MAURITIUS RESEARCH COUNCIL

UNESCO HERITAGE SITES AS CONTESTED SPACES: CASE STUDY IN MAURITIUS

Final Report

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UNESCO Heritage sites as contested spaces: case study in Mauritius

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ABSTRACT

The present research work was undertaken in order to understand how the two World Heritage Sites in Mauritius have evolved since their inscription on UNESCO's prestigious list. A social geographical perspective was adopted as its fundamental assumption is that of different stakeholders striving in order to have access and control over territorial resources. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with four major categories of territorial stakeholders on their representations, perceived uses and actions on the sites. It was found out that this perspective was appropriate in the case of Mauritius which is characterised by a liberal territorial perspective and ethnic groups competing for access to national resources. Hence, despite their inscription for their universal values, these two sites are primordially associated with the two major ethnic groups in Mauritius, that is the Indo-Mauritians and the General Population. It was demonstrated as well that there is growing dissonance between the local and national identities. These dissonances were generating conflicting uses of the heritage sites, even leading to contestations and extreme acts of destruction of vestiges. A third observation was that of the reluctance to consider these sites as economic resources to be inserted within the broader cultural leisure industry, thus obliterating the potential role of these sites to become levers for territorial development.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

Heritage tourism appears to be growing much faster than all other forms of tourism, particularly in the developing world and is thus viewed as an important potential tool for poverty alleviation and community economic development (UNWTO, 2005). Many tropical developing nations have concentrated their promotional efforts in boosting their tourism economies *via* the sun, sea and sand (3Ss) model of unplanned and poorly regulated tourism growth (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). Today, given the socio-cultural and ecological pitfalls associated with mass tourism based on the 3Ss, together with the realisation of the importance of cultural heritage as a resource for tourism, many traditional beach destinations have started to refocus their promotional and planning efforts to include heritage attractions to broaden their resource base and tourism offerings (Bennet 1993; Luxner 1999; McCabe 1992).

In this context, developing countries are striving to inscribe as many heritage sites as possible on the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL). UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WHS) showcase the universal values of heritage for humanity and their inscriptions are perceived as the ultimate recognition and to some extent, as labels of quality of these sites (Gravari-Barbas 2010; Timothy and Boyd 2003). Although the heritage industry has in the past focused on the built patrimony of the elite, there is now widespread social demand to discover the everyday landscapes that depict the lives of ordinary people. Heritage tourism is the interface between the demand and supply of heritage sites. It typically relies on living and built elements of culture and refers to the use of the tangible and intangible past as tourism resources.

However, the relationship between heritage and tourism is much more complex than that. There is recognition that the ideological and institutional context of heritage tourism is different from that of general tourism (Garrod and Fyall, 2000; 2001). Indeed, while heritage organisations are motivated by the protection and preservation of the sites, tourism has an overriding aim be profitable by the commodification of heritage (Aas *et al,* 2005). There is also a growing recognition that it is tourism that helps to create awareness (Leask and Fyall, 2006) and eventually appropriation of heritage as a social resource. If people do not visit heritage sites, then, it will not be appropriated and any attempt of conservation of heritage would be defeated as heritage would not be fulfilling its social and cultural functions. Hence, fundamental to developing a successful relationship between tourism and heritage is the need to involve all stakeholders in the development of cultural resources (Hall and McArthur, 1998).

1.1 Background of the study

The starting point of this research is the conceptualisation of heritage tourism projects. Various types of tourism projects exist and which are appropriate to the types of territories in which they are implemented. For example, a new form of territorialisation of urban areas is taking place through cultural regeneration, often resulting in the creation of cultural districts as international tourism arenas for mass consumption (Smith, 2007; 2009). Underlying the objectives of these heritage tourism projects is the assumption that principles of sustainable development are being respected. Hence, during the conceptualisation, planning and implementation phases of these projects, more diverse stakeholders are being increasingly involved.

In tourism literature, studies of stakeholder's theory has emphasised on collaboration in planning and managing tourism projects (Freeman 1984; Hall 2000; Hall 1999; Hall 1994; Jamal and Stronza 2009; Jamal and Getz 1995; Ladkin and Bertramini 2002; Roberts and Simpson 1999). Cooperation and collaboration are major issues that are closely linked to notions of sustainable tourism development (Bramwell and Lane 1999; Hall 2000; Selin 1999; Timothy 1999) and in the context of community-based tourism, to integration and participation of local communities (Mitchell and Reid 2001; Tosun 2000). Recently, tourism knowledge has been enriched by an extensive body of researches on resident's attitudes towards tourism. Studies that have focused on the stakeholders' collaboration on Heritage sites and tourism are that of Aas *et al* (2005) and Bott *et al* (2011) whereby both laid strong emphasis on the planning of heritage tourism, post or prior to inscription on the WHL.

However, as highlighted, these researches on stakeholder's collaboration have been studied in the context of tourism planning and management. These perspectives are based on contemporary sustainability principles that dictate that tourism projects should involve all stakeholders in order to optimise their involvement and access to benefits. Consequently, there is the assumption that all stakeholders are willing to communicate and collaborate and that simply by involving all interested parties, power imbalances can be overcome. In this perspective, the fundamental constraints of power distribution and of social strategies of groups to control their space and access to resources are ignored (Healey, 1998, 1997; Reed 1997; Yuksel *et al* 1999). However, the realities on heritage sites, especially in developing countries, demonstrate that this fundamental assumption of stakeholder's collaboration is not necessarily true.

For the purpose of this study, we will adopt a social geography posture which postulates that various stakeholders are engaged in power strife in order to control their space and its associated resources. Heritage is eminently a spatial phenomenon as it is associated to a specific site, location and scale (Graham *et al*, 2000). It can become in this sense, an economic, social, political and symbolic resource to be mobilised by different social groups in order to legitimate their presence at the site concerned as well as control its usage and benefits (Veschambre, 2008). Destruction of heritage sites by conflicting groups of people in order to take control and assert the legitimacy of their power in given places abound in the world, the latest example being the destruction of the Timbuktu Holy World Heritage Site by armed rebels against the ruling government in Mali (UNESCO WHC, 2012).

1.2 Problem Statement

The rationale for undertaking this research is that it presents a case study relating to the functions of heritage tourism in supporting territorial development in Small Island Developing States (SIDS). In spite of a growing interest in heritage tourism, there still remains a dearth of consolidated research on the dynamics of World Heritage Sites and tourism in developing countries, especially in SIDS. Following initiatives from the UN (2005) and UNESCO (2009), whereby the role of culture and heritage in the sustainable development of SIDS were highlighted, Mauritius has had two cultural heritage sites, Aapravasi Ghat in 2005 and Le Morne Cultural Landscape in 2008 inscribed on the WHL.

Two subsequent themes are explored in this study. The first theme is that of power struggle in the representation and control of spaces, especially heritage spaces by social groups in multicultural societies whereby Mauritius provides an opportunity to explore this issue. The second theme is the relationship between the process of heritagization of places into Cultural Areas/Districts and its perceived and attributed economic function through tourism. To answer these two main themes, a set of interrogations have guided this research. The initial question that comes to mind is: what has happened to these sites since their inscription? Who are the stakeholders involved in the process of heritage construction? What is the role of tourism in the construction of heritage sites? As mentioned earlier, the process of heritage construction is the process of assigning new meanings and values to the space where it is situated. Therefore, since the inscription, have the representations and practices of different stakeholders changed in regards to the newly designated heritage spaces? How do stakeholders respond to tourism and hence, to the *touristification* of their place? Do they

perceive the benefits and are they willing to adapt their activities to include tourism activities in their normal practices? Ultimately, do the representations and practices of stakeholders lead to the coherence which is favourable for territorial development?

Therefore, drawing on theories of organised actions and territorial development, the study seeks to examine from a comprehensive perspective, the micro-dynamics of stakeholders' representations and actions on their place. It draws upon a revised model of the Hall's Circuit of Heritage (Graham *et al,* 2000) to attempt to answer these interrogations. This research does not have the ambition to be a conceptual study but on the contrary, it aims to provide empirical data to further understand the issue of impacts of WHS, tourism and sustainable development in developing countries and more precisely, in SIDS.

1.3 Content of the research

This study is organised in a classical manner. Chapter 2 contains the review of literature done on the notion of heritage tourism projects and the approach of social geography. It has led us to postulate that the process of heritagisation is an on-going one that is constructed according to representations and actions of stakeholders involved. Chapter 3 allows us to take stock of the conditions that have led to a social demand for heritage in Mauritius. It also allows us to understand the current situation of the areas that have been newly re-qualified as heritage spaces. In chapter 4, the methodology used to apprehend the representations and actions of stakeholders is explained. As mentioned, this research is an empirical one, aiming at understanding the micro-dynamic relationships between stakeholders with the re-qualified heritage territory and hence, a comprehensive approach was adopted. Chapter 5 is concerned with the analysis of the relationships and representations of actors. Finally, chapter 6 deals with recommendations of the valorisation of the heritage sites from both social and economic perspectives that will ensure the sustainability of the local areas concerned.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review

This chapter aims to lay down the theoretical perspective and concepts that have been mobilised in the context of this research. Hence, the starting point of this chapter is an exploration of the concept and types of heritage tourism projects. In classical tourism theories, underlying these projects is the notion of sustainable development thereby implying an optimised management of these tourism projects. However, these management-oriented models fail to account for the complexities in the relationship between tourism and heritage. Furthermore, heritage or rather the process of heritagization of places is in itself very complex that involves many stakeholders with different values, functions and uses to these places. Hence, a revised model of Hall (1997), which attempts to conceptualise these complexities, will be mobilised in the context of this research.

2.1 The Concept of Heritage Tourism Projects

Tosun (2001) highlights the role of tourism as one domain that has to be incorporated as part of a global strategy to achieve sustainable development; for him "*the tourism industry should not seek for its own perpetuity at the cost of others*". In this context, heritage can be commoditised as tourism products that are in line with principles of local and sustainable development, through heritage tourism projects. Heritage tourism projects are the outcomes of the entire process of heritagization and of the valorisation of the heritage site. By ensuring that visitors and tourists patronise the heritage site, it is argued that the meanings and senses of the very heritage can be carried forward to future generations, thereby ensuring its sustainability. The main heritage tourism products take the form of cultural/historic districts and heritage trails encompassed within the designated area.

2.1.1 Cultural Districts

In scientific literature, the idea of a 'Cultural District' (CD) has been studied in different ways by various researchers. According to Arnaboldi & Spiller (2011), one recurrent theme of research on cultural districts is within the context of urban regeneration (Frost-Kumpf 1998; Landry 2000; Seifert & Stern 2005; Stern & Seifert, 1998; Zukin 1995). In this perspective, cultural districts are tools in the hands of urban planning authorities for fostering the development of urban centres and revitalising neighbourhoods in decline. The underlying assumption is that as urban economies grow increasingly reliant not only on the production of culture but also on its consumption (Landry, 2000); culture acquires the potential to become a powerful driver of local development. However, the question is how should Cultural districts be designated? What are the impacts of designating such an appellation to a territory?

In this sense, cultural districts can be defined as "*a well-recognised, labelled, mixed-use area of a city in which a high concentration of cultural facilities serves as the anchor of attraction*" (Frost-Kumpf, 1998). The cultural/heritage district is not uniform and Arnaboldi and Spiller (2011) summarises the various types of cultural districts. As an economic phenomenon, the local 'cluster model' has been that of the tendency of intervening so that the creative and heritage industry agglomerate in specific parts of the urban quarters. A second model of the CD has been to place less emphasis on the externally driven and coordinated development introducing therefore 'natural' rather than imposed cultural districts. Natural cultural districts (Seifert and Stern, 2005) are envisaged as spatially delimited areas in which varied array of cultural assets are clustered but whose evolution occurs "*organically as a result of individual agents – creators and participants, producers and consumers – deciding to locate themselves near one another*". A third type of CD has been conceptualised by Santagata (2002). For the latter, cultural districts are "*geographically clustered networks of interdependent entities defined by the production of idiosyncratic goods based on creativity and intellectual property*". A further model of the CD, developed by Sacco *et al* (2008), is that of "*a system-wide integration of diversified activities and that this integration occurs both within a single and across value chain (vertical and horizontal integration)*".

The Tourist Cultural District is, defined as "a mighty conglomeration of natural, historical and social resources in which amenities and cultural experiences are integrated into tourist spaces" (Ghafele & Santagata, 2006). Two conditions, according to these authors, should be fulfilled for the development of tourist cultural districts: first, the agents participating in the production of the tourism product must be clustered within a limited geographical area permeated with natural beauty and culture; secondly, the cultural factor must be idiosyncratic with the local community. CDs, through support from tourism, have the potential to become an important spatial economic development tool.

The embodiment of the Cultural District at the service of urban regeneration can be found in the European Capitals of Culture. This initiative was set up to for various purposes such as to: highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures, celebrate the cultural ties that link Europeans together among others. In addition, studies have shown that the event is a valuable opportunity to regenerate cities, raise their international profile and enhance their image in the eyes of their own inhabitants, give new vitality to their cultural life and boost tourism (European Commission, 2012). Such types of initiatives are now being reproduced in other countries outside the European sphere and mostly at national or local levels.

2.1.2 The Tourist-Heritage City

While the Cultural Districts focuses mostly on the creative class and promotes creative tourism (Richards and Wilson, 2007), the heritage city on the other hand, studies the rehabilitation of old urban centres. This notion of Heritage city has been conceptualised by Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000). It focuses on the relationship between heritage and cities and in particular, isolates the urban attributes which contribute to heritage. The vicissitudes of history, the survival of a historic endowment and deliberate policy all play crucial roles at specific moments. For the authors, the tourist-heritage city comes into being through a combination of social and economic processes which relies on heritage resources.

Two processes take place which together can lead to the creation of the heritage city. First, the historic architectural forms in at least part of the original city become valued and thus conserved. The extent to which this occurs will reflect a combination of the extent and condition of the architecture and design, the pressures of redevelopment on the area and the effectiveness of the local conservation lobby. Second, functional changes will take place, such that some activities will experience pressures to migrate out of the heritage area while others will be attracted by it. The result, with or without deliberate planning policies, is likely to lead to a partial separation of the heritage city from the rest of the urban area. These conditions of the heritage city model have been derived mostly from European cities. In contrast, in the case of North America, there has been a typically abandonment of areas by commercial and residential functions which led to the creation of 'zones of discard' subsequently being conserved by private or public initiatives (Tunbridge, 1987).

Most major cities in especially developed countries are now moving towards the heritagization of their old city centres. These Heritage cities are being transformed and equipped to showcase the identity of the urban centre and even that of the country. Hence, the Heritage city also contributes in the process of place-making and place-imagineering. Furthermore, the Heritage city has attracted new tourism-related economic activities such as souvenir shops, traditional handicraft markets, districts of bars, restaurants and pubs that contribute to showcase the dynamism of area while conserving buildings. In many countries, the image of conserved yet dynamic images of urban cities has contributed to attract highly skilled labours and investment capitals, in addition to tourists. Ultimately, entrepreneur or autonomous cities have been able to finance the regeneration of dilapidated areas and also to attract new residents and increase the quality of life of stakeholders concerned.

2.1.3 Heritage Trails

Once the Tourist Cultural District/ Heritage City have been designated, heritage trails are designed as one of the direct application of the commodification of heritage into tourism products. Heritage trails link different places of attraction in a coherent whole. It is one physical manifestation of interactions between tourists, locals and the host place. It is seen as a direct application of the Krippendorf model of 'Human Tourism' (Krippendorf, 1987). The latter builds his vision on an argument that animation should have a central role in tourism.

The role of animation is to help remove barriers and encourage the exploratory spirit, creating openness for new contacts. It stresses the importance of learning, self-discovery and exploration as motive for and activities in tourism. This implies a mutual relationship between tourists and heritage sites that the heritage trail is configured to fit. In view of this, a heritage trail adds value to heritage tourism. Furthermore, as a self-guided tour, it allows tourists to directly interact with locals within the build-heritage attractions. These direct interactions are the base upon which tourists discover, experience and consume cultural life and history of the area concerned (Hewison, 1987). According to Mesik (2007), heritage trails acknowledge significant conservation activities for they are becoming increasingly popular as a means of promoting an area's cultural tourism activities and they generate an increasing awareness of the local heritage and stimulate an interest in conservation.

Tourism heritage projects therefore exist in varied forms but the ultimate aim is to help in the regeneration of the local area concerned, by changing its image from an old to a new, valorised one. In addition to identity creation, tourism heritage projects can contribute in the regeneration of old, dilapidated areas by reviving economic activities and to a certain extent, by attracting new residents, users and other people who spend in the local economy. The idea of heritage tourism is based on the principles of sustainable development, especially that of local areas that have become 'heritagised'. In this context, tourism studies have constituted an extensive body of knowledge in line with sustainability principles and practices. However, very often, the equation between heritage, tourism and territorial development have been made and its benefits been promoted to various stakeholders without in-depth recognition of their difficult and complex relationship.

2.2 Criticisms of Heritage Tourism assumptions

Underlying these forms of heritage tourism projects, there are assumptions that they will bring about sustainable development to the territory. Khalid (2010) proposes a model of the sustainable development of historical areas demonstrating that tourism projects must respond to the interaction between different important areas: conservation and rehabilitation, interpretation and local-economic development. He postulates that these areas formulate the basis upon which tourists, local people and hosting places are mutually interacting to meet everyone's needs. Conservation and rehabilitation lies at the heart of these needs. For locals, it is about sustaining the values and meanings of their practices (Nuryanti, 1996). For visitors, it is a prerequisite for any understanding of the original character of the place.

In addition, interpretation creates a wide and a dynamic area of interaction between tourists, locals and the host place. Stewart *et al* (1998) highlights the importance of revealing the meanings of places, provoking thoughts about places and most importantly making the link between people and places. Furthermore, Hall and McArthur (1998) argue that the goal of interpretation extends beyond enhancing visitor experience. They link interpretation to heritage management, local economic development. Another perspective is the 'three pillars' model by Keiner (2005). It addresses the interrelation between sustainable urban development and sustainable heritage tourism by investigating the role of built heritage in three sustainability dimensions; that of economic, environmental and social sustainability (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007).

Various other models exist and have mostly been empirically tested and proven to be sound. However, as mentioned earlier, underlying these models there is an assumption that the discourse of the *"all together"* is privileged and that consequently, any stakeholder involved would benefit from developmental projects, either equally or in differentiated manners. The assumption is that collaboration will override power imbalances and that the needs of all stakeholders are perceived to be met. However, the perspective of social geography is increasingly demonstrating that places and specially heritage sites are subject to power struggles for representation by different social groups. These social groups may be characterised in terms of social class, of gender, of those who have more significant cultural capital compared to those who are culturally poor (Bourdieu's idea of Habitus). Representation of a heritage site implies the representation of the identity of the social group and more importantly, its access to and ability to exploit the heritage site as a resource.

Furthermore, these models tend to demonstrate that local governments are empowered to conceptualise, lead and finance territorial projects. In developed countries, this might be the case as processes of decentralisation and empowerment of local communities have been carried out. But this is not necessarily the case in developing countries as Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) argue: "*endemic to developing countries is a tradition of centralised power, wherein grassroots planning and development and participatory governance have not been normative practice*". In many cases, development initiatives start from central administration and are imposed on communities in a *"top-down"* manner, thereby defeating modern conceptualizations of sustainable development requiring development initiatives to originate from local communities. Again, based on the premise of local government empowerment, most studies do not take into account the various multi-scalar interventions, ranging from international-national-local levels, in the process of heritagization and tourism management.

Finally, the most ardent criticism that has been formulated against these models concerns the ideologies implicated in the tourism and heritage industries. Historically, the economic functions of heritage have been presented as barely tolerated uses of heritage places which initially have been identified, interpreted and preserved for social reasons. There is a prevailing perspective that any attempt to attach economic values to heritage, is at best pointless and at worst an unacceptable soiling of the aesthetics of a place (Graham *et al,* 2000). The institutional context between these two industries is often disputed as well for the approach of heritage organisations is to protect and preserve while tourism has an overriding aim to becoming a profitable business. As Nuryanti (1996) highlights "*this relationship is often characterised by a series of conflicts where conservationists perceive heritage tourism as compromising conservation goals for the benefit of profit*".

These criticisms have led us therefore to move away from tourism studies towards the social geography's perspective of power struggles and of strategies of stakeholders in territorial development. Since early 2000, social sciences have moved away from the study of heritage as a fixed object of study towards the process of heritagization which is deemed to be more important and subject to stakeholder's interpretations. Taken in this sense, the valorisation of heritage sites through tourism is towards the end of the entire process of heritagization. Furthermore, this perspective helps to bring light to major interrogations: "*what has happened since the inscription of the two sites on the WHL?*" and "*whose heritage is being valorised and showcased for the benefit of tourism?*"

2.3 The Process of Heritagisation: from a constructivist perspective

Scientific interest in the concept of heritage dates back in the 1970's in European Countries. Since then, it can be said that heritage studies, from multidisciplinary perspectives, are still experiencing a booming career in the scientific world. This is because heritage is a societal phenomenon whereby there has been an explosion in the social demands for it (Choay, 1992). This is true to such an extent that it can be said that developed countries are undergoing a period of *omni-heritagisation* (Gauchon *et al*, 2010) as anything can be given the status of heritage as long as it arouses certain values that leads the society in question to do so. Two main reasons can explain this unprecedented rise in social demands for heritage: the collapse of the modernist ideology of industrialisation and the rise in globalisation (Di Meo 2007; Graham *et al* 2000).

The consequences on the notion of heritage have been multiple as well. First of all, the very definition of heritage has undergone four main types of extensions according to Heinich (2009). Heritage has moved from the private to the public domain as a collective property; various types of objects are given the status of heritage (from huge architectural monuments to abandoned factories); a compression of time scale (an object no longer needs to be old to be recognised as heritage); from in the conceptual sense (it is not so much the object that is important but the values that it represents). Jacquot (2007) attributes a fifth extension to heritage, that of geographic extension, as he states that the preoccupation of heritage has transcended the developed world to encompass everyone across the world.

Secondly, the industry for heritage tourism is becoming more and more professionally organised, with the acceptance that UNESCO WHS are recognised as the ultimate label of quality and experience of the site. Thirdly, heritage is being endowed with new sets of tasks and responsibilities, few of which are easily reconcilable with each other. The past, transformed into heritage is a ubiquitous resource with many contemporary cultural, economic, political and marketing functions (Ashworth *et al*, 2007). Finally, heritage has become a global phenomenon because it is deeply implicated in the processes of inclusion and exclusion across all scales (global, national, local) and of societies (Lowenthal, 1998). "*What is the current state of research on heritage? What are the dimensions that structure such a concept? What are the various functions of heritage and finally, what are the processes of construction of heritage?*" With these interrogations in mind, let us further explore the concept of heritage.

Since its inception in the 1970, researches on heritage by social sciences have moved from studying the object of heritage to the process of heritage construction. This constructionist approach is deemed to be more interesting as heritage is perceived as a social phenomenon rather than an unanimated object (Bosredon 2009; Leniaud 2003; Rautenberg 2003). If people in the present are the creators of heritage and not merely passive receivers or transmitters of it, then the present creates the heritage it requires and manages it for a range of contemporary uses. Hence, the worth attributed to heritage artefacts rests less in their intrinsic merit than in a complex array of values, demands and moralities prevalent with the present representations (Graham *et al*, 2000). As such, it is constructed to reflect the aspirations of the society to whom it belongs.

2.3.1 Heritage and its link with time

As mentioned earlier, heritage is that part of the past that we select in the present for contemporary purposes and choose to bequeath to a future, whatever posterity may choose to do with it (Ashworth *et al*, 2007). In the sense of heritage therefore, both past and future are imaginary realm that cannot be experienced in the present. According to Lowenthal (1996), the past validates the present by conveying an idea of timeless values and unbroken lineages and through restoring subverted or lost values of objects, landscapes, etc.

The author notes four traits of the past which makes the past become beneficial to a society. "*First, its antiquity conveys the respect and status of antecedence and most importantly, the idea of continuity. Second, societies create emblematic landscapes and building in which certain artefacts acquire cultural status because they fulfil the need to connect present to the past in an unbroken trajectory. Third, the past provides a sense of termination in the sense that what happened in it has ended while, finally, it offers a sequence, allowing us to locate our lives in what we see as a continuity of events*". However, how the past is conveyed to the present is often subject to contestation. Based on what, is heritage created? Is it from the narratives of the past, from memories or from the national history? National histories are often considered as reflections of the hegemonic, elite social group and might not recognise the legacy of minorities or of that of the suppressed. Hence, heritage engages with the past in various manners, most of the time with Nora's (1998) *mémoire des lieux*, place memories.

The embodiment of public memory in places provides an example of the ways in which representations of place and heritage are intimately related. Memory however is also a social construct. Samuel (1994) regards memory not as timeless tradition but as being transformed from generation to generation through filters of present values and uses. "*Memory, far from being merely a passive receptacle or storage system, is rather an active shaping force; that it is dynamic- what it contrives to forget is as important as what is remembers. Memory is historically conditioned, far from being handed down in the timeless form of tradition; it is progressively altered from generation to generation.*"(Samuel, 1994). Like heritage, with which it overlaps, the meaning and functions of memory is defined by the present, its connections with history and place vested in emblematic places of meaning. In this sense, monuments can be visualised as politically charged and deliberately physical manifestations of ideology imposed on places (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994).

Hence, heritage is that part of the past that is selected in the present for contemporary purposes, whether they might be fulfilling economic, cultural, political or social functions. With different representations that people assign to heritage and set as it is within specific social groups and places, the nature of heritage is subject to negotiation. The interrogations of "*why a particular interpretation is promoted, whose interests are advanced and in what kind of socio-cultural milieu was it conceived and communicated?*" are important to understand. Furthermore, if heritage is situated in a particular social environment and if it is time-specific, its meanings can therefore be altered in changing times, circumstances and constructs of place. The past is integral to both individuals and groups in order to provide human existence with meaning, purpose and value. People cut off from their past, through migration or destruction, often seek to recreate "*what could or should have been there*" (Lowenthal, 1996).

2.3.2 Heritage and its spatial link

Heritage is inherently a spatial phenomenon. All heritages occur somewhere, in a given place. The questions are "*why does it occur in a specific place rather than in another place?*" "*What is the relationship between heritage and place?*" Places are distinguished from each other by many attributes that contribute to their identity and to the identification of individuals and social groups within them. Heritage is one of these attributes. The process of heritage construction therefore relies on the values and representations that are given to places. Same like language, heritage is one of the mechanisms by which meaning is produced and reproduced.

Hall (1997) defines representations as such "*It is us- in society, within human culture – who can make things mean, who signify. Meanings consequently will always change from one culture or one period to another*". Representation is socially constructed and therefore, "*it is formed and altered by the individual filters of social players involved in its production*" (Di Meo, 1998). In the same sense, the author (1998) defines represented space as value-laden and carrying a brand of cultural codes and ideologies. For Lefebvre (1991), "*space is produced and reproduced and is the outcome of the associated social, political and economic struggle*". The meanings and representations of places are polysemic and unstable and are also linked to time because spaces are in a perpetual state of production (Pred, 1984).

Heritage is therefore a represented space which includes the evocation of objects and considerations emanating from the imagination of man and enriches its strict perceptual knowledge (Bosredon, 2009). Who says heritage, says an identified object, a representation of greater value for those who recognize themselves in it. Heritage is also associated with shared references, common identity and collective memories of places. "*But can we actually consider that there is always and everywhere collective ownership of spaces? How is it that, in this case, heritage can generate so much conflict?*" Heritage is a key element in the process of production and reproduction of power relations associated to legitimation and control of spaces. In a retroactive manner, heritage redefines and re-qualifies space. Areas that have fallen in derelicts or in phases of decomposition can get uplifted when they are involved in the process of heritagization. *In the case where there demolition of a building lot, can this be interpreted as an attempt to erase the traces of undesirable populations on that particular space?* Heritage is deeply implicated in the production of spaces and due to the multiple actors and representations associated to it, can generate spatial conflicts.

2.3.3 The functions of heritage

While he was writing specifically of language as a media through which meaning is produced and transmitted, Hall (1997) proposed a *cultural circuit* which can be extended to heritage. Meanings and values are given to heritage as a means of marking the space where it is situated. These meanings and values can be instrumentalised for various purposes, social, political, symbolic and economic consumption. The different values and functions attributed to heritage by various stakeholders may however overlap, conflict and even deny its cultural role. Heritage contributes to define the meanings of culture and power and is a political resource. It is at the same time an economic resource, exploited as strategies to promote

tourism, economic development and territorial regeneration. According to Veschambre (2008), there are no bounded perimeters between these functions but a circulation: "*with heritage, the economic becomes cultural, culture is relation and the whole engenders symbolism*" (Pincon and Pincon-Charlot, 2005).

2.3.3.1 Heritage as a symbolic support

Heritage associated to space, draws on the local myths, stories, memory and practices as mentioned earlier. In this sense, these narratives contain distinct home places of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991), comprising of people who are bound by networks, all set within the territorial framework. These narratives are valorised and influence spaces where they are situated and their legitimacy are couched in terms of their representations of the past. Hence these narratives of the past and of the place are integral to the individual and community representations of identity.

Identity is a multi-faceted phenomenon that embraces a range of human attributes such as language, religion, ethnicity and shared representations of the past (Guibernau, 1996) and constructs these attributes into discourses of inclusion and exclusion. Central to the concept of identity, is the idea of the Other – with competing and conflicting beliefs, values and aspirations (Barthe 1995; Taylor 1994). The attributes of Otherness are thus fundamental to representations of identity, which are constructed in counter-distinction to them. As Douglas (1997) argues: "*the functions of identity lies in providing the basis in making choices and facilitating relationships with others... In emphasizing sameness, group membership provides the basis for supportive social interaction, coherence and consensus. As identity is expressed and experienced through communal membership, awareness will develop for the Other... Recognition of Otherness helps to reinforce self-identity but may lead to exclusion.*"

In this sense, heritage can be implicated in the process of identity creation. Tibere (2006) suggests that in the dynamics of identity construction, the manipulation of signs is a major challenge in multicultural societies. In this sense, heritage is at the heart of this process: it is the manifestation of tangible and intangible values, spatiality, temporality and imaginary that different stakeholders ascribe to it and which in reflexivity, legitimizes their identity. Heritage plays a central and crucial role in the construction of the symbolic domains at the very heart of social life. According to Ashworth *et al* (2007), heritage is deeply involved in legitimizing claims of identity recognition based on ethnicity, gender, social class or nationalism.

Thus, heritage can become a major symbolic support in the identity claims of different actors in multicultural spaces. The construction process of heritage can become a generator of discourses and practices in the construction of identity and positioning of different actors in social and geographic spaces. The key point however, is that meshing of heritage and identity is also implicated on the patterns and conflicts of privileging and exclusion, of marginalization and resistance that result from the fracturing of social groups along various axes of class, ethnicity, local and national authorities, public and private domains (Gravari-Barbas, 2006).

2.3.3.2 Heritage as a political tool

Graham *et al* (2000) stress that heritage functions as cultural and economic resources at a series of spatial scales – local, national, supranational and global – but that the dominance of the national remains pervasive. Indeed, it is the central government who, through the intermediary of its agencies and official policies, will determine the need to encapsulate the cultural identity of its population. Hence, institutional recognition of heritage, even if it cannot be disconnected from the social demand still represents filtering of institutional and political values: conservation of the past is not innocent and impartial, but selective and essentially ideological by dominating political orientations (Bougarel, 1992).

In multicultural societies, the issue of "*how cultural diversity of social groups should be reflected in heritage selection, interpretation and management?*" is raised. There is an underlying assumption that there is a political will to act upon this heterogeneity. Heritage therefore plays an instrumental role in the pursuit of managing plural societies. Ashworth *et al* (2007) propose to conceptualise the different roles of heritage within different social configurations whereby cultural diversity is taken into account.

A summary of these models and the role of heritage are presented in the following table.

Type of Model	Definition	Functions of Heritage
Assimilatory/ Single – Core model	Society accepts the valid existence of only one set of common values, social norms and practices and ethnic cultural characteristics as legitimate.	Heritage acts as an instrument of assimilation of outsiders into the core while constantly reaffirming and strengthening it among insiders.
Melting Pot Model	The analogy of the melting pot is quite straightforward: the diverse ingredients are melted into a new homogeneous identity. It is	Heritage plays of role of assimilation of outsiders into the newly defined core. New migrants learn that historical events,

	based on a single core model with shared values and norms. However, contrary to assimilation models, the single core has recently been composed.	personalities and associations of the host country are his heritage. He willingly abandons the heritage of his home country.
Core+ Models	Central to this model is the existence of a consensual core to which are added a number of distinctive minority cultural groups. The core culture and its values are both normally that of a substantial cultural majority but are also accepted by the minorities as having an undisputed primacy due to the numerical, historical or political dominance of the core. In turn, the add-ons do not compete with the core for dominance and do not dilute or fundamentally amend it.	Heritage has multiple roles: as an instrument to create or sustain the leading culture. It can also be used as a defensive instrument to preserve the integrity of diverse groups or as a tool used to promote the values and the norms of the core to the periphery add-ons thus preventing society to fragment itself into non-communicating cells.
Pillar Models	Society is conceived as being a set of 'pillars', each self-contained and having little connection with each other. This has often been a defensive reaction in deeply divided societies, maintaining an overall unity with minimum uniformity.	Each group creates, manages and consumes its own heritage for its own exclusive uses. The role of the overarching state would be restricted to maintaining an equality of provision.
Salad Bowl/ Mosaic/Rainbow models	The basic idea is that diverse ingredients are brought together and collectively create a whole without losing their distinctive characteristics, unlike the assimilation or the melting pot models. The rainbow society imagines different colours producing a regular pattern by remaining distinct while merging at their edges into each other.	Two main sets of policy instruments exist: inclusivist and exclusivist; whereby the former endeavours to include every possible social group and the latter which aims to empower each distinctive group with the selection and management of its own heritage.

Table 1: Political functions of Heritage according to different multicultural models (Source: Ashworth *et al.*, 2007)

These various configurations demonstrate that heritage plays an instrumental role for political and ideological agendas of inclusion or exclusion of groups of populations based on their identity and cultural diversity. This role can be even more confounded when *ethnic politics* are utilised in the representations of groups of people in matters of the State. Dominant groups, who are politically strongly represented, tend to transform heritage spaces to demonstrate their hegemony over the rest of the population. In return, some minority groups may view heritage as a tool to be harnessed in their struggle for political and social recognition.

Other studies especially that of Pincon & Pincon-Charlot (2005) demonstrate that it is not so much in matters of cultural diversity or ethnic representations that heritage can become a political tool but in terms of social class struggles. The authors demonstrate that neighbourhoods are produced in terms of social classes and that heritage plays an instrumental role in gentrification processes and in driving out the working class from these neighbourhoods. In similar vein, Ouallet (2001) perceives that behind the conflict for cultural and ethnic representations, social problems of poverty and access to resources present in territories are more often at stake.

2.3.3.3 The economic uses of heritage

Historically, the economic functions of heritage have been presented as barely tolerated uses of heritage places which initially have been identified, interpreted and preserved for social reasons. The prevailing perspective that attempts to attach economic values to heritage, is at best pointless and at worst an unacceptable soiling of the aesthetics of a place (Graham *et al,* 2000). This statement shows the ambiguous relationship that heritage has with the economics of it.

The first criticism formulated against the economics of heritage is that the process of valorisation of heritage and evaluation of heritage is a complex process. This is because heritage acquires value in a number of ways, a factor which in turn determines how this value can be measured through price. Hence, not only is the definition of such a value a difficult process but so is its calculation. Moreover, it is difficult to identify, understand and intervene within markets for heritage as well as in the production system. Resources used in the production of heritage products may be owned or maintained by individuals and institutions quite different in nature and intent to those managing and marketing its uses. Another issue is about who needs to invest in heritage sites, which are collectively owned and who will reap the profits that result from its commercialization?

However, despite the difficulty of measuring the economics of heritage, arguments in favour for the commercialisation of heritage are more than ever engaged. Firstly, this is because heritage costs money. The ever increasing list of protected monuments and sites impose large and open-ended financial commitment and the question "*who should bear these costs?*" is more than ever pertinent. Furthermore, it requires foregoing profitable opportunities to develop alternative uses of buildings, sites and areas. Continuous maintenance requires funds as well. Secondly, heritage is worth money and therefore, this value can be utilised to provide

a return in profits, incomes and jobs. Thirdly, the economic benefits of heritage may be extended beyond the individual building and site, providing economic support for the whole local, regional and national economies. Hence, heritage as an industry could commodify past structures to generate cultural productivity and trade these for an economic return that can be measured in terms of jobs, profits or incomes. Heritage places could be treated as locations for economic activities and assessed according to their ability to attract and accommodate economic functions. Heritage can also be used in the creation and promotion of place images for dominantly economic purposes.

Tourism is associated with the economics of heritage as it is generally assumed that it is through tourism that the economics of heritage can be exercised. The growing interest in cultural resources opens new perspectives for the economy in culturally rich countries which in turn provides the tourism industry with challenges of managing heritage facilities and attractions and for public agencies (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 1999). Sack (1992) states that heritage places are places of consumption and are arranged and managed to encourage consumption but at the same time, such consumption can create places while contributing in the process of place altering or to the "placelessness" generated (Smith, 2007; 2009).

2.4 Proposed model for the study of the process of heritagization

Dealing with heritage based on its definition as "*anything associated with the word inheritance; that is something transferred from one generation to another*" (Nuryanti, 1996) raises the dilemma between preservation and development. While the aim of preservation is to maintain an historical legacy in such a way that it can be safely handed to future generations as a hereditary identity feature, development of heritage sites aim to benefit from the use of a community and its surrounding space. Keeping these two contradictory perspectives in balance involves the integration of the historic legacy, inheritance and sense of place with the demands of contemporary economic, political and social uses (Dorati *et al* 2004; Howard and Pinder 2003; Pearce 2001). So far, an exploration of different considerations that need to be taken into account during the process of heritage construction has been conducted. To reiterate, the process of heritagization refers to a process of re-qualifying a place, endowing it with new significations, values and identity. These values, political, social or cultural, should be by right reflections of the aspirations of the society who socially demand the preservation of heritage.

Furthermore, the process of heritagization is accompanied by a process of valorisation of the place, as the heritage place is transformed into a resource. This heritage resource can be commoditised into an economic resource due to perceived benefits such as local economic regeneration. Tourism is seen as a major commodification force that is responsible for transforming heritage into a product (Hewison, 1987). However, the commodification of cultural products raises questions about the limits of their sustainability and accordingly, to limits of sustainability of areas concerned. The following part explores Hall's revised model which conceptualises the delicate balance between representations and functions of heritage sites with the final outcome leading to territorial development.
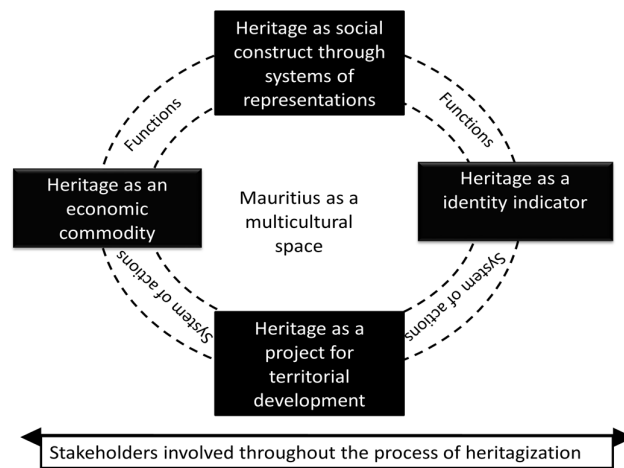
Diagram 1: Revised Model of the Heritage Circuit
Source (Hurnath, 2012; adapted from Hall, 1996)

As mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter, heritage is subject to various types of representations by different stakeholders. Therefore, before envisaging any type of developmental project, these multiple representations must be taken into account. Representations of the place and of the heritage value assigned to place are diverse and very often do not generate consensus as the paradigm of social geography have tended to demonstrate. These representations are diverse and in many cases, can give rise to heritage dissonance. This notion has been conceptualised by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996). It postulates that it is quite inevitable that given the range of representations, values and uses attributed to heritage and its importance to different people for different reasons, heritage has emerged as a major arena for conflict and contestation. Heritage is contested and a source of conflict.

Cosgrove (1993) argues that the cultural realm involves all those conscious and unconscious processes whereby people give meanings to their lives and communicate these meanings. Consequently, "*culture cannot be seen as uniform but rather are constantly reproduced and contested*" (Cosgrove, 1993). Control of the media of representation – of which heritage is a major one- is vital in determining the cultural hegemony of one group of people over others. This can be defined as the attempt by a powerful social group to determine the limits of meaning for everyone else by universalising its own cultural truths. Hence, with the involvement of more and more stakeholders in the process of heritagization, lies the notion of representation of various and diverse groups of people who can express their understanding of heritage.

Furthermore, heritage functions as the identity symbol for social groups. Drawing upon Bourdieu's concept of '*cultural capital*', Johnson (1995) argues that upon assuming power, each governmental regime must capture this capital, especially heritage through political structures, education, socialisation and media representations. Hence, heritage is central to evocations of legitimacy and of constructs of nationalism. Johnson (1995) believes that statues act as "*circuits of memory where individual elements are taken out of public consciousness and an interpretation privileging an elitist narrative of place is showcased*".

Conversely, Withers (1995), while he agrees that sites of memory are important in giving place identity, he contests that it is that of popular and local memory rather than a public, dominant and elite memory. These two views show that national and local representations of heritage can be diverse and therefore, it impacts on the identity of place. Identity of place is becoming important as often, heritage places; especially World Heritage Sites are given the status of 'mirror' over the society and the country, hence furthering the notion of place marketing in the face of globalisation. Furthermore, territorial projects are articulated around the idea of uniqueness so as to better position the product offering and experience.

Earlier again, the notion of heritage as an economic commodity has been looked into. However, the extent of interpretation of the heritage site for tourism consumption is more and more contested. Indeed, there is ongoing research on the aspect of heritage marketing whereby different messages are chosen to target different segments of tourists, whereby the content of the heritage might get distorted and "*disintegrates into pure image without referent, content or effects, creating a mental landscape in which everything is pastiche and combined with resonances of nostalgia*" (Urry, 1995).

Finally, heritage through tourism is seen as a potential activator of local development. For local people, heritage tourism projects can promote the rehabilitation of historic areas thus improving the quality of life of residents and users. Furthermore, the most important benefits for local people are likely to be economic in the forms of increased incomes and job opportunities. Archer and Fletcher (1990) classify these economic benefits into three different types: direct and indirect. Direct effects are a result of the direct involvement of local people in works related directly to the tourism industry. These include wages, salaries and profits. Additionally, direct effects include government revenues derived from taxes and fees. Indirect effects are the result of the needs of those working in the tourism domain to promote their business activities or to sustain them.

The proposed framework will be further developed in Chapter 4. This chapter has helped us to take stock of the different perspectives through which heritage tourism has been studied. It has also helped us to understand that heritage is not a fact but rather that it is constructed and that it is the representations and actions of stakeholders who contribute in the elaboration of heritage sites. Tourism as an activity can help in the valorisation of this process as it allows the economic as well as the educational values of the heritage sites. Furthermore, heritage sites can help in the activation of territories that face social and economic crisis and hence, in ensuring the sustainability of these spaces.

Chapter 3: Background of the Research

The case of Mauritius is very interesting to study because besides the fact that this small country faces the vulnerabilities and challenges inherent to Small Island Developing States (SIDS), it is qualified as an emerging country in the global economic context. It has some characteristics of developed countries such as the advent of leisure, there is a dynamic productive export industry and its economy is becoming increasingly tertiarised. Moreover, despite its isolation and remoteness in South West Indian Ocean, Mauritius is often cited as a model by international bodies for its "*Mauritian miracle*" (Alladin, 1993) or its ability to maintain its "*political stability and respect for democracy in a multi-ethnic society*" (Peghini, 2009). Singaravelou (1996) stated that "*this island state remains a valuable and living laboratory where we can still observe and study the social, cultural and environmental issues related to economic growth and the impact of mainstream globalization on a small island territory*".

This chapter provides the background in order to understand the conditions that motivated an Island-State such as Mauritius to initiate processes of heritagization, leading thus to the inscription of two sites on the prestigious and internationally acclaimed list of the UNESCO World Heritage. The main idea is that Mauritius is striving to recompose its economic and social fabric in light of the intensification of globalisation and in this context, is aligning itself with international tendencies of social and cultural protection, territorial marketing and new economic businesses.

3.1 International conditions leading to inscription of WHS in Mauritius

Economic development scholar, Richard Florida has promoted an enormously influential image of the successful 21st Century city as a place where social tolerance and cultural amenities draw educated workers and new economy businesses (Florida 2003, 2003, 2008). This image, no longer restricted to urban areas, has been extended to entire countries as many countries around the world are building and branding their territories in cultural terms. Cultural programs, diverse in nature, serve non-profit cultural amenities such as museums and theatres while supporting the artistic work of the creative class. As part of cultural programs, heritage is being valorised and used as a tool for the economic development and revitalisation of territories. Such culture-led development programs have brought many developed countries to expand their existing cultural agencies and programs and to establish new ones, such as the pan-European annual event of 'European Capital of Culture'.

While developed countries have been quite successful in transforming their cultural resources into thriving cultural industries supporting national and local economies, there is a growing recognition that it is more challenging to do so in emerging economies. According to the UN, conditions are even more difficult for SIDS. Traditionally considered as sparse islands scattered around the world, according to the Committee for Development Policy (2010) under the aegis of the UN, there is no accepted definition of a SIDS but rather it is a voluntary association of island states consisting of 38 members. In addition to the characteristics of developing countries, SIDS face specific vulnerabilities that can be attributed to factors such as their small size, remoteness, vulnerabilities to external shocks, narrow resource base and exposure to global environmental challenges.

During the '*International Meeting to Review the Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States*' (Secretary-General of UN, 2005), the role of culture for the sustainable development of SIDS was highlighted. This was re-iterated in 2010: "*The preservation and promotion of cultural heritage is of particular importance to small island developing states owing to the contribution of cultural industries and initiatives to sustainable development in terms of economic diversification in general and the tourism sector in particular but also because of the increasing vulnerability of their cultural identities.*" (Secretary-General of UN, 2010).

The World Heritage Committee (WHC), under the aegis of UNESCO, has henceforth undertaken various initiatives to support SIDS in developing cultural programmes and inscribing World Heritage Sites. For example, in 2007, the WHC organised a conference titled « *Des îles carrefours : la diversité culturelle dans les petits Etats insulaires en développement* » in order to initiate research in the field of heritage in SIDS. Furthermore, since 2005, the WHC multiplied support in capacity building in heritage by encouraging more SIDS to have sites inscribed on the UNESCO WHL. Currently, a total of 28 sites from SIDS have been inscribed (WHC, 2012), of which Mauritius has had two sites inscribed, the Aapravasi Ghat (AG) in 2006 and Le Morne Cultural Landscape (LMCL) since 2008.

Favourable international conditions have made it possible for SIDS to benefit from the support and encouragement of the WHC to designate and inscribe sites on the prestigious UNESCO WHL. Such is the case of Mauritius. However, internal conditions have also contributed in this process. In fact, the social demands for the protection and preservation of sites have emerged in the context of intense territorial changes.

3.2 Internal social demands for heritage led by dynamics of territorial transformation

In the context of inherent vulnerabilities and economic reforms, the study of the complexity of Mauritius is justified. In the reconfiguration of the economy led by drastic territorial changes, the relations of people with their space is changing, thus creating social demands for recognition and conservation of heritage sites and of the identity of social groups. Chan Low (2007) states that the emergence of a "*memory time*" in Mauritius coincides with its fundamental transformation from a plantation society to a newly industrialized one. However, the social demand for protection and enhancement of heritage is taking place in a context of fragmentation of the society and has ethnic connotations attached to it. Thus, in public imaginary and discourses, Aapravasi Ghat is perceived as a primordial marker of identity of Indo-Mauritians while for others, the recognition of the heritage value of the Morne Brabant is linked to the recognition of the identity of the "Creoles".

3.2.1 Territorial development led by economic sectors

Historically, Mauritius has been used either as a port of call or as a financial centre or as sugar producing island by the Dutch, French and British East India Companies, through its various phases of colonization. Thus, it is international geopolitics of the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries that have valorised the peripheral location and remoteness of Mauritius. In terms of the territorial development of the island, the British did not bring much improvement from French colonizers, in the sense that they furthered massive plantation and production of sugar cane and made use of the port and city centre of Port-Louis for administrative purposes. After the period of decolonization leading to the accession of its independence in 1968, the country's economic development was transformed from a sugar plantation economy to diversify into industrialization activities, particularly that of the manufacturing and tourism sectors. Globalization characterized by neo-liberalism, is forcing Mauritius to make structural changes to ensure its continued development in an economically sustainable manner. Until 2005, the economic growth of the country had been accomplished through the diversification of its industries and mostly because Mauritius had enjoyed, through negotiations and international conventions, guaranteed markets at preferential prices for its products (sugar prices protected by the Lomé agreement, textile/manufacturing with the Multi-Fibre Agreement). The new World Economy signifies the end of these conventions. Changes have brought about agrarian and industrial reforms and the emergence of new industries such as the financial, technological and real estate sectors.

In this new phase of development, Mauritius aims to become a cyber island and a knowledge hub, making use of its strategic location to be a gateway between Africa and Asia. These reforms have had profound consequences on the dynamics of territorial development. Traditionally, the distribution of the Mauritian territory was that of specialization into three main regional zones: a first region urbanized, industrialized and even tertiarised around a conurbation linking to the Capital city of Port Louis. The second zone is the coastal belt developed for tourism purposes (mainly north, east and west coasts), and the third is the interior land, with traditional rural development that seemed to have carved landscapes of sugarcane fields dotted sporadically with villages (Jauze and Guébourg, 2005). However, this typical landscape of the country is nearing its end.

The sugar industry reforms have brought a decrease in the amount of land under agriculture and the emergence of a real estate industry, with high value properties on this small territory. Rural areas, shaped for two centuries by sugarcane cultivation, are increasingly being transformed into luxury real estate projects under the Integrated Resort Scheme (IRS) and Real Estate Scheme (RES). Furthermore, pressure to develop new hotels and the increasing social demand by Mauritians to enjoy public beaches are bringing about tensions between promoters and local communities around coastal communities. Ultimately, these endeavours are to ensure the sustainability and viability of a country that remains constrained by its insular and remote nature. New territories are emerging as extensions of the urban conurbation. For example, the Cyber City of Ebene and other territories designated as Special Economic Zones (Jin Fei and Neo Town) which are part of this dynamic fragmentation of the Mauritian territory in favour of larger size operations.

3.2.2 Territorial dynamics influenced by social and ethnic changes

These territorial reforms led by economic imperatives have also had drastic impacts on the social and cultural fabric of the country. In her analysis, Koop (2004) highlighted two social factors that had thus far contributed to the success of the country's economy since the first phase of development after independence. Firstly a large part of the Mauritian population, especially the Indo-Mauritians seem to have adhered to the model of development by the prevailing economically dominant elite of Franco-Mauritians (Chazan-Gillig and Widmer, 2001). Secondly, strong social cohesion in family-run businesses was reflected primarily through solidarity intra- and inter-family groups (Koop, 2004).

However, with the changing economy and development of new sectors, various socio-economic groups are being further marginalized from the dominant economic model. Massive losses of low-paid, low-skilled jobs in the old economic sectors have not been offset by job creation in the new ones. There is currently a "jobless-growth" trend accompanied by a tendency of pauperization of some socio-economic groups (Asgarally 1997; Bunwaree 1999; Koop 2008). Some economists, such as Jankee (2011), are sounding the alarm by describing the situation as such: "*The miracle has become a reminiscence of the material prosperity of the 1990s to move towards a social debacle*". Koop (2008) concurs by stating that: "*since late 1990s, there is a tendency of re-polarization of the Mauritian society, accompanied by the re-impoverishment of some social groups at the lowest end of the scale who had previously benefited from the boom*".

This phenomenon of re-polarization can take a particular dimension in a multicultural society such as Mauritius. To the socio-economic dimension, ethnicity further complicates the situation. This is what the socio-ethnic riots of 1999 seemed to demonstrate. Initially triggered by the death of a well-known singer in dubious conditions, the riot culminated into an extreme form of conflict rarely seen in Mauritius. This event had a strong ethnic connotation in the sense that it became according to Chan Low (2003), a conflict of marginalised Creoles against a system of unequal distribution of wealth and access to political and economic resources. It took place in the wake of the public discourse, itself termed ethnically as the "*Malaise Creole*". Authors such as Taglioni (1999) and De Cauna (2003) demonstrated that Creole rioters attacked principally State buildings or some businesses, both of which are associated with the dominant presence of Indo-Mauritians.

The social fragmentation and tendency of re-impoverishment of the population have also had impacts on the socio-spatial structure of the country. Residential zones of the "*winners of the neo-capitalist system*" (Koop, 2004) are increasingly extending along prime lands across coastal zones such as in Black River in the Western part. On the other hand, traditional rural residential areas are either thriving economically with the arrival of neo-rich people (mostly in the northern part) or else, poverty is exacerbated by closures of factories (both sugar and textile) and uprooting of agriculture (southern part). Pauperisation however is drastically affecting the suburban and to some extent, the city centres of towns and the capital city. Increasingly, poverty belts or ghettos are appearing around the conurbations (Ninon, 2008). According to Koop (2008), this situation reveals exclusion in social, ethnic, economic and institutional terms.

3.2.3 Emergence of a social demand for heritage sites

With accelerated globalisation since the 1970's, countries and especially, SIDS are striving to connect themselves to the rest of the world economic system in order to experience development. However, counter-movements against this modernist ideology of industrialisation and economic growth have also emerged in order to protect societies against perceived erosion of cultures and identities. The growing interest for the conservation of heritage is a means to counter the dilution of local or national identities and is deemed important to be passed on as a social legacy to future generations and to the rest of Humanity. Mauritius, despite its insularity as a Small Island-State, is not disconnected from these global influences. Furthermore, as mentioned above, internal changes in the economic, socio-cultural and spatial fabrics of the country have contributed to the emergence of a consciousness for the need to protect the few, remaining heritage sites.

However, the process of heritagization in Mauritius is quite complex as social, economic, spatial, political and especially ethnic considerations are being taken into account. There exists a prevailing perception, exacerbated by public political discourses tending to associate the two World Heritage Sites in Mauritius with ethnic identities. Laymen's perception is that Aapravasi Ghat 'belongs' to the demographically dominant Indo-Mauritians and that Le Morne Cultural Landscape as being primordially the heritage of the Creoles. With these conditions created for the emergence of a social demand for the protection of heritage, legal frameworks and structures have been set up.

3.4 Institutional framework for the protection of Heritage in Mauritius

It all started in 1883, while the country was under British colonial rule that the British Governor Sir John Pope Hennessy had set up the *Committee of Historical Memories*. Its mission was to establish a detailed list of colonial monuments in Mauritius (Carmignani, 2011). Since then and until the 1980's, the same list has been used as reference. The first legal Act for the protection of monuments was promulgated in 1944, under the Ancient Monuments Act. It was updated in 1985 under the National Monuments Acts, whose main function was to protect national monuments (Website of the NHF, 2012). However, the Act of 1985 referred only to existing monuments from the list established previously by the Committee of Historical Memories. In addition, the majority of monuments were almost exclusively related to the Franco-Mauritian or colonial heritage. Very few monuments were associated with slavery or with indenture labour.

There was also the absence of an authority to apply the Act and to regulate the destruction or pillage of these monuments. Fines applicable were too minor to actually act as a deterrent as well. According to Historian Peerthum (2002), "*throughout the 20th Century, very little was done by the local British colonial government and by successive Mauritius governments to safeguard our national monuments and protect our national heritage*". It is in 1995, when Mauritius signed the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage that brought about the emergence of institutional commitment towards the protection of heritage sites. As stated by the Convention: "*by joining the Convention, nation states pledge to safeguard the World Heritage Sites in their territory as part of a universally agreed policy for protecting their national heritage*" (UNESCO, 2012). Furthermore, there was a change in the mindset from the protection of monuments towards the management of heritage, both in tangible and intangible forms. It is in the context of developing the concept of management of national heritage that the National Heritage Trust Fund Act was enacted in 1998 and its board constituted in 2001 under the National Heritage Trust Fund (NHTF). This institution marked a new beginning for the management and promotion of national heritage. In 2003, the NHTF became the National Heritage Fund (NHF) following the update of the Act to the National Heritage Fund Act.

Under the aegis of the Ministry of Arts and Culture, the NHF is "*mandated to identify, protect, manage and promote the National heritage and so to develop a sense of belongingness in all Mauritians by caring for the past and bequeathing it to the future.*"(Website of the NHF, 2012). According to the vision of the institution, heritage is no longer considered as a historical monument but a cultural object that has significance for future generations: "*any monument; (b) any object or site of cultural significance; (c) any intangible heritage; (d) any natural feature consisting of physical and biological formation or group of such formations which are of outstanding value; and (e) any geological and physiographical formation or precisely delineated area which constitute the habitat of animals and plants of outstanding value, in Mauritius to be national heritage*" (NHF Act 2003). The designation of a national heritage, following the recommendation of the NHF, falls under the authority of the Ministry of Arts and Culture.

In the absence of existing structures and firm legal frameworks for the protection and management of heritage sites, no heritage site could be submitted for inscription on the WHL. As these issues were addressed at a national level with the set-up of the NHF, concomitantly, structures were set up for the preparation of nomination dossiers for the designation of the

two World Heritage Sites. Moreover, decisions were taken to set up two different Trust Funds to work on the preparation of nomination dossiers and implementation of the management plans of the two WHS once inscription was accomplished. It is to be noted that the Trust Funds of the two World Heritage Sites of Mauritius do not fall under the responsibilities of the NHF but have been placed directly under the aegis of the Ministry of Arts and Culture.

This type of structural organisation has brought up some interrogations: "*What were the motivations for inscription on the WHL? Why were the Heritages of Indentured Labourers and of Slavery chosen to be valorised? Why were Aapravasi Ghat and Le Morne Cultural Landscape specifically chosen as the most representative heritage sites of Mauritius? Why were these specific sites, that is the old commercial centre of Port-Louis and Le Morne selected and what were the criteria used?*

3.4.1 The Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site

Inscription of the site on the WHL was accomplished in 2006. In 2001, the **Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund** (AGTF) was enacted by an Act of Parliament and the committee to work on the nomination dossier set up in 2002. Currently, the main objectives of the AGTF are to establish and promote Aapravasi Ghat as a national, regional and international memorial site, to set up a museum at Aapravasi Ghat, create public awareness on the history of the site and depict the arrival, settlement and evolution of the immigrants in Mauritius (Website of Aapravasi Ghat, 2012). The AGTF is also mandated to

Map 1: Aapravasi Ghat UNESCO World Heritage Site

Source: UNESCO WHS, 2012

manage the site, which comprises of the Core Zone of Aapravasi Ghat and of the Buffer Zones, consisting of areas immediately surrounding the Core Zone.
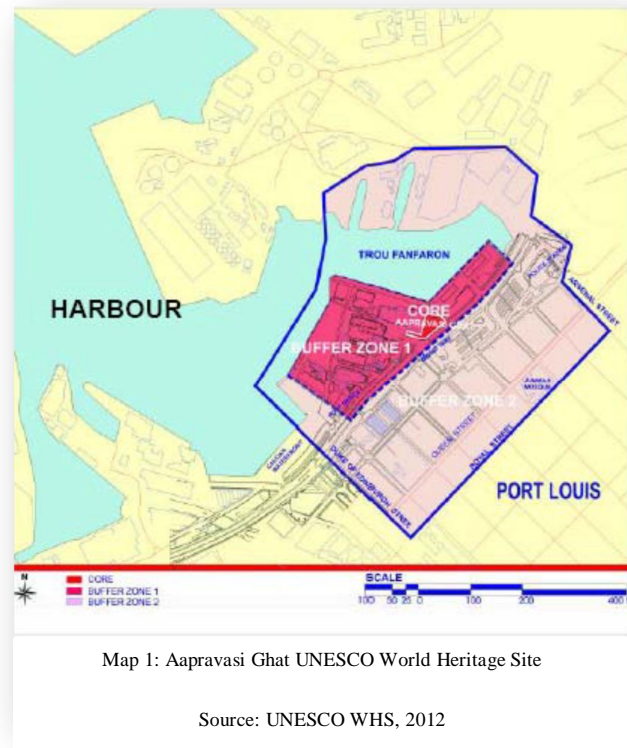
The site is unique in the sense that it is the only surviving example of an Immigration Depot from this global labour Diaspora. It housed the office of the Protector of Immigrants, who was in charge of administering the system of immigration. It also served as a gateway or transit spot for labourers on their way to other plantation islands in the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean. For the Aapravasi Ghat to be inscribed, it had to justify through a statement of significance of the universal value of the World Heritage: "*in the early 1830s, the British Government chose Mauritius to be the site of a 'Great Experiment' that would demonstrate the superiority of 'free' over 'slave' labour. [...]The success of the Mauritian experiment with indentured labour demonstrated the viability of free or contractual labour in plantation economies and since then, more than 2 million indentured workers were imported into colonies.*" (Aapravasi Ghat Management Plan, 2006). Apart from the core zone itself, the history of the buffer zone has been shaped by shipping, commerce and sugar export activities. The buffer zone has been delimited into two parts, an immediate one and a further but intrinsically formed ensemble of architectural pattern of buildings (Management Plan, 2006).

3.4.2 The Le Morne Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site

The site was officially inscribed on the WHL in 2008. Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund (LMHTF) was created in 2004, following the promulgation of the Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund Act during the same year. It has the objective to preserve and manage the cultural landscape of Le Morne so that it can be used in a wise and sustainable manner without compromising its authenticity and integrity. It also has to develop Le Morne as a focal point for celebrating resistance to slavery by furthering high quality research on slavery in general as well as to utilize Le Morne as a tool for local economic development and capacity building so that it will play an important role in opening up opportunities for those who have been left behind in terms of economic development (Website of the LMHTF, 2012).

The statement of significance is as follows: "Le Morne Cultural Landscape is an exceptional testimony to maroonage or resistance to slavery in terms of the mountain being used as a fortress to shelter escaped slaves, with physical and oral evidence to support that use. It is a symbol of slaves' fight for freedom, their suffering, and their sacrifice, all of which have relevance beyond its geographical location, to the countries from which the slaves came – in particular the African mainland, Madagascar, India, and South-east Asia- and represented by the Creole people of Mauritius and their shared memories and oral traditions" (UNESCO website, 2012). (Please refer to Annex 1: Le Morne Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site).

The reasons and the universal values to support the inscription of the sites have been explained according to their Nomination dossiers and Management Plans. However, as paradoxical as it may sound, these universal values are not widely accepted on a national level in Mauritius. As mentioned earlier, these sites tend to be mostly associated and appropriated by ethnic groups as symbols representing and legitimating their presence in the country.

3.5 Dynamics of transformation of Local areas

As mentioned earlier, the economic and social orientations of the country are having profound impacts on the territories, which in turn are being transformed to support these choices. Specifically, since this study is concerned with the two WHSs, it seems important for us to understand the requalification of these territories in the local context. It convenes to study the transformations that these two places have undergone from a historical perspective. This should allow us to understand the manner in which the process of heritagisation inserts itself in the local, national and international strategy of development of the country.

3.5.1 Port-Louis: the cradle of Mauritius

In the Capital City of Port-Louis, territorial changes are in full swing such that the urban morphology of Port-Louis has evolved as a patchwork, with multiple quarters and functions. The port area is being transformed to position itself as a port for the trans-shipment of goods in the Indian Ocean. The financial centre, comprising of approximately twenty banks located in the Central Business District (CBD) has carved a place in the prime location of the Capital and is pushing the limits of the commercial and residential spaces away from the city centre. In the North and South entrance of the Capital City, two plots of areas have been earmarked as Economic Trade and Cooperation Zones.

There exists a symbiotic relationship between the port and the city as the very city of Port-Louis has take birth due to the port activities during the 18th Century. The checkered structure of Port-Louis, reminiscent of French colonial capitals, started from the port of Trou Fanfaron to extend in an orderly manner to the limits of suburban areas. Trade started to take place such that at the end of the 19th Century, the urbanised area had transformed itself into one of the most major and elegant port city in the Indian Ocean. However, over time confronted with various crises, both the city and the port have evolved separately according to their own logics of development.

Under the British rule, the port was renovated on two occasions: in 1925 and in 1954. Nevertheless, the real dynamisation of the port activities occurred during the 1980's, with a first phase of development which comprised of dredging and reclamation works amongst other construction works in order to have an important fleet of cargo and container handling equipment. The 1990s has witnessed the culmination of very important port development phase with major dredging and reclamation works at Mer Rouge and Les Salines areas (Master Plan of the Mauritius Ports Authority, 2002). The spatial extension and infrastructure modernization of the port has led to a redefinition of its functions. The port area occupies various functions according to the logic of zoning of spaces. Apart from the fishing port which occupies only a small part of the Trou Fanfaron basin, the rest of the port area occupies various commercial functions in an intense liberal trade context (MPA, 2012).

In the 1990's, a major initiative to reconcile the port with the city took place when the old dock areas were transformed into the Port-Louis and Caudan Waterfronts. Two passageways linking the waterfronts to the rest of the city have been developed and they are now used by fifteen thousand people daily (Website of SPDC, 2013). Both places have the functions to promote leisure activities and social interaction between the waterfronts and the old historical city centre. *Between the two commercial buildings of Port-Louis Waterfront, there is a wide open space known as Esplanade Bissoondoyal, which stretches over approximately two acres. Statues of Father figures of the Mauritian nation have been placed there. In a clogged urbanscape, the extension from the rehabilitated esplanade of the old harbour to the newly renovated Government House creates a visual corridor known as the Place d'Armes. It is a highly symbolic spatial marker, interspersed with statues of figures such as that of Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, Mahé de Labourdonnais and Queen Victoria representing the history of Mauritius.* These waterfronts are now firmly ensconced in the landscape of the Capital City and have become highly frequented leisure spaces.

The last leisure project for additional leisure and commercial activities have been located at the Les Salines Waterfront Village according to the plan. This project is now known as Neotown, covers 60 acres of land and "aims to reconnect the city to the waterfront and strategically encourage the development of Port Louis on the Western *coastal side of the M1 Motorway. The township is being developed with the concept of Leisure, Culture, Business & Lifestyle.*" (Website of Neotown, 2013). Though the launch of the project has been done in 2009, the project is currently at a standstill.

The city centre of Port-Louis was divided into two distinct areas from the very beginning: the southern part, also known as the *camp* and the northern part consisting of the commercial area. In the past, the southern part was occupied by French and then British administrators of the colony. Today, it is undergoing rapid changes with vertical urban structures taking over old buildings thus changing its identity to a more modern, gentrified part of the city and now known as the Central Business District (Bousquet, 2011). It regroups all the banks and financial institutions as well as high-property value buildings for office and administrative purposes as well. In contrast, the northern part is experiencing a densification of commercial and other activities while some of the architectural and historical buildings are increasingly suffering from neglect and urban decay. A portion of the northern section has been inscribed as the buffer zone 2 of the WHS and as such, strict construction and site modification rules have been imposed according to the Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) of Aapravasi Ghat.

During the 19th Century, Port-Louis has become one of the busiest ports of the Indian Ocean which shipped large quantities of sugar. It is the development of the sugar industry that also led the city centre to be populated with people who were involved with the business of immigration: shipping, insurance, boat repair, trading of goods needed by immigrants. Hence, a commercial area composed of Chinese and Indian origin traders arose around the now designated buffer zone II of the Aapravasi Ghat. Coupled with commercial functions, the traders resided on their place of work. As the community of traders settled further in the area, they started to socialize their space by building religious structures, developing community life (such as publication of newspapers in the original languages) as well as inter-ethnic exchanges, etc. Close links with indentured immigrants, settled mostly in villages or *camps sucriers*, were maintained since Chinese traders of Port-Louis supplied shop owners of villages with products and foodstuffs.

Commercial functions within the city centre were organized in different manners. Firstly, various traders were sub-divided in terms of the volume of transactions that they carried out in terms of *en gros, demi-gros, detail* (wholesale, semi-wholesale and retail trade). Furthermore, specialization in type of products of commerce took place according to different ethnic groups. South Indian traders occupied retail trades in foodstuffs (rice, vegetable pulses, Indian spices, etc.) and as shipping agents. Muslim traders also traded in grocery and building materials while less fortunate ones traded in textile at Rue Corderie (Chojoo, 1987). Gujerati merchants expanded their import-export activities to other islands in the Indian Ocean.

Chinese traders mostly specialized in general retail items though Chinatown became famous locally because of the availability of already-prepared, inexpensive food to dockers into famous places known as *l'hotel dité* (Tea shop) or on the streets (Management Plan of AG, 2006). However, it is important to note that deep cleavages exist between and within them seemingly homogenous ethnic groups. Caste systems, religious obedience or divisions, origins from mainland (either India or China), clan-formation, differences in economic means and status, types of commercial activities (wholesale or retail) among others, were some of the factors of division and that are still being perpetuated within these various communities.

However, as the city grew, its residential functions were pushed off to the suburban peripheries of the city. Suburban residential areas are characterized by socio-ethnic divisions and which have been inherited from the British Colonial system according to Jauze (2004). Apart from the Sino-Mauritians who were mostly concentrated in the North Western area of the city centre in China Town, the northern suburban part of the city such as Roche-Bois was mostly inhabited by the dockers. It is believed, though research is still on-going on their origins, that they are Creoles. Vallee des Pretres and Camp Yoloff were occupied mostly by Indo-Mauritians and Vallee Pitot and Plaine Verte by Mauritian Muslims. None of these residential areas actually are ethnically homogeneous but it is true that they do contain a high concentration of the mentioned ethnic groups. These areas are also socially very diverse.
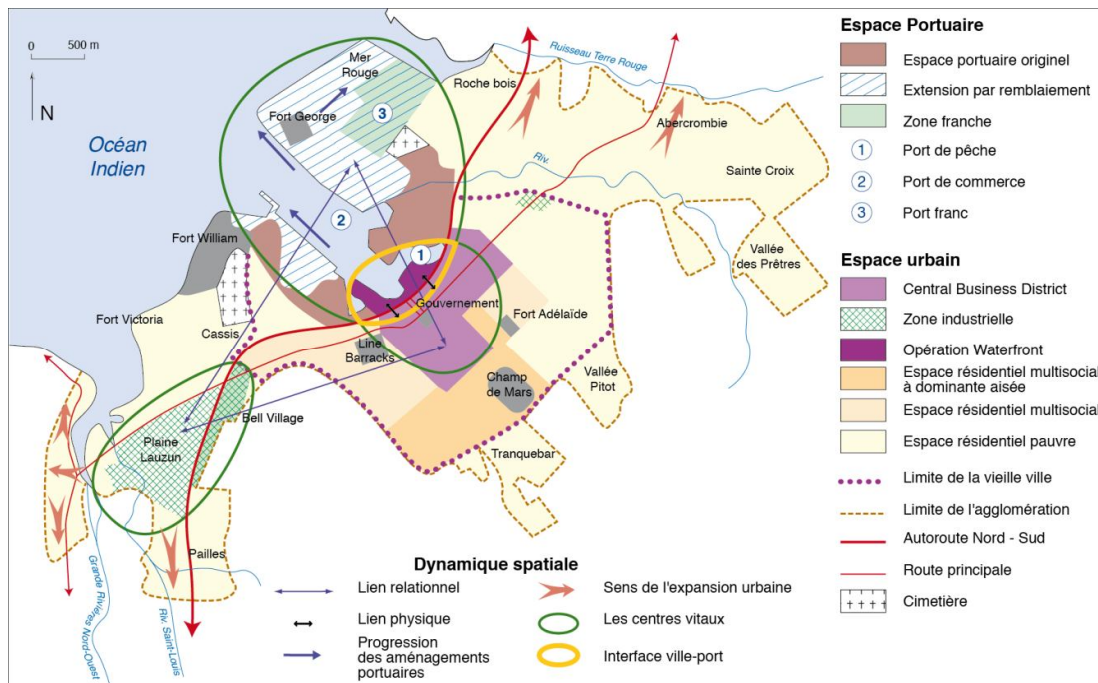
Map 2: Functional Zones of the District of Port-Louis (Source: Jauze, 2012)

The capital has remained attached to its culture of commerce and industrialization and experienced an enormous momentum for growth and structural transformation. This dynamism has been accompanied by an extensive liberal mindset, where parts of the territory were mostly seen as economic spaces to be exchanged, rented out or conceded in order to produce economic growth such as the Free Port, the Free Zone for the Manufacturing Sector, the Offshore Financial zone, the Economic Trade and Cooperation Zones such as Jin Fei or Neotown. Hence, according to the logic of zoning in spatial planning, different quarters of the capital city bear their own identity and economic dynamism: the Port, the northern old commercial centre, the CBD, the different residential areas in the Suburban parts. Most of these quarters have their own centres, thus forming a patchwork of specialized areas with multiple centres.

Recently, the city of Port-Louis and *in extenso*, the old city centre has been experiencing major challenges to its function, identity as well as sustainability. Due to its position as the heart of the country, Port-Louis has for a long time been a victim of its own dynamism in the sense that until late 1990's, it concentrated all the administrative, major financial and commercial sectors of the country though it was severely limited in spatial capacity due to its location. Hence, a vast program of decentralization has been undertaken, with Ebene Cybercity emerging as a new urban centre. Decentralisation has meant that inflow of investment, revenue derived from various taxes, consumption expenditures and numbers of businesses among others have reduced in Port-Louis.

Concerning the old, commercial city centre, traditional import/export business models have been reviewed and hence, by taking advantage of the Freeport services and transhipment facilities, lots of commercial businesses have been relocated away from Port-Louis. At the same time, more and more hawkers have invaded the streets of the capital city, thereby competing directly with shops that have higher operating costs. Various other economic factors are challenging the economic fabric of the city centre. The old commercial area is undergoing a process of urban decay of its existing building structures. According to the AG Management Report (2006), a large number of buildings constructed in the traditional style are still standing. Many however, are in decrepit state since very little efforts have been made to maintain the wooden buildings. Furthermore, the social fabric of the old city centre is changing. As businesses have prospered, the traders have invested in the tertiary education of their children so that they can access to professions. While they have been able to reverse their social pyramid from modest working class to professionals, the children have not taken

over businesses from their parents. Though Port-Louis Ward 2 involves a territory more extensive than the old commercial area, it has been noted that it lost 25% of its population between 2000 to 2011 (Statistics Mauritius, 2012). However, despite residential mobility from the region, Ward 2 has increased its RDI, which is now at 0.7609 compared to 0.6437 according to the Census 2000. Its rank has moved from 86 to 72 over 145 VCA/Wards in Mauritius in terms of most developed wards. This could be accounted for the fact that residential areas have been converted into business properties, hence receiving investment and infrastructural investment in the region. In light with these crises and changes in urban forms, the old city centre is facing constant economic developmental pressures. The approach to territorial planning has been done within an extensive liberal outlook and the State has seldom intervened to control, regulate and promote social welfare alongside its economic development. With the heritagisation of the site, this brings us to interrogate the sense and representations of the requalification process that the stakeholders attribute to it.

3.5.2 Le Morne: The valley of the Blacks?

The Le Morne Brabant peninsula, with its 556 m high monolithic mountain of volcanic origin, is considered to be one of the most striking landscapes of Mauritius. The mountain was called *Frunigen Berg*, the 'mountain of poison' by the Dutch in 1727. Then, the mountain was renamed Morne Brabant by the Abbe de la Caille in 1753, a name chosen to refer to the Dutch occupation (Mootoo, 2001). Le Morne is part of the district of Black River. In popular imagination, Black River is often described as the most remote and wild region of Mauritius. It probably owes this reputation to its topography of the Black River mountain range, various rivers that cut across the district to end in the sea.

This district is considered to be one the most dynamic in terms of territorial transformations taking place over the past fifteen years. Indeed, the district has undergone rapid urbanisation through the creation of the beach resort of Flic en Flac and of the upmarket residential area of Riviere Noire, Tamarin and Albion. Apart from the Northern districts, the Black River district is the one that concentrates a high proportion of hotels found on the prime beach areas of Flic en Flac and le Morne public beaches. Recently, the sugar reform has enabled surfaces of cultivated land owned by the Medine Sugar Estate to be converted into high class real estate projects, such as IRS, shopping malls and office spaces. In 2008, it had the highest concentration of IRS projects having received approval for construction (BOI, 2008), such as Tamarina Resort, Club Med and the Balise Marina.

However, the entire district has not benefitted from these territorial transformations. In fact, it can be said that this is one of the district that is the most socially contrasted whereby the northern part of the district seems to have benefitted from its economic transformation as compared to the Southern part that remains marginalised from the rest of the country and even from developmental projects taking place in the district. According Statistics Mauritius (2012), the beach resort of Flic en Flac is amongst the top five VCAs with the highest RDI in the country while Albion has moved from the 81st position in 2000 to the 31st position in the 2011 Census. The VCAs of Le Morne, Case Noyale, Chamarel and Bambous have remained stable within these 10-years' gap and still the VCAs with the lowest development as indicated by the RDI of the 2011 Census (Statistics Mauritius, 2013).

Apart from the village of Bambous, the three other villages are situated in the Southern most part of the district. Many reasons could account for their poor state of development, namely the fact that they are encircled by the Black River Mountain range of the East and the sea on the West. Until the beginning of the years 2000, they did not have proper access to basic public utilities nor to decent public transportation facilitating commuting to work outside the area. Furthermore, they have remained marginalised from the textile boom in the 1990s and from the hotel developments in the area. The main economic activity of the villages of Chamarel, Case Noyale and le Morne has been artisanal fishing and working on the private estates surrounding the mountains doing odd jobs. Furthermore, la Gaulette is one of the southern villages, that is slowly moving up the RDI rank and well on its way to transform itself into a tourist resort. The acquisition of land properties through the Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) has allowed owners to contract loans in order to construct bungalows for rent to special sports tourists coming for kitesurfing activities.

In the collective imagination, Black River is considered to be mainly populated by blacks and for being the cradle of Creole life. Historically, after the abolition of slavery and after the end of the apprenticeship system in 1839, freed slaves left the plantations and settled along the coast of the island, mostly in the Black River district and around the northern part of Port-Louis. They developed a specific '*genre de vie*' around fishing activities and by living in a *quasi* autonomous self-sustaining household economy. However, prior to the abolition of slavery, the district was also the refuge of runaway slaves. Again, it is the mountains and thick native forests that made it difficult for planters to access to the region and to look for these runaway slaves. The tendency to essentialize the African image of the region and its people is undoubtedly associated with the Le Morne Brabant mountain.

Tucked away behind the Le Morne Brabant mountain, there was previously a village called Trou Chenilles, where traces of habitation can still be found. *"An early 20th century census indicates that the Trou Chenilles village still existed at the same place. The 1911 census recorded some 167 inhabitants in the village and there were 133 in 1921 and 120 in 1944"* (Management Plan, 2008). As the village was hit by a cyclone in 1945, it was moved to a location further east along the coast from which it was moved again in 1964 to the present location of Le Morne Village, to the southeast of the mountain along the coast. The village residents have maintained a spiritual connection with Le Morne Brabant mountain, which they regard as sacred. (Please refer to Annex 2: RDI distribution in Mauritius Island)

In fact, due to its topography, the village has remained quite remote compared to other places in Mauritius. These were the very conditions that favoured the settlement of runaway slaves.. Road access, access to potable water, electricity, schools and other public institutions were still very limited until the beginning of the 21st Century. According to Statistics Mauritius (2012), Le Morne village is considered as the poorest village council area (VCA) in Mauritius. The Region Development Index has moved from 0.2583 in 2000 to 0.4578 in 2011 but the Le Morne VCA has remained at its rank of 145 (Statistics Mauritius, 2012). Together with low development, this area registers low economic performance and high social problems such as alcoholism, low literacy level and poor access to jobs. The situation of the villagers of Le Morne is in sharp contrast with the transformation of the peninsula whereby over the past few decades, five resort hotels along the coast and an upmarket residential settlement (the *Morcellement Cambier*) have been developed.

A few years prior to the designation of the site, a series of heated debates on the position of Creole history and identity were unleashed throughout the country. Nevertheless, according to Boswell (2006), these debates have generated very few reflections on the ramifications of the UNESCO designation on the development of the area. The inter-ethnic community of the village is deemed to be custodian to traditions including music, dance, story-telling and cuisines handed down from their ancestors. However, the village has been excluded from the buffer zone of the heritage site. Though the Management Plan of LMCL contains a local development plan for the inhabitants of Le Morne village, the Chief of the village regularly claims in local newspapers that none of the promises made to them prior to designation have been concretised. These promises were mostly in terms of employment creation, increased facilities, more tourists coming to visit the region and basically improvement in the general living conditions of the villagers.

At the same time, there are debates about the museification of landscapes and of the cultural lives of people in such territories. It is a recognised fact that Cultural Landscapes are quite complex as they focus on the genii of populations in mastering and in influencing the landscapes of their environment. In practice, developmental projects carried out in Cultural Landscapes must be minimal and unobtrusive. "*This is really the heart of the challenge. What we aren't trying to do is freeze a landscape. We are completely aware that although our task is linked to conservation, the world evolves and the vision of heritage changes*" (Bandarin, 2013).The LMCL is also a very complex WHS as it encompasses a variety of territories and hence, demands a thorough understanding of the relationships that diverse stakeholders have with it. Hence, the debate about whether the inscription of the LMCL has contributed to territorial development is more than ever pertinent.

The objective of this chapter was to set the contexts for the emergence of a consciousness for the protection and management of heritage sites in SIDS such as Mauritius. International support for SIDS and Mauritius in particular, has facilitated the process of inscription of two World Heritage Sites. At the same time, internal conditions of land reforms and social changes have brought about the emergence for demands for the preservation of heritage sites by some groups of people. Institutional structures for the protection and management of heritage sites have thus undergone changes in order to respond to the contemporary needs of its citizens. The requalification of the sites are also part of the process of transformation that have been taking place and hence, allows us the to refine our initial question of "*what has happened since the inscription of these two World Heritage Sites?*".

Chapter 4:

Methodology of

the Research

Previously in chapter 2, it was seen that the process of conceptualisation of heritage tourism projects is integrated within the wider process of heritagization of sites. However, it was demonstrated that this process itself is not neutral and carries the ideologies, values and functions the multiple stakeholders assign to it. Stakeholders have their own representations and strategies of actions to enforce these ideologies and this leads them to exert pressure and power on the process of heritagization and consequently on the sites. These differences in perspective of stakeholders can lead to heritage dissonance (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) and in a geographical context, be translated into territorial conflicts. Tourism functions further complicate the process as it challenges the ideology and sustainability of heritage sites.

In chapter 3, the complexities of Mauritius as a SIDS in relation to the new World system have been highlighted. Inherent conditions of multiculturalism and its inclusion in policy-making can influence the choices of heritage construction; which make the socio-cultural representations of heritage and its economic development become more complex and prone to conflicts. Authors, such as Timothy and Nyaupane (2009), have also evoked the difficulties and increased tensions and power struggles involved in the process of heritagization in the developing world. This is because stakeholders, such as local communities, who are affected by the process of heritagization, are often not empowered or involved in developmental projects often imposed upon them in a 'top-down' perspective.

In this context, this methodological chapter seeks to clarify the research objectives of this present study and to present the data collection methods that have been mobilised.

4.1 The Research Design and Hypothesis formulation

As mentioned previously, our initial question consisted of understanding "*what had happened to the two WHSs since their inscription?*" By this very interrogation, the notion of temporality is implied as well as a process with outcomes on the heritage sites. Being inscribed on the UNESCO WHL is one of the steps in the process of heritage construction and is therefore, not an end in itself as recent researches in Social Sciences tend to confirm. After conducting a review of the literature on the concept of heritage and especially the process of heritage construction, a social geography perspective was adopted. The fundamental object of research of social geography is to understand the relationship that people have with their space.

By attributing new values, functions and identity through the process of heritagization to a place, existing relationships are prone to change thus leading stakeholders to struggle for control over the access and resources of the newly-qualified territory. Indeed, as seen in the literature review part, the process of heritagization is about removing territories from their old and often derelict or unused state by re-qualifying and assigning new values to them so that they can be regenerated. As such, the process of heritagization of a place is about changing its identity, status and functions. To do so, the history or memories of the place, situated within a period of its past deemed to be interesting to be passed on to future generations are selected. However, it has been highlighted that place memories or even histories are never fixed in time and space and are often interpreted and restituted through a selection process in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, political or social. As Graham *et al* (2000) explain the worth attributed to these artefacts or sites rests less in their intrinsic merit than in a complex array of contemporary values, demands and even moralities.

Hence, by changing the status of places, different stakeholders engage in processes of struggle to control their space. This has best been demonstrated by the seminal works of Pincon and Pincon-Charlot (2005). The authors analyze, through their work on the *bourgeoisie,* the spatial dimension of domination while paying particular attention to its symbolic connotation. In the definition of *Dictionnaire de l'Habitat* (2002), the authors underline the fact that stakeholders living in heritage sites strive to control the past, present and future so as to establish their domination over other social or cultural groups. Dominant heritage sites appear as a form of *symbolic violence* in terms of Pierre Bourdieu's meaning as "*the dominant group impose their heritage as hegemonic and universal*" (Bourdieu, 1997). Conversely, the authors demonstrate that the dominated stakeholders are denied the heritagization of their territory, that they periodically undergo demolition of their habitats, which is a way of expressing their worthlessness and asserting that their existence is doomed to insecurity and vulnerability.

In this sense, heritage construction processes are tools at the disposal of dominant or dominated stakeholders to control access to their territory and its resources in view of establishing their hegemony over places. The revised model of the Heritage Circuit by Hall (1996) was proposed as a conceptual framework to explore relations between the different representations, values and strategies of actions of stakeholders during the process of heritagization in Mauritius.
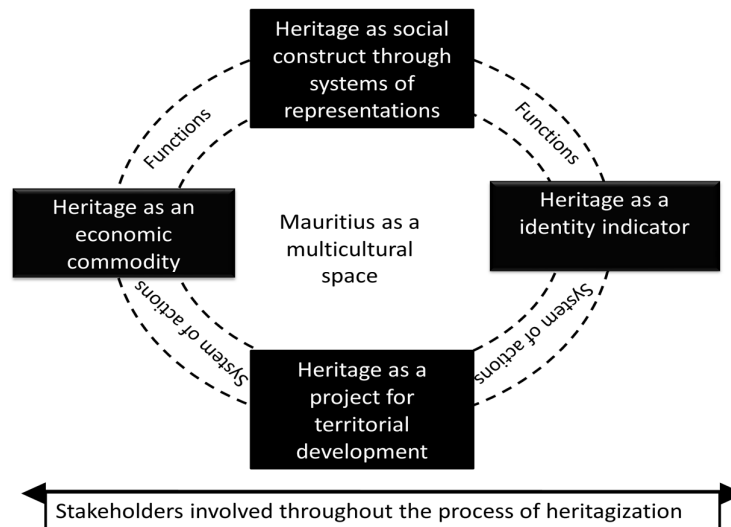
Diagram 1: Revised Model of the Heritage Circuit

Source (Hurnath, 2012; adapted from Hall, 1996)

Making use of the conceptual framework developed through the lens of social geography, this leads us to develop the following hypothesis:

4.1.1 Hypothesis 1

Hence, as per the model and the approach of social geography, heritage is a social construct through which representations and interpretations of dominant/dominated stakeholders compete to be selected and assigned to the sites. In the case of Mauritius and as mentioned earlier, the two World Heritage Sites have been associated with the identity of ethnic groups in public imaginaries and in official discourses: the Aapravasi Ghat with Indo-Mauritians and Le Morne Cultural Landscape with Creole identity. Heritage sites are being perceived as a means to assert the recognition of identities of ethnic groups and presence in the public space. Religious and associative bodies, defending ethnic interests have advocated for the designation of these sites and hence, connoting the sites with ethnic identities. Furthermore, from observations and by reading local newspapers, there seems to be an institutional instrumentalisation of these heritage sites in management of the Mauritian multicultural society through policy-making and within the political spheres. Hence, by ensuring struggles over symbolic representation to the WHSs, it is therefore the memories, pasts and values of the privileged / powerful group that is passed on to future generations.

H1: Amongst different representations, heritage sites endorse the symbolic identity of dominant stakeholder/s.

4.1.2 Hypothesis 2

At the same time, the inscription of the two WHS carries many expectations as an economic resource through tourism. Given that many sites across the world have experienced an increase in tourism visits, it is expected that the two WHS would bring about an influx of tourists and hence, contribute in the creation of employment and tourism revenues. The inscription of the two sites is also expected to contribute to territorial marketing in order to attract investors in the area or country. Control of the heritage site by the dominant stakeholders therefore implies control over the access of the heritage site as an economic resource. Consequently, the economic benefits reaped over the heritage site will revert back to the dominant group.

H2: Control over the heritage site implies control over the access of the heritage site as economic and tourism resources.

4.1.3 Hypothesis 3

The outcome of the process of heritagization is the set up of heritage projects that could be used as a lever to achieve territorial regeneration or development. As mentioned in chapter 2, various types of heritage tourism projects such as Cultural Areas/Districts or the Heritage city or heritage trails can be conceptualised and implemented. The benefits of territorial regeneration are multiple in terms of creation of jobs, retaining residents and mitigating out-migration, restoring the socio-cultural fabric of the place, among others. Furthermore, conserving and adaptively re-using the historic urban environment contributes to the quality of life of their inhabitants in many ways. In addition to strengthening their sense of belonging, social cohesion and providing a pleasant environment, it also mitigates excessive urbanization, attracts tourists and visitors as well as investments.

H3: Given that the dominant social group controls the heritage resource, it might lead to heritage dissonance and hence to territorial conflicts rather than development or regeneration.

The initial research question while undertaking this research was to understand *"what has happened since the inscription of the WHS sites?"* By taking stock of the existing literature on the subject matter of heritage and of the realities of the case study, that is Mauritius, the social geography perspective was chosen to guide us in refining our research question and its hypotheses. Underpinning these hypotheses is the fundamental question of social geography which is: to understand the relationship that people have with their space. By attributing new values, functions and identity through the process of heritagization to a place, existing relationships are prone to change thus leading stakeholders to struggle for control over the access and resources of the territory.

4.2 Comprehensive Posture through the Stakeholder's Approach

The approach of social geography and the nature of the hypotheses set have oriented us in terms of the methodological choice as well. As mentioned earlier, this study seeks to understand the social representations of stakeholders on the process of heritagization and of its '*touristification*' through territorial projects and accordingly, their actions undertaken to control their spaces. This leads us to the following questions: *"who is a stakeholder and how to identity and measure his representations and actions on an identified territory?"*

4.2.1 Stakeholder's Approaches and Theories

Over the past three decades, there has been a proliferation of the involvement of actors in territorial projects and thus, of attention given to their relationship with their surroundings. Between permanent residents, temporary or permanent users, tourists, planners, understanding and managing stakeholder's mode of space appropriation is becoming more complex. Despite the intervention of public authorities and initiatives of private groups to foster development projects, it is important to study and understand the actors, their actions and relationship with the places concerned so as to minimize costs of conflict resolutions or risks of rendering places into ghettos for tourists and heritage places into degenerative representations of nostalgic pastiche (Graham *et al*, 2000).

As mentioned previously, social geography is centred on the study of the interaction of stakeholders with their space (Rayssac, 2007). Séchet and Veschambre (2006) emphasize that *"the object of social geography can only be that of actions and actors"*. In France, as from the 1970s, the stakeholder/actor has been studied by human sciences which Jacquot (2007) summarizes in a seminal work: *"For Goffman (1973), individuals are analyzed in a situation*

of interaction in which they adopt different roles, hence the use of the metaphorical notion of actor depicting the staging of everyday life. The sociology of organizations, led by Crozier and Friedberg (1977) also focuses on the notion of actor: the individual is placed within an organizational system where he develops strategies and uses resources to improve his situation. Furthermore, the sociologist Alain Touraine (1984) assigned as an object of analysis in sociology, social actions while Brunet and Dollfus (1990) propose a system of actors in space where the actors interact, not without contradictions and antagonisms".

In tourism literature, Jamal and Getz (1995), Mowforth and Munt (1998), Wahab and Pigram (1997) and (Aas *et al*, 2005) accept the idea that "*the basic objective of any project is to involve all those affected by the proposed development within the planning process*". This definition concurs with that of Bryson and Crisby (1992) for whom a "*stakeholder is a defined as any person, group or organisation affected by the causes and consequences of an issue*". At this point, a definition of the social actor/stakeholder is required. The latter is understood as "*a person who acts. The actor acts according to his functions in a conscious and deliberate manner "*(Di Meo & Buléon, 2005).

Geographically speaking, the territorialized actor is "*any man or woman who intentionally or unintentionally participates in a process with territorial implications*" (Gumuchian *et al*, 2003). In the humanistic and phenomenological tradition within geography, place refers itself to the locales in which people find themselves live, have experiences, interpret, understand and find meanings (Peet 1998). Indeed, places are not only the physical location in space as per the positivistic view of the 1960s but they are defined according to the sets of practices and behaviours, social interactions and representations that people assign to them.

The related academic literature on the associations between place and people can be subsumed under a plethora of classifications: rootedness (Hummon 1992), topophilia (Tuan 1974), sense of place (Hay 1998, Relph 1976), place attachment (Altman and Low 1992, Williams 2002) and place identity (Cuba and Hummon 1993, le Bosse 1999, Guerin-Pace and Guermond 2006, Barth 1969, Bonnemaison *et al* 1999, Di Meo 2004, Debarbieux 2006, Beheldi 2006). The action is part of a strategy to control spaces (Gumuchian et al, 2003). For this research, we will retain the aspect of involving anyone affected by the process of heritagization and proposed territorial project within the identified territory.

4.2.2 Delimitation of the Territories of Actions

As the research interest has evolved, so has the territory in question. As mentioned above, any person interacting with the territory can actually be considered as a stakeholder and any change brought to the place due to processes of heritagization is likely to modify this relationship. As such, to be able to identify stakeholders and understand their actions related to the two WHS, it becomes imperative to delineate the perimeters of the territory of interest, which becomes therefore the field of research. Hence, for the sake of this study, both the Core and the Buffer Zones of both WHSs will be considered as the field of research.

The choice of the limits of the Core and Buffer Zones for this research is justified by the administrative functions assigned to them. One interrogation could be *"Based on what criteria were these limits designated?"* Furthermore, rather than focusing on the Core Zone, our pre-occupation lied essentially on the Buffer Zones and the same interrogation as above arose again. This is justified by the fact that this research was undertaken a few months after the Buffer Zones and the Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) of Aapravasi Ghat was approved by the Parliament, that is, almost five years after its inscription on the WHL in 2011 (Website of Aapravasi Ghat, 2012). Furthermore, during the same year, the landowner of a parcel of land on the Le Morne Brabant Mountain slope initiated a court case against the State, contesting the conservation of the site against his planned IRS development project. This project was situated right in the buffer zone of the LMCL WHS (Website of Lexpress.mu, 2012). These two examples geared our focus on the Buffer Zones of the two WHSs in Mauritius.

In a report titled *World Heritage and Buffer Zones* (Martin and Piatti, 2008), the concept of a buffer zone was defined as follows: "*Buffer zones cannot, by definition, exist alone. They can be part of a system which involves areas of sustainability or areas of concern and have been defined as a set of problems that a given project is intended to address. They include the areas of concern as defined by various community interests.*" Further issues were also raised concerning the definition and uses of buffer zones as follows: "*Is the buffer zone something inherent to keep two or more areas distant from one another but shared, to integrate like a greenbelt? Could it be the overlapping spaces where the characteristics of each area are noted within a common denominator? Are we dealing with the **protection** or the **enhancement** of the buffer zone?*" (Martin and Piatti, 2008). These issues have therefore further guided this study.

The exercise of delimiting our field work to the buffer and core zones of the WHS therefore allowed us to achieve two objectives: - firstly, to delineate and identify the perimeters of the territory and hence, the stakeholders involved and their relationship with that portion of place. Secondly and most importantly, it allows us to study the micro-dynamics of how the process of heritagization is changing the relationship that these stakeholders have with this territory, which is being given new status, identity, values and functions. The approach of stakeholders and their relationship with their territory leads us to adopt a comprehensive posture rather that of an objective one and henceforth, the collection and usage of qualitative data by privileging stakeholders' social representations and actions concerning the process of heritagization and resource control around the two World Heritage Sites.

4.3 The Data Collection Method

A first step of secondary data collection was necessary, bearing in mind the incomplete and sometimes unreliable nature of this type of information. Hence, documents providing important knowledge about the WHSs, such as the Nomination Dossiers (ND), Management Plans (MP), Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) and Local Development Plans (LDP) were consulted. Furthermore, general planning documents at national, district-level and local levels, together with regulatory documents and evaluation documents (blueprints, building and urban development regulations, development plans, neighbourhood renewal plans), data on demographics, industry, trade and tourism in general and at local levels were gathered. It was quite interesting to note that the latest document concerning the development of Port-Louis, that is the Outline Scheme, dated in 1992 and that it had never been promulgated such that it did not have any regulatory nor legal status.

Budding research documents, namely past thesis works of Rosabell Boswell, Julie Peghini and Sandra Carmignani, were also consulted as they are somehow related to the study of multiculturalism, the cultural industry and the inscription of the sites in Mauritius. However, other documents, such as reports and research works ordered by various authorities, were not always available for consultation as they were considered as confidential. While these variety of documents helped us to further understand the field of our research and its specificities, they however did not answer our research questions. Hence, given the deficiencies in availability and accuracy of resources and document references, primary data had to be collected.

They are qualitative data by nature as explained earlier; the objective of this study is to understand the micro-dynamics of changing relationships between the heritagised spaces and the stakeholders who interact with it. Hence, a comprehensive observation of the territory was conducted so as to capture aspects of their transformation and heritagization processes at work in these territories. To be able to do so, in the first place, stakeholders interacting with the previously delineated territory had to be identified. Then, the interview guide had to be constructed in relation to the various profiles of the stakeholders, followed by the conduct of the interviews. Lastly, a protocol of data processing and extracting relevant information had to be carried out.

4.3.1 Identification of Stakeholders

Bott *et al* (2011) highlight that to legitimise the stakeholders involved in the process of heritagization, it is important to understand their relationship with the territory. Hence, a few interrogations are raised in this aspect of stakeholder's involvement as in: *"who is a stakeholder?"; "Can an institution be a stakeholder"? "Can stakeholder's roles be multiple?"; "Can stakeholders be categorised and according to what criteria?".*

The identification of stakeholders however depends on finding people who are likely to have a 'stake' in an issue (Robson & Robson, 1996). To be able to do so, according to Bott *et al* (2011), stakeholder attributes can assist in the process of classifying and justifying those involved. Three main attributes of stakeholders have been established by Mitchell *et al* (1997) in terms of: stakeholder's power (ability to influence), legitimacy of the claim and urgency of the stakeholder's claim. In 2004, Driscoll and Starik added a fourth attributed in terms of the proximity of a stakeholder to the area. Various other researchers have classified stakeholders in terms of their functions and actions on the territory concerned.

In the context of this research, various stakeholders have been identified according to their functions and relationship with the territory. As mentioned earlier, the territory under research has been circumcised to the Core and Buffer Zones of the two WHSs. Therefore, four broad categories of stakeholders were identified according the following: central and local government officials (7), experts (9), the civil society (13) and economic operators (15). They are as follows:

Central and local Government Officials (7)	Experts (9)	Civil society (13)	Economic Operators (15)
1 planner from MCPL	2 persons from AGTF	Son of Beekrumsingh Ramlallah	1 person from Caudan Waterfront
1 planner from BRDC	2 persons from LMTF	1 person from Art Jonction	1 person from the Blue Penny Museum
1 counsellor from MCPL	1 person from NHF	1 person from Association des pecheurs du Morne	1 person from Musee de la Poste
1 counsellor from BRDC	1 person from Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture Trust	1 person from Association des Maraichers de Port-Louis	7 big and medium economic operators in the Buffer Zone of AG
1 planner from Ministry of Housing and Lands	1 Historian actively engaged in heritagization	1 person from Chinese Chamber of Commerce	2 directors of hotels found in le Morne
1 officer in charge from Ministry of Arts and Culture	1 linguist and active member of political party *Les Verts Fraternels*	1 person from the Association des Rastafaris	1 nature park operator
1 village counsellor of le Morne	1 Creole Activist and journalist	1 person from the Association des Habitants du Morcellement Cambier	1 owner of restaurant in le Morne Village
		1 person from the Jummah Mosque Committee	1 small guest house operator in le Morne
		5 residents of le Morne	

Table 2: List of Interviewed Persons

No sampling methods for the selection of the stakeholders were as such conducted. The perspective was to get a representative group of actors who are most likely to be influenced by the heritagization and designation of the cultural district/heritage trails. Stakeholders primarily situated in the core or buffer zone and due to their potential involvement in the project were targeted. Local and governmental officials were included as they had the most involvement in the planning and implementation of the territorial projects. In territorial planning, it is assumed that, the state works from a functionalist perspective, holding such values such as pragmatism and rationalism. This posture demands that "*planners separate themselves emotionally from the places which they are planning and to restructure them according to principles of logic, reason and efficiency*" (Relph 1976, p.52). The need to involve both central and local government officials was to understand whether there were differences in perspectives at their level.

The category of experts was formed because they are directly or indirectly involved with the heritage site. Their tasks are to produce objectified knowledge as well as narratives about the memory of the heritage sites and the lives of the people in interaction with the places. Hence, those who were interviewed have been at some point of time, directly or indirectly involved in research projects for the different heritage institutions and might even be represented on the consultative boards of these Trusts Funds.

The third category of people was classified as Civil Society at large, with varying degrees of involvement but all of them affected by the heritagization of their space as they interact in the Core or Buffer Zone of the WHS. It was again quite difficult to identify who is a member of civil society as such. "*Are associations of people who interact with the territory members of civil society*?" The same can be said for the economic operators, though they might have more economic power to influence decisions taken. Some of the economic operators, in the BF of Aapravasi Ghat for example, have inherited their businesses from their families who settled in the area upon their arrival in Mauritius and who are still maintaining their traditional commercial activities.

It would have been interesting to include other stakeholders such as visitors to the sites, tour operators as well as tour guides to understand the itinerary and the narratives imparted to foreign tourists. However, this was not done as according to our participative observation, these tourists were brought to the Central Market of the Port-Louis and left to meander along for one/two hours and would continue with their visit in other parts of the island. This also led us to qualify that heritage tourism territorial projects do not include only foreign tourists but mostly domestic visitors as it is a social and cultural heritage in the first place. Finally, the heritage trails and cultural districts were still in the conceptualisation phase at the time that these interviews were conducted.

4.3.2. Content of the Interview Guide

This research draws on the theory of social representations, as captured by Lefebvre's (1991) distinction between 'representational spaces' and 'spaces of representation'. While the former refers to spaces that are used in everyday life by the lay person, the latter refers to the planned or controlled spaces of the powerful members which include planners, architects and technocrats. Social representations are important as they help to define and organize reality for individuals and groups and can be both thought such as perceptions and actions (Yuksel *et al*, 1999).

Hence, bearing in mind the research objectives of this study, the interview guide was constructed in terms of six major themes in terms of the following table:

Major Themes	Justifications
Profile of the respondent	The profile determines the legitimacy of the respondent as a stakeholder in terms of the definition given in the context of this research.
Relationship with the territory	The relationship between man and his place has been studied, as mentioned earlier, in terms of rootedness (Hummon 1992), topophilia (Tuan 1974), sense of place (Hay 1998, Relph 1976), place attachment (Altman and Low 1992, Williams 2002) and place identity (Cuba and Hummon 1993, le Bosse 1999, Guerin-Pace and Guermond 2006, Barth 1969, Bonnemaison *et al* 1999, Di Meo 2004, Debarbieux 2006, Beheldi 2006). Hence, it is important to understand the type of relationship that the stakeholder entertains with his place, how he interacts with it in his daily normal life and how he projects himself in it in the future.
Representations and values assigned to the heritage site	The act of designating the WHS label to the place has changed its identity. The representations of the stakeholders were probed in order to understand whether there were alignment with the 'officialised status' of the territory and that of stakeholders. Divergent representations are likely to give rise to territorial conflicts and differentiated appropriation of the heritage site. The representations relate to the social, economic, cultural, ethnic, symbolic values that respondents assigned to the WHSs. They could also have been in terms of positive or negative values.
Representation of tourism	The perceived impacts of tourism in general as well as in the newly designated place were examined in order to measure the readiness of the stakeholders to undertake tourism activities within their own scope of intervention on the territory.
Representation of the transformation of the territory into a heritage tourism project	The implications of transforming the territory, especially the buffer zones, into a heritage tourism project were looked into. Long-term visions of the territory were questioned.
Actions he was considering / planning to undertake with regards to the territory	Actions in terms of personal, associative or group actions were interrogated. Furthermore, in the long term vision of the territory, the role and actions of the stakeholders were probed and their likely struggle to control their space, either through ownership/conflict/appropriation/etc.

Table 3: Interview thematic and justifications

The content of the interview guide was slightly modified according to the various profiles of stakeholders interviewed.

4.3.3 The process of conducting the semi-structured interviews

As mentioned earlier, qualitative data was mobilised as it allows deeper comprehensive insight of the heritagization and touristification processes of WHSs in Mauritius. Many qualitative data collection techniques involving stakeholders are available including drop-in centres, nominal group technique sessions, citizen surveys, focus groups and consensus-building meetings (Healey 1997; Marien & Pizam 1997; Ritchie 1988; 1994). From the various types of qualitative data methodologies that exist, semi-structured individual interview method was chosen as it allowed us to have a better insight of the social representations and actions of different stakeholders involved.

According to Yuksel *et al* (1999), stakeholder interviews have several characteristics such as: the number of interviewees, their representativeness, the limit of data collected, the categorisation and interpretation of opinions, the importance to the respondents, the posture of the researcher; which may affect their suitability according to specific contexts. Hence, all these considerations had to be taken into account when mobilising this technique. This is because it was the individual representations and actions of the interviewers that were interesting for us to understand and as mentioned earlier, it is the power struggle to control their space that is important to gauge.

Furthermore, among the three types of individual interviews available, that is structured/open/semi-structured, the latter method was chosen. Semi-structured interviews allow respondents the freedom to express themselves while at the same time; researchers are able to redirect interviewees when they are diverging too much from the main topic of interest. Hence, semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face with a total of 48 stakeholders. Three languages were used; English especially with the government officials, French and Creole. While the usage of different languages helped the respondents to feel at ease to converse with the interviewer, it becomes more complicated to reproduce the subtleties and nuances in the transcription and translation of the findings in English. Rather than questions, the interviewers were invited to express themselves on the six themes mentioned above in such a manner as to gain more spontaneous opinions and to avoid the potential bias from restricting responses to the researcher's own fixed categories.

Most respondents had been contacted in advance to arrange a convenient time and place for the conduct of the interview. Interviews took place mostly at their place of work or in their homes or by the beach side. On an average, the interviews lasted for one and a half hour.

They were conducted during the period of November 2011 to April 2012. Despite showing some reticence at the beginning of the interviews, most of the interviewees did give their permission to be tape-recorded, except for some of the government officials, civil society members and small economic operators. In this case, hand-written notes were taken. Furthermore, some of the respondents insisted on keeping the confidentiality of their interview and this is the reason that the names of the interviewees have not been cited directly.

4.4 The data processing method

Once the conduct of the interviews was over, they were transcript into Word documents. During this phase, caution had to be applied in order to restore the same words and terms used by the respondents. This presented a challenge as highlighted above since different languages had been used for the interviews. Furthermore, crucial details such the non-verbal posture of respondents, for example their tone of voice or their body language could not be captured. The transcripts were checked for internal consistency and compared with other interviews.

Content analysis was the method used for processing the data. The data processing method used involved four major analytical steps: familiarisation by reading the interview transcripts several times, identifying thematic frameworks for the representations and actions engaged in terms of the requalification of the territory, indexing recurrent statements by respondents and selecting the most poignant verbatim and interpretation of these statements with reference to existing literature. The analysis of the interviews concentrated on the broad commonalities in stakeholder's views rather than individual differences between and within stakeholder categories. Attention was paid on the broad clusters of representations which may link or divide stakeholder's group.

It should be noted that no specialised software were used for the purpose of this study. Content analysis presented some weaknesses as a research method. It may not be as objective as it claims since the researcher must make choices about how to interpret or categorize particular forms of behaviour and other researchers may interpret it differently. Another weakness of content analysis is that it is very time consuming. However, these weaknesses form part of the comprehensive posture adopted by the researcher, which stipulates that it is not so much the objectiveness of the respondents which is important as the manner in which they construct their representations, influencing thus their actions towards the territory.

Chapter 5:

Results and Findings

As we have seen in chapter 3, transformations in the socio-economic compositions, functions, and morphology of both districts of Port-Louis and Black River districts have been taking place. The process of heritagisation forms part of one the processes of transformation. It is the process of requalification of a territory by assigning it values, identities and functions of the past selected by societies in the present and to be passed on to the future. However, due to processes of spatial transformation, different stakeholders who interact with the territory might have different representations and strategies in place which might lead to heritage dissonance. Furthermore, these processes of requalification can trigger re-actions of stakeholders; these reactions can range on one end, from full support and collaboration to the projects of requalification of the territories and on the other end, to that of open conflicts and contestations. In countries where development takes place in a "top-down" approach, local communities regularly undertake territorial contestations a phenomenon known as NIMBY (Not in My Back Yard). This leads us to understand that the heritagisation of places is not a neutral process and demonstrates social and cultural disparities, read in terms of the dominant/dominated dialectic, thereby driving some persons to struggle from eviction or from the symbolic destruction of their presence while for others, it can be means to display their hegemonic claim over the territory and to gain access to its resources.

This brings us to the objective of this chapter which is to analyze the discourses of stakeholders in order to understand the micro-level dynamics of interaction between them and their territory. This chapter is therefore organised into three parts. Firstly, an analysis of the representations of the interviewed stakeholders has brought our attention to significant gaps that exist in the representations of heritage, at different geographical scales and to the notion of collective heritage versus private heritage, of officialised versions versus living, everyday heritage. Secondly, long term spatial visions and newly attributed functions such as that of tourism to the heritagised territory were analysed and it was again revealed that these were creating heritage dissonance. Furthermore, local stakeholders seem to be either in latent or in declared contestation of the designation of the territorial claims of the heritage sites. Finally, given the differentiating representations of the newly re-qualified territories, the manner in which the heritage sites integrate themselves into the territory will be analysed.

5.1 Differing identity representations of heritage at various scales.

The notion of collective heritage is quite difficult to understand in a country where identities are expressed in official terms such as ethnicity, race, language, and in practice in terms of caste, patronymic and socio-economic backgrounds. This shows the multiplicity of the nature of identity of people in Mauritius. Issues such as "*whose heritage or who's identity should the heritage encompass? Or whose collective heritage?*" become therefore important interrogations. These interrogations are even more confounded when the aspect of scale is taken into consideration in the production of identity for heritage sites. Indeed, according to Graham *et al* (2000), heritage produced at different geographical levels may not be complementary and harmonious as any scale may have the potential to undermine other levels. Scale can be by itself a potential source of heritage dissonance. Dissonance can further be accentuated when issues of identity production are linked to heritage and scale. Identities are multiply constructed resulting in many, often overlapping 'imagined communities' which may or may not coincide with identifiable spatial entities. Based on the analysis of the response of interviewers and on secondary data, representations of heritage and identity production are analysed through national and local scales. It has been seen that during the processes of heritage construction, identity production and legitimating of communities based on ethnicity has been accomplished to the detriment of specificities of local communities. Hence, if on national scale, there might have appropriation of the heritage site by ethnic communities whose identities are represented, on a local scale, there is also an alienation of territorially-bound local communities.

5.1.1 Processes of heritage construction at the national scale

In Livingstone's terms (1992), heritage is knowledge, a cultural product and a political resource set within specific circumstances. It is thus important to recall the specific social circumstances that have led to the process of heritagisation of the two sites in Mauritius as a cultural product but mostly as a political resource. The appropriation of the Morne Brabant Mountain as a symbol and heritage leading to its inscription as a WHS in 2008 was activated due to debates and unleashed passion involved in the identity production of Creole people. Almost concurrently, the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat was initiated and achieved in 2006 in contexts of perceived induced competition against the Le Morne heritage. In this sense, the two heritage sites were conferred identities that reflect the national vision of managing multicultural diversity.

5.1.1.1 Le Morne: a symbol of the claim for the recognition of Creole Identity

The UNESCO WHC officially launched the Slave Route Project in 1994, in order to restitute the obliterated memories of slaves and slavery in official world history. As such, state members affected by the African Slavery system, were invited to submit inscription dossiers for heritage sites. As stated earlier, Mauritius subscribed to the World Heritage Convention in 1995. In 1998, the University of Mauritius organised a conference under the aegis of the UNESCO, to reflect upon the theme of Slavery and its aftermath in the Indian Ocean (UNESCO, 2013). Following the conference, the Morne Brabant Mountain was identified as a '*lieu de mémoire*' for slavery.

While at the international level, debates and projects about the reparation of slave memories were on-going, a particular dramatic event took place in February 1999 in Mauritius. The death of the musician Kaya in obscure circumstances, (iconic figure advocating for Black conscience) led to a popular outcry by Creoles. It also led to inter-ethnic tensions between Creoles and Indo-Mauritians as looting of Government and private properties owned by Indo-Mauritians were committed. More importantly, this event brought mass attention to the socio-economic conditions in which the Creoles were living. Many studies highlighted the conditions of marginalization, of exclusion and material vulnerability in which a large proportion of Mauritians were living and of whom Creoles represented a significant proportion (Asgarally, 1996). Without being the condition of a sole ethnic group, the exclusion of Creoles is explained by on-going acts of racism and of contempt perpetuated against them, as a legacy of slavery since 170 years ago.

Thus, in line with the Slave Route project of the UNESCO, one of the duties of reparation against the slavery system was, according to the respondent E6 "*to rewrite the official story from the point of view of the victims in order to restore the facts and images of slaves and their descendants in Mauritius.*" Authors such as Chan Low, Palmyre, Romain, Police-Michel and the charismatic Church priest, Jocelyn Gregoire supported the idea that it is the identity of Creoles that needed to be constructed so that they could find their rightful place as an ethnic group within the socio-cultural architecture and political system of the Mauritian society. According to Jenkins (1997), ethnicity functions as social resource to be used and exploited whenever there is competition for access to national resources. This is especially true in the case of Mauritius, as stated by E8, "*whereby ethnic politics is practised and which induces communities to vote for their political representatives so as to have access to*

national resources. As the Creoles were not organised in a structured manner as a legacy of slavery, they have therefore been systematically marginalised from the political arena. Hence, after the events of 1999, it became imperative to construct and structure a Creole community, starting by their identity".

According to Retaillé (1999), identity defined as a social process is subjected to the means and circumstances of its diffusion, whereby society at large defines and accepts the channels of distribution/transmission. Space can therefore be a means of diffusion of identity. For respondent E8, "*elitist colonial historiography describes Mauritius as a paradise where the slave was treated well and loved his master while the runaway slave was only a vulgar bandit who sabotaged the fine work of recovery of the island. This beautified history is encapsulated everywhere in public spaces and institutionalised in the toponym of the places, of public monuments, in museums... everywhere*". Furthermore, in the post-independence phase, it is felt that the landscape of Mauritius has become '*indianised*' by the number of temples constructed and the sacralisation of Grand Bassin. Hence, in the process of asserting Creole identity, it became important to mark the space with figures reflective of the Creole community.

In this context, Le Morne Brabant Mountain was appropriated as the symbol representative of the identity of Creoles. However, it is important to interrogate "*why Le Morne Brabant mountain and not other mountains or places occupied by slaves in Mauritius?*" Though symbolically, the Morne Brabant Mountain has always been associated with slaves and maroon slaves, it is the threat of the construction of a real estate project in 1999 that brought the limelight on the mountain and questioned its value, identity and function. The project comprised of building cable cars as well as a recreation centre and a museum on top of the mountain. Since then, other privately funded developmental projects have been proposed. The land at the base of the mountain is privately owned by the Société Morne Brabant and in 2004, an IRS project to construct high-class luxury villas was proposed. Tatorio Holdings had also proposed an IRS project in 2007 on the *Danzak* mountain slope. For the promoters, the mountains are perceived mainly as spatial resources to be converted into potential tourism products. Without entirely obliterating the possibilities of legends and myths associated to these mountains, the projects are justified principally in economic terms such as creation of jobs for local people, revenue generation, etc. (Interviews in local newspapers of l'Express and le Mauricien).

"It is the historian and academic, Vijaya Teeluck who organized the first series of demonstrations at the foot of the mountain. We brought in our support. We knew how to put pressure on the government and at the same time attract public attention to the protection of the mountain" explains the respondent CS2. The main claim of this group of protesters was for the Government to institute scientific and archaeological studies before the approval of any real estate project. In a second phase, the leader of the political party, *Les Verts Fraternels*, Sylvio Michel, also Minister of Fisheries in 2000, drew attention on the need for the reparation of slave memoirs and on possible financial compensation against slavery to the descendants of slaves. He claimed that the Morne Brabant Mountain was a sacred place and that it should not be marred by developmental projects. Thus, the dynamics of stakeholder's mobilization to protect the mountain, as sacred place for Creoles, was launched. Henceforth, commemoration for the abolition of slavery on the 1st February started to be organised at the foot of the mountain.

The representative of the State, namely the National Heritage Fund which was constituted in 2001, was heavily criticized for its latency and incapacity to intervene. Finally, the MHTF Act was promulgated in 2004 and hence, provided a legal structure to work for the nomination of the World Heritage dossier of le Morne. The candidature of Le Morne was accepted on the tentative list in 2004 by the WHC. However, changes in the scientific and administrative team in 2005 meant that the submission of the nomination dossier was delayed. Furthermore, "*the first attempt to submit the dossier was a resounding failure, the amateurish manner in which it has been constructed and the inherent weaknesses of the dossier being the causes evoked. This created further outrage in public opinions and was perceived as delaying tactics by the newly elected Government deemed to be unsympathetic to the cause of Creoles",* confided interviewee E3.

Henceforth, a new foreign expert, Professor Odendaal, was appointed to support the local technical team in writing the nomination dossier and the management place. The latter highlighted the fact that the heritage was of a very complex nature; comprising of the integrity of the mountain, with its endemic fauna and flora as well as unique history and living, oral traditions of the villagers. He proposed to build the concept of the dossier on the notion of Cultural Landscapes, which had been newly revised in 2005: "*cultural landscapes are generally complex entities that may extend over a large territory on land or sea, belong to several jurisdictions, contain various forms of heritage and concern various actors, all this contributing to give a greater complexity to the accurate definition of their boundary and*

setting, and their management which needs to be reinforced" (Santiago de Cuba Declaration on Cultural Landscapes in the Caribbean, 2005). The Le Morne Cultural Landscape nomination dossier was finally submitted and inscribed on the WHL in 2008.

It comes out that it is in a situation of threat of development that the Morne Brabant Mountain has come out from its "*deep sleep*" (as per respondent CS9) and the process of heritagisation has been activated. This process continued as the Mountain was appropriated by various associations engaged in the claims for the Creole identity recognition. "*To those involved in the fight, the mountain itself had become the symbol of oppression, in the hands of rich Blancs for whom only money counts, like our ancestors who were considered as properties and not as human beings. Hence, it is really up to us, Creoles to fight and to liberate the mountain* " confided respondent E9, drawing an evocative analogy between the fates of slaves and that of the mountain while positioning Creoles as *the freedom fighters*, that is, activists to the Creole Claim, in opposition to the *Blancs* as private land owners and the government. The latter continued by saying that "*the mountain had therefore become the symbol through which the Creoles could re-write history by fighting against their oppressors. In public discourse, Creoles have often been criticized for not having fought for the abolition of slavery unlike Indians who were strongly mobilized to fight for the improvement of the living conditions of Indentured labourers*".

5.1.1.2 Aapravasi Ghat: a space to assert the hegemony of Indo-Mauritians?

Similar to Le Morne Cultural Landscape, it is the threat of conversion of the site into a modernised port area that has activated the heritagisation process of Aapravasi Ghat. Indeed, at various times, the port area has undergone physical and functional changes and the site has occupied various functions and status before being re-qualified into a World Heritage Site. Historically, the site came to existence when it was built for the disembarkation of nearly half a million contractual Asian and African workers who had come over to Mauritius between 1849 and 1910. With the abolition of slavery in 1835, sugar planters in collusion with British administrators had found an alternative source of cheap labour, in terms of contractual workers also known as indentured labourers who originated from the Indian subcontinent and parts of China.

Upon their arrival, the contractual workers had to climb up the steps of the port and were then subjected to strict sanitary and identification control systems before being dispatched to sugar plantations. Due to several crises in the sugar industry as from 1880s, the indentured labour

trade was brought to a stop in 1920 and the site was converted into offices for the Ministry of Social Welfare. The War Department used the buildings for a brief period during the Second World War. In 1950, the Public Assistance Department was established at the site as the immigration records were kept there. In 1960, the cyclone "Carol" caused major damages to the site. Only a few structures have survived since much of the site was destroyed in the 1980s when the motorway was constructed. Since then, the buildings have been partly left to decay and were partly occupied by the Development Works Cooperation (DWC).

It is mostly due to the unrelenting efforts of the public figure of Beekrumsingh Ramlallah that the site was slowly transformed into a heritage site. "*It is the charismatic figure of my father, a political and religious activist who used his network to make things happen. In fact, we come from a family that has been historically involved in the fight for the rights of Indian labourers and in Hindu religious activities. He was voted in general elections and was very close to SSR from 1948-1976. Together with some friends, he founded the newspaper, Mauritius Times so as to counteract the anti-hindu and Indian propaganda in the 1960s*" explained respondent CS1.

It is in the late 1960s that Ramlallah started to 'sacralise the site' when he spotted the steps used by the indentured labourers upon their disembarkation. He initiated a ceremony of remembrance on 2nd November. Moreover, when Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi came to Mauritius in 1976, he influenced his network of contacts so that a visit to the site was scheduled, thus lending a symbolic attachment to '*Mother India*'. After her visit, again further to the suggestion of Ramlallah, a commemorative plaque with the name of "Coolie Ghat" was placed at the site in 1978. The latter also helped in the conservation of the records and archives of the arrivals of the immigrants by transferring them to the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, since the National Archives had refused to take them. In 1985, the historical importance of the Immigration Depot was officially recognized by its declaration as a National Monument. The name of the depot was changed to "Aapravasi Ghat" which means the landing place of Immigrants in Hindi, thus assigning a more positive connotation to the site.

If until this moment the heritagisation of site was at a national level, the mission conferred to the AGTF was to inscribe it as a WHS. In 2001, the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund was enacted to manage, preserve and promote the site. During the same year, the 2nd November was declared as a public holiday in memory of the arrival of Asian immigrants in Mauritius.

Conservation professionals from ICOMOS India (International Council of Monuments and Sites) were called upon to supervise the restoration and conservation of the site to its original condition by using similar materials and construction methods used when the structure was built in the mid-nineteenth century (Brief history of Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site, 2013). In 2003, together with two foreign experts, the technical team started to prepare the dossier by undertaking extensive archaeological and historical researches. The team is reinforced by the appointment of Vijaya Teeluck, well-known historian as Chairperson of the Trust and of the head of the technical team, Corinne Forest who is an expert in museology. *"One of the strength of the technical team is that it invested into capacity-building, given that very few people were qualified in heritage studies. Hence, graduates from the University of Mauritius were hired and with scholarships obtained from the Indian Government, they were sent to complete their Master's Degree in Heritage studies"*, respondent E1 added.

The local team wrote a major portion of both the Nomination dossier and the Management Plan which "*was amended more than two dozen times*" said E2. In 2005, the dossier is accepted on the Tentative List by the WHC. The latter continued by saying that "*we had to deal with a lot of pressure from our parent ministry which was itself being pressurised by the ministerial Cabinet. In fact, the Prime Minister even set up a Ministerial Committee to finalise the management plan. Amendments also needed to be brought to the buffer zone, which had only been tentatively drawn. For us, it was a good thing that a Ministerial Committee had been set up as we had a better access to information and a more holistic picture from the different ministries, authorities and legal structures on hand while preparing the dossier.*" Finally, the dossier and the management plan were submitted and the site was inscribed in 2006. However, "*once the inscription was obtained, internal disputes and political intervention provoked the resignation of the director and head technician. For almost a year, the projects in the Management Plan were at a standstill. The two persons were reinstated in their posts and since then, we are working according to the schedule of the Management Plan",* confided E2. However, early in 2011, a prominent historic building was razed off as the buffer zone limits had not yet been promulgated. Upon receiving a severe warning from the UNESCO WHC, the perimeters of the buffer zone and the accompanying Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) were promulgated in the midst of the year. This led to an avalanche of monetary claims and legal prosecutions from property owners who deemed that the value of their estate had been negatively affected by the proclamation and imposed construction restrictions of the buffer zone.

When queried about the image of the heritage site being associated to Indo-Mauritian identity, E1 replies the following: "*well, there are three factors that have contributed to this state of things; firstly the name of the heritage site declared in 1985, secondly the heritagisation of the site was initiated by Ramlallah who was himself a fervent defendant of the Indo-Mauritian identity and lastly, political discourses in public spaces that contribute to somehow reinforce this image. However, at the AGTF, we try as much as possible to dissociate ourselves from this false identity claim. In fact, we have employed people based on their competences rather than on their ethnic origin. Furthermore, a few years back, when the site was going to be inscribed, Mauritians in general did not know much about heritage. For them, heritage in general has a powerful emotional charge rather than a disinterested historical knowledge. We hope that over time, we will be able to inculcate a different relationship between heritage and the Mauritians*".

As we have mentioned above, it is mostly due to the political figure of Mr. Ramlallah, who mobilised his network to create institutional recognition of Aapravasi Ghat as a national site. Now it is the AGTF that has been entrusted to manage it as a WHS. Interviewee E1 adds "*we have conducted several conferences in order to further knowledge on Indentured labourers and the system in general. Our endeavour now is to convince the UNESCO to initiate a project on this system as it has done for the Slave Route Project. Our role is to look for objective data and to disseminate it to the Mauritian society in general. However, somehow, Mauritians still tend to associate heritage to the emotional realm and therefore, whenever they visit the site (all communities confounded); they try to project themselves in the lives of their ancestors by associating them to the pains and hardships of their everyday living. Furthermore, there is the tendency to idealise the past and to associate the image of the Indian immigrant as a respectful, God-fearing, humble and down-trodden being. However, our researches show that many of them were gamblers, drunken louts and this is why they found themselves at the Vagrant Depot*".

5.1.1.3 Perception of induced competition in the heritage construction of the sites

The heritagisation processes of the two WHSs are perceived to have been marked by induced ethnic competition whereby constant comparisons between an "Indo-Mauritian site and that of a Creole one", between the memoirs of indentured labourers and slavery, between 'their' level of suffering and 'our' suffering have been intensely debated. This portrays a form of

institutionalised competition between the sites that have had consequences on the ethnicisation of the sites and of stakeholders involved. Creole activists positioned themselves against the government's tendency to compare and put on a same footing, figures of slavery and of indentured labourers together. Their strife, through the recognition of le Morne, is for the respect of the singularity of the memory of slavery and of the contemporary Creole identity. This was done in order to consolidate efforts to accede to a certain ethnic visibility and equality in the cultural and political fields.

At the beginning of the heritagisation process, the question was not so much about determining the historical or heritage value of le Morne but of its "sacred" value. Le Morne was first of all compared to Grand Bassin, which is a major religious Hindu spot in the Mauritian landscape. The Aapravasi Ghat was not yet considered as a major 'competitor'. During the entire process of heritagisation, Creole activists constantly referred to the mountain for its sacredness and this enabled expressions of rituals to take place at the foot of mountain, especially on the 1st February. Hence, "*to compare le Morne to Grand Bassin was, in the representations of Creole Activists, an expression of the degree of sacrality that they wanted to confer to le Morne*", said interviewee E7. The analogy to Grand Bassin is not trivial in the sense that it showed the ways in which cultural places in Mauritius were thought about; that of its capacity to draw crowds of people of the same ethnic group who share an emotional bond, religious and cultural relationships as well as similar origins. Hence, the claim for legitimacy over the Mountain represented a symbolic and physical place conferred with characteristics that reflect Creole identity and culture and that could mobilise dispersed Creole people. "*For Indo-Mauritians, this claim was not necessary since it is felt that their presence in the physical and cultural landscape of the country is very well established. Look at the number of Hindu centres, religious associations, temples, etc. that there are*", as confided respondent E6.

The earmarking of Aapravasi Ghat as a potential WHS exacerbated tensions and stakes involved in the heritagisation process. For respondent E9, "*the heavy financial investment and political will of the Government in collaborating with WHC for the inscription of AG in 2002 was perceived as a trivialisation of our claims, resurrecting the fears of an 'indianisation' of heritage*". This brought about the radicalization of postures of Creole activists who started to perceive the Aapravasi Ghat as a major competitor against Le Morne. These two sites would therefore be constantly and systematically compared, judged, measured and criticized by activists *via* national press. From a debate in defining a 'sacred'

site for Creoles, the issue of competition will move to address interrogations about the historical legitimacy of the heritage sites. Creole activists will brandish arguments that slavery was anterior to the system of Indentured Labourers as it has occurred almost two centuries prior.

Furthermore, the ensuing competition of the heritagisation process of the two sites took a drastic turn when the Aapravasi Ghat was inscribed before the Le Morne Cultural Landscape. For interviewee E6, this was perceived to have been orchestrated by the newly installed government in 2005. Creole activists therefore contested the legitimacy of the site by qualifying it as the exclusive heritage of Indo-Mauritians. Arguments of the 'indianisation' of the landscapes in Mauritius as a means to display the hegemonic tendencies of Indo-Mauritians and to obliterate the presence of minority groups were brought forward, not only by Creole activists but also by academics, intellectuals and journalists. Journalist Shenaz Patel wrote in Le Mauricien (2005): "*Aujourd'hui on peut dire que nous nous trouvons plus résolument engagés dans la voie d'une réappropriation de notre histoire; dans la complexité de ses réalités, avec le travail accompli sans œillères et préjugés par certains historiens. Mais là encore, cette démarche positive, potentiellement libératrice se retrouve enfermée dans une attitude de morcellement et de fragmentation. L'exemple le plus flagrant résidant dans les dossiers du Morne et de l'Aapravasi Ghat ; traités non comme des symboles nationaux témoignant de notre histoire commune mais comme des symboles identitaires rattachés à l'une ou à l'autre communauté en particulier. Ce qui a donné le désolant cafouillage auquel on a pu assister jusqu'ici au niveau de la présentation des dossiers à l'UNESCO* » (Patel, 25 septembre 2005).

Faced with these ardent criticisms, the government has somehow attempted to soften its position towards a discourse of conciliation of these two heritage sites and of their projection as national heritages. However, this has brought about fervent resistance from defenders of Le Morne *"who refuse to see their claims and their history diluted in a tentative to promote a national heritage"* said GO6. Respondent E9 concurs and explains this resistance as such: "*perhaps, it's just as well. Because if competition there has been, then it has been one-sided, that of the Creole people. The Indo-Mauritians have not had to fight to protect or to legitimate Aapravasi Ghat as a heritage site. We, Creole people, need to appropriate ourselves of the site and see the results for which we have been fighting for before we can talk about a national heritage.* "

Since the inscription of the two sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List, there is a general perception that somehow a certain amount of justice has been done to both communities, thus diminishing the perception of inequality between them. At the same time, other minority communities have started historical research and regularly publish in newspapers or hold conferences in order to show their contribution to the Mauritian nation and their link to the heritage sites. Should these attempts be associated to the need to assert their existence in the socio-cultural architecture of Mauritian Society? Furthermore, the two days of commemoration, that is the 1st February and the 2nd November are moments through which public discourses reiterate the contribution of each community in the construction of the Mauritius, thereby forwarding the ideology of "Unity in Diversity" as the prevailing mode of managing the ethnic diversity in Mauritius. Finally, almost no intercultural efforts are made to bridge gaps between these two sites and to really position them as national heritages. The representations of heritage in Mauritius, especially when these two sites are evoked, are still essentially linked to the emotional realm. Mauritians tend to associate themselves to the heritage sites by relating them to their respective kin, through their imagined sufferings and oppressions.

This vision of the functions of heritage sites therefore evacuates the issue of creating a nation-state. According to Graham *et al* (2000), the nation-state required national heritage to consolidate national identification, absorb or neutralize potentially competing heritages of socio-cultural groups or regions. In the case of Mauritius, competition in the processes of heritage construction is perceived to have been induced and hence, obliterates the notion of heritage as a consolidator of the Nation-state. According to Eriksen (1998), the idea of the nation-state in Mauritius is supported by economic progress. He argues that in the absence of a common historical past and a founding myth, it is the idea of a shared future that prevails, that of a future-oriented nationalism.

5.1.2 Heritage dissonance at the local scale

As we have seen earlier, it is the consideration of maintaining a balanced representativeness of ethnic characteristics that influenced the process of requalification of the two WHS in Mauritius. The sites have been assigned identities to which ethnic groups can relate to and political discourses during ceremonies of national commemoration help to reinforce these identities. However, as the relationship that the local communities have with the heritage site were explored, it was found out that there is a growing sense of dissonance in this way of

qualifying heritage. This study demonstrates that the processes of heritagisation are generating feelings of alienation of local communities with their immediate territory and the re-qualified heritage sites, confirming that scale is a dimension of heritage dissonance. Dissonance occurs because there are significant differences between the officialised assigned heritage values as compared to the everyday living heritage and identities in the private domain.

5.1.2.1 Public versus private heritage

It is increasingly being admitted that official national histories might be that of dominant, elite social groups and that histories of ordinary people might never be known except for oral memories passed down. Hence, new methodologies as well as additional space in national histories are now being given collective memories. During the preparation leading to the inscription phase, local communities were involved in the research processes in the sense that fieldwork such as interviews, ethnographic and historical researches have been undertaken with their support. This is because living conditions of local communities contribute to the intangible dimension of the heritage sites. Such is the case of both sites Le Morne Heritage (LMH) and Aapravasi Ghat (AG).

It is the "*testimonials of local people that helped to justify the outstanding value of the heritage*", as states respondent CS13 concerning Le Morne Heritage. He further confided with a touch of bitterness: "*When most of the Creoles activists had no proof for their claims, I was the one who supported Prof. Odendaal and continued to talk and look for old people and asked them to testify. The breakthrough came when an old woman from the village was brought back to Trou Chenilles and she started, despite her very old age, to recall how the community lived in those days. That day, the researchers and Prof Odendaal were filming the whole process. We were all touched by her testimonial. Unfortunately, she has already passed away. However, since then, we have heard nothing from them. Our presence has been totally obliterated from any official function or from the identity of this heritage.*" Considered as a cultural landscape, the justification of LMH relied on the oral traditions of local people to add substance to the nomination dossier while on the other hand, the records detailing the arrivals and the settlements of Indentured labourers constituted proof enough for the dossier of the AG.

However, it is the transformation of private family traditions and histories into the public domain to which the interrogated local interviewees object to. This brings to mind the questions of "*whose heritage? To what extent can private heritage become public, collective heritage?*" This was especially expressed by local economic operators in the buffer zone of AG whereby EO4 said the following: "*my family has kept all the memories of when my great grandfather came to Mauritius for the trade of foodstuffs such as rice, grains and spices. We have kept all the memorabilia at home. When they came from AG, I explained all these to them and then, last time I saw the family history in the file. Who gave them the right to publish my family's history? My family did not come here as a labourer. So, I don't understand why it was in this file.*"

In the case of LMH, the local community claims that it has more legitimacy over the mountain than the Creoles. In fact, in the management plan, it is stated that local villagers are the proper '*guardians of the mountain*', a fact that is disputed by them. Respondent CS12 says: "*we are not the guardians of the mountain but it is the mountain that guards over us*". He further adds, "*For so long, it has been allowed to sleep. It was not the immediate concern of anyone. It was for us the means of our sustenance. We have always lived with the mountain looking over us.*" This shows the rootedness, the symbiotic link between the mountain and the local villagers. Furthermore, they point out to the contradiction over the guardianship of the mountain as it is now under the formal management of the Morne Heritage Trust Fund. Conservation means that stricter access conditions to the mountain are in place by this authority, thereby affecting the livelihoods of villagers who depend on the mountain's resources for farming and hunting purposes. Contrary to the rootedness that the villagers in le Morne feel with their surroundings and the mountain, in the case of AG, it is to the family business that some of the interviewed persons relate to. For them, heritage is not about the place as such but more about the legacy of the business that their family have nurtured and that they are continuing to do so.

5.1.2.2 Essentialist perspective that has overlooked interethnic links

The ethnic identity conferred to the heritage sites in public discourse promotes the bounded nature of identities in Mauritius. Hence, as the LMH heritage site has been identified as a site for '*duty of recollection for the Creoles*', there is a sense of alienation felt by the non-Creoles of the village. For them, since the activation of the process of heritage construction, ethnic differences from the rest of the country have been imported into the village. This sentiment is

confirmed by respondent CS12. As she describes the hardships experienced by the villagers, she refers to the strong sense of interdependence with non-Creoles. Food shortages meant that Creole locals had to depend on maize cultivated by the Hindus. A local Chinese shopkeeper owned the maize mill and CS12 worked for him to crush the maize in flour. At the same time, Creoles were mostly fishermen and sold their fish to the Marathi family in charge of re-selling the fish on their stall by the roadside. However, these interethnic relations have not been showcased nor valorised in the official account of the site, further adding to the alienation of non-Creole residents of the village.

The perception, due to its appellation of the designation of the AG as a primordially Indo-Mauritian site, has also created a sense of alienation amongst the community of traders in the old, commercial area. Though the nomination dossier does refer to the different ethnic communities that occupy the commercial area, it fails to account for the interethnic ties between them and which led to: the specialisation in types of businesses by different communities, marriages between them, understanding between the Chinese and mostly Muslim community engaged in the import and distribution channels of commodities. Occulting these elements in the process of place-identity making has brought about strong feelings of alienation, coupled with anger that minority voices are never heard of. Interviewee EO7 confides "*My family has been working hard since they came to settle down and have built the business from here. My children have now settled down in Australia and when I will retire, no one is going to take up this business. And now, they tell me that this place is part of Aapravasi Ghat. Why is it always that we never get anything, everything is for them.*" For respondent EO8, "*I do not associate myself with India, though my ancestors came from there. I personally do not think that Muslims in Mauritius relate to their origin. It is our religion and our mosque that binds us together. As for this business, if my children don't take up the business, I will bequeath it to the Waqf.*"

The process of heritagisation has been initiated in contexts whereby it is the ethnic identity of social groups that has been assigned to the two sites. This has been achieved in an atmosphere of perceived induced competition, which is also a reflection of the manner in which the State manoeuvres the Mauritian multicultural society through ethnic politics. It is also a reflection of the manner in which the different ethnic components of society relate to the fragmented histories of Mauritius. In this sense, the heritage sites have been extracted from their locational and local context, as local communities' identities and specific relationship have been obliterated from the process of social identification of the heritage

sites. At the same time, perception of the heritage sites as ethnic entities has obliterated interethnic dependence between communities in their everyday life, thus creating place-identity boundedness on one side and heritage dissonance between the national and local scales.

5.2 The economic value of the process of heritage construction of territories

The process of heritage, as mentioned earlier, is part of spatial transformations that can take place. How different stakeholders react to this process of spatial transformation is however important to understand, especially when the sustainability of the reconstruction territory is in question. In many developed countries, the process of heritagisation has been undertaken due to social demands for places that have historical characteristics and to which people could identify with. This was because it was felt that especially urban places were becoming too uniform in the wake of globalisation, that newly-constructed places lacked the basic characteristics that made people experience a sense of place attachment and rootedness. Valorisation of heritage sites is therefore seen as means of countering the effects of modernization, managing cultural diversity through policies of heritage and cultural protection, preserving collective and living nostalgia, safeguarding artistic and aesthetic values, among others. However, according to Timothy and Boyd (2003), while these reasons are important, economics is the primary motive for conserving the built and living past in developing countries. This perspective is confirmed by Dallen and Nyaupane (2009) who say that nearly always, public opinions about heritage in less developed countries are based on its perceived economic value and there will be little support for it unless people can connect to it economically. Hence, it is important to understand how different stakeholders at different geographical scales relate to the process of heritagisation from an economic perspective.

5.2.1 Incompatibility in territorial planning ideology between the WHC and Mauritius

The commitment of the Mauritian State in the inscription of heritage sites is deemed to be confusing, if not paradoxical. International instances such as the ICOMOS and the WHC insist that state members, who have heritage sites inscribed, must adhere to directives that insist that no construction can take place in the Core Zone and strict building restrictions must applied in the perimeter surrounding the buffer zones. In Mauritius, territorial development has been done in a fairly liberal manner as historically its geostrategic location, relatively flat topography and natural port areas have always been perceived as resources to be utilized for economic productions.

During the French occupation, Port-Louis emerged as a major city port in the Indian Ocean (the Star and Key) and was used as a free market economy where intensified trade activities took place. The port was declared as a Free zone, with incentives given to neutral ships to accost and trade in commodities from Asia. During the British period, forests were rapidly removed in order to favour the expansion of sugarcane plantations and to contribute into the world sugar economy. This dynamic of territorial development was enhanced during the post-independence phase. Faced with its own sovereign destiny, the country oriented itself towards the diversification of its economy, from sugarcane plantations to that of the textile and tourism industries in the 1980s. Further diversification took place in other economic sectors such as the port area, the off-shore (now know as Global Business Trade), the Information Technologies in the 1990s and the Real Estate Property at the beginning of 2000s. These sectors have been developed through the winning formula of Free Export Zones, whereby geographical and territorial arguments in favour of the country have been put forward. Incentives offered to attract local and foreign investments are fiscal laws, with possibilities to repatriate funds back into home countries, few interventions of governments, etc. Basically, these incentives have transformed the island into a space for economic transactions and its people as potential commodities.

In this context, the notion of territory in Mauritius is reduced merely to the function of a resource to be used so as to fuel the economic apparatus. It is mostly regulated by the laws of supply and demand. Hence, the prevailing state ideology in territorial development is that of a laissez-faire one as long as investments in the territory generate economic gains, in terms of revenue generation and employment.

Therefore, it becomes challenging to provide a national and holistic vision in terms of territorial planning. This is translated by the incapacity of the State to provide or to adhere to the Strategic Plans that have been outlined. For example, the previous plan, the National Physical Development Plan (NPDP) of 1994 was expected to cover the period until 2010. However, it was replaced by the National Development strategy (NDS) in 2004, which itself was expected to provide a long term perspective of territorial development until 2020. However, according to respondent GO5, a new Strategic Plan has been commissioned by the Government in 2012 and is expected to be submitted in 2014.

If ideologically, there is a laissez-faire attitude towards territorial development, in practice, this means that the NDS has not been approved by the Government *in Toto*. According to respondent GO5, "*the current, prevailing NDS is deemed to have been unsuccessful due to reasons such as lack of sectoral and spatial linkages to promote better resource management, changed priorities of the Government and public sector investment agencies, bottlenecks in the decision-making process and lack of commitment to the NDS*". The NPDP also had its limitations because the Urban Outline Schemes, especially that of Port-Louis dating 1992 had never been approved by the Mauritian Government. Respondent GO5, explained that "*this means that since 1992 until now, the district of Port-Louis is developing itself without any legal planning instrument since the Port-Louis planning scheme has never been promulgated. This means that planners at the Municipal Council of Port-Louis cannot restrict inharmonious types of development in Port-Louis and inspectors cannot really sanction illegal or non-standard constructions*".

Planners at local levels operate within the framework of their respective Outline Planning Schemes, which are themselves derived from the NDS. Hence, in practice as previous and current planning policies have not been voted *in Toto*, they hardly have the legal framework in which to operate. Furthermore, the Ministerial Structure in Mauritius means that the Ministry of Housing and Land Use is in charge of territorial planning at a strategic and in a holistic perspective while the Ministry of Local Government and Outer Islands, of which Municipal Cuoncils (MC) and District Councils (DC) depend upon, is in charge of implementing these policies. In practice, this creates a lot of bottlenecks in decision-making processes, especially where huge investment projects are involved as parameters of intervention of the different Ministries concerned are not well understood.

Moreover, the Board of Investment (a parastatal body of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development and in charge of attracting foreign investment) has been issuing letters of approval for high-investment projects such as Integrated Resort Schemes (IRS), thus superimposing itself to the various planning bodies. Finally, the Business Facilitation Act of 2006 stipulates that proposals of territorial projects must have a response from DCs or MCs in terms of licensing and permit delivery within fourteen working days, thereby thoroughly limiting the assessment of the viability and impacts of these projects by competent authorities.

Ideologically, the prevailing laissez-faire policy of the Mauritian State and the interventionist perspective of the international instances such as the ICOMOS and the WHC for the conservation of heritage sites are not compatible and could present major issues for territorial contestation. Furthermore, in practice, the planning policies act as mere guidelines and do not have law-enforcing powers. This brings us therefore to question the motivations of the State to commit itself to the UNESCO for the inscription of the two WHSs, given its insignificant planning and control mechanisms in territorial development.

5.2.2 Territorial contestation between the public and private sector at the WHSs

In the prevailing context of a laissez-faire style of territorial planning, the right to private property ownership becomes extremely pertinent. It means that owners of land properties have the margin of freedom to dispose and to develop their estate with few restrictions placed upon them. Hence, it becomes problematic when the State intervenes and enacts a heritage site on privately owned properties. The issue of private ownership is a major one in most countries and can lead to territorial contestations, especially in developing islands such as Mauritius. As mentioned earlier, to ensure inscription of World Heritage Sites, the ICOMOS and the WHC impose strict development measures on both Core and Buffer Zones, whereby no construction can take place in Core Zones and few restricted ones can be undertaken in Buffer Zones. However, if these zones are privately owned, the re-qualification of the site means that private owners can experience a loss in the value of their property depending on the opportunity cost implied in its use. It is in this context that the delimitation in the Core and Buffer Zones of both sites has been a major issue due to the problematic of private property ownership in Mauritius.

The area surrounding the Morne peninsula has been under intense developmental pressure since the failed cable car project of Mr. Piat and the process of appropriation of the mountain by Creole Activists as from 1999. In fact, three major Integrated Resort Schemes have been proposed in that part of the island. In 2004, Bertrand Giraud, managing director of the Societe Morne Brabant (SMB), announced that an IRS project would be developed on his property on the slope of Mountain Morne Brabant. It consisted of 110 villas, golf course and a club house. The land to be used concerned the property which the Cambier family (Giraud's grandparents), had bought in 1877. The project was justified in the sense that it would provide work for 2 to 3 people per villa, 70 - 100 jobs in the hotel, 10 maintenance staff and work for the construction of the infrastructure. The proposal stated that: "*The development*

vision is to provide high quality, low density mountain and ocean edge resort which is integrated with the natural and manmade heritage of the existing site" (Sigma-Arup, 2006). In December 2005, SMB obtained in principle the approval of the project *via* a letter of intent from the Board of Investment (BOI).

The review of the proposal by Georges Abungu a UNESCO expert in July 2005, led to a reduction of the proposed number of villas from 110 to about 65 with provision made for additional space for a hotel of 35 rooms. Professor Abungu also called for a reduction in the size of the core zone (compared to the zone identified by his predecessor, M.H. Saliba), and an increase in the perimeters of the buffer zone, so as to partially include the lagoon and Ilôt Fourneaux. In 2006, newly appointed consultant Mr. Odendaal, recommended that a new core zone had to be delimited and which would totally exclude the private lands owned by the Cambier family as well as that of the SMB. However, the buffer zone still encompassed the estate property of the latter, thereby limiting the developmental possibilities of owners.

Before SMB, Le Cape Brabant Gulf Estate and Country Club, part of the IRS project of the Le Morne Development Corporation Limited of the Rogers Group had received its letter of intent from the government in September 2003. This company proposed 130 bungalows, an18-hole golf course, three restaurants, spa and six tennis courses to be constructed on 320 acres of land on the southern slopes of Le Morne (l'Express, September 2006). This project was later rejected by the government despite receiving initial approval. Another IRS project consisting of 250 room five-star hotel, 200 residential apartments, 120 villas and a golf course and situated on the *Danzak* mountain slope was submitted to and approved by the BOI in 2007. This project has not yet started as there are ownership issues concerning the land property on which the project was earmarked. In 2011, the limits of the buffer zone were again slightly modified. Since the inscription of the site as a WHS, the promoters of the various IRS projects are contesting the limits of the buffer zone that encompasses their property and of the potential loss of income estimated from their projects.

Though the WHS of Aapravasi Ghat was inscribed in 2006, it is only in 2011 that the perimeters of the Buffer Zones 1 and 2 were approved by the Government. The promulgation of the buffer zone was done when pressure from the UNESCO WHC was exerted on the Mauritian Government. The WHC had to intervene when it was informed that a building of high aesthetic and symbolic value, found in the buffer zone 1 had been destroyed overnight. The AGTF had not intervened as it did not have any legal power to protect buildings from

destruction in the buffer zone. However, following the promulgation of the limits of the buffer zone in June 2011, property owners were given until September 2011 to write to the Municipal Council of Port-Louis to contest this enactment and to ask for compensation on the potential asset income loss.

As respondent EO8 says, "*The Government is very contradictory as on one side, it has set up the Business Facilitation Act 2006 to allow investors to obtain all their construction and operations permits within fourteen working days and on the other hand, it has intervened in order to decree heritage sites Core or Buffer Zones on prime developmental lands, and moreover on lands which are mostly privately-owned. Is the state trying to put a lid on the economic dynamism of Mauritius?*"This also further led respondent EO8 to postulate that "*since the government has designated sites as heritage, then it is only legitimate that it should us reimburse at market value, as we cannot benefit now from the use of our land or have been restricted in terms of further development for properties found in buffer zones*".

In the case of both heritage sites, estate owners and promoters are suing the Mauritian State for the requalification of their land property into protected heritage sites. These claims can be interpreted as forms of territorial contestations against the state as they deem that their property value has decreased as well as the return on their asset. The problem is that the claims for compensation for both sites are esteemed to be too high as the sites are situated in prime locations. In the case of le Morne, the SMB is suing the state for Rs 1.8 billion and concerns 367 acres of land. In the logic of territorial contestation, Bertrand Giraud has even been to the Head Office of the UNESCO to protest against the strict measures of construction imposed on his land (L'Express, 2012). In the case of Aapravasi Ghat, nearly thirty owners of businesses or of estate properties have made a series of claims against the State. One of them, United Docks is claiming about Rs 1.09 billion rupees of compensation for a property of 11 acres 85 yards located in Trou Fanfaron. They stated that their land can no longer be used at their convenience as per the disposition of Section 8 in the Constitution which guarantees the fundamental rights to private property (Le Mauricien, 2012). Apart from these legal forms of contestation, Rogers Company has adopted a more conciliatory approach with the State. However, no information on the content of the negotiated deals could be found either in local press or in parliamentary questions or from interviews conducted.

From the difficulties in negotiating the Core and Buffer Zone limits of both World Heritage Sites to the actual total claims of private owners against the State, two points can be analysed. Firstly, WHS sites are quite clearly associated to the social domain and hence, the economic value of the site is not at all perceived, or at least, the property owners do not believe that it is up to them to bear the economic cost for the restricted development measures in the Buffer Zones. Secondly, as the issue of ownership of land properties around the WHSs has not yet been resolved, this has in turn, considerably impeded progress in undertaking projects of conservation and valorization of the sites. As such, the UNESCO WHC is soliciting the Mauritian State to honour its commitment when it signed the World Heritage Convention in 1995. However, given the amount of compensation claimed by the property owners, the economic viability of the inscription of WHSs is questioned. In an interview in the local newspaper, the Minister of Arts and Culture said ironically "*that it would require one year's budget for the entire country in order to compensate for the sum of money claimed*" (Le Mauricien, 2012).

5.2.3 Economic expectations of local communities

In the debate of whether there should be government induced conservation versus a laissez faire economic development of heritage sites, the local communities of both sites have been relegated to a secondary role. Throughout the years of disputes opposing the State and property owners, local communities have found themselves torn between these two parties. Hence, reading through the local press and through our interviews, their positions seem to be very ambiguous as to whom and most importantly what should they support?

Most of the villagers of le Morne aspire for a decent quality of life; with a stable job and salary within the district, access to basic public utilities, appropriate housing facilities, among others. As we have highlighted in chapter 3, this village has been the one with the lowest RDI repeatedly in Mauritius, with access to poor public services, high levels of illiteracy, economic vulnerability and high social ills. Most of the inhabitants of the village are in a situation of chronic poverty. As they are not proprietors of the land where their houses have been constructed, this impedes them to "*move forward in their lives as they cannot even have a bank loan as they have no guarantees to give to banks*" said CS 10. Living in such situations of economic and social crisis, the inscription of the site brought hope to inhabitants that local development would be fostered. The mountain has always been a source of sustenance for the inhabitants. Its requalification as a heritage has transformed the

perspective through which they perceive it now as an economic resource able to foster local development. However, as the projects have been delayed due to various reasons, the unresolved dispute between the State and the SMB notably, the support of the local inhabitants for the heritage site has been dwindling. Instead, there seems to be a growing sense of alienation taking place as the MHTF exerts strict control over access to the mountain. This is in return, breeding resentment from the inhabitants who, given that their expectations and hopes have not yet been concretised, want to come out from their chronic state of poverty.

In the area of Aapravasi Ghat, most of the local business operators wished for prosperity and expansion of their businesses, regularization of the street hawkers' issues, efficient public utilities, among others. It must be noted that most of the local business operators in the Buffer Zone 2 are not necessarily owners of the shops in which they work but have been traditionally tenants (their previous generations have been also tenants and they have carried forward the lease). The tenants are for the moment, protected by the Rent Control Act of 1999, ensuring that they pay a minimum fee to the owners. This could also explain why the building ensembles are in such dilapidated states as owners do not necessarily have a return on their asset that could stimulate them to renovate or to conserve the old buildings. On the other hand, constraints of space, unfair competition and mostly inadequate amenities and security for their products, has made big and medium operators to move out of the old commercial. Some of these operators have symbolically retained a presence in the old area through the operation of a retail shop.

For the operators who still present in the commercial area, most of their shops have retained the old, familiar ambience but their activities have decreased considerably due to unfair competition with the street hawkers. Furthermore, it has been noticed that most of the interviewed local business operators are socio-demographically old. Their children are not taking up the businesses as the current operators did. In fact, the latter are actively encouraging their children to either immigrate or to develop their career towards more valorised professions. They deem that being a trader involves too much hard work and requires too many sacrifices and wish their children climb in the social ladder. Moreover, rent control measures will lapse by 2017. This brings us to interrogate the sustainability of the old, commercial area of Port-Louis.

The requalification of the area has as mentioned earlier, brought about contestation from the owners of the building properties. While some of them have instituted a lawsuit against the State, others have threatened to destroy the buildings that they own as they claim that these are condemned and are not safe. Recently, a group of tenants went to the AGTF to report that their landlord had suddenly raised their rent due to the fact that the area had been proclaimed as a WHS. Another landowner EO6 responds, "*without waiting for the inscription of the site, we have already renovated our building. However, when we look at what others are doing and the fact that the same rule does not apply to everyone, we are disgusted. Just look at the street hawkers, they are the one who contribute to the downgrade of the area. They are everywhere and they throw their litter everywhere. How do you want this area to be uplifted? The Municipal counsellors and deputies are simply concerned with getting voted.*"

Several comments can be drawn from the responses of the interviewed persons. Firstly, the perception of their familiar, daily, living and working territory has changed. The requalification of the area as a heritage site has brought about an acknowledgement of the economic value of the properties found in the designated buffer zone for AG and of the mountain for LMH. Beforehand, the places were perceived as places that are providers of their living and sustenance and work. No economic value as such had been calculated of the territory. The requalification process has brought about the consciousness that these two sites have an economic value, despite its remoteness for LMH or its dilapidated state for AG. However, the economic value of the property is not due to the value of heritage but rather due to the perceived potential loss income in the development of their land.

5.3 The capacity of Heritage Sites to foster local development?

The instrumental role of culture and heritage in fostering development is being increasingly acknowledged in developed countries. However, this function for heritage is more challenging to achieve in developing countries, whereby apart for a few exceptions, culture and heritage are perceived mostly as social and even luxury commodities, reserved for only the rich, elite people and is generally patronised by them. Otherwise, they are considered as 'merit goods' deserving State's economic support because of its non-economic benefits, usually expressed as the educational or social improvement of the individual or of society. Nyaupane and Dallen (2009) have for their part, shown that in some developing countries, heritage is generally perceived as being backwards. While local communities want to

progress ahead, heritage is perceived to be a showcase of their humble past and instead of feeling proud, they feel demeaned by this display.

This is particularly true in the case of Mauritius. So far, while studying the processes of heritagisation, we have tried to shed light on the representations that stakeholders have on the change of status of their territory. On a symbolic ground, the two WHSs are perceived to be associated with ethnic groups and this perception is reinforced by public and political discourses. The identity and specificities of local people have been subdued or at least relegated to a secondary role in the attempt to assign essentialised ethnic identity to these heritage sites. At the same time, government intervention to designate these heritage sites are deemed to be antithetical to its role in territorial planning whereby there has been traditionally a laissez-faire attitude. Furthermore, the change of status of areas into Core and Buffer Zones for the WHS sites have brought about territorial contestation and actions ranging from destruction of buildings, to expensive lawsuits, to soft protests such as refusals to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Trust Funds on the territory. However, more importantly, these contestations have shown that geographical scale is a dimension of heritage dissonance in Mauritius. With these prevailing representations, stakeholders were interrogated on their perception of the usages and functions of the heritage sites.

From an analysis of the process of inscription of the two heritage sites, we have seen that the values placed on them were essentially related to ethnic identities of the two major communities in Mauritius. Furthermore, the inscription of the sites was perceived to have been induced in terms a competitive mode, reflecting the mindset of managing cultural differences. Ethnicity and hence, the symbolic values associated to the sites were perceived as tools in order to access to resources of the state. However, locally, these values have not necessarily been adopted nor do local people identify themselves with them. This has created further dissonance to the places where they are situated, especially in the buffer zones.

Chapter 6:

Recommendations

As mentioned earlier, the perspective of social geography is to analyse the nature of the relationships that groups of people have with their constantly evolving territories. The process of heritagization, which was activated under threats of destruction, is one form of territorial transformation among others taking place in Mauritius. Hence, we have tried to understand the representations that stakeholders have on the change of status of their territory. On a symbolic ground, the two WHSs are perceived to be associated with ethnic groups and this perception is reinforced by public and political discourses. The identity and specificities of local people however, seem to have been relegated in a secondary role in the attempt to assign essentialised ethnic identity to these heritage sites. At the same time, government intervention to designate these heritage sites are deemed to be antithetical to its role in territorial planning whereby there has been traditionally a laissez-faire attitude. The change of status of areas into Core and Buffer Zones of the WHS sites have also brought about territorial contestation and actions ranging from destruction of buildings, to expensive lawsuits, to complex, evolving relationships with the Trust Funds and to engage/or not in fruitful negotiation with the State. These different representations and actions show that there is heritage dissonance and ultimately, it is the appropriation of the WHSs within the territory in which they are found that is affected.

The point is that the territories in which these heritage sites are now located, were already undergoing drastic social and economic crises prior to their heritagisation. Their inscription as part of the WHSs has furthermore complicated the relationship that different groups of people have with the territory as it has created heritage dissonance, alienation and territorial contestation by local communities. This brings us back to our initial question of *"what has happened to the heritage sites since their inscription?"* Gaining international recognition of these two sites is not the end result. Both Trust Funds of the WHSs have been assigned the mission to promote developmental functions in the Buffer Zones of the WHSs given that the integrity of the Core Zones must be maintained. The MHTF clearly states in its mission statement that it aims to: "*utilize Le Morne as a tool for local economic development and capacity building so that it will play an important role in opening up opportunities for those who have been left behind in terms of economic development*" (MHTF website, 2013). At the AGTF, while this function is not written explicitly in the mission statement, a consultant has been commandeered to draft out a development plan, in line with the PPG for the buffer zone and which aims to guide promoters to know the types of businesses that can be developed in the buffer zones (Source: respondent E2).

The developmental functions of the WHSs have been defined in line with international trends and recommendations from the UNESCO. At the same time, locally, the external experts as well as the technical teams of the Trust Funds have conducted various consultation sessions with the local communities and authorities in order to streamline their aspirations into the identified developmental goals. Various priorities came out of these meetings and were geared towards the enhancement and support of economic activities of local communities and creating job opportunities, enhancing their physical environments, promoting socio-cultural activities, etc. In short, the developmental functions of the heritage sites are expected to address the territorial crises that both areas; the old, commercial neighbourhood of Port-Louis and le Morne Village, have been experiencing.

While these developmental functions are commendable, major challenges were identified in terms of their implementation. This brings us to the objectives of this chapter, which are two-fold. Firstly, we seek to identify these challenges and secondly, we propose that the buffer zones be transformed into self-sustaining leisure spaces. The two Trust Funds have already identified tourism as a lever to be used in order to support the developmental functions. However, it was felt that the full potential of the cultural leisure industry, which is broader than the tourism industry, was not fully exploited for various reasons. We postulate that till these issues have not been addressed, the developmental functions of the two World Heritage Sites and their surrounding territories will take time to become fully operational. As respondent EO7 says "*business time is different from government time. We cannot put on hold development plans of our properties to wait for the State to decide what it wants to do. We have a business to run.*"

6.1 Challenges in planning and implementing the developmental functions of the WHSs

Endemic to the developing world, a tradition of centralised power persists whereby grassroots planning and development and participatory governance are not the normative practice. In fact, in a typical *'top down'* approach, developmental initiatives commence from central administration and are imposed on communities while modern conceptualisations of sustainable development argue that initiatives should originate from local communities and therefore involve devolution of power from central authorities to individuals or communities. This approach is assumed to support several principles of sustainable development in terms of equity, holistic growth, community ownership and integration, among others.

In the case of Mauritius, as seen in Chapter 5, territorial development has been accomplished in a laissez-faire tradition. In this context, while there developmental projects have been mostly upheld by private and public operators, local communities or even, local authorities have had minimal involvement in them. Private developmental projects have been carried out solely on economic grounds whereby principles of equity, social integration or community welfare have been rarely respected. Public intervention has been minimal, to the exception of providing infrastructure to support economic sectors and partially to support social projects such as providing social housing facilities. In such a context, the challenges that the Trust Funds are facing could be summarised in terms of lack of coordination between various agencies in order to promote these developmental goals, lack of social and political will and mostly, financial constraints. The challenges mentioned are not exhaustive or are they exclusive to Mauritius. However, they constitute real challenges that have yet to be overcome.

6.1.1 Lack of holistic planning and management of territories

In Mauritius, there is a dire lack of holistic management. This has been proven by many reports of foreign consultants who have had to evaluate issues that occurred after drastic events; such as the case of flooding in March 2012 that has had drastic consequences in terms of loss of lives and costly material damages in Port-Louis. The point is that different stakeholders in terms of different ministries, the local authorities, individual business operator, hawkers, and inhabitants are only preoccupied with their own sets of priorities and responsibilities but they all interact with the territory concerned. Most of the time, these different agencies and organisations rarely communicate or coordinate their efforts. Sometimes, their representatives might meet in board meetings but the problem is that they are often not empowered to take decisions.

This haphazard situation can be aggravated by the existence of too many agencies involved in issuing permits or in taking care of various infrastructures. The problem is further exacerbated as representatives of the civil society are not even consulted when discussing developmental projects. Lack of holistic territorial management often results in overlapping, or parallel development, ill-fitting projects, over-expended budgets, stalled works and sectoral fragmentation (Timothy, 1998, 1999). This is currently the case regarding the heritage of Slavery and Maroon Slaves, whereby there are two concurrent projects to construct a 'Musee de l'Esclavage' in Port-Louis and a 'Musee du Maronnage' in Le Morne.

Furthermore, the lack of holistic planning raises the interrogation of "*who is responsible for the developmental functions of the WHSs?*" The position of the two Trust Funds in this matter is quite divergent. As mentioned earlier, the MHTF clearly states that its mission is to foster local development, while the AGTF does not do so in an explicit manner. According to respondent E2, "*Our role is to ensure that any developmental project situated in the buffer zone or core zone, and proposed by promoters is in line with the building and construction regulations made in the PPG. As such, the Municipal Council of Port-Louis knows very well that they must consult us before giving out any building licence to a promoter. In fact, we have even prepared a new application form for promoters who wish to develop in the Buffer zone. Our consultant is also preparing a development plan for the buffer zone which has taken into consideration the wishes of the local communities explained during the consultation sessions held. It will act as a guide on the type of developmental projects that can be done in the buffer zones.*"

However, at the level of the District or Municipal Council, interviewed respondents were quite sceptical about this role. On the side of the Municipal Council, it was explained to us that for the moment, no one was mandated to develop the buffer zone given that there was no development plan and that the Port-Louis Outline Scheme of 1992 had never been promulgated. "*The Municipality does not have either the power or the authority in order to take a proactive role in planning territorial development*", as respondent GO3 says. He further confides that: "*our role is simply to see that the development and construction plans of promoters are done in respect to the Building and Land Use permit. This is too micro-scale and does not allow us to have a holistic perspective over the different areas of Port-Louis. In fact, it is not even our role. It is all centralised at the level of the Ministry of Housing and Lands, not even at the level of our parent ministry which is the Ministry of Local Government and Outer Islands*". The same sentiment was reflected with the respondent from the Black River District Council.

The responses of stakeholders demonstrate that there a lack of holistic territorial planning. Furthermore, the roles of local government authorities are restricted and are merely reactive to development plans. No space or provision has been made for local governments to assume a more proactive role in order to promote local communities' participation in grassroots and voluntary development. Hence, the question of the revitalisation of territories that are in crisis are left either to the laws of demand and supply or to central governmental intervention.

6.1.2 Social and political barriers to the notion of heritage

"*Can you eat heritage*?" From this verbatim from one of the respondents, it can be seen that from the local communities' perspective, heritage is viewed solely in economic terms. Preservation and conservation is equated with backwardedness and as antithetical to modernity. Analyses of respondents' answers show that local communities, especially the residents of le Morne Village, viewed heritage as reminiscent of their humble pasts, as forcing them into a standstill position, in opposition to progress and improvement of their social conditions. Local operators in Port-Louis and inhabitants of le Morne seemed to think that scrapping the old by constructing new buildings was more important than preserving the past. Apart from loss of potential economic gains, it is the ideology of heritage conservation itself that was contrary to their developmental aspirations. Hence, arguments in favour of heritage management and development to local communities have most of the time, to be connected to the perceived economic value and gains. In common with local communities and economic operators, at various levels of government, the two WHSs are perceived as unaffordable luxury, especially when other public services are minimal though their inscription however demonstrates the Mauritian State's interest in preserving heritage.

6.1.3 Financial constraints

While the Mauritian State has signified its commitment to the protection of its national and inscribed World heritage sites, public funding for their conservation remains is a big question. As Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) say, the most glaring problem associated with heritage conservation and management in the developing world is an endemic lack of funds. For the authors, the problem is so severe that it beleaguers public agencies charged with overseeing heritage conservation and hinders many management and development efforts. This could partially explain the issue of why developmental projects around the WHSs are not progressing according to the Gantt chart proposed in their Management Plans. The fact is that it is usually the state members of the UNESCO who have to finance the conservation and developmental expenses of the WHSs, something which few of the respondents knew about as they thought that it is the UNESCO that is the funding organisation.

As mentioned in chapter 5, the restitution issue of the various property owners, in the Core and Buffer Zones, has not yet been resolved. The fact is that the expenses associated with the renovation of buildings in the old, commercial area of Port-Louis are deemed to be too costly by their owners to justify their maintenance or conservation. Most of the materials used are rare and costly to find now, an example being the use of a mixture of egg and chalk as cementing element for the basalt blocks. The roles of the Trust Funds are quite limited therefore as they do not have the financial resources, for the AGTF to support conservation fees of the buildings in the buffer zones and the MHTF to reconstruct the old, traditional village at Trou Chenille. Since there are limited financial means for conservation purposes, it is difficult in such a situation to unlock the developmental functions of the WHSs.

In view of these main challenges which are neither exhaustive nor exclusive to Mauritius, the challenge to foster territorial development through the utilisation of the heritage sites as territorial resources remains. As mentioned, it is quite difficult to situate territorial development enablers when multiple agencies, with multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives are involved in the territory. Again the notion of development through the consideration of heritage as a resource is not yet fully understood nor accepted by the various agencies, economic operators and local communities. Finally, the biggest challenge remains that of funding the WHSs in terms of their conservation as well as their transformation into developmental functions. This is the reason why the leisure/tourism industry has been identified as an enabler for the WHSs as it provides a source of income for their conservation as well as the development of the local areas.

6.2 Heritage as a resource to support territorial development through tourism?

Groups of 'cultural industries', within which the heritage industry appears as a sub-category, are now recognised as forming an integral part of the industrial sectors of the economy in developed countries. Cultural businesses encompass art galleries, dance and artist studios, the writing and film-making industry, theatres, libraries, etc. Heritage, such as revitalised waterfront areas, heritage trails, interpretation centres, living museums, among others, forms part of the broader cultural industry. In various countries, cultural development policies are being mapped out to guide and support the cultural industry while on more local scales, contemporary cities across the world have dedicated cultural districts or neighbourhoods that are bringing cultural and leisure activities together, such as festivals, book-reading or arts discussions, themed dining outlets, etc.

Since almost a century, leisure and cultural activities have had a tendency to converge together, whereby leisure practices involve the consumption of cultural places. This is because, according to Urry (1994), the socio-spatial barriers that existed in the twentieth century between recreational spaces for mass tourists on beaches and urban, cultural centres for the Middle Class, are becoming more and more blurred. Access to cultural activities is no longer patronised only by elite social groups and there is a tendency towards the democratisation of the notion of culture, with the gradual decrease in cleavages between high and low culture. Furthermore, the leisure industry, which encompasses the tourism industry, is relying increasingly on cultural attractions in order to respond to the contemporary needs and practices of tourists. According to Graham *et* al (2000), cultural or heritage tourism are part of the growing phenomenon in which pastimes, interests and attitudes in cultural activities which are practiced at home are simply continued elsewhere. Therefore, places especially urban ones, are being endowed with a multiplicity of functions in which leisure and cultural activities are increasingly finding themselves being attributed developmental roles.

In Mauritius, in line with international trends, the tourism industry has also been identified by the two Trusts as a means to support their valorisation activities of the WHSs. However, analyses of responses of interviewees show that the equation between the tourism industry and process of heritagisation was too easily and maybe too quickly made. The motivations to include tourism activities to that of heritage development were not very clear nor were the functions that the tourism industry would occupy at the heritage sites. Hence, we recommend that the WHSs and their valorisation projects be inscribed fully into a production system for leisure consumption. Indeed, as mentioned in chapter 2, there are various forms of leisure heritage valorisation projects such as Cultural Districts/precincts, Heritage Trails or Tourist-historic cities. These areas propose a variety of cultural/heritage related leisure activities such as visiting museums, art galleries, theatres and dance venues, restaurants and pubs, fashion showrooms, festivals and night-life activities. Appropriate valorisation formulas for Port-Louis and le Morne Village must be devised. We postulate that by inscribing the valorisation projects of the two WHSs into a cultural leisure production system, it will enable the territories to sustain themselves and to promote their own rehabilitation and development. However, some issues must be prior resolved in order to achieve these objectives.

The tourism industry in Mauritius, which started in the 1960s, is essentially based on proposing the Sun, Sea and Sand (3Ss) tourism product in enclave, high-class hotels found on prime land by the beachside. The first hotel of international reputation to be based in Mauritius was the Club Med, which functions essentially as an enclave and offers a multitude of services within the hotel in order to actively discourage tourists to step out of its premises. Two main reasons could account for this choice of enclave hotel. Fearful of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on local people, the government in connivance with the private sector actively encouraged the construction of enclave hotels. At the same time, the socio-economic conditions were such that the lifestyle of Mauritians had little to appeal to tourists coming from up-market European origins. The latter was principally encouraged to spend time within the hotel premises, which had transformed themselves into self-sustaining territories. Since then, the 1980's and 1990's have seen the construction of hotels copying this enclave model. The morphology of hotels, which are situated on prime beachside lands and encircled by thick walls along coastal roads and closed up to local villages, is a reflection of this mindset. Inside the enclave hotel, everything is put into place so that the tourist/guest feels in security in an embellished environment, thus vehiculating the image of Mauritius as a peaceful, beautiful place with smiling and warm people. The only contact outside the hotels is through day-excursions which again take place in areas that are not very crowded during weekdays such as the Chamarel, Grand Bassin, Black River Gorges, the Caudan Waterfront in Port-Louis, the Pamplemousses garden among others. These excursions also include a brief trip to the Central Market of Port-Louis, which is presented to tourists as a reflection of the typical Mauritian lifestyle.

Thus, it is more of a hotel industry, rather than that of a tourism industry that has been promoted in Mauritius. While its success has been uncontested for four decades, the 3Ss product and enclave-hotel model is proving its limit of sustainability. Shortage in the availability of prime beach areas and environmental degradation is limiting further development of the hotel industry. Moreover, the bed capacity is constantly increasing compared to an almost stagnating number of tourist arrivals. At the beginning of the new millennium, there were hotels beds on the high end and bungalows and guesthouses on the lower end of the hospitality capacity. Currently, villas of IRSs and RESs which are also high-end products are competing directly with hotels and this over-supply of beds is driving prices down. Several other structural and international conditions, such as the financial crisis, are also currently affecting the hotel industry in Mauritius.

In response to the limits of the model of a hotel industry, timid attempts have been undertaken to diversify the product offerings and to further segment the tourists' profiles in terms of their lifestyle, family status, special interests such as golfing, diving, conference and business etc. Spaces have thus been transformed in the attempt to diversify from a hotel industry towards a tourism industry. The first major commercial space dedicated for leisure and tourism activities was the rehabilitation of a portion of the port area by the construction of the Port-Louis and Caudan Waterfronts in the late 1990s. During the early 2000s, the Sugar Land Reform also ensured that some sugar estate properties partially converted their land into "*Domaines*" dedicated for eco-tourism and nature activities (Valley de Ferney, Kestrel Valley, Domaine des 22 Couleurs, Domaine Andrea, etc.). During the midst of the 2000s, while the interest for heritage had been fostered during the process of inscription of the WHSs, sugar cane property owners also renovated and opened up colonial houses attached to the sugar estates. Hence, colonial houses have been transformed and inserted into the tourism consumption circuits such as the '*La Route du Thé'*, *'L'Aventure du Sucre'* and recently the renovation of '*Chateau Labourdonnais*'. Moreover, attempts to further develop a cultural tourism sub-industry ensured the rehabilitation of the '*Martello Tower'* and of the '*Blue Penny Museum'*.

The latest addition to tourism spaces are shopping malls that are appearing in the outskirts of major towns and touristic villages. Within the Curepipe/Port-Louis motorway axis, there are already five shopping malls/ commercial centres that are situated within a high catchment zone of the urban conurbation. Moreover, other shopping malls are being constructed around the island, in rural or coastal areas such as Grand Bay la Croisette, Cascavelle Shopping Mall in Flic en Flac, etc. They offer contemporary leisure activities such dining out outlets, movie theatres, late night shopping, occasional road shows and exhibitions, etc. In fact, the architecture of the Bagatelle Shopping Mall is reminiscent of the traditional colonial architecture of Mauritius and has replicated the gate of the Central Market of Port-Louis.

However, though statistics are not available, observations in these newly created adventure/eco-tourism/cultural/shopping tourism spaces tend to demonstrate that it is mostly Mauritians who patronise them. This is because the standard of living and social conditions of Mauritians have improved drastically since the 1970's, thus creating a social demand for a leisure industry. The attitude of hotel operators towards the domestic market has also considerably changed considering that in the 1990's, access to hotels were restricted to local people by charging entrance fees. In early 2000's, hotels started to open their doors to locals

only during low peak seasons while in the 2010's, hotels are now offering promotional packages round the year such as weddings, spa, dining and other sports facilities. This shows the shifting paradigms towards the local market and more importantly, towards the leisure industry.

At the same time, culture and heritage are also finding a growing space for consumption in this broader leisure industry. By looking at the growing number of performing arts and concert venues and weekly programmes on offer, we could hypothesize that there is a growing cultural industry as a response to the social demand of the changing leisure behaviour of Mauritians. Various privately owned spaces are becoming entertainment spaces with cultural activities such as: the *Komiko Compagnie* which has now their own venue *Kafe-T* for their shows in Rose-Hill, various restaurants/pubs and bars produce local artists as well as privately-owned concert halls that are also slowly emerging. Moreover, shopping malls and commercial centres have taken the role to organise concerts and celebrations such as Music day while District Councils/Municipal Councils are almost devoid of any cultural and leisure activities.

Institutionally both ministries, that is the Ministry of Arts and Culture as well as the Ministry of Tourism and Leisure, do not seem to be able to do a paradigm shift from their traditional manner of functioning towards the convergence of the cultural leisure industry. Both Ministries seem to be plagued by traditional roles that they have been assigned. In her PhD thesis, doctoral student Julie Peghini, did not hesitate to refer to the Ministry of Arts and Culture as the "*Ministère de l'immobilisme*" (2009) Further critics regularly appear in local newspapers and consist mostly of pointing out the inability of the parent ministry to drive cultural activities in Mauritius. The creation of a cultural division directly under the Prime Minister's office, while the Ministry of Arts and Culture already exists, reinforces the prevailing perception of its inadequacy to respond to the changing cultural and leisure behaviours of Mauritians.

Respondent GO6 explains the Ministry's position as follows: "*there are various factors to explain this perception but this does not mean that we don't do anything. Firstly, historically this Ministry has always been considered as the least important, especially when you consider the budget allocated to it. Secondly, it has the highest number of parastatal bodies that depend on it. Thirdly, the role of the culture has always been confused with that of religion... look at the national events that the Ministry has to celebrate, they are mostly*

religious ones (Divali, Christmas, Spring festival, Eid-ul-Fitr, Cavadee). Fourth, during all our events, we have to make sure that the multicultural part of Mauritius is shown, with hindou/sega/western performances. If we don't showcase this, we are criticised and vice versa. For the past year, we have been seeking the approval of the Ministerial Cabinet for the White Paper and each time, amendments need to be made. It contains more or less the cultural policy of the country". Furthermore, not only does the Ministry have the responsibility to manage national events and the different cultural centres, but it now has the added responsibilities to manage centres for ancestral languages (Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Kreol, etc. speaking unions). There are also three bodies in charge of managing the national and WHSs under the aegis of the Ministry. Interviewee GO6 adds by saying that "*each year, we celebrate the Journee du Patrimoine. The Museum Council and owners of private heritage sites open their properties for visits but look at the number of people who are interested in participating in this event"*.

As for the Ministry of Tourism and Leisure, traditionally its role has been mostly confined to that of promoting Mauritius as a tourist destination. As mentioned earlier, the private sector has always driven the industries and the role of the State has always been to provide the appropriate legislative support to the economic sector. Hence, there has been little government intervention in the construction of hotels or of bungalows and guesthouses. To the phenomenon of convergence of the tourism industry to the broader leisure industry and of its inclusion of cultural activities, the Ministry of Tourism and Leisure responded by organising the *Carnaval de Flic en Flac* in July 2012. However, the event was very much criticised, especially in terms of its content as it was deemed to be unreflective of Mauritian Culture and also to have copied on the successful edition of that of the Seychelles: *"C'est à chaque fois la même histoire : C'est quoi la culture de l'île Maurice pour nos décideurs ? Faire résonner la ravanne et entendre des chansons en bhojpuri, c'est cela Maurice ? Ou doit-on dire est-ce seulement cela Maurice ?"* (Assone, 5 Juillet 2012).

Recently, the two ministries have started to collaborate together, particularly for one major event which is the *Festival International Kreol*. This event has been running for its seventh edition in 2012 and the programme is spread out over four days of activities such as a day for children, a typical sega night (*sware sega*), and a conference over the theme, ending with a concert with international and regional artists. Other collaborative initiatives between the two Ministries and linking culture and leisure include the *Journee du Patrimoine*. However, there is great confusion over the targeted audience as the Ministry of Arts and Culture targets

principally Mauritians for their heritage while the Ministry of Tourism and Leisure aims for tourists discovering other things than the traditional beaches of the Mauritian destination. The point is that messages addressed to the two audiences are different and finally, become incoherent and create further heritage dissonance.

The private sector, which has always driven the tourism industry, is already moving towards the production of heritage spaces dedicated for leisure activities, even to the extent of reproducing replicas as in the case of Bagatelle Shopping Mall. At the same time, the two concerned Ministries are also increasingly converging towards leisure activities that involve culture and heritage. These institutional efforts have however been criticised in local press as they are deemed to be incoherent in terms of the content, the target audience and the expected outcomes. Moreover, these initiatives are punctual in time and space and therefore, are not being given the opportunity to unleash their full potential as resources to promote developmental functions. More fundamentally, there is still much reserve by the State, to utilise culture and heritage as resources and to insert them into the production system in order to generate a cultural industry in Mauritius.

So far, there has been little cooperation between the private and the public sector in order to nurture a cultural and heritage industry, the exception being in terms of providing sponsorship to support cultural events. Hence, these issues need to be dealt with in order to be able to foster a cultural and heritage industry. Furthermore, there is the need for a change in the viewing paradigm of heritage values so that their full potential as developmental resource in local areas. It is in this context that heritage tourism/leisure products can take all their meaning and values.

Chapter 7:

General Conclusion

In this research, the question of "*what happens after the inscription of WHS?*" was explored with Mauritius as a Small Island Developing States (SIDS) being taken as a case study. It took its starting point from the assumption made that once inscription of the sites on the prestigious World Heritage List was achieved, these two sites would automatically attract tourism activities, thereby leading to territorial development of the areas where they are situated and benefiting to local communities.

The findings demonstrated that the inscription of the two sites on the prestigious UNESCO World Heritage List was achieved in an atmosphere of perceived induced competition by the State. This perception led to the appropriation of the heritage sites by the two major ethnic groups, the Indo-Mauritians and the General Population, as means and symbol to assert their ethnic identities. The conditions leading to the inscription of the two sites were reminiscent to many members of civilians' associations (especially by defenders of Creole identity) to the strife in their everyday life and to the denial and exclusion to which they had been subjected to since slavery. In such context, the sites were associated with notion of sacredness and the appropriation of the sites was mostly of an emotional nature.

However, while the sites were associated with ethnic identities on a national scale, the universal values of the sites were based on the local identities of the people living or interacting in the area where the sites are situated. The heritage of Le Morne Cultural Landscape is specifically built on the oral traditions and lifestyles of the local people. The Aapravasi Ghat heritage is about the system of Indentured labourers put in place by the British after the abolition of slavery and its buffer zone is about the commercial activities that developed itself around the trade of workers, sugar and livelihood products. Therefore, this association of national identities have tended to overcome the local identities, creating heritage dissonances at different scales.

Dissonances created at the sites have led to various types of actions from different stakeholders. These actions range from ritualistic behaviours to assert the sacredness of the sites, the commemoration ceremonies, to soft forms of contestation, by refusing to recognise the change of status of the sites, or major territorial conflicts such as expensive lawsuits against the Mauritian State and eventually to destruction of certain buildings of high aesthetic and historical value (the example of the *Building of the Marine Marchande*). These various types of actions of the stakeholders demonstrate that the level of acceptance that the change of status, usage and identity since the inscription of the areas as heritage sites have

engendered. At the same time, these actions demonstrate the strife for control of stakeholders over their space and for access to the resources that the sites contain. These actions since the inscription of the heritage sites have therefore added to contestations and dissonance in the sites where they are situated.

The contestations and dissonance of the heritage sites are even more confounding in the sense that the areas where they are situated were already socio-economically vulnerable. Both local areas were undergoing drastic drops in the economic activities; Port Louis with a slow decrease in traditional traders and le Morne village with a decrease in the number of fishermen. These changes in the economic activities of the local areas are continuously changing the social fabric of the area concerned, with migration of residents, emergence of insecurity and physical changes such as urban decay in Port-Louis and lagoon pollution in le Morne Village. The designation of the status of heritage to these areas and the various actions of contestations and conflicts have not yet enabled the local communities nor the stakeholders to rejuvenate the socio-economic fabric of the territories concerned.

These findings bring us to the recommendations, whereby major challenges to the usage of heritage sites as tourism/leisure products were highlighted. These issues concern the major barrier to a change in paradigm towards the valuation of land properties and the quantification of the economic and developmental contribution of the heritage sites. Furthermore, it was found out that there was also the need to evolve towards the broader leisure industry rather than remain in the traditional hospitality and tourism sector. However, institutionally, the two ministries and even the local administrative bodies are not ready to undertake this paradigm shift.

Finally, Mauritius, as a case study, is a typical example of an Island State that is intrinsically vulnerable due to its remoteness, limited surface area and natural resources and dependence on external trade among other factors. On the social dimension, it is a multicultural country whereby the question of managing ethnic and cultural diversity is a challenge, especially when ethnic politics are being practised. As such, the process of heritagisation is rendered more complex and the inscription of sites on the WHL does not represent the finality of the process. The challenge remains in the ability to convert emotional values, ethnic symbols and strife of social groups to control their space into concerted efforts to transform the heritage sites as resources at the service of territorial development. Tourism and the broader cultural leisure industry can support this change in the functions of the heritage sites. However, this

would require a better understanding of the temporality of the process of heritagisation. Heritage sites in Mauritius are at the crucial phase of transition from the emotional, competitive values associated to them towards their conversion into territorial resources.

Finally, the hypotheses formulated in the conceptual framework *'Revised Model of the heritage* circuit' would need to be tested statistically. This study has shown, in a comprehensive manner that these dimensions interact and mutually influence each other. Furthermore, the contribution of this study has been to highlight the complexity of the transformation of status, functions and identity of places into heritage areas. Finally, since the process of heritagisation is itself subjected to social temporality, this model could be further improved by adding a time scale to it.

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Annexes