Tourism and Resistance in the Caribbean Sea: Global versus Local Spaces and Languages

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OPENING SCENARIO AND THESIS

An assemblage of well-known architects [Wolf Prix, Thom Mayne, Eric Owen Moss, Carme Pinos, Lebbeus Woods, Carl Pruscha, Peter Noever] gathered in Cuba in January 1995 to help reflect on future architectural (and social) directions. While they arrived precisely because cold-war political and economic systems were yielding to newer forms of global capital flow – specifically international cultural exchange and tourism – they, like many of us, responded most powerfully to the intense local character of Cuba and Havana. In addition to the music, the aromas of *Mojito*, and the city's rhythms, the group agreed with their local hosts that what makes the place qualitatively distinctive and compelling is that its "architectural expression" is not one fixed style, but "incorporate[s] the whole range of possible architectural options"; in short, it is diverse, inclusive, hybrid: "One of the characteristics of Cuban architecture was to be very eclectic, very flexible in the reception of foreign influences. These influences are digested and assimilated. When the process lasts long enough, the results can be very good."[1]

Parallel to this particular scene, our two-part thesis is that, first, even though globalized tourism does offer the possibility of new modes of exchange, it requires critique because many of its commodifications and objectifications do genuinely threaten not only Cuba's, but the whole Caribbean's distinctive sense of place and, second, that the Caribbean Sea offers a new mode of compromise with and resistance to globalized tourism, actually disrupting the dominant understanding of sense of place as centered and with a stable identity (a view that occurs in the research literature on "authentic" places such as the New Mexican Pueblos, Mediterranean coastal villages, or Khartoum), replacing it with fluid spaces, language, and architecture that are decentered and hybrid. This double thesis will be demonstrated by an analysis of economic and physical tourism planning and design and through the postcolonial counterpoetics of creolization of Francophone Caribbean writers such as Edouard Glissant and Patrick Chamoiseau. The planning and architectural evidence shows how globalization as tourism is double-edged: both threatening local sense of place and providing the economic basis for local hosts to carry out their own autonomous agendas. The Francophone postcolonial theorists make clear that an effective strategy for liberating the oppressed voice of the Caribbean other is to stay where and who you are, not to travel to a better place elsewhere, and to dissolve the solid ground of dominant identity through the central trope of the sea and fluid alterity.

GLOBALIZATION, TOURISM, AND ECONOMICS

The U.S. Congress' Office of Technology Assessment touts the importance of tourism as the world's biggest industry because its earnings "surpass even arms and oil in contributing to global economic development."[2] To cite but one Caribbean case, the Cuban story provides all the essential features. Tourism in the 19th and 20th centuries has revolved around the island's image as a source of pleasure. Not surprisingly, for the early revolutionary society "tourism was perceived as too closely associated with capitalist evils of prostitution, drugs, gambling, and organized crime" to be encouraged; simultaneously, the U.S. Trade embargo of 1962, prohibited citizens from traveling to Cuba. Nonetheless, the Cuban government has since created three major institutions to develop international tourism: Instituto Nacional del Turismo (1976), Cubanacan (1987), and Gaviota.[3]

The shift was necessitated by the end of artificially elevated sugar prices and general Soviet and Eastern Block support. By the late 1990s revenues from tobacco and nickel were down then finally up; from fruit, fish, and medical products down and then finally steady; from sugar, molasses, honey, coffee, cocoa,

and other sources, down. And because of scant resources Cuba has reduced all its imports.[4]

Seeking convertible currency, Cuba approved joint ventures in 1982, then in 1987 allowed greater ownership by international corporations, so that existing accommodations were upgraded and new properties developed with Canadian, Spanish, and West German firms.[5] Most international partnerships have occurred along the coast, especially at Cayo Largo and Varadero, though some involve restorations in Old Havana. International tourism had an initial sputter when the UK started, then stopped direct flights to Havana; visitors from West Germany and Italy increased due to direct flights, though Canada remained the major source of visitors in 1988, followed by Spain. Success has been dramatic: as a source of hard currency receipts from convertible currency, in 1987 tourism was forth behind sugar, fish, and oil re-exports of soviet union petroleum and by 1998 tourism was bringing in more currency than sugar. In 1990, 250,000 were jobs connected to tourism.[6]

Clearly, the "hosts" to tourism are neither silent nor passive in relation to global economic forces. In fact, usually there are multiple hosts with differing agendas: national public leaders and population by extension, local government authorities, local residents, immigrating workers, and international capital partners. To simplify, it appears that the initial motivation and power for tourism development comes from capital systems and central governments. While the latter explicitly intend to serve tourists in order to benefit local populations, they also sacrifice some dimensions of the local for the greater regional and national good.[7] National governments promote their own value systems. For example, Cuba seeks to "achieve socialist values," through the "equal distribution of goods, services, opportunities;" to "enhance visitors' cultural and ideological awareness by . . . convincing them of the superiority of socialism;" and to "avoid introducing 'anti-socialist' 'revisionist' or 'capitalist' influences to 'turn the heads' of the indigenous population working in the tourist industry and coming into contact with foreign tourists."[8]

CRITIQUE

Yet, for all the possible mutual benefits of the joint actions of global corporations and local groups, a critique of international tourism is unavoidable. The research literature agrees that globalized tourism has four especially harmful impacts on local populations and places: 1) "the demonstration effect" which "implies the devaluation of the indigenous culture, the movement of that culture toward a more homogenous western model,"[9] 2) appropriation and commodification of the landscape and culture of the local places, 3) the creation of new hierarchies of power and non-local elites, and 4) conflicts among economic systems and among social-moral values and practices.

As to homogenization, it is not necessary to belabor the well-known phenomena of standardized architecture in which the forms and materials have no significant connection to local bio-cultural contexts or traditions. Suffice it to say that whether resort design is in the style of international modernism or post-modern exotic eclecticism, the physical forms and the social organization that have such enormous power to attract and please mass tourism's clients have been criticized for over a half-century as "placeless" or "nowhere." Nor is historic preservation an alternative: recreating, for example, the colonial building stock, involves the same representational philosophy, but simply defers to a historical international colonial heritage rather than modernism's international replacements of that heritage. In either case, the normative logic is the same: what was already some place else, some time else, becomes fixed to provide a valued identity. But, neither the colonial nor post-colonial internationalisms are local: neither of them allow for differences that continuously and productively open from the Caribbean itself.

Of course, the homogenous complexes reflect the underlying homogenous values and habits of the tourists. The data shows that tourists' typical preferences for "familiar varieties and standards of goods and services is very high"[10] and supports internationally controlled enclaves, which may actively "discourage patronage of local businesses outside the resort to maximize purchases inside."[11] Here tourist areas are further removed from local ways of life and land use. Since even the lowest wage earners can earn more than they previously did in agriculture, and since the lure of materialistic ways of life combined with increased cost of living generate new desires for money, more people are drawn into the tourist area's employment system.

Ecotourism too is problematic. International tourists interested in low-impact visits closer to local experiences still prefer familiar standards and consumption patterns. To cite just one example, tourists in Barbados consume up to eight times as much water as do the residents. Even with ecotourism locals may be deprived of access to environments as they are set aside for tourists (including conservation groups) and removed from the traditional patterns of hunting, fishing, farming, or religious uses, in a process of resource appropriation that disrupts local practices and knowledge as well as raising the cost of living and land.[12]

At the core, tourism appropriates and consumes the natural and cultural environments that produced and supported what attracted the tourists in the first place, thus threatening local ways of life. Even with the good planning of the Cancun-Cozumal resorts, provision of the Cancún City infrastructure was not easy. It has been argued that the greatest environmental problem was not filling in mangrove swamps for development nor scarping off topsoil to build the golf course (resulting in basins in the rain forest that increased mosquito breeding), but immigrant labor and squatter settlements. The increased cost of living, especially housing, further displaced the lowest paid.

The situation is exacerbated when less well-off tourists seek the lower-costing accommodations and restaurants, which drives up prices in the service center and forces locals to live in squatter settlements such as Puerto Juarez.[13]

Or, as an example of cultural objectification and commodification, in Cuba there is increasing interest in the inhabitants' African and Indian heritages, in local arts, crafts, and folklore, especially Santeria.[14] What would it mean for Santeria increasingly to become a tourist attraction, as are so many shadows of earlier spiritual rituals and so many spectacles completely fabricated to entertain tourists? The danger is that "By making [cultural practices] part of the tourism package, [they are] turned into an explicit and paid performance and no longer can be believed in the way [they were] before. Thus, commoditization of [nature and] culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives."[15] Traditional local cultural systems also are displaced and replaced though the forms of organization of work in resorts. While locals usually are given jobs at the lower end of the service industry, the demand for more skilled service personnel results in sophisticated, urbanized employees moving into the area. At the top, expatriate professionals frequently acquire the most desirable jobs, generating a kind of internal elite. In other cases, new hierarchies are formed by ethnic groups, expatriates, and local political groups or financiers and entrepreneurs (in Cuba, reinstating a decidedly non-socialist hierarchical system).[16]

Of course, the most serious shift in social structure is not among resort employees, but in the general community. There often is considerable conflict between the new economic order of capitalism and the traditional local values; increasingly, local moral and political systems are replaced. For example, Negi finds that the problems of tourism based on sea/sun/sex center about the creation of dissatisfaction and resentment, entrenchment of mutual prejudices, conflicting moral values, crime and anti-social activities, gambling, prostitution and immoral traffic; another study finds increased crime and disobedience to traditional authorities, as the subordinated attempt to achieve what is held out as desirable but not attainable under currently existing social-economic structures.[17]

While the differences between those who have what is "newly desirable" and those who do not is emphasized in many tourist exchanges, often exclusions literally lead to the phenomena of ghettoization. Hence, "much criticism is made of exclusive tourist 'bubbles' or 'ghettoes', such as [in Jamaica, the Yucatan Peninsula, or] Antigua's Mill Reef . . . on the grounds that they appropriate the choicest sites, exclude non-elite locals (except as menial employees) and fail to contribute to the well-being of adjacent settlements."[18] Inversely, host powers may act paternalistically to separate locals from tourists as a "means of protecting the traditional way of life from 'contamination' by tourists," as happens in the Maldives and Cuba, where the government's controversial policy intends to protect Cubans from the social-moral harms of tourists by prohibiting Cubans not working at the enclave resorts (especially Varadero and Cayo Largo) and urban facilities (especially in Old Havana) from having access to many beaches, hotels, restaurants, clubs, and tourist taxis.[19]

Given these shifts in power and the replacement of local systems with those of international capitalism, it is not surprising that many critics argue that tourism is a new neo-colonialism.[20] In the worst cases, it is claimed, tourism amounts to an imperialism that may result in "the hatred of the rich, the arrogance and the neo-colonialist appearance of the tourists."[21] Tourism in the Caribbean during the dependency period of the 1970s, complicated by the dominance of tourists from North America and Europe who were served by darker-skinned locals, generated what became known as Black servility theory.[22] Even more moderate positions admit that much of tourism involves not merely accidental differences between individual tourists and local residents, but structurally superior-subordinate positions and attendant local anger (as articulated by Jamaica Kincaid in *A Small Place*).

Because the often differing value systems and agendas of host areas and the international systems allow for both exploitation or mutual self-interested interactions, and since the globalized flows of capitalism attempt to appropriate marketable aesthetic factors, it is not surprising that "sense of place," which conceptually has been seen as opposite to global homogenization, itself is in danger of being co-opted by tourism. As noted, the strongest positions countering placelessness, such as the phenomenologies of place and identity, describe centered and stable traditional environments such as the Pueblos or Italian Hill towns – or *La Habana Vieja* or the Malecon. But, just this aesthetic of the "authentic" or the "indigenous" is brought into the service of global tourism, which seeks and promotes exotic realms such as the Caribbean. The natural environments focused upon by the international environmental community as well as global tourism all too often are uncritically constituted by "aesthetic" and "exoticizing" filters. The Caribbean's fragile coral reefs, colorful marine life, barrier islands, water exchange systems, and tropical forests that form the fantastic image of "paradise" are important to the westernized consciousness of tourists and researchers alike; but, there is little or no touristic concern for the ordinary agricultural land in any of these areas, nor for everyday rural life. Thus, the dominant sense of place, which amounts to a centered and fixed bio-cultural-regional (or local) *identity*, apparently will not hold against globalization's reductive processes. Is there a way, then, in which international and local systems may open to each other, but in which new, alternative languages and modes of building might articulate a sense of place that is unlike traditional centered sites of stable identity – and by emphasizing *differences*, be better able to resist globalization's homogenization?

FLUID RESISTANCE

Instead of attempting to opt out of the flows of global capital (which is self-defeating in today's globalized economy), or to oppose them through hostile confrontation (which cuts off tourism and exchange, as is seen by the exclusions of Haiti and Cuba from the systems of flow or from Jamaica's difficulty in again becoming a desirable destination after attacks on tourists), more subtle forms of coexistence and resistance appear to be emerging in the Caribbean. In agreement with current trajectories of politicized theory, the Caribbean theorists of creolization conceptualize an indirect "dissolution" rather than a direct confrontation or deconstruction. Specifically, this line of force is found in Edouard Glissant's *Caribbean Discourse* (1989) and *Poetics of Relation* (1997) and Patrick Chamoiseau's novel, *Texaco* (1997). Since the '60s, postcolonial and feminist intellectuals have become more skeptical about the possibility of radical opposition to the dominant colonial or patriarchal power, as advocated with Negritude and Fanonism, and more perceptive about the ways that such radical opposition actually mimics that which it opposes. Thus, tactics of opposition named by Glissant, in the absence of a "proper" space and language of resistance, are ruses and detours. Glissant in his theories of creolization and hybridity and Chamoiseau in his novel *Texaco* outline a borderlands between binary opposites, a mode of resistance that is a third term between the absolutes of colonizer and colonized. By halting the escalation of challenge and counter-challenge, these theorists and writers eschew the logic of dominance and authority; originating from "below" rather than imposing themselves from "above," this counter-poetics of difference operates by acceptance and inclusion, rather than rejection and exclusion. This is the counterpart in language to the hybrid Cuban architecture that we noted at the beginning of the paper.

Postmodern theorists of Caribbean culture, ranging from Glissant and the creolists from Martinique to novelist Antonio Benitez-Rojo from Cuba, articulate the Caribbean Sea as ex-centric and limitless. According to the creole poetics of cross-cultural relations, the Caribbean Sea is a space of encounter, a site of a localized poetics of the between that prohibits imperial passing through. Glissant defines "creolization" (a progressive and plural process) as "relation-identity" to distinguish it from "root-identity." Root-identity derives itself from a single place of origin, i.e. Africa or Europe.[23] In contrast, "relation-identity" cannot construct linear, transoceanic passages between a singular (African) past and a (Caribbean) present and future. The constitution of creole "relation" works like the marine currents of the Caribbean Sea, connecting diverse places and people in multiple directions.

In *Texaco*, a historical novel celebrating the creole Caribbean, Chamoiseau traces the creolization of Martinique's black majority population, spanning two centuries from slavery to the late 20th century. Neither African nor French, uprooted and cut off from their African lineage, black Martinicans had to embark on a trajectory of relation-identity in a cultural no-man's land. This void becomes a fertile interval of creolization between the French culture of Martinique's white settlers and the lost or opaque cultures and languages of their African ancestors. Creole, the Martinican vernacular, embodies the complex and makeshift nature of the speakers' identity. Originated as a contact language between African slaves and white slave-owners, Creole does not offer blacks a self-enclosing space of autonomy because the creole vernacular is too familiar or "transparent" to Martinique's white upper classes to engender black separatism. At the same time, its "openness to otherness" is an asset, enabling the assertion of lived difference.

Texaco recreates the dialogics of the Creole world through a multi-layered narrative voice. Following the convention of testimonial narrative, the story of the shantytown Texaco, as told by its female founder (Marie-Sophie Laborieux) to "the Christ" (an urban planner), is narrated by two fictional editors (the Haitian Ti-Cirique and the Martinican Oiseau de Cham, called "The Word Scratcher"). Editors Ti-Cirique and Oiseau de Cham embody the battle over the hybrid vernacular of Martinique. Ti-Cirique, humanistic intellectual and advocate of high culture, wants Caribbean literary French to live up to a universal standard, "a French more French than the French."[24] Oiseau de Cham, in contrast, believes in creole as a homemade vernacular for a homemade world. His doctrine, "literature in a place that breathes is to be take in alive" affirms a living language on the borders of standard French, whose "excesses" should be preserved in literature. Here creole space and creole language are consistent: just as the residents of Texaco are squatting on the fringes of oil giant Texaco's land and the city, Fort-de-France, so the Creole vernacular is squatting on the fringes of the French language. Against the view of the hierarchical powers, the minority of the Word Scatcher, and by extension, Chamoiseau, view the squatting as positive—as a creole poetics of relation.

This returns us to the idea of place versus passage. The most salient description of the shantytown as a border site on the creole fringe of the French colonial world comes from the urban planner. Converted from his initial mission of razing the shantytown for urban renewal, the urban planner now writes as the "savior" of Texaco, describing the preservation of vernacular architecture in terms fluid, de-centered differences:

> I understood that Texaco was not what Westerners call a shantytown, but a mangrove swamp, an *urban mangrove swamp*. The swamp seems initially hostile to life. It's difficult to admit that this anxiety of roots, of mossy shades, of veiled waters, could be such a cradle of life for crabs, fish, crayfish, the marine ecosystem. It seems to belong to neither land nor sea, somewhat like Texaco is neither City nor country. Yet City draws strength from Texaco's urban mangroves, as it does from those of other urban quarters, exactly like the sea repeoples itself with that vital tongue which ties it to the mangroves' chemistry.

> Swamps need the regular caress of the waves: to reach its potential and its function as renaissance, Texaco needs City to caress it: meaning: it needs consideration.[25]

Neither land nor sea, neither the Martiniquan capital city nor the hinterland of historical maroonage, neither French nor African, Texaco yet it needs to contact and be nourished by both dimensions. Texaco incarnates Glissant's relation-identity – an intermediate and fertile site. Over the 30 years during which Texaco has been razed and rebuilt countless times, the squatter's collective battle against the city has forged a common creole identity and memory. But the most climactic feat of creolization is the conversion of the "Western urban planner." Whereas formerly he saw "shantytowns as a tumor on the urban order. . . . A threat," after his creolization, he comes to believe that "we must dismiss the West and re-learn to read: learn to reinvent the city. Here the urban planner must think Creole before he even thinks."[26]

So, we have in the literature, just as in physical realm, environments that are characterized by multiple places and multiple languages, side by side, with each one generated out of, sustained by, and porous to the others. Here continuing encounter is crucial. Along with global capitalism's company towns (and a few remaining plantations), we have the tourism enclaves that exist as parallel universes to – and co-generators with – local urban and rural backstages. We have emphasized the Caribbean poetics of resistance and hybridity, which clearly plays out as a poetics of fluid, ec-centric space in architecture and urban development. Thus we arrive again at the distinctive character of the Caribbean. As noted by the architects in our opening scenario, we see that the Caribbean sense of place is not one: the myrad forms, including the "colonial" ones, are not mere representations, but continuously renewed and fruitful hybrid productions.

NOTES

[1] Peter Noever, ed., The Havana Project: Architecture Again (New York: Prestel, 1990), pp. 10, 16, 158-159.

[2] U.S. Congress, Science and Technology Issues in Coastal Ecotourism – Background Paper OTA-BP-F-86 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, October, 1992), pp. 1, 4.

[3] Maria Dolores Espino, "Tourism in Socialist Cuba," in Dennis J. Gayle and Jonathan N. Goodrich, eds., Tourism Marketing and Management in the Caribbean (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 101-110.

[4] CIA, Directorate of Intelligence, Cuba: Handbook of Trade Statistics (Washington, D.C.: CIA, Directorate of Intelligence, 1995 & 1998).

[5] Derek R. Hall, "Tourism Development in Cuba" in D. Harrison, ed., Tourism and the Less Developed Countries (London: Belhaven Press, 1992), pp. 102-120.

[6] Espino, "Tourism in Socialist Cuba," pp. 106-107; National Geographic, Volume 195, No. 6 (June, 1999), pp. 2-45 (citation is from p. 14); GWR (*Granma Weekly Review*), Havana, 22 July, 1990, p. 9.

[7] For Mexico, see National Council for Tourism, 1961; National Tourism Development Plan, 1962; Bank of Mexico; INFRATUR.

[8] Hall, "Tourism Development in Socialist Cuba," pp.102-120.

[9] E. Cohen, "Toward a Sociology of Tourism," Social Research 39, 1977, pp. 164-182; Sylvia Chant, "Tourism in Latin American: Perspectives from Mexico and Costa Rica," in D. Harrison, ed., Tourism and the Less Developed Countries (London: Belhaven Press, 1992), pp. 85-101.

[10] S. Plog, "Understanding Psychographics in Tourism Research," in J.R.B. Ritchie and C.R. Goeldner, eds., Travel, Tourism, and Hospitality Research: A Handbook for Managers and Researchers (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1987), pp. 202-213.

[11] T. G. Freitag, "Enclave Tourism Development: for whom the benefits Roll?", Annals of Tourism Research 21, 1994, pp. 538-554.

[12] U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, Science and Technology Issues in Coastal Ecotourism – Background Paper, pp. 6, 8.

[13] See F. Bosselman, In the Wake of the Tourist: Managing Special Places in Eight Countries; P. Wong, Tourism vs. Environment: The Case for Coastal Areas, pp. 55-65; S. Wells and A. Price, Valuable but Vulnerable (Gland, Switzerland: World Wide Fund for Nature, 1992).

[14] Rosalie Schwartz, Pleasure Island,, pp. 208, 210.

[15] D. Greenwood, "Culture by the pound: an anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization," In V. Smith, ed. Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp. 171-185; citation is from p. 179.

[16] Daniel Hiernauz-Nicolas, "Cancun Bliss," in Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein, eds., The Tourist City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 124, 138; H. Erisman, "Tourism and Cultural Dependency in the West Indies," pp. 337-361; Sylvia Chant, "Tourism in Latin America: Perspectives from Mexico and Costa Rica," pp. 23-24; David Harrison, ed., Tourism and the Less Developed Countries, p. 15; cf. P. Backman, Tourism in Kenya: A Basic Need for Whom?, p. 281; FONATUR – Foundo nacional del Turismo – and from World Tourist Organization, Volume 2, Table 1, 1990, pp. 1-135.

[17] Jagmohan Negi, Tourism Development and Resource Conservation (New Dehli: Metropolitan, 1990); D.B. Weaver, "The evolution of a 'plantation' tourism landscape on the Caribbean Island of Antigua," Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 79, 1988, 319-331.

[18] David B. Weaver, Ecotourism in the Less Developed World (New York: Center for Agriculture and Biosciences International, 1998); Dennis R. Judd, "Constructing the Tourist Bubble," in Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein, eds., The Tourist City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 35-53; D.B. Weaver, "The evolution of a 'plantation' tourism landscape on the Caribbean Island of Antigua," 1988; P. Blednick, Another Day in Paradise? The Real Club Med Story (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1988); S. Britton, "The spatial organization of tourism in a neo-colonial economy: a Fiji case study," Pacific Viewpoint, 21, 1980, pp. 144-165; T. G. Freitag, "Enclave Tourism Development: for whom the benefits Roll?" Annals of Tourism Research 21, 1994, pp. 538-554.

[19] Domroes, "Tourism resources and their development in Maldive Islands," Geojournal 10, 1985, pp. 119-126; Pico Iyer, "Holguin, Santiago, Havana, the Beach – 1987-1992," pp. 373-389; Graeme Gibson, "Santiago and Beyond, 1987), pp. 304-318; and Carlo Gebler, "At the Beach, Santa Maria and Varadero, 1987," pp. 319-344 – all in Alan Ryan, editor, The Reader's Companion to Cuba (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1997. Also see Derek R. Hall, "Tourism Development in Cuba," pp.110-118; Granma Weekly Review, 22 July, 1990; Maria Dolores Espino, "Tourism in Socialist Cuba," p. 107; Cigar Aficannado, June 1999, p. 119; Rosalie Schwartz, Pleasure Island p. 210.

[20] Dennis J. Gayle and Jonathan N. Goodrich, eds., Tourism Marketing and Management in the Caribbean (New York: Routledge, 1993), p.11.

[21] Jagmohan Negi, Tourism Development and Resource Conservation.

[22] H. Erisman, "Tourism and Cultural Dependency in the West Indies," Annals of Tourism Research 10, 1983, pp. 337-361; L.A. Perez, "Aspects of Underdevelopment: Tourism in the West Indies," Science and Society 37 (4) 1973-3: 473-80 N. Harrigan, "The Legacy of Caribbean history and tourism," Annals of Tourism Research 2, 1974, pp. 13-25.

[23] Edouard Glissant, Poetics of Relation (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

[24] Partick Chamoiseau, Texaco (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), p. 9.

[25] Chamoiseau, Texaco, p. 263.

[26] Chamoiseau, Texaco, pp. 269-70