of late capitalist development strategies and desires. In this sense, it is worth noting that, alongside its portrayal of the frictions and collaborative possibilities which emerge through negotiating tourist and native viewpoints, Molisa's poem also condenses another of the thesis's key concerns as it foregrounds the economic complexity of tourism practices. In particular, it highlights the often precarious dialectic between autonomy and circumscription by alluding to the interplay between local need, sacrifice, and compromise (as discussed in Chapter 2). These are critical issues to postcolonial island communities dealing with the material contradictions – cultural, social, environmental, and economic – that come from living in 'the tension [...] of decolonization and globalization' (Clifford 2004: 154). It is therefore sobering to note that, almost a quarter of a century after the publication of 'Vatu Invocation' and forty-five years after *The Middle Passage* first appeared, Weibing Zhao and J.R. Brent Ritchie observed in 2007 that 'the relationship between tourism and poverty alleviation largely remains *terra incognita* among tourism academics' (cited in Bramwell and Lane 2008: 2). Given the previous chapter's discussion of 'free market' capitalism's pursuit of the colonial principle of *terra nullius* (or 'blank is beautiful' [Klein 2007: 3]), Zhao and Ritchie's comments make for disturbing reading. This is not least because the blank space of poverty alleviation in such an expansive field as tourism studies seems tacitly to reflect the 'fact of blankness' propounded within the most pernicious of development strategies. These observations highlight a worrying institutional reticence towards interrogating how the highly variegated forms of human–environmental interaction exhibited within postcolonial island ecologies are to be approached in ways that can enable greater tourism sustainability.

Such reticence contrasts distinctly with the sensitivities shown by all the imaginative approaches to postcolonial island tourism in this thesis, especially with regard to how cultural and environmental sustainability strategies must contend with often painfully reductive economic imperatives if their objectives are to be most fully realised. In this light, another central contribution they make to sustainability theory more broadly involves elevating such considerations, which rarely constitute '*terra incognita*' for economically disadvantaged island

communities, to positions of greater visibility. This is especially urgent in situations where poverty, economic need, and mass travel coalesce to produce such exploitative practices as child sex tourism in coastal Sri Lanka, or the erasures of contested landscapes' sacred and historical dimensions as in Hawai'i, New Zealand, Barbados, and St Lucia. Whilst the ethical and moral considerations that accompany these sustainability concerns are seldom straightforward, the textual comparisons constructed here consistently draw attention to the complexities of practices that receive insufficient consideration from governments as well as mainstream researchers. As a result, they provide context-specific strategies for negotiating these phenomena which must be factored into any serious conceptual reckoning with sustainability.

The representations of tourism addressed in this thesis position sustainability as a contested, inherently plural, and often dialectically constellated notion which unravels under its own weight when conceived simply as a 'solution' or endpoint. Instead they suggest that, in postcolonial island contexts at least, it should be seen to embrace an array of relatively contingent tactics and imperatives which can be imported, adapted, and reconfigured according to particular circumstances. The differences observed, for instance, between the reindigenising function of tourism in Hawai'i (see Chapter 3) and the institution of genealogical relationships with sacred land in Barbados (see Chapter 2) highlight the critical need to adapt over-arching notions of sustainability to local histories, politics, ideologies, and environments in island contexts.⁶ At the same time, however, even the compound disasters afflicting contemporary Sri Lanka do not prevent it from being placed in nuanced dialogue with developments in other highly touristed postcolonial island states. Such comparative resonances underscore how a multi-layered conception of sustainability can be constructed by comparing a highly diverse series of islands. This in turn reinforces the constitutive role that insular regions continue to play with respect to the experiences of global modernity to which sustainability theory responds.

These observations could be productively extended in future research which probes the limit points of the island-oriented analyses offered here. For instance, the correlations between ideological contestations over land in New Zealand and Hawai'i stress the importance of attending to processes of internal colonialism that create islands-within-islands as indigenous communities are comparatively 'insularised'. The relative size of New Zealand in particular

⁶ As Shari Stone-Mediatore points out in the slightly different context of notions of resistance, '[w]hile a theory of language or society may contribute to ideology critique or to the development of counterhegemonic discourses, only the continual reckoning with historically specific experiences ensures that those alternative discourses do not themselves become dogmatic but are responsive to evolving, multifaceted historical struggles' (2003: 158).

suggests that it can perform a useful bridging function (like Hawai'i with regard to the insular Pacific and the Caribbean) between the island-specific concerns of this thesis, and further critical investigations into depictions of tourism in postcolonial literatures. Just as I have attempted to show how Māori negotiations of capitalist tourism development can benefit through comparison with similar processes in other Pacific island states, it is also possible to place them in dialogue with the experiences of marginalised groups in mainland contexts, especially as these are also often framed as 'culture islands' in the functionalist sense. Tropes of isolation retain particular significance from this perspective; as Curtin observes in relation to environmental rights disputes: 'We need to ask, "Why are these conflicts so common today?" One answer, surely, is that the people who are most directly affected are "remote" from those who benefit' (2005: 16–17). By interrogating such connections, it will be possible both to clarify how the contributions to tourism sustainability theory discussed here apply to other postcolonial contexts, and to refine the island-specific aspects of my observations.⁷ This ongoing interaction between the particular and the general promises to offer further positive contributions both to comparative critical practices, and to the wider arena of industrial development.

Returning finally to the general level of theoretical analysis, this thesis has consistently shown how representations of tourism in postcolonial literatures can provide leading insights into the creation of what Bramwell and Lane call 'truly sustainable' societies. These demand that 'questions of social needs[,] [...] welfare, and economic opportunity are integrally related to the environmental constraints imposed by supporting ecosystems and the climate' (2008: 1). Notably, Bramwell and Lane articulate this concept in the context of a recent *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* editorial that opens by observing the 'huge increase in concern about tourism's impacts on climate change' which has resulted from 'the claimed significance of aviation for greenhouse gas [...] emissions and thus for global warming' (2008: 1). The idea that tourism might be significantly precipitating the future inundation of islands' crowded coastal areas with respect to rising sea levels holds potentially disastrous implications for these vulnerable ecologies. Indeed, it augurs situations in which the concerns expressed in relation to compound disaster in Sri Lanka become inescapably relevant to many other touristed island

⁷ One text that would offer an intriguing parallel with Māori concerns in this light is South African novelist Zakes Mda's *The Heart of Redness* (2000). This draws direct comparisons between land development policies in colonial South Africa and New Zealand in relation to its portrayal of tourism development demands in the imaginary coastal village of Qolorha-by-Sea.

states. It also underscores, however, the pitfalls of believing that international tourism can ever represent a 'truly sustainable' practice. At this moment, such cataclysmic change remains a theoretical – if increasingly distinct – possibility. What seems more certain is that island tourist arrivals are going to continue to increase substantially over the forthcoming decades. This will further accentuate the need for strategies that negotiate the entwined cultural and environmental ramifications of these influxes, and which continue to confront the neocolonial dimensions of industry expansion. If such concerns can be tackled in ways that frustrate paradigmatic assertions of insular 'fragility', they may also provide insights into contending with more drastic forms of ecological change, whenever these arise. In this context, postcolonial island regions and the literatures they inspire have crucial roles to play in propelling sustainability theory worldwide.

Bibliography

- 'About Us'. *Historic Waikiki*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.downwindproductions.com/about_us.html> [accessed 7 April 2008].
- Adams, W.M. and Mulligan, M. (2003) 'Introduction', in W.M. Adams and M. Mulligan (eds.) *Decolonizing Nature: Strategies for Conservation in a Postcolonial Era*, London: Earthscan, 1–15.
- Agnew, V. (2003) 'Pacific Island Encounters and the German Invention of Race', in R. Edmond and V. Smith (eds.) *Islands in History and Representation*, London and New York: Routledge, 81–94.
- Ahmad, A. (1994) *In Theory: Class, Nations, Literatures*, New York: Verso.
- Akama, J.S. (2004) 'Neocolonialism, Dependency and External Control of Africa's Tourism Industry: A Case Study of Wildlife Safari Tourism in Kenya', in C.M. Hall and H. Tucker (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, London and New York: Routledge, 140–52.
- Alexander, M.J. (2005) *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Altman, D. (2001) *Global Sex*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Amarasinghe, S.W. (2002) 'Sri Lanka: The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Rapid Assessment', *International Labour Organization*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipoc/simpoc/srilanka/ra/cse.pdf>> [accessed 8 May 2007].
- 'Amunugama Wants BOI to Think Big, Targets \$4b in FDI'. (2007) *Daily Mirror: E Edition*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.dailymirror.lk/2007/02/22/ft/main.asp>> [accessed 12 February 2008].
- Anyinam, C. (1999) 'Ethnomedicine, Sacred Spaces, and Ecosystem Preservation and Conservation in Africa', in E. Kalipeni and T. Zeleza (eds.) *Sacred Spaces and Public Quarrels: African Cultural and Economic Landscapes*, Trenton: African World Press, 127–48.
- Apio, A. (1998) *Kāmau A'e*, Honolulu: Kailia.
- . (2001a) 'Kanaka Lament', *Sovereign Stories*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.sovereignstories.org/apio-kanaka.htm>> [accessed 10 February 2007].
- . (2001b) 'A Thousand Little Cuts to Genocide', *Sovereign Stories*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.sovereignstories.org/apio-1kcuts.htm>> [accessed 10 February 2007].
- . (2003) [1994] 'Kāmau', in J.H.Y. Wat and M.M. Desha (eds.) *He Leo Hou: A New Voice, Hawaiian Playwrights*, Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 17–81.
- Apostolopoulos, Y. and Gayle, D.J. (2002) 'From MIRAB to TOURAB? Searching for Sustainable Development in the Maritime Caribbean, Pacific, and Mediterranean', in Y. Apostolopoulos and D.J. Gayle (eds.) *Island Tourism and Sustainable Development: Caribbean, Pacific, and Mediterranean Experiences*, Westport and London: Praeger, 3–14.

- Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- 'Arrivals and Departures by Class 1955–2005'. *Statistics New Zealand*. Online. Available HTTP: <www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/EEFA37A5–17DA-4569–B6EB-104687D64135/0/Table101.xls> [accessed 1 May 2006].
- Ashcroft, B. (2001) *Post-Colonial Transformation*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. (2002) [1989] *The Empire Writes Back*, 2nd ed., London and New York: Routledge.
- Athique, T.M. (2006) 'Textual Migrations: South Asian–Australian Fiction', unpublished thesis, University of Wollongong.
- Ayres, R. (2002) 'Cultural Tourism in Small-Island States: Contradictions and Ambiguities', in Y. Apostolopoulos and D.J. Gayle (eds.) *Island Tourism and Sustainable Development: Caribbean, Pacific, and Mediterranean Experiences*, Westport and London: Praeger, 145–60.
- Baker, D.J. (1997) 'Ea and Knowing in Hawai'i', *Critical Inquiry*, 23.3, 640–59.
- Baldicchino, G. (2006) 'Islands, Island Studies, Island Studies Journal', *Island Studies Journal*, 1.1, 3–18.
- Baldwin, J. (2005) 'The Contested Beach: Resistance and Resort Development in Antigua, West Indies', in C. Cartier and A.A. Lew (eds.) *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes*, London and New York: Routledge, 222–41.
- Balme, C.B. (2007) *Pacific Performances: Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounter in the South Seas*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.
- Barker, C. (2008) 'Exceptional Children, Disability and Cultural History in Contemporary Postcolonial Fiction', unpublished thesis, University of Leeds.
- Barry, T., Wood, B. and Preusch, D. (1984) *The Other Side of Paradise: Foreign Control in the Caribbean*, New York: Grove Press.
- Barthes, R. (2000) [1980] *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. R. Howard, London: Vintage.
- Bate, J. (2000) *The Song of the Earth*, London: Picador.
- Bauman, Z. (1996) 'From Pilgrim to Tourist – or a Short History of Identity', in S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds.) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: SAGE, 18–36.
- Beddoe, C. (1998) 'Beachboys and Tourists: Links in the Chain of Child Prostitution in Sri Lanka', in M. Oppermann (ed.) *Sex Tourism and Prostitution: Aspects of Leisure, Recreation and Work*, Elmsford: Cognizant Communication Corp, 42–50.
- Ben-Amos, P. (1977) 'Pidgin Languages and Tourist Arts', *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, 4.2, 128–39.
- Benítez-Rojo, A. (1992) *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*, trans. J.E. Maraniss, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.

- Bertram, G. and Watters, R.F. (1985) 'The MIRAB economy in South Pacific Microstates', *Pacific Viewpoint*, 26.3, 497–519.
- Bhabha, H.K. (2004) [1994] *The Location of Culture*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Black, S. (dir.) (2001) *Life and Debt*, Tuff Gong Pictures.
- Blamey, R.K. (2001) 'Principles of Ecotourism', in D.B. Weaver (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Ecotourism*, Wallingford and New York: CABI, 5–22.
- Boehmer, E. (2005) *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bramwell, B. and Lane, B. (2008) 'Priorities in Sustainable Tourism Research', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16.1, 1–4.
- Brathwaite, E.K. (1973) *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy*, London: Oxford University Press.
- . (2005a) 'Kamau Brathwaite and CowPastor', *Save CowPastor*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.tomraworth.com/wordpress/>> [accessed 15 August 2006].
- . (2005b) 'KB/Xtending the CP Discourse', *Save CowPastor*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://tomraworth.com/xtend.html>> [accessed 5 January 2008].
- . (2005c) 'The Namsetoura Papers', *Save CowPastor*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.tomraworth.com/npdf>> [accessed 15 August 2006].
- . (2005d) 'News', *Save CowPastor*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://tomraworth.com/wordpress/?page_id=73> [accessed 6 July 2006].
- . (2005e) 'Salvation Salvages or Is who Braffitt tink he is', *Save CowPastor*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://tomraworth.com/wordpress/?page_id=73> [accessed 8 July 2006].
- Brennan, D. (2004) *What's Love Got to Do With It?: Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic*, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Breslin, P. (2001) *Nobody's Nation: Reading Derek Walcott*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Bruner, E.M. (2005) *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Buck, E.B. (1993) *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Buell, F. (2003) *From Apocalypse to Way of Life: Four Decades of Environmental Crisis in the U.S.*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Buell, L. (2001) *Writing for an Endangered World: Literature, Culture, and Environment in the U.S. and Beyond*, Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- . (2005) *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*, Oxford: Blackwell.

- Burnett, G. (2004) 'Deconstructing Educational Discourse in Kiribati: Postcolonial Encounters', in P. Ninnes and S. Mehta (eds.) *Re-Imagining Comparative Education: Postfoundational Ideas and Applications for Critical Times*, London and New York: Routledge, 63–83.
- Burnett, P. (2001) *Derek Walcott: Politics and Poetics*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Burns, P.M. (2006) 'Social Identities and the Cultural Politics of Tourism', in P.M. Burns and M. Novelli (eds.) *Tourism and Social Identities: Global Frameworks and Local Realities*, Oxford: Elsevier, 13–24.
- Butcher, J. (2003) *The Moralisation of Tourism: Sun, Sand ... and Saving the World?*, London and New York: Routledge.
- . (2007) *Ecotourism, NGOs and Development: A Critical Analysis*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Cabezas, A.L. (1999) 'Women's Work is Never Done: Sex Tourism in Sosúa, the Dominican Republic', in K. Kempadoo (ed.) *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex work in the Caribbean*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 93–123.
- Carrigan, A. (2006–7) "'Hotels Are Squatting on My Metaphors': Tourism, Sustainability, and Sacred Space in the Caribbean', *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Studies*, 13.2–14.1, 59–82.
- . (2007) 'Preening with Privilege, Bubbling Bilge: Representations of Cruise Tourism in Paule Marshall's *Praisesong For the Widow* and Derek Walcott's *Omeros*', *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 14.1, 143–59.
- Cartier, C. (2005) 'Introduction: Touristed Landscapes/Seductions of Place', in C. Cartier and A.A. Lew (eds.) *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes*, London and New York: Routledge, 1–19.
- Castoriadis, C. (1998) [1975] *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, trans. K. Blamey, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Cater, E. (2006) 'Ecotourism as a Western Construct', *Journal of Ecotourism*, 5.1&2, 23–39.
- Chang, D.K. (2006) 'Hawai'i Visitors Bureau Annual Lunch Keynote Speech', Hawai'i Visitors and Convention Bureau. Online. Available HTTP: <www.hvcb.org/luncheon/Doug_Chang_Speech.pdf> [accessed 12 March 2008].
- Cheah, P. (2003) *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation*, New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press.
- Chi, R. (1997) 'Toward a New Tourism: Albert Wendt and Becoming Attractions', *Cultural Critique*, 37, 61–105.
- Choi, H.C. and Sirakaya, E. (2006) 'Sustainability Indicators for Managing Community Tourism', *Tourism Management*, 27, 1274–89.
- Cilano, C. (2005) 'Of Blood and of the Heart: An Interview with Georgia Ka'apuni McMillen', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 17.2, 387–402.

- Cilano, C. and DeLoughrey, E.M. (2007) 'Against Authenticity: Global Knowledges and Postcolonial Ecocriticism', *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 14.1, 71–87.
- Clifford, J. (1988) *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . (2001) 'Indigenous Articulations', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13.2, 468–90.
- . (2004) 'Traditional Futures', in M.S. Phillips and G. Schochet (eds.) *Questions of Tradition*, Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 152–68.
- Clift, S. and Carter, S. (2000) 'Tourism, International Travel and Sex: Themes and Research', in S. Clift and S. Carter (eds.) *Tourism and Sex: Culture, Commerce and Coercion*, London: Pinter, 1–19.
- Collins, L. (1995) "'We Shall All Heal": Ma Kilman, the Obeah Woman, as Mother-Healer in Derek Walcott's *Omeros*', *Literature and Medicine*, 14.1, 146–62.
- Collins, M. (1991) [1986] 'Ise's Iron', *Callaloo*, 14.4, 786.
- Conway, D. (1998) 'Microstates in a Macroworld', in T. Klak (ed.) *Globalization and Neoliberalism: The Caribbean Context*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 51–63.
- Cosgrove, D.E. and Daniels, S. (1988) 'Introduction: Iconography and Landscape', in D.E. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–10.
- Crawshaw, C. and Urry, J. (1997) 'Tourism and the Photographic Eye', in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.) *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, London and New York: Routledge, 176–95.
- Cribb, R. (2007) 'Conservation in Colonial India', *Interventions*, 7.1, 49–61.
- Crick, M. (1994) *Resplendent Sites, Discordant Voices: Sri Lankans and International Tourism*, Chur and Reading: Harwood Academic.
- Cudjow, S.R. (1989) 'Jamaica Kincaid and the Modernist Project: An Interview', *Callaloo*, 39.2, 396–411.
- Curtin, D. (2005) *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Curtis, B. and Pajaczkowska, C. (1994) "'Getting There": Travel, Time and Narrative', in G. Robertson, M. Mash, L. Tickner, J. Bird, B. Curtis and T. Putnam (eds.) *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, London and New York: Routledge, 199–215.
- Dann, G.S. (1992) 'Predisposition Toward Alternative Forms of Tourism among Tourists Visiting Barbados: Some Preliminary Observations', in V.L. Smith and W.R. Eadington (eds.) *Tourism Alternatives: Problems and Potentials in the Development of Tourism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 158–79.

- Dann, G.S. and Seaton, A.V. (2001) 'Slavery, Contested Heritage and Thanatourism', in G.S. Dann and A.V. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, Contested Heritage and Thanatourism*, New York, London, and Oxford: Haworth Press, 1–29.
- Davenport, K. (1995) [1994] *Shark Dialogues*, New York: Plume.
- Davis, J.S. (2005) 'Representing Place: "Deserted Isles" and the Reproduction of the Bikini Atoll', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 95.3, 607–25.
- de Certeau, M. (1984) [1974] *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. S. Rendall, Berkeley and London: University of California Press.
- de Kretser, M. (2004) [2003] *The Hamilton Case*, London: Vintage.
- DeLoughrey, E.M. (1999) 'The Spiral Temporality of Patricia Grace's *Potiki*', *ARIEL*, 30.1, 59–84.
- . (2001) "'The Litany of Islands, The Rosary of Archipelagoes": Caribbean and Pacific Archipelagraphy', *ARIEL*, 32.1, 21–52.
- . (2004) 'Island Ecologies and Caribbean Literatures', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 95.3, 298–310.
- . (2007a) 'American Pacificism: Oceania in the US Imagination (Review)', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 19.2, 644–646.
- . (2007b) *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- DeLoughrey, E.M., Gosson, R.K. and Handley, G.B. (2005) 'Introduction', in E.M. DeLoughrey, R.K. Gosson and G.B. Handley (eds.) *Caribbean Literature and the Environment: Between Nature and Culture*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1–30.
- Dening, G. (1980) *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774–1880*, Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i.
- . (2003) 'Afterword', in R. Edmond and V. Smith (eds.) *Islands in History and Representation*, London and New York: Routledge, 203–6.
- . (2004) *Beach Crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures, and Self*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Desmond, J.C. (1999) *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- 'Developing Countries Lead Dynamic World Tourism Growth'. *World Tourism Organization*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.unwto.org/media/news/en/press_det.php?id=1801> [accessed 10 April 2008].
- DeVotta, N. (1998) 'Sri Lanka's Structural Adjustment Program and Its Impact on Indo-Lanka Relations', *Asian Survey*, 38.5, 457–73.
- Dewailly, J.-M. (1999) 'Sustainable Tourist Space: From Reality to Virtual Reality', *Tourism Geographies*, 1.1, 41–55.

- Diaz, V.M. and Kauanui, J.K. (2001) 'Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13.2, 315–42.
- 'Direct Foreign Tourist Arrivals to Bali by Nationality by Month in 2006'. *Bali Tourism Board*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.bali-tourism-board.com/files/Statistic_Nationality%20til%20Dec%202006.pdf> [accessed 01 November 2007].
- 'Disaster Tourism – As Bad as Tsunami for Victims'. (2005) *Indiainfo*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://news.indiainfo.com/2005/01/10/1001tourists.html>> [accessed 29 June 2007].
- Dodds, K. (2003) 'God Save the Falklands: Postcolonial Geographies of the Falklands/Malvinas', in R. Edmond and V. Smith (eds.) *Islands in History and Representation*, London and New York: Routledge, 177–89.
- Dodman, D. and Dodman, J. (2006) "'Nuff Respec"? Widening and Deepening Participation in Academic and Policy Research in Jamaica', in J. Pugh and J.H. Momsen (eds.) *Environmental Planning in the Caribbean*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 93–109.
- Dolby, N. (2003) 'A Small Place: Jamaica Kincaid and a Methodology of Connection', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9.1, 57–73.
- Dombrowsky, W.R. (1998) 'Again and Again: Is a Disaster what we call a "Disaster"?' in E.L. Quarantelli (ed.) *What Is a Disaster?: Perspectives on the Question*, London and New York: Routledge, 19–30.
- Donnell, A. (1995) 'She Ties Her Tongue: The Problems of Cultural Paralysis in Postcolonial Criticism', *ARIEL*, 26.1, 101–16.
- Döring, T. (2002) *Caribbean–English Passages: Intertextuality in a Postcolonial Tradition*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Douglas, N. (1997) 'Melanesians as Observers, Entrepreneurs and Administrators of Tourism', in J.C. Crofts and C.A. Ryan (eds.) *Marketing Issues in Pacific Area Tourism*, Binghamton: Haworth Press, 85–92.
- Duval, D.T. (2004a) 'Cultural Tourism in Postcolonial Environments: Negotiating Histories, Ethnicities and Authenticities in St Vincent, Eastern Caribbean', in C.M. Hall and H. Tucker (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, London and New York: Routledge, 57–75.
- . (2004b) 'Trends and Circumstances in Caribbean Tourism', in D.T. Duval (ed.) *Tourism in the Caribbean: Trends, Development, Prospects*, London: Routledge, 3–22.
- Echtner, C.M. and Prasad, P. (2003) 'The Context of Third World Tourism Marketing', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30.3, 660–82.
- Edmond, R. and Smith, V. (2003) 'Editors' Introduction', in R. Edmond and V. Smith (eds.) *Islands in History and Representation*, London and New York: Routledge, 1–18.
- Edwards, E. (1996) 'Postcards – Greetings from Another World', in T. Selwyn (ed.) *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, Chichester: Wiley, 197–221.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. (2002) 'Multiple Modernities', in S.N. Eisenstadt (ed.) *Multiple Modernities*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction, 1–29.

- Emberson-Bain, A. (1994) 'Introduction: Sustaining the Unsustainable?', in A. Emberson-Bain (ed.) *Sustainable Development or Malignant Growth? Perspectives of Pacific Island Women*, Suva: Marama, i–xiii.
- Enloe, C. (1989) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, London: Pandora.
- ESCAP. (2003) *Ecotourism Development in the Pacific Islands*, New York: United Nations.
- Fagence, M. (1999) 'Tourism', in M. Rapaport (ed.) *The Pacific Islands: Environment & Society*, Honolulu: Bess Press, 394–403.
- Fanon, F. (2001) [1961] *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. C. Farrington, London: Penguin.
- Feinberg, R. (1995) 'Introduction: Politics of Culture in the Pacific Islands', *Ethnology*, 34.2, 91–8.
- Ferguson, M. (1994) *Jamaica Kincaid: Where the Land Meets the Body*, Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia.
- Foley, M. and Lennon, J.J. (1996) 'JFK and Dark Tourism: A Fascination with Assassination', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2.4, 198–211.
- Frow, J. (1997) *Time and Commodity Culture: Essays in Cultural Theory and Postmodernity*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fuchs, M. (1994) 'Reading Toward the Indigenous Pacific: Patricia Grace's *Potiki*, A Case Study', *Boundary 2*, 21.1, 165–84.
- Garrard, G. (2007) 'Problems Concerning Islands', in C. Campbell and E. Somerville (eds.) *'What is the Earthly Paradise?' Ecocritical Responses to the Caribbean*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 10–22.
- Gauch, S. (2002) 'A Small Place: Some Perspectives on the Ordinary', *Callaloo*, 25.3, 910–19.
- Genova, J.E. (2004) 'Conflicted Missionaries: Power and Identity in French West Africa During the 1930s', *The Historian*, 66.1, 45–66.
- Goldstone, P. (2001) *Making the World Safe for Tourism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Gössling, S. (2002) 'Human–Environmental Relations with Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29.2, 539–56.
- . (2003) 'Tourism and Development in Tropical Islands: Political Ecology Perspectives', in S. Gössling (ed.) *Tourism and Development in Tropical Islands: Political Ecology Perspectives*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1–37.
- Graburn, N.H.H. (1983) 'The Anthropology of Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 10.1, 9–33.
- Grace, P. (1986) *Potiki*, Auckland: Penguin.
- . (2001) *Dogside Story*, Auckland: Penguin.

- Graves, T. (2005) 'Letter sent to Ricky Jordan at Nation News (Barbados)', *Save CowPastor*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://tomraworth.com/wordpress/?page_id=73> [accessed 6 June 2006].
- Grove, R. (1995) *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guha, R. and Martinez-Alier, J. (1997) *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South*, London: Earthscan.
- Gunasekera, R.B. and Momsen, J.H. (2007) 'Amidst the Misty Mountains: The Role of Tea Tourism in Sri Lanka's Turbulent Tourist Industry', in L. Jolliffe (ed.) *Tea and Tourism: Tourists, Traditions and Transformations*, Clevedon: Channel View, 84–97.
- Gunasekera, R. (1998) *The Sandglass*, London: Granta.
- Hall, C.M. (1998) 'Making the Pacific: Globalization, Modernity and Myth', in G. Ringer (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*, London and New York: Routledge, 140–53.
- Hall, C.M. and Tucker, H. (2004) 'Tourism and Postcolonialism: An Introduction', in C.M. Hall and H. Tucker (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, London and New York: Routledge, 1–24.
- Hall, S. (1986) 'Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 10.2, 5–27.
- Halualani, R.T. (2002) *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Handley, G.B. (2005a) "'The Argument of the Outboard Motor": An Interview with Derek Walcott', in E.M. DeLoughrey, R.K. Gosson and G.B. Handley (eds.) *Caribbean Literature and the Environment: Between Nature and Culture*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 127–39.
- . (2005b) 'Derek Walcott's Poetics of the Environment in *The Bounty*', *Callaloo*, 28.1, 201–15.
- Harrison, D. (2004) 'Tourism in Pacific Islands', *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 26.1&2, 1–28.
- Harrison, D. and Price, M.F. (1996) 'Fragile Environments, Fragile Communities? An Introduction', in M.F. Price (ed.) *People and Tourism in Fragile Environments*, Chichester: Wiley, 1–18.
- Hau'ofa, E. (1983) *Tales of the Tikongs*, Auckland: Longman.
- . (1987) *Kisses in the Nederends*, Auckland: Penguin.
- . (1993) 'Our Sea of Islands', in E. Hau'ofa, E. Waddell and V. Naidu (eds.) *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House, 2–16.
- . (2000) [1997] 'The Ocean in Us', in D. Hanlon and G.M. White (eds.) *Voyaging Through the Contemporary Pacific*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 113–31.

- Henke, H. (2003) 'Ariel's Ethos: On the Moral Economy of Caribbean Experience', *Cultural Critique*, 56, 33–63.
- Hereniko, V. (1994) 'Representations of Cultural Identities', in K.R. Howe, R.C. Kiste and B.V. Lal (eds.) *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 406–34
- Hewitt, K. (1998) 'Excluded Perspectives in the Social Construction of Disaster', in E.L. Quarantelli (ed.) *What Is a Disaster?: Perspectives on the Question*, London and New York: Routledge, 75–91.
- Hibbard, D. (2006) *Designing Paradise: The Allure of the Hawaiian Resort*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Hirsch, E. (1996) [1986] 'The Art of Poetry: XXXVII: Derek Walcott', in W. Baer (ed.) *Conversations with Derek Walcott*, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 95–121.
- 'Historical Visitor Statistics'. *State of Hawai'i Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt/info/visitor-stats/>> [accessed 10 February 2007].
- Holden, A. (2000) *Environment and Tourism*, London and New York: Routledge.
- . (2003) 'In Need of New Environmental Ethics For Tourism?', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30.1, 94–108.
- Holland, P. and Huggan, G. (1998) *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Howard, M.C. (1991) *Fiji: Race and Politics in an Island State*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Huggan, G. (1997–8) '(Post)Colonialism, Anthropology, and the Magic of Mimesis', *Cultural Critique*, 38, 91–106.
- . (2001) *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins*, London and New York: Routledge.
- . (2004) "'Greening" Postcolonialism: Ecocritical Perspectives', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 50.3, 701–33.
- . (2007) 'Hating Nature Properly: Naipaul and the Pastoral', in C. Campbell and E. Somerville (eds.) *'What is the Earthly Paradise?' Ecocritical Responses to the Caribbean*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 74–84.
- . (2008) *Interdisciplinary Measures: Literature and the Future of Postcolonial Studies*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Huggan, G. and Tiffin, H. (2007) 'Green Postcolonialism', *Interventions*, 9.1, 1–11.
- Hulme, P. (2000) *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Caribs and their Visitors, 1877–1998*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . (2005) 'Beyond the Straits: Postcolonial Allegories of the Globe', in A. Loomba, S. Kaul, M. Bunzl, A. Burton and J. Esty (eds.) *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, Durham N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 41–61.

- Ingram, J.C., Franco, G., Rio, C.R. and Khazai, B. (2006) 'Post-Disaster Recovery Dilemmas: Challenges in Balancing Short-Term and Long-Term Needs for Vulnerability Reduction', *Environmental Science and Policy*, 9.7–8, 607–13.
- Ireland, K. (1993) *'Wish You Weren't Here': The Sexual Exploitation of Children and the Connection with Tourism and International Travel*, London: Save the Children.
- Iser, W. (1993) *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ismail, Q. (2005) *Abiding by Sri Lanka: On Peace, Place, and Postcoloniality*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jaakson, R. (2004) 'Globalisation and Neocolonialist Tourism', in C.M. Hall and H. Tucker (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, London and New York: Routledge, 169–83.
- Jameson, F. (1986) 'Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism', *Social Text*, 15, 65–88.
- Johns, D.M. (2003) 'Review of Joel Kovel, *The Enemy of Nature: The End of Capitalism or the End of the World?*', *New Political Science*, 25.1, 134–8.
- Johnston, A.M. (2003) 'Self-determination: Exercising Indigenous Rights in Tourism', in S. Singh, D.J. Timothy and R.K. Dowling (eds.) *Tourism in Destination Communities*, Wallingford: CABI, 115–34.
- . (2006) *Is the Sacred for Sale?: Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*, London: Earthscan.
- Kanahele, G.S. (1992) 'Tourism – Keeper of the Culture', in J.E. Hay (ed.) *Ecotourism Business in the Pacific: Promoting a Sustainable Experience*, Auckland: University of Auckland, 30–4.
- Kapferer, B. (2001) 'Ethnic Nationalism and the Discourses of Violence in Sri Lanka', *Communal/Plural: Journal of Transnational and Cross-Cultural Studies*, 9.1, 33–67.
- Kempadoo, K. (1999a) 'Continuities and Change: Five Centuries of Prostitution in the Caribbean', in K. Kempadoo (ed.) *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 3–33.
- (ed.) (1999b) *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- . (2004) *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race, and Sexual Labor*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Kennedy, M. (2006) 'Native or Diasporic? The Limits of Indigenous Identity', paper presented at New Zealand Studies Association Annual Conference on New Zealand, France and the Pacific, University Paris Dauphine, Paris, June–July.
- Keown, M. (2000) 'Interview with Patricia Grace', *Kunapipi*, 22.2, 54–63.
- . (2005) *Postcolonial Pacific Writing: Representations of the Body*, London and New York: Routledge.
- . (2007) *Pacific Island Writings: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Kern, R. (2003) 'Ecocriticism: What is it Good For?', in M. Branch and S. Slovic (eds.) *The ISLE Reader: Ecocriticism, 1993–2003*, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 258–81.
- Kerridge, R. (1998) 'Introduction', in R. Kerridge and N. Sammells (eds.) *Writing the Environment: Ecocriticism and Literature*, London: Zed, 1–10.
- Khan, M.A. (2005) *Introduction to Tourism*, New Delhi: Anmol.
- Khanna, R. (2003) *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism*, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Kincaid, J. (1988) *A Small Place*, London: Virago.
- King, J. (2002) 'A Small Place Writes Back', *Callaloo*, 25.3, 885–909.
- Kingsbury, P. (2006) 'Corporate Environmental Sustainability: Sandals Resorts International in Jamaica', in J. Pugh and J.H. Momsen (eds.) *Environmental Planning in the Caribbean*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 111–27.
- Kirch, P.V. (1986) 'Introduction', in P.V. Kirch (ed.) *Island Societies: Archaeological Approaches to Evolution and Transformation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–5.
- Klak, T. and Conway, D. (1998) 'From Neoliberalism to Sustainable Development?', in T. Klak (ed.) *Globalization and Neoliberalism: The Caribbean Context*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 257–75.
- Klak, T. and Myers, G. (1998) 'How States Sell Their Countries and Their People', in T. Klak (ed.) *Globalization and Neoliberalism: The Caribbean Context*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 87–109.
- Klein, N. (2005) 'The Rise of Disaster Capitalism', *The Nation*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20050502/klein>> [accessed 10 March 2008].
- . (2007) *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, London: Allen Lane.
- Kreps, G.A. (1998) 'Disaster as Systemic Event and Social Catalyst', in E.L. Quarantelli (ed.) *What Is a Disaster?: Perspectives on the Question*, London and New York: Routledge, 31–55.
- Krug, C. (2006) 'Virtual Tourism: The Consumption of Natural and Digital Environments', in C. Gersdorf and S. Mayer (eds.) *Nature in Literary and Cultural Studies: Transatlantic Conversations on Ecocriticism*, Amsterdam: Rodolphi, 249–74.
- 'Kumu Kahua's "Kamau" Heading to Samoa'. (2008) *Honolulu Advertiser*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2008/Feb/13/br/hawaii80213029.html>> [accessed 12 March 2008].
- Lanfant, M.-F. (1995) 'Introduction', in M.-F. Lanfant, J.B. Allcock and E.M. Bruner (eds.) *International Tourism: Identity and Change*, London: SAGE, 1–23.
- Lanfant, M.-F., Allcock, J.B. and Bruner, E.M. (1995) 'Preface', in M.-F. Lanfant, J.B. Allcock and E.M. Bruner (eds.) *International Tourism: Identity and Change*, London: SAGE, viii–x.

- 'Latest 2006 Tourism Statistics'. *Caribbean Tourism Organization*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.onecaribbean.org/information/documentview.php?rowid=3937>> [accessed 20 November 2007].
- Laurie, P. (2005) 'On the Other Hand – Hackleton's Cliff', *Daily Nation*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://tomraworth.com/kamcliff.html>> [accessed 12 June 2006].
- Law, L. (2000) *Sex Work in Southeast Asia: The Place of Desire in a Time of AIDS*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Lazarus, N. (2002) 'The Fetish of "the West" in Postcolonial Theory', in C. Bartolovich and N. Lazarus (eds.) *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 43–64.
- Leech, C. (1989) [1969] *Tragedy*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Lepecki, A. (2003) 'The Melancholic Influence of the Postcolonial Spectral: Vera Mantero Summoning Josephine Baker', in H. Raphael-Hernandez (ed.) *Blackening Europe: The African American Presence*, London and New York: Routledge, 121–40.
- Li, V. (2001) 'Marshall Sahlins and the Apotheosis of Culture', *CR: The New Centennial Review*, 1.3, 201–87.
- Linnekin, J. (1997) 'Consuming Cultures: Tourism and the Commoditization of Cultural Identity in the Island Pacific', in M. Picard and R.E. Wood (eds.) *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 215–50.
- Lohmann, L. (1993) 'Resisting Green Globalism', in W. Sachs (ed.) *Global Ecology: A New Arena of Political Conflict*, London and New Jersey: Zed, 157–69.
- Lokugé, C. (2003) *Turtle Nest*, New Delhi: Penguin.
- Lum, D.H.Y. (1986) 'Local Literature and Lunch', in E. Chock and D.H.Y. Lum (eds.) *The Best of Bamboo Ridge: The Hawaii Writers' Quarterly*, Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 3–5.
- Lyons, P. (2003) 'The Literatures of Hawai'i Under an "Americanist" Rubric', in D.L. Madsen (ed.) *Beyond the Borders: American Literature and Post-Colonial Theory*, London: Pluto Press, 135–47.
- . (2006) *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination*, London and New York: Routledge.
- MacCannell, D. (1992) *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers*, London and New York: Routledge.
- . (1999) [1976] *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press.
- Macnaghten, P. and Urry, J. (1998) *Contested Natures*, London: SAGE.
- Macnaught, T.J. (1982) 'Mass tourism and the Dilemmas of Modernization in Pacific Island Communities', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9.3, 359–81.
- Mallot, J.E. (2006) 'Body Politics and the Body Politic: Memory as Human Inscription in *What the Body Remembers*', *Interventions*, 8.2, 165–77.

- Manley, B. (1992) 'Protecting the Goose and Her Golden Egg', in J.E. Hay (ed.) *Ecotourism Business in the Pacific: Promoting a Sustainable Experience*, Auckland: University of Auckland, 6–7.
- Mateos, A.G. (2006) 'Kamau: On the Island of Dead Slaves', trans. C. Winks, *Save CowPastor*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://tomraworth.com/mateos.html>> [accessed 6 July 2006].
- McElroy, J.L. (2003) 'Tourism Development in Small Islands Across the World', *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, 85.4, 231–42.
- McLaren, D. (2003) *Rethinking Tourism and Ecotravel*, 2nd ed., Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.
- McLeod, J. (2004) *Postcolonial London: Rewriting the Metropolis*, London and New York: Routledge.
- . (2005) 'When Memory Dies: Tourism, Terror, and Literary Representations of the Sri Lankan Civil War', in G. Huggan and S. Klasen (eds.) *Perspectives on Endangerment*, Hildesheim, Zurich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 171–5.
- McMillen, G.K. (2005) [2001] *School for Hawaiian Girls*, New York: Permanent Press.
- McSweeney, J. (2005) 'Poetics, Revelations, and Catastrophes: An Interview with Kamau Brathwaite', *Rain Taxi Review of Books*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.rain-taxi.com/online/2005fall/brathwaite.shtml>> [accessed 6 March 2006].
- Mda, Z. (2000) *The Heart of Redness*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mead, F. (2006) 'Sri Lanka Campaign Promotes "Zero Tolerance" for Child Sex Tourism', *Unicef*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/sri_lanka_34933.html> [accessed 15 September 2007].
- Meeker, J.W. (1997) *The Comedy of Survival: Literary Ecology and a Play Ethic*, 3rd ed., Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Meethan, K. (2001) *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Melas, N. (2005) 'Forgettable Vacations and Metaphor in Ruins: Walcott's *Omeros*', *Callaloo*, 28.1, 147–68.
- Molisa, G. (1983) *Black Stone: Poems*, Suva: Mana.
- Momsen, J.H. (2005) 'Uncertain Images: Tourism Development and Seascapes of the Caribbean', in C. Cartier and A.A. Lew (eds.) *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes*, London and New York: Routledge, 209–21.
- Morton, S. (2002) *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (2003) *Tourism and Sustainability: Development and New Tourism in the Third World*, 2nd ed., London and New York: Routledge.
- Mukherjee, P. (2007) 'Surfing the Second Waves: Amitav Ghosh's Tide Country', *New Formations*, 59, 144–57.

- . (forthcoming) *Postcolonial Environment: Nature, Culture and the Contemporary Indian Novel in English*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Myers, N., Mittermeier, R.A., Mittermeier, C.G., da Fonseca, G.A.B. and Kent, J. (2000) 'Biodiversity Hotspots for Conservation Priorities', *Nature*, 403, 853–8.
- Naipaul, V.S. (1987) *The Enigma of Arrival: A Novel in Five Sections*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- . (1994) *A Way in the World*, London: Heinemann.
- . (2001) [1962] *The Middle Passage: Impressions of Five Societies*, London: Picador.
- Najita, S.Y. (2006) *Decolonizing Cultures in the Pacific: Reading History and Trauma in Contemporary Fiction*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Nandan, S. (2000) *Fiji: Paradise in Pieces: Writing Ethics–Politics*, (ed.) A. Mason, Bedford Park: Centre for Research in the New Literatures in English.
- Nash, D. (1989) [1977] 'Tourism as a Form of Imperialism', in V.L. Smith (ed.) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 37–52.
- Nixon, R. (1992) *London Calling: V.S. Naipaul, Postcolonial Mandarin*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- . (2005) 'Environmentalism and Postcolonialism', in A. Loomba, S. Kaul, M. Bunzl, A. Burton and J. Esty (eds.) *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, Durham N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 233–51.
- Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26, 7–24.
- O'Brien, S. (2001) 'Articulating a World of Difference: Ecocriticism, Postcolonialism and Globalization', *Canadian Literature*, 170–1, 140–58.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (2005) *Children in the Global Sex Trade*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Oliver-Smith, A. (1998) 'Global Changes and the Definition of Disaster', in E.L. Quarantelli (ed.) *What Is a Disaster?: Perspectives on the Question*, London and New York: Routledge, 177–94.
- . (1999) 'Peru's Five-Hundred-Year Earthquake: Vulnerability in Historical Context', in A. Oliver-Smith and S.M. Hoffman (eds.) *The Angry Earth: Disaster in Anthropological Perspective*, London and New York: Routledge, 74–88.
- Oppermann, M. (1998a) 'Introduction', in M. Oppermann (ed.) *Sex Tourism and Prostitution: Aspects of Leisure, Recreation and Work*, Elmsford: Cognizant Communication Corp, 1–19.
- . (1998b) 'Who exploits Whom and Who Benefits?', in M. Oppermann (ed.) *Sex Tourism and Prostitution: Aspects of Leisure, Recreation and Work*, Elmsford: Cognizant Communication Corp, 153–9.
- Paravisini-Gebert, L. (1999) *Jamaica Kincaid: A Critical Companion*, Westport and London: Greenwood.

- Pattullo, P. (1996) *Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*, London: Cassell.
- Pennell, B. and Stephens, J. (2002) 'Queering Heterotopic Spaces: Shyam Selvadurai's *Funny Boy* and Peter Well's *Boy Overboard*', in J. Stephens (ed.) *Ways of Being Male: Representing Masculinities in Children's Literature*, London and New York: Routledge, 164–84.
- Perrons, D. (2004) *Globalization and Social Change: People and Places in a Divided World*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Pettman, J.J. (1997) 'Body Politics: International Sex Tourism', *Third World Quarterly*, 18.1, 93–108.
- Picard, M. (1995) 'Cultural Heritage and Tourist Capital: Cultural Tourism in Bali', in M.-F. Lanfant, J.B. Allcock and E.M. Bruner (eds.) *International Tourism: Identity and Change*, London: SAGE, 44–66.
- . (1997) 'Cultural Tourism, Nation-Building, and Regional Culture: The Making of a Balinese Identity', in M. Picard and R.E. Wood (eds.) *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 181–214.
- Pinney, C. (2003) 'Introduction: "How the Other Half..."', in C. Pinney and N. Peterson (eds.) *Photography's Other Histories*, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 1–14.
- Pratt, M.L. (1992) *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London and New York: Routledge.
- . (2007) 'Planetary Plottings: Indigeneity versus Neoliberalism', paper presented at Parallel Lines, Parallel Lives? Comparative Approaches and Dialogues in Postcolonial Studies, with a Specific Focus on Relations between Africa and the Americas, Institute of Colonial and Postcolonial Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds, February.
- 'Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000, Hawaii'. *U.S. Census Bureau*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=04000US15&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_DP1&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U&-redoLog=false> [accessed 14 March 2007].
- Pruitt, D. and LaFont, S. (1995) 'For Love and Money: Romance Tourism in Jamaica', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22.2, 422–40.
- Pugh, J. (2005) 'Environmental Planning in Barbados: A Confident State, Isolated Environmental Movements, and Anxious Development Consultants', *Southeastern Geographer*, 45.2, 192–205.
- Quarantelli, E.L. (1998) 'Epilogue Where We Have Been and Where We Might Go: Putting the Elephant Together, Blowing Soap Bubbles, and Having Singular Insights', in E.L. Quarantelli (ed.) *What Is a Disaster?: Perspectives on the Question*, London and New York: Routledge, 234–73.
- Quayson, A. (2003) *Calibrations: Reading for the Social*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- . (2005) 'Incessant Particularities: *Calibrations* as Close Reading', *Research in African Literatures*, 36.2, 122–31.

- Radway, S. (2007) 'Hawaii Calls', *Hawaii Business*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.hawaiibusiness.com/Hawaii-Business/January-2007/Hawaii-Calls/>> [accessed 07 April 2008].
- Rallu, J.-L. and Ahlburg, D.A. (1999) 'Demography', in M. Rapaport (ed.) *The Pacific Islands: Environment & Society*, Honolulu: Bess Press, 258–69.
- Restrepo, L.F. (2001) 'Closure and Disclosure of the Caribbean Body: Gabriel García Márquez and Derek Walcott', in A.J. Arnold, V.M. Kutzinski and I. Phaf-Rheinberger (eds.) *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 251–66.
- Rice, A. (2005) 'Post-Tsunami Reconstruction and Tourism: A Second Disaster?', *Tourism Concern*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/pdfs/Final%20report.pdf>> [accessed 5 March 2007].
- Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2006) 'Developing Creativity in Tourist Experiences: A Solution to the Serial Reproduction of Culture?', *Tourism Management*, 27.6, 1209–23.
- Robertson, R. (1995) 'Glocalization: Time–Space and Homogeneity–Heterogeneity', in M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds.) *Global Modernities*, London: SAGE, 25–44.
- Rojek, C. (1997) 'Indexing, Dragging and the Social Constructions of Tourist Sights', in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.) *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, London and New York: Routledge, 52–74.
- Ryan, C. and Hall, C.M. (2001) *Sex Tourism: Marginal People and Liminalities*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Sachs, W. (1993) 'Global Ecology and the Shadow of "Development"', in W. Sachs (ed.) *Global Ecology: A New Arena of Political Conflict*, London and New Jersey: Zed, 3–21.
- Sahlins, M. (1993) 'Goodbye to Tristes Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History', *The Journal of Modern History*, 65.1, 1–25.
- . (1999) 'Two or Three Things That I Know about Culture', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5.3, 399–421.
- Salgado, M. (2007) *Writing Sri Lanka: Literature, Resistance and the Politics of Place*, London and New York: Routledge.
- San Juan Jr., E. (2002) 'Cultural Studies Amongst the Sharks: The Struggle Over Hawaii', *Third Text*, 16.1, 71–8.
- . (2004) *Working Through the Contradictions: From Cultural Theory to Critical Practice*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press.
- Sargisson, L. and Sargent, L.T. (2004) *Living in Utopia: New Zealand's Intentional Communities*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Sasidharan, V. and Thapa, B. (2002) 'Sustainable Coastal and Marine Tourism Development: A Hobson's Choice?', in Y. Apostolopoulos and D.J. Gayle (eds.) *Island Tourism and Sustainable Development: Caribbean, Pacific, and Mediterranean Experiences*, Westport and London: Praeger, 93–112.

- Scholtmeijer, M.L. (1993) *Animal Victims in Modern Fiction: From Sanctity to Sacrifice*, Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press.
- Schultz, S. (1994) 'Decline of the West: Review of Lois-Ann Yamanaka, *Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre*', *RIF/T: An Electronic Space for Poetry, Prose, and Poetics*, 3.1. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://wings.buffalo.edu/epc/rift/rift03/revi0301.html>>.
- Scott, J.S. (2001) 'Mapping the Sacred Across Postcolonial Literatures', in J.S. Scott and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.) *Mapping the Sacred: Religion, Geography and Postcolonial Literatures*, Amsterdam: Rodolphi, xv–xxxii.
- Seabrook, J. (2000) *No Hiding Place: Child Sex Tourism and the Role of Extraterritorial Legislation*, London: Zed.
- . (2001) *Travels in the Skin Trade: Tourism and the Sex Trade*, 2nd ed., London: Pluto.
- Seaton, A.V. (1996) 'Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2.4, 234–44.
- Selvadurai, S. (1995) [1994] *Funny boy: A Novel in Six Stories*, London: Vintage.
- Shanmugaratnam, N. (2005) 'Challenges of Post-disaster Development of Coastal Areas in Sri Lanka', *South Asia Citizens Web*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.sacw.net/peace/ChallengesPostdisasterShanNovember2005.pdf>> [accessed 5 March 2007].
- Sharrad, P. (2003) *Albert Wendt and Pacific Literature: Circling the Void*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Sheldon, P.J. and Abenoja, T. (2001) 'Resident Attitudes in a Mature Destination: The Case of Waikiki', *Tourism Management*, 22.5, 435–43.
- Sheller, M. (2003) *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies*, London and New York: Routledge.
- . (2004) 'Natural Hedonism: The Invention of the Caribbean as Tropical Playground', in D.T. Duval (ed.) *Tourism in the Caribbean: Trends, Development, Prospects*, London and New York: Routledge, 29–56.
- Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*, London and New York: Routledge.
- 'Shopping'. *Historic Waikiki*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.downwindproductions.com/shopping/book/about_book.html> [accessed 7 April 2008].
- Simmons, D. (1994) *Jamaica Kincaid*, New York: Twayne.
- Smith, L.T. (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, London: Zed.
- Sofield, T.H.B. (2003) *Empowerment for Sustainable Tourism Development*, Amsterdam and London: Pergamon.
- Soguk, N. (2003) 'Incarcerating Travels: Travel Stories, Tourist Orders, and the Politics of the "Hawai'ian Paradise"', *Tourism and Cultural Change*, 1.1, 29–53.
- Sönmez, S.F. (1998) 'Tourism, Terrorism, and Political Instability', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25.2, 416–56.

- . (2002) 'Sustaining Tourism in Islands Under Sociopolitical Adversity', in Y. Apostolopoulos and D.J. Gayle (eds.) *Island Tourism and Sustainable Development: Caribbean, Pacific, and Mediterranean Experiences*, Westport and London: Praeger, 161–80.
- Sontag, S. (2001) [1977] *On Photography*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Soper, K. (1995) *What is Nature?: Culture, Politics and the Non-Human*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- 'Sri Lanka (LTTE)'. *The International Institute for Strategic Studies Armed Conflict Database*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://acd.iiss.org/armedconflict/MainPages/dsp_ConflictSummary.asp?ConflictID=174> [accessed 12 April 2008].
- Steiner, C.B. (1999) 'Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality: The Work of Tourist Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in R.B. Phillips and C.B. Steiner (eds.) *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 87–103.
- Stewart, S. (2002) *Poetry and the Fate of the Senses*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Stoler, A.L. (1995) *Race and the Education of Desire*, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Stone-Mediatore, S. (2003) *Reading Across Borders: Storytelling and Knowledges of Resistance*, New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Strachan, I.G. (2002) *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean*, Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press.
- Stronza, A. (2001) 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 261–83.
- Subramani. (2000) 'The Diasporic Imagination', in C. Franklin, R. Hsu and S. Kosanke (eds.) *Navigating Islands and Continents: Conversations and Contestations in and Around the Pacific*, Honolulu: College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, University of Hawai'i and the East–West Center, 173–86.
- Sumida, S.H. (1991) *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- Szeman, I. (2001) 'Who's Afraid of National Allegory? Jameson, Literary Criticism, Globalization', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 100.3, 803–27.
- Takeuch, F.K. and Magick, S. (2006) 'Tourism 10: Companies Redefining the Pacific Visitor Industry', *Pacific Magazine*. Online. Available HTTP: <www.pacificislands.cc/issue/2006/09/01/tourism-10> [accessed 10 October 2006].
- Taylor, C. (2004) *Modern Social Imaginaries*, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Taylor, F.F. (1993) *To Hell with Paradise: A History of the Jamaican Tourist Industry*, Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Teaiwa, T.K. (1999) 'Reading Paul Gauguin's *Noa Noa* with Epli Hau'ofa's *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the "Polynesian" Body', in V. Hereniko and R.

Wilson (eds.) *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 249–63.

- . (2006) ‘On Analogies: Rethinking the Pacific in a Global Context’, *The Contemporary Pacific*, 18.1, 71–87.
- Thaman, K.H. (1994) ‘Environment-Friendly or the New Sell? One Woman’s View of Ecotourism in Pacific Island Countries’, in A. Emberson-Bain (ed.) *Sustainable Development or Malignant Growth? Perspectives of Pacific Island Women*, Suva: Marama, 183–91.
- Thompson, J.B. (1982) ‘Ideology and the Social Imaginary: An Appraisal of Castoriadis and Lefort’, *Theory and Society*, 11.5, 659–81.
- Tiffin, H. (2005) ‘“Man Fitting the Landscape”: Nature, Culture, and Colonialism’, in E.M. DeLoughrey, R.K. Gosson and G.B. Handley (eds.) *Caribbean Literature and the Environment: Between Nature and Culture*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 199–212
- ‘Tourism 2020 Vision’. *World Tourism Organization*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://unwto.org/facts/eng/vision.htm>> [accessed 7 April 2008].
- ‘Tourism is Whorism’. (1970) *TIME*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,876687,00.html>> [accessed 3 March 2008].
- Toyosato, M. (2000) ‘Land and Hawaiian Identity: Literary Activism in Kiana Davenport’s *Shark Dialogues*’, in G. Carr (ed.) *New Essays in Ecofeminist Literary Criticism*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 71–82.
- Trask, H.-K. (1999) *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*, rev. ed., Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- . (2000a) ‘Native Social Capital: The Case of Hawaiian Sovereignty and Ka Lahui Hawaii’, *Policy Sciences*, 33.3–4, 375–85.
- . (2000b) ‘Writing in Captivity: Poetry in a Time of De-Colonization’, in C. Franklin, R. Hsu and S. Kosanke (eds.) *Navigating Islands and Continents: Conversations and Contestations in and Around the Pacific*, Honolulu: College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, University of Hawai‘i and the East–West Center, 51–5.
- Tribe, J. (2003) ‘Knowing About Tourism: Epistemological Issues’, in J. Phillimore and L. Goodson (eds.) *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies*, London and New York: Routledge, 46–62.
- ‘Tsunami Spawns Disaster Tourism’. (2005) *The Times of India*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/983383.cms>> [accessed 29 June 2007].
- Turner, L. and Ash, J. (1975) *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*, London: Constable.
- Urbanowicz, C.F. (1989) ‘Tourism in Tonga Revisited: Continued Troubled Times?’, in V.L. Smith (ed.) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 105–17.
- Urry, J. (2002) [1990] *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, 2nd ed., London: SAGE.

- Van Trease, H. (1987) *The Politics of Land in Vanuatu: From Colony to Independence*, Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific.
- Waddell, E. (1993) 'The Power of Positive Thinking', in E. Hau'ofa, E. Waddell and V. Naidu (eds.) *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House, 28–35.
- Wagenseller, S. (2007) 'Powerful, Haunting', *Honolulu Weekly*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://honoluluweekly.com/entertainment/2007/03/powerful-haunting/>> [accessed 12 March 2008].
- Walcott, D. (1986) *Collected Poems 1948–1984*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- . (1990) *Omeros*, London: Faber and Faber.
- . (1998a) [1992] 'The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory', *What the Twilight Says: Essays*, New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 65–84.
- . (1998b) [1970] 'What the Twilight Says', *What the Twilight Says: Essays*, New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 3–35.
- Walker, D.M. and Walker, M.A. (2008) 'Power, Identity and the Production of Buffer Villages in "the Second Most Remote Region in all of Mexico"', *Antipode*, 40.1, 155–77.
- Walker, H. (2005) 'Developing Difference: Attitudes Towards Maori "Development" in Patricia Grace's *Potiki* and *Dogside Story*', *Kunapipi*, 27.2, 215–30.
- Wall, G. and Mathieson, A. (2006) *Tourism: Change, Impacts and Opportunities*, Harlow: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Wallace, J. (2007) *The Cambridge Introduction to Tragedy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Waters, A.M. (2006) *Planning the Past: Heritage Tourism and Post-Colonial Politics at Port Royal*, Lanham and Oxford: Lexington Books.
- Weaver, D.B. (2004) 'Manifestations of Ecotourism in the Caribbean', in D.T. Duval (ed.) *Tourism and the Caribbean: Trends, Development, Prospects*, London and New York: Routledge, 172–86.
- 'Welcome to Historic Waikiki'. *Historic Waikiki*. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.downwindproductions.com>> [accessed 7 April 2008].
- Wendt, A. (1973) *Sons for the Return Home*, Auckland: Longman.
- . (1979) *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*, Auckland: Longman.
- . (1995) 'Introduction', in A. Wendt (ed.) *Nuanua: Pacific Writing in English Since 1980*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1–8.
- . (1996) [1976] 'Towards a New Oceania', in J. Thieme (ed.) *The Arnold Anthology of Post-Colonial Literatures in English*, London: Arnold, 641–52.
- Wevers, L. (2002) *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809–1900*, Auckland: Auckland University Press.

- Wilson, R. (2000) *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond*, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Wilson, R. and Dissanayake, W. (1996) 'Introduction: Tracking the Global/Local', in R. Wilson and W. Dissanayake (eds.) *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 1–18.
- Winter, T. (2007) *Post-Conflict Heritage, Postcolonial Tourism: Tourism, Politics and Development at Angkor*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Wonders, N.A. and Michalowski, R. (2001) 'Bodies, Borders, and Sex Tourism in a Globalized World: A Tale of Two Cities – Amsterdam and Havana', *Social Problems*, 48.4, 545–71.
- Wood, H. (1999) *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- . (2003) 'Cultural Studies for Oceania', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 15.2, 340–74.
- Wood, R.E. (1997) 'Tourism and the State: Ethnic Options and Constructions of Otherness', in M. Picard and R.E. Wood (eds.) *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1–34.
- Wyndham, S. (2005) 'Region's Tales Should be Brought to Book', *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.asialink.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/4202/Regions_Tales.pdf> [accessed 14 March 2007].
- Yamashita, S. (2003) *Bali and Beyond: Explorations in the Anthropology of Tourism*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Young, R. (1999) "'Dangerous and Wrong": Shell, Intervention and the Politics of Transnational Companies', *Interventions*, 1.3, 439–64.
- Zoppi, I.M. (1999) 'Omeros, Derek Walcott and the Contemporary Epic Poem', *Callaloo*, 22.2, 509–28.