Master's Thesis

Tourism and Colonization:

Establishment of French Indochina Tourism in the Early 20th Century

By

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CERTIFICATION PAGE

I, BUI Thi He (Student ID 51219604) hereby declare that the contents of this Master's
Thesis/Research Report are original and true, and have not been submitted at any other
university or educational institution for the award of degree or diploma.
All the information derived from other published or unpublished sources has been
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ABSTRACT

Interest in the history of tourism has increased considerably in recent decades, thereby increasing attention toward the establishment of tourism in colonial contexts. Colonialism has introduced tourism to colonized states beyond Europe, particularly from the second half of the 19th century. Tourism in colonized territories is a historical and social phenomenon reflecting colonization, decolonization, and postcolonial facets. Therefore, the complexity of tourism and colonialism intrigues research interest from historians from colonial master countries to explore the roles of tourism in colonial policy. However, from a contemporary tourism standpoint and an indigenous perspective (those who were colonized), the triadic of colonization, decolonization, and postcolonial narratives of tourism could be interpreted very differently. This novel approach to studying tourism and colonialism has the potential to contribute to an in-depth understanding of this historical and social phenomenon.

The current study explores tourism within the colonialization, decolonization, and postcolonialism paradigms in the context of French Indochina. Over 100 years under French colonization, tourism was employed to legitimize colonial expansion and exploit human and natural resources from colonized territories. In contrast to this conventional approach of colonialization, decolonization narratives portray tourism as a channel through which they reacted against foreign domination in political, intellectual, and cultural terms. However, the legacy of colonization and decolonization left its traces in the postcolonial period when both colonial nostalgia and the national identity of the independent coexist in contemporary tourism development in Vietnam, a former territory of French Indochina. Employing a qualitative approach to the research, the researcher applied the archival method to collect and manage data from historical archives. Hermeneutics and hermeneutic phenomenology are the guiding epistemology for the interpretation of tourism through the theoretical lens of colonialism,

decolonization, and postcolonialism. The findings of the research enhance the understanding of tourism in Southeast Asia from a historical perspective, which has remained neglected in extant scholarship.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This chapter offers an overview of the current research. The research positions tourism in relation to history within the theories of colonialization, decolonization, and postcolonialism. Within a specific historical context of tourism in French Indochina's history, this chapter provides justification for the significance and importance of the study. It introduces the research objectives and questions concluding with an outline of the thesis.

1.2. Background to the research

Research on the history of tourism has gained attention in academia (Towner & Wall, 1991), thereby resulting in an increase in the literature tracing tourism in the past (Walton, 2005, 2009). The creation of the International Commission for the History of Travel and Tourism under the International Commission for the Historical Sciences and the establishment of the *Journal of Transport History* (Walton, 2005) are fruitful results of this movement. The presence of the *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Changes* and *Journal of Tourism History* has reinforced this trend (Walton, 2009). The study of tourism's history enriches our knowledge by revealing archival documents and other textual materials (Walton, 2009) in light of tourism research. An insightful understanding of the current patterns of tourism growth cannot be completely comprehended without examining how tourism systems have been established and have evolved over the time (Chatkaewnapanon & Hanpachern, 2011; Walton, 2009). Scholars' interest in the colonial context of tourism has primarily engendered from this movement (Demay, 2014).

The colonization process that reached its height in the late 19th and early 20th centuries allowed European power to reach "a position of economic, military, political, and cultural

domination in much of Asia, Africa, and Latin America" (Stam & Spence, 2009, p. 315). It is widely accepted that colonialism enabled the spread of tourism beyond Europe, particularly during the British Raj, when hill stations experienced rapid growth in the Indian Himalayas and Western Ghats (Sacareau, 2013). The support of colonialism in tourism development was translated into transport provision, subsidies to travel companies and hotel owners, and promotion campaigns through guidebooks and exhibitions (Anderson, 1991; Baranowski et al., 2015; Castro, 2018; Sarcareau, 2013). For example, the development of transcontinental train lines and passenger steamships associated with the colonization movement encouraged a constant enlargement of the radius of adventure, whereas promoters of package tours strengthened the magnification of both the audience and territory of tourism (Anderson, 1991).

The association between tourism and colonialism has extended beyond the infrastructure establishment for colonialists (Radar, 2008) and has left traces in the postcolonial period (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011; DeWald, 2008; Peyvel, 2011; Vezzoli & Flahaux, 2017). The colonial legacy in tourism manifests through the patterns of tourist movement from European countries to colonies, reviving of colonial sites for tourism purposes, and promotion of tourism through colonial elements.

Colonialism is a diversified process in different parts of the world (Loomba, 2005), and the French colonialization of Indochina has a considerably distinctive path coexisting with the local history, geography, cultures, and traditions. Although the extant literature has exhibited substantial interest in French legacies in North Africa and British possessions in Asia, scant attention has been given to French Indochina (Demay, 2014), thereby making the area fertile research ground for tourism studies. Therefore, insights into tourism establishment in the Indochinese colony will enrich our understanding of the nexus between tourism on the one hand and colonization, decolonization, and postcolonialism on the other, thereby expanding beyond common knowledge of this context in North African and British counterparts.

1.3. Scope of the research

This research focuses on French Indochina, the Southeast Asian colony of the French Empire comprising present-day Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The primary emphasis is on the area belonging to the current Vietnam because of the importance of this *pays*[1] in France's colonial policy. Vietnam was the first *pays* conquered by the French in the Indochinese peninsula, where the largest number of French people lived and the most important French companies located their headquarters (Brocheux & Hémery, 2009). Hanoi, the present-day capital city of Vietnam, was chosen to house the Government general of Indochina which assumed the general management of the colony. In particular, this research discusses the establishment of tourism from the late 19th century to the late 1930s. The study omits the period of 1940–1954, despite the French presence in Indochina during this time, because this period is characterized by disturbances and war rather than public efforts in favor of tourism development.

1.4. Research problems and objectives

French Indochina was a union created by the French in 1887 to group three regions of Vietnam (Tonkin in the north, Annam in the central, and Cochinchina in the south) and Cambodia under their rule. Laos and Kouang-Tchéou-Wan of the Southern region of present-day China respectively entered the union in 1893 and 1900. Under the French administrative system, a governor-general headed the union during 1887-1945 and was replaced by a high commissioner during 1945-1954. The union collapsed in 1954 following the Geneva Accord (Dommen, 2001), which officially ended French colonialization of Indochina. During its almost 100-year history, the French government integrated tourism into its colonial policy to

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[1] French term for country

master the territory, promote the "civilizing mission" of the metropolitan government, strengthen the local economy, and preserve and "put in value" natural and artificial heritages of the colony (Demay, 2014; Furlough, 2002; Lemaire, 2010). In the meantime, colonization developed interethnic communication, facilitated travel between different *pays* in the union, and encouraged people to discover other culture and land (Goscha, 1995, 1996; Cindy, 2013).

The early 20th century, particularly the period between World War I and II, created favorable conditions for the development of tourism in colonies in general and French Indochina in particular. The Great War prevented officials from repatriating, thereby making the development of tourism infrastructure in the colony necessary for their entertainment. Efforts devoted by the administration were translated into an expanded communication network and tourist sites across Indochina as well as modern accommodations and various onsite entertainment activities (Demay, 2014). The development of tourism in domestic Indochina, as described previously, gradually inspired native elites affected by Western education and culture. They actively participated in this market, which is demonstrated by numerous travel writings published by Vietnamese intellectuals during 1918-1945 (Goscha, 1996). However, the public and academia have a little understanding of tourism development during this period.

Thus, this study aims to fulfill the following objectives:

- To understand the relationship between tourism and colonization in French Indochina;

- To explain the decolonizing mission of tourism of French Indochina;

- To understand the influences of colonization and de-colonization on the post-colonial development of tourism in French Indochina.

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1.5. Research questions

This study aims to find answers to the following general questions:

- What were the relationships between tourism and the French colonialization of Indochina?

- How did tourism contribute to decolonialization?

- What are the legacies of colonization and decolonialization in postcolonial tourism?

1.6. Brief description of research methodology

This research adopted a qualitative approach. It was guided by an interpretivist/constructivist paradigm and underpinned by relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, and hermeneutic methodology. The archival research method was employed to collect, manage, and interpret data relevant to the research. The research process was divided in three stages: document acquisition, document management, and document interpretation.

In the document acquisition stage, the researcher consulted archival documents at different repositories in Vietnam. Crucial documents related to the establishment of tourism were selected and digitized. Subsequently, digitized files were organized into folders in four different levels of classification (i.e., themes, sub-themes, date, and index). A historical approach was applied to interpret relevant data from the theoretical perspectives of colonialization, decolonization, and postcolonialism.

Relevant data from archival documents were briefly summarized and important paragraphs were quoted and translated into English. In particular, the establishment of tourism was described both thematically and chronologically, and was preceded by a brief account of the colonial context. Thus, the dual relationship between tourism and colonization/decolonization was highlighted.

1.7. Research contribution: Significance and importance

Existing studies have recognized the colonial genesis of tourism practices in former colonies and its long-lasting effects on today's tourism in these areas. The importance and significance of this research are justified from two stances. First, whereas literature on British hill stations in India in English writing proliferates, French Indochina, with its 100-year history, remains outside the attention of most researchers, which may be attributed to a lack of publicity and language barriers of the documentations (in French). Opening up archival information in French and an analysis of the tourism establishment under the French colonial system will counter our understanding of the nexus of colonialization and tourism initially shaped by British perspectives.

Second, very little research has investigated the longitudinal impacts of the early establishment of tourist sites accompanied by guidebooks, newspapers, and travel writings to the promotion and expansion of tourism using colonial nostalgia, which requires an understanding how the "memory" of French Indochina was shaped in the early 20th century. Additionally, tourist behavior and studies of indigenous people in colonized countries' participation in tourism have been relatively ignored. It is important to highlight that the establishment and tourist behavior in the early days could leave long-lasting impacts and laid the foundation for present-day tourism development. Therefore, a lack of understanding of the history of tourism in colonialized times might hinder a broader understanding of the tourism heritage and legacy in present-day Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. This study sets out to bridge these gaps.

Third, rather than approaching the topic from a purely historical perspective, this study adopts the theory of decolonization in an attempt to provide more insight into the attitude and reaction of native people. Moreover, the postcolonial theory lens on representation and identity

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was employed to construct the stereotypical image of Indochina, which left traces in the present-day tourism.

Overall, the study joins the broader literature on the history of tourism. Given that tourism is an important industry in former colonies, understanding the history of tourism will help stakeholders develop effective strategies in terms of tourism product development and tourism marketing, especially to attract nostalgia-oriented tourists. The study provides insights into colonial genesis of tourist destinations, paving the way for further studies on tourist sites in service of the restoration and conservation in postcolonial time.

1.8. Outline of the thesis

This thesis presents a total of eight chapters. This chapter introduces the research design, explains the rationale behind the research questions, and states the main objectives of the study. The chapter also offers a brief description of the methodology and contribution of the research. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on colonialism/colonization, decolonization, and postcolonialism in relation to tourism to build the theoretical ground for the research. Chapter 3 provides a review of extant studies on tourism in French Indochina. It seeks to identify research gaps that this study set out to bridge. In Chapter 4, the methodology adopted to address the research questions is thoroughly described. It begins with a brief introduction of the qualitative approach in tourism research followed by a description of the research paradigm before ending with a detailed explanation of the archival research method.

Chapters 5–7 constitute the most important part of the thesis as they present the findings by drawing on the three theories reviewed in Chapter 2. In detail, Chapter 5 discusses the relationship between tourism and colonization. Tourism is described based on its components in relation to changes in colonial policies of two different periods. Chapter 6 presents the decolonizing mission of tourism. It analyzes a number of travel stories in the Vietnamese

language to demonstrate the way in which Vietnamese elites represent their country and compatriots and show their attitudes toward colonization and the rhetoric of civilization. Chapter 7 adopts postcolonial theory to elucidate the construction of Indochinese identity through tourism.

In the final chapter, the findings of the study are discussed in line with the research questions. It also identifies limitations of the research and offers recommendations for future research. The chapter ends with a general conclusion of the current study.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL GROUND

2.1. Introduction

Colonialism is an important part of the world's history as it contributes to changes in the global physiognomy in many aspects. Colonial enterprise leads to the encounter between European and non-European peoples and civilizations and thus bilateral and multilateral conflict and cooperation. The Western view of the non-Western world largely determines the way in which colonial powers seek to exhibit themselves to and dominate subject races. Decolonization, on the other hand, involves the reaction of colonized people to reverse the power relations and claim their right of self-determination. However, decolonization does not prevent the colonial past from producing effects on economic, political, and social lives in formerly colonized countries. This chapter synthesizes some important ideas of colonialization, decolonization, and postcolonialism, setting the theoretical ground for further analysis of tourism in colonial and postcolonial contexts, which is the subject of this study. The theoretical ground of the study is set on two major pillars. First, the researcher discusses relevant concepts involved in colonial studies, including colonialism, colonialization, decolonization, and post-colonialization. Second, the chapter provides a comprehensive review of the literature discussing the linkage between tourism and colonialization, decolonization, and postcolonialism.

2.2. Colonialization and colonialism

2.2.1. Defining colonization and colonialism

Contemporary literature usually discusses colonization and colonialism as "two distinct outcomes of imperialism" (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011, p. 26). Having a Latin root, the verb "to colonize" originally referred to the Roman practice of settling in an adverse or newly occupied

territory by citizens who maintained their original citizenship (Loomba, 2005; Manjapra, 2020; Steinmetz, 2014; Ypi, 2013; see also Young, 2001). In the modern age, "colonization by the Western Europeans assumed a different meaning in that the intention was to create permanent and distinctly European settlements in foreign lands" (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011, p. 26). The distinction between settler colonies and colonies of occupation stems from these two different approaches. Settler colonies designate the area used by settlers who establish their own communities while continuing to depend on the motherland politically and economically (Young, 2020; Ypi, 2013). Colonies of occupation or colonies of exploitation, on the other hand, refer "to a settlement created through large-scale immigration from a homeland, which had appropriated land from the indigenous population, subjugating them in the process, controlling their labor force and instituting formal political and economic control from the homeland" (Sánchez, 2012, p. 19). For the purpose of the current research, attention is restricted to Western modern colonization of the late 19th century onward.

Defining colonialism remains a daunting task given the absence of a generally accepted definition of the term, despite considerable academic interest in the topic (Horvath, 1972; L'Espoir Decosta, 2011; Loomba, 2005). Four reasons behind the failure of scholars to provide persuadable definitions of colonialism are identified by Horvath (1972, p. 46): (1) Insufficient cross-cultural perspectives; (2) lack of theoretical perspectives; (3) lack of flexibility in definitions of colonialism; and (4) an ultraconservative attitude toward words and their meanings. Loomba (2005) and Smith (1996) show an interchangeable use of colonialism and imperialism in extant literature. While defining work still sparks off lively debate, there is widespread agreement on the implications of colonialization in terms of power relations, politics, economics, and culture. For consistency and clarity in terminology, in this thesis, the term "colonialization" is used.

2.2.2. Colonialization and its implications

Power, knowledge, and colonial stereotypes

Colonialism involves "forms of subjugation of one people by another" (Young, 2001, p. 15) as a result of an unequal relationship of power (Horvath, 1972) underpinned by racial theory. Studies on racial facts and discrepancies date back to the middle of the 18th century (Loomba, 2005; Reuter, 1945). It was supposed that races offered an explanation not only for people's skin color but also for their civilizational and cultural hierarchy (Loomba, 2005). Scientific progress and industrial evolution as well as the brilliant success of European imperial expansion in the 18th century fostered and cemented "the belief on the part of Europeans, especially Western Europeans, that theirs was the superior race." "The scientific community, especially anthropologists, provided further credence to this view in the early- to mid-19th century" (Njoh, 2008, p. 580). Inquiries on race relations beginning in the 1920s pervasively widened the currency of the philosophy of white supremacy (Reuter, 1945). Racial ideology justifies the European hegemony over other lands and people and rationalizes colonial enterprise, offering guidelines for later colonial projects such as urban planning (Njoh, 2008, 2010). Consequently, "knowledge about and power over colonized lands are related enterprises" (Loomba, 2005, p. 43). In his thesis on *Orientalism*, Saïd (1978) analyzes a collection of textual materials that are termed "colonial discourse" to demonstrate the way in which knowledge about the Orient was created in support of colonial power. Knowledge, in the words of Saïd, is a system of Western projections about non-Western cultures produced alongside European intervention in the Middle East (Loomba, 2005; Moore-Gilbert, 1997). Thus, Saïd's central argument is that Orientalism is basically Westerners' political view of Orientals, which draws on and promotes dichotomizing opposition between the two worlds. Saïd suggests that this opposition is essential to European self-image: "if colonized people are irrational, Europeans are rational; if the former are barbaric, sensual, and lazy, Europe is civilization itself, with its

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sexual appetites under control and its dominant ethic that of hard work; if the Orient is static, Europe can be seen as developing and marching ahead; the Orient has been feminine so that Europe can be masculine" (Loomba, 2005, p. 45). This "dichotomizing system of representations" accentuated the inferiority of the Orientals and strengthened the supremacy of the Occidentals (Moore-Gilbert, 1997, p. 39), thus maintaining and solidifying the West's power over colonized people.

Cohn's (1996) study on the colonizing process of India by the British provides further analysis on the way in which knowledge is produced through the lens of the colonizer and its contribution in service of colonial power. Power in the pre-modern era was made visible in the forms of ritual performance and dramatic displays in theater administered by specialists mastering diverse forms of knowledge. Visible representations of power from the 18th century onward were extended to include "officializing procedures," such as spatial planning, population census, language and script standardization, public education promotion, and state building, as the ultimate stage. Cohn contends that the process of state building in Great Britain showed an intimate connection with its colonial adventure, especially the discovery and conquest of India. The unknown and strange world that was India was made knowable and controllable through a number of Western "investigative modalities," by which knowledge was collected, classified, and converted "into usable forms such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, gazetteers, legal codes, and encyclopedias" (Cohn, 1996, p. 5). Knowledge, as Loomba (2005, p. 42) argues, "is not innocent but profoundly connected with the operations of power."

Colonial discourse created knowledge about the colonial powers, the colonized peoples, and the rapport between them (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011). It is responsible for the dissemination of stereotyping images of the colonial world (Loomba, 2005). As discussed above, the Orientals are described as inferior to the Westerners, and thus, they must be dominated, "which

usually means having their land occupied, their internal affairs rigidly controlled, their blood and treasure put at the disposal of one or another" (Saïd, 1978, p. 36). In the eye of the colonizers, the vanquished countries are deserted and unoccupied and are thus open for their exploration, exploitation, and colonization (McEwan, 2007). Non-European spaces are research laboratories where colonial powers can conduct all types of experiments through projects of mapping, the establishment of administrative units, scientific research, and the introduction of European names (Manjapra, 2020; McEwan, 2007). Geopolitical interventions are carried out for spatial reorganization and reengineering, leading to the establishment of infrastructure to "penetrate the lands and the bodies of sovereign people, and to control their mobilities" (Manjapra, 2020, p. 184). Within this context, overseas territories are the stage for colonial powers to show their superiority. They continuously exhibit their scientific success to the colonized as a spectacle: "railways that shrank distance, impressive dams that channeled unruly rivers, cantilevered bridges that spanned them, electricity that turned dark night into bright day, and so forth" (Krishna, 2009, p. 89).

Economic exploitation and dependency

Economic literature of colonialism was largely derived from Marxist thinking, which related the imperial pursuit to the expansion of capitalism in the late 19th century (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011; Loomba, 2005; Smith, 1996). According to Marxist theorists, the development of capitalism in Europe resulted in a lack of primary products, the extensive accumulation of capital, and the saturation of the market (Habib, 2017; Smith, 1996). Therefore, interest in imperial adventure is believed to have been predominantly stimulated by the needs of Western powers to search for new markets, ensure sources of supply of materials, or discharge redundant savings as capitalism developed (Christie, 1996; Rimmer, 1978; Smith, 1996), which brought capitalist enterprises into conflict (Smith, 1996).

Loomba (2005, p. 10) describes colonialism as a major contributor to the process through which capitalism achieved its global expansion—that is, "colonialism was the midwife that assisted the birth of European capitalism." In the pursuit of profit, colonialism paved the way for the large-scale exploitation of one country by another (Habib, 2017). Forms of exploitation that existed prior to capitalism such as slavery were maintained throughout the colonial era and functioned like capital or property (Loomba, 2005). Working generally as miners and plantation laborers, slaves' "low subsistence costs" generated enormous profit for the slaveowners, a substantial part of which was transferred to European powers, especially Britain (Habib, 2017, p. 10). The ideology of races considerably promoted this process by rationalizing Western practices to make available a labor force. Men of color permanently belonged to the working class and remained cheap labor due to their inferiority.

Operating in line with the logic of capitalism, colonialism played an important part in a broader capitalist agenda whereby the periphery was condemned to provide primary products to the Western core (Habib, 2017; L'Espoir Decosta, 2011; Steinmetz, 2014; Thomas, 2005) and offer market to its commodities (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011; Thomas, 2005). By restructuring the economies of conquered territories, modern colonial powers established complex social and economic connections with the mother country to ensure continual movement of labor and natural resources between the two sides (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011).

During the colonial age, many areas of the underdeveloped world were transformed into major exporters of natural resources within a relatively short period of time (Smith, 1979). Mining sites and plantations proliferated in colonial dependencies in order to meet the parent country's demand for primary products (James, 1925; Lafevor, 2012; Rival & Levang, 2014; Zinterner & Künzler, 2013). For instance, the kingdom of Kandy (present-day Sri Lanka) was repurposed for coffee production by European plantation owners in the 1840s, resulting in a rise of coffee production from 2,093 tons in 1839 to 16,000 tons in 1846. In the Pacific islands,

such as Mauritius, sugar cane became the dominant crop to the detriment of other kinds of tropical crops and fruits under the monocultural practice implemented by French planters, followed by their British counterparts (Havinden & Meredith, 1993). On the other hand, industrial goods were imported from the metropole at the expense of local crafts and manufactures (Habib, 2017; Kleiman, 1976; Smith, 1996). In India, for example, the market was flooded with British textiles, and Indian handicraft textile production was consequently destroyed (Smith, 1996). The colonial agenda is consequently described by Habib (2007, p. 12) as a process of "tribute extraction" and "de-industrialization."

The relationship between metropoles and colonies was characterized by the uneven development of capitalism "and the dependency of the latter upon the former" (Loomba, 2005, p. 112) in terms of demand and supply. The Spanish and French empires provide an example. The two colonial powers applied a mercantilist system on international trade that restricted the commercial activities within the empire. Colonies were only allowed to import from the mother country, to sell their products to the mother country, and to employ fleets from the mother country (Grier, 1999). Therefore, colonies highly depended on the metropole for the outcome of their products and were particularly prone to suffer from economic fluctuations in the metropole's economy (Thomas, 2005).

Civilizing mission and acculturation

<u>Civilizing mission</u>

The concept of the "civilizing mission" was developed in Europe in the 19th century in order to justify colonial enterprise (Adas, 2004; Duffy, 2018; Mendy, 2003; Petitjean, 2005; Phuong, 2013). Colonialism was described as a means for attaining civilization (Afagla, 2015) that referred, in this era, to values in relation to the Enlightenment, "including the state protection of rights and other values and practices ranging from the pursuit of material progress

to civilized manners and clothing" (Duara, 2004, p. 2). The "civilizing mission" draws on the belief that it is the mandate of civilized countries to diffuse their universal values, and it is their duty to liberate other peoples out of the tyrannies of climate, disease, ignorance, and despotism by providing them with technology and medicine, education, and sound governance in order to transform them physically and morally (Phuong, 2013; Smith, 1996). The civilizing mission was an essential part of the system of colonial control, intended to transform hostile and disinterested natives into devoted subjects by acculturating them to European institutions, technologies, ideas, and values (Copland, 2007, p. 638).

Advocates of colonial expansion acknowledged the existence of a wide and ever-growing gap between the level of development reached by Western European cultures and that achieved by other societies. Civilizing mission discourse thus attempted to determine the reasons behind the European advance in comparison to African underdevelopment and Asian stagnancy and the implications of these discoveries for international relations and colonial enterprises. It was widely accepted that scientific breakthroughs and inventions provided Westerners with insight into the laws of the natural world and the capability to exploit its resources that were more highly advanced than any achievement obtained by other peoples. Thus, it was imperative that European empires conquered and developed the territories of backward peoples who were not equipped with the knowledge and tools necessary for the exploitation of the substantial resources around them (Adas, 2004).

The civilizing process made headway by introducing routinized and bureaucratic forms of organizing social lives (Shamir & Hacker, 2001, p. 436). Within these forms, education is the moral component of the civilizing mission, while medicine (hygiene, vaccination, quinine, etc.), infrastructure (roads, railroads, hydraulics, etc.), and security (protection against brigandage and the expansionism of neighboring peoples) are its material components (Phuong, 2013, p. 47).

The civilizing process that took place through educational projects was seen to be realized in multiple directions. Persuaded that education was able to produce colonial loyalists and collaborators, the British sought to create an "educated, native middle class to act as intermediaries between the rulers and the masses" by enlightening them on Western ideologies and legislation (Smith, 1995, p. 264). Education was perceived to be the most powerful tool for the civilizing mission in British India "because it afforded the government a means of directly accessing the sons of the native elite at an age when their minds were unformed and impressionable" (Copland, 2007, p. 642). Furthermore, the impact of education was expected to "extend beyond the child in the classroom to parents and the adult community at large" (Smith, 1995, p. 264). Differently, in Indochina, the French installed an educational system that was only intended to provide the colonial government with subordinates because they were afraid that a better education would produce individuals likely to threaten the colonial order (Phuong, 2013).

Acculturation

The theory of cultural change has developed various models to "foreground the dynamic and at times creative ways that colonized, captive, and subordinate populations engaged with newly imposed political systems and cultural influences" (Voss, 2015, p. 655). The anthropological concept of acculturation emerged alongside colonial expansion by European powers during the 19th century (Touzani, Hirschiman, & Smaoui, 2016). Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits's (1936, p. 149) definition of acculturation is "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" is widely accepted by sociologists (de Coster, 1971; Rudmin, 2003; Sam & Berry, 2010; Touzani, Hirschiman, & Smaoui, 2016). Acculturation arises when there is the presence of bicultural

influences, despite the strength the relationship between them (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008). Acculturation "acknowledges the reciprocity of the influences that cultural groups have on each other" (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 473).

Castro (2017) suggests four models of acculturation: assimilation, multiculturalism, fusion, and interculturalism. The assimilation model entails the disappearance of the minority culture. In the multicultural model, the minority culture is supposed to maintain its attributes while undergoing cultural adaptation. Interaction, mutual learning, and cultural mixtures are key features of the fusion model, which will bring about a new culture with internal diversity. The intercultural model is characterized by "dialogue, identity flexibility and a sense of unity" (Verkuyten et al., 2019, p.506). Cultural borrowing figures among the major factors involved in the process of acculturation, which is classified by Anglo-Saxon scholars into two categories: "material cultural elements and non-material cultural elements." Tangible objects invented by human beings and affecting their way of life, such as house appliances and motor vehicles, are grouped under the label of material culture. The "ensemble of ideological, religious, philosophical or scientific beliefs" belongs to the category of non-material culture (de Coster & Brasseur, 1971, p. 31).

Colonial expansion led to large-scale and complex population movements that inevitably entailed cultural encounters to a considerable extent (Thomas & Thompson, 2014, p. 144). Drawing on Barnet and Lindstrom, Joliffe (2013, p. 7) argues that the migration of people motivated by the expansion of colonial sugar production as plantation owners and coerced labor promoted the emergence of "new cultures in new lands as people came together in plantation settings creating new cultures."

Colonial powers involve the natives in their administrative system and indigenous practices in the colonial policies (Panikkar, 2007). Literature on colonial acculturation discusses the culture of colonizers as a product of relations with other colonizers and with the

colonized and the colonial setting. Native peoples, in their turn, make selective adoption and rejection of different components of colonizing culture (Steinmetz, 2014). Analyzing the mutual influence between the colonizer and the colonized, Maunier proposes a theory of colonial *mixité*, implying the "conversion of the conqueror by the conquered," and vice versa (Steinmetz, 2014, p. 89). Raj (2013), discussing the global history of science, suggests three stages of scientific development outside of Europe: first, passive reception of scientific knowledge by non-European societies; second, participation of European sellers, colonizers, and acculturated natives to scientific activity; and finally, active and independent conquest of science by mature, colonized people based on Western standards.

In a colonial setting, manifestations of bicultural impacts were abundant, such as the simultaneous use of the colonizer and the colonized languages in government and education, bilingual street names and public announcements, and mixed-style architecture (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008; Son, 2018).

2.2.3. Colonialization and tourism

It is generally admitted that modern tourism originated from Europe (Hunter, 2004; Zuelow, 2016), beginning with the Grand Tour to various European cities taken by young English men and women in the 18th century (Demay, 2014; Zuelow, 2016). Colonialization has fueled the spread of tourism beyond the "old" continent, especially from the second half of the 19th century (Baranowski et al., 2015; Castro, 2018; Sacareau, 2013; Zuelow, 2016). Tourism, in turn, largely contributed to colonial enterprise by accompanying and providing justification for European control of overseas territories (Castro, 2014; Hunter, 2004).

Colonialization in favor of tourism

Transport provision is described as a deciding factor in the development of tourism. Historical advancement of tourism has been intimately linked with improvement in transport

technology, which provides increasingly easy access to tourist destinations (Lohmann & Pearce, 2012). During the colonial era, transport infrastructure was developed as a vital prerequisite and an inevitable outcome of economic exploitation in colonies. Railroads were established throughout the colonial world in the 19th century to connect mining sites (Adeyemo, 2019; Das, 2013; James, 1925; Kaur, 1980) and interior plantations (Zinterner & Künzler, 2013) with ocean shipping. Canal and irrigation systems were set up to reclaim land for agriculture and to get agricultural products to ports (Zinterner & Künzler, 2013). Ports were created along the coastline in order to incorporate colonies into the global network of trade. Roads followed, causing dramatic changes even to isolated villages (Zinterner & Künzler, 2013). Although transport infrastructure was primarily established for economic purposes, it considerably improved the mobility of people, thus paving the way for tourism to be prosperous.

Colonial authority acted as a major factor behind the success of travel agencies by providing them with privileges and immunities (Baranowski et al., 2015). With the endorsement and assistance of the local government, tourism enterprises, especially Thomas Cook & Son, worked unremittingly to improve the infrastructure, disseminate marketing materials, and multiply package tours essential to attract large numbers of tourists to non-European places such as the Middle East (Zuelow, 2016). The brilliant achievement of Thomas Cook & Son heavily depended on the company owner's talent. However, "without the protection of the world's leading power, without the favors and patronage of a fiscally-strapped Egyptian government that was increasingly dependent on the European powers for its survival, and without the profits and prestige derived from the extension of British imperial rule, Cook & Son could not have realized its goal of implanting a tourist structure on the banks of the Nile" (Hunter, 2004, p. 33).

Colonial enterprise expanded the market for tourism beyond Europe and the colonizer–colonized boundaries. Explanations for this argument can be found in the theory of tourist

motivations. The theory of tourist motivations identifies two categories of factors that can exert influence on tourists' decision to travel (Chan & Baum, 2007; Klenosky, 2002; Prayag & Ryan, 2011). Push factors represent the particular forces in real life that motivate people to take a holiday, while pull factors represent those that decide the selection of one destination over another. Push factors reflect the personal desires of the traveler, "such as the desire for escape, rest and relaxation, adventure, prestige, health and fitness, and social interaction." Pull factors, on the other hand, mirror the positive features of the destination itself, "such as sunshine, beaches, sports facilities, and cheap airfares" (Klenosky, 2002, p. 385).

The movement of tourists from the mother country to colonies was perceived as being a result of mounting curiosity about the non-Western world aroused by colonial propaganda (Zuelow, 2016), in which colonial spaces were portrayed as "ripe for adventure and full of riches" (Keller, 2008, p. 110). For instance, French narratives often described the African continent as an uninhabited land where Europeans enjoyed unrestricted freedom to "fantasize, invent, and explore." Visitors to the area often showed the same level of interest in the fascinating landscape and wild animals of the continent on the one hand and the "pre-modern," "primitive" attributes of its populations on the other. Cohen has demonstrated that successful candidates for the position of colonial officials in French overseas dependencies were young men primarily inspired by the desire for travel, action, and opportunity (Keller, 2008, p. 110). Furthermore, world fairs and exhibitions visualized colonial *paysage* for a two-fold purpose: stimulating colonial enthusiasm and attracting tourists to colonies in order to gain firsthand experience of so-called "exoticism" (Castro, 2008; Zuelow, 2016). Prominent examples are the British Empire Exposition in 1924 and the Paris Colonial Exhibition in 1931 (Betts, 2004).

In the colonial setting, the proliferation of hill stations was encouraged by health concerns and the need of the colonizers to show their superiority. First, colonial enterprise entailed the migration to tropical colonies of Europeans, including missionaries, military and

civil servants, traders, developers, planters, and entrepreneurs (Hunter, 2004). Hostile weather, poor hygiene, and uncomfortable accommodations were among contributing factors to declining health and the high mortality rate of the migrants (Zuelow, 2016). The need for local places where colonizers could seek refuge and recover from these debilitating effects became apparent and increasingly urgent in the context of the two World Wars (Demay, 2014). Measures applied at the early stage of colonial expansion, such as repatriation and holiday in a foreign country, proved to be expensive and highly unpractical. Second, the conquest of the height required modern and sophisticated technology that was the colonizer's strength. Finally, the Europeans needed a separate enclave that provided an exclusive social atmosphere to privileged people (Demay, 2014; DeWald, 2008; Fife, 2009; Jennings, 2003, 2011; Kennedy, 1996; Kenny, 1995).

The market for tourism extended from the small contingent of colonizers to include colonial subjects, especially local elites who were heavily exposed to Western influence mainly through education. The participation of native people in tourism can be perceived as being a result of the civilizing mission and acculturation process. Education, as the moral component of the civilizing mission (Phuong, 2013), propagated western ideologies and lifestyle among colonial subjects. And acculturation, through its models, induced changes in the consumption behavior of native people. Thus, tourism as a modern leisure activity initially practiced by a small number of colonizers had gradually penetrated into the colonized's society (DeWald, 2008).

Tourism's contribution to colonialization

Zuelow (2016, p. 95) contends that "tourism was inseparable from the West's conquest of overseas territories." Colonial powers such as Great Britain employed tourism to consolidate crown authority, to establish the infrastructure essential to consolidate political and military efficacy, and even to build up healthy relationships within their range of influence. Tourism

took part in rationalizing the colonial enterprise. Travel agencies, guidebooks, and articles; shipping and railway firms; and colonial public bodies in charge of promoting tourism disseminated positive images of empire destinations. Similar propaganda in favor of the empire was created by individual travelers through their letters and conversations (Barranowski et al., 2015).

The contribution of Thomas Cook & Sons to the imperial expansion of Great Britain in the Middle East offers an example. In addition to providing the British military with logistics needs, Cook propagated the "idea of a civilizing mission" and described his work as bringing prosperity and productivity to native people in Egypt. Apart from the Egyptian ruling elite, who had a strong relationship with the company, the economic benefit of Cook's business to the Egyptian society remained unclear. However, it is admitted that the "form of tourism" promoted by Thomas Cook & Sons only further increased "economic dependence and the exploitation of local labor." Moreover, Cook sold the experience of Egypt (focused on antiquities and winter leisure) to the British and other travelers as a packaged commodity that could be consumed from within an early form of the "tourist bubble" (Barranowski et al., 2015, p. 103).

Even though travel between the mother country and its overseas territories was initially motivated by conquest, trade, and settlement, short-term leisure visiting began to emerge. This activity was boosted by increasing imperial interest and connection. In the period between the two World Wars, colonial powers and their businesses encouraged travel to their possessions and dependencies to "foster attachment to these domains and even sponsored programs to develop local traditional handcrafts and the excavation of classical era ruins." To visit the colonies could be associated with "visiting expatriate friends and family, seeing firsthand the postcard landscapes and built sties written about by adventurers, traders, soldiers, and missionaries, seeing wildlife at close quarters (and sometime shooting it), collecting and taking

away specimens, visiting countries where food and garments were sourced." Some tours were designed to consist of inspecting major contemporary colonial projects or "distractions from modernity" (Barranowski et al., 2015, pp. 104–105).

2.3. Decolonization

The term "decolonization," which first appeared in the 1930s and enjoyed popularity in the 1960s (Betts, 2004), is primarily applied to the political field as it accompanies the global phenomenon of colonial powers replaced by independent nation states (Betts, 2012; Kennedy, 2016). It is a process in which military operations and diplomatic interventions involve both colonial and anticolonial parties (Betts, 2012). From this point of departure, the meaning of decolonization is broadened "to include all elements incurred in the colonial experience, whether political, economic, cultural or psychological" (Gardiner, 1967 cited in Betts, 2012, p. 23). Even though the "causes and effects" of the decolonizing process are particular to each colonial setting, "it was also shaped by wider, structural dimensions of empire that may be seen as systemic: the political and economic relationships between imperial 'core' and colonial 'periphery'; the colonial state in terms of its bureaucratic structure; ideologies of governance, 'development' and race; and emancipatory narratives of anti-colonial freedom and nationhood" (Collins, 2017, p. 17).

Decolonization is the outcome of globally societal transformations during the mid-20th century "under pressure of intensifying governance, expanding institutionalization, widening horizons, and increasing mobilization" (Bogaerts & Raben, 2012, p. 16). Indeed, European colonial enterprise accelerated the dissemination of "principles like self-determination, democracy, and freedom and made possible anticolonial nationalists' critique of alien rule" (Plamenatz, 1960 cited in Getachew, 2019, p. 16). Decolonization is represented by the "disengagement" between the ruler and the ruled or the "rejection of the civilization" of the

colonizer (Bogaerts & Raben, 2012). For the subject races, the beginning of decolonization is marked by "decolonizing yourself," which refers to radical change in "the ways that colonization had affected people's modes of seeing themselves and their own cultural assumptions and values" (Young, 2020, p. 34).

Decolonization is analyzed from political, economic, and social perspectives (Betts, 2012) because "decolonization is the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007, p. 56). In other words, to decolonize means "to be rid of the colonizer in every possible way" (Chakrabarty, 2005, p. 4812) and to completely abolish alien domination (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011). Decolonization "includes dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power and that remain even after political independence is achieved" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007, p. 56). Colonialization was justified by the narrative of progress: "colonization would bring all peoples into the trajectory of European notions of historical progress." Decolonization means that the colonized needs to "repudiate this narrative," to "take up self-determination, but not on the terms of progress and liberalism as defined by the colonizers" (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 15). The colonial experience does not end with the demise of the formal empire. Thus, decolonization requires "a fundamental change of outlook and attitude, of heart and mind" (Betts, 2004, p. 88).

Discussions about decolonization in the mid-20th century were marked by two main concerns, namely development and dialog, which stemmed from the argument that colonialism was a "broken promise" about modernization. The developmentalist side of decolonization led anticolonial theorists to adopt various versions of modernization theory that turned the West into a model for the remaining world to follow. This talk about development generated a cultural style of politics called "pedagogical style" that "re-enacted civilizational or cultural hierarchies between nations, between classes, or between the leaders and the masses."

Anticolonial thinkers on the dialogical side, on the other hand, frequently questioned "whether or how a global conversation of humanity could genuinely acknowledge the cultural diversity without arranging them on a hierarchical scale of civilization." In other words, "an urge towards cross-cultural dialog without the baggage of imperialism" was their central concern (Chakrabarty, 2005, p. 4812).

According to Cooper (2002), it is difficult to banish the colonial situation. The legacies of colonialism are evident in many realms of modern society in both former colonizing and colonized countries (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011). Africa and Asia continue to be marginalized or exploited by global capitalism; Western political norms and structures maintain newly formed states within their range of influence; and "cultural imperialism" endures "the work of colonial civilizing missions" (Cooper, 2012, p. 60; see also Collins, 2017). Given that colonization was a particularly complicated process, decolonization "lacks a clear focus and target." While it may be simple to "resent and attack" alien rulers or capital, it is very challenging to determine "what values, institutions and identities are foreign and part of the colonial legacy." "Decolonization is taken both in a historical and in a wider metaphorical sense." From the historical perspective, decolonization is associated with "the momentum of political decolonization, a process that has largely been completed." From an economic approach, it has been included in the agenda for long "under the blanket heading of development." "A process of intellectual decolonization has also been under way, in the sense that critical perspectives on colonialism have become more and more common, also in the West" (Pieterse & Parekh, 1995, pp. 2–3).

2.3.1. Decolonization and tourism

Tourism can become an instrument for conserving, protecting, and promoting traditional cultures while empowering marginalized and/or remote indigenous communities in

social and economic terms (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Tourism studies, especially indigenous tourism studies, have demonstrated the active role of tour guides and host communities in producing or reversing relations of power (Dahles, 2002; Galliford, 2012; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2003; Travesi, 2017). Indigenous knowledge could perform a decisive role in developing, preserving, or withstanding a relation of power in tourism, "a relation that could benefit local communities, especially when their knowledge served as a tourist attraction to which they could also control the access" (Travesi, 2017, p.137).

Ambros and Buzinde (2021, pp. 10–11) draw on decolonial theorizing to investigate the ways in which indigenous groups self-represent on official tourism websites. The study shows that various narrative patterns have been designed to accomplish "self-representation of indigenous communities and resistance of dominant colonial discourse." Firstly, disengagement with colonial legacies is carried out through promoting indigenous cultural meanings, and by so doing, they are challenging the socio-historical degradation and eradication that have prevailed the description of nations by mainstream media. Secondly, mixed narratives covering "the contentious past" in parallel with "cultural survival, pride and preservation" express eloquently "a pronounced level of the Nations' collective resistance and agency." In general, the authors find that the analyzed texts are imbued with an "empowered voice." "This voice is directed to the prospective tourist and it foregrounds a decolonial ideology in which the politics of representation allow for reclaiming of an ugly past to affirm an identity of resistance and to highlight the agentic power of the featured indigenous cultural custodians."

Portrayed by Western media through a colonial lens, Third World tourist destinations are frequently associated with primitiveness and exoticism. This Eurocentric view of the world has been challenged by many institutions in former colonies through their own media campaigns (Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005; Goreau-Ponceaud, 2019). In India, for example,

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while orientalist knowledge continues to shape the Western and even domestic perception of the country's tourist identity, tourism has been employed by the government as a political instrument in order to rewrite the national myth by eliminating the stain of colonization. In the first decade of the 21st century, India launched a number of tourism campaigns to "increase the balance of payments" and "constitute a privileged platform for defining geopolitical positions and reviving the image of the country as a rising world power" (Goreau-Ponceaud, 2019).

The concept of Western epistemologies represents "those knowledge which have been produced in, and disseminated by the former colonial powers." It "serves to foreground Western culture while concomitantly negating and denying legitimacy to the knowledges and cosmologies of those in and from the South" (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015, p. 3). Despite improvement in tourism studies, knowledge about tourism remains generally colonial, which refers to the prevalence of Western ways of thinking. Decolonial theory requires researchers to think about a possible way of investigating and "being in tourism" that does not favor Western theoretical approaches (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015, p. 5).

2.4. Postcolonialism

The term "postcolonial" was initially employed in historical studies after World War II and has borne an obviously chronological meaning, referring to the post-independence epoch (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000). The postcolonial theory stems from the humanities and has been gaining currency in academia since the early 1990s (Abrahamsen, 2003; Anderson, 2002; Goss, 1996; Kumar, 2011; Mishra & Hodge, 2005; Steinmetz, 2014; Young, 2020). Postcolonial theory consists of various practices "performed within a range of disciplinary fields in a multitude of different institutional locations around the globe" (Moore-Gilbert, 1997, p. 5). It is not a scientific theory in the proper sense of the word (Dutton et al., 1999; Young, 2001, 2020), but it represents a set of approaches intended to alternate existing knowledge

about the structure of power between the Western and non-Western worlds (d'Haussterre, 2004; Young, 2001, 2020).

Postcolonial theory is largely informed by poststructuralist thought (Morton, 2007; Krishna, 2009). "Poststructuralism names a theory, or a group of theories, concerning the relationship between human beings, the world, and the practice of making and reproducing meanings" (Belsey, 2002, p. 5). Gavey (1989) argues that poststructuralist studies employ discourse analysis to "deconstruct language" in an attempt to demonstrate the process of knowledge production and its implications (Kramer, 2019, p. 236). By adopting a poststructuralist and cultural approach, postcolonial theory links "imperialism and agency to discourse and the politics of representation" (Kapoor, 2002, p. 647). Postcolonial theory, in Young's opinion, entails an insight into the "perspectives of knowledge" established in the non-European world (Young, 2020, p. 9).

Postcolonialism discusses the impact of colonialism on culture and societies (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000). Postcolonialism attempts to investigate the way in which colonialism continues to manipulate former colonizing and colonized countries (Steinmetz, 2014). It "is now used in wide and diverse ways to include the study and analysis of European territorial conquests, the various institutions of European colonialisms, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects, and, most importantly perhaps, the differing responses to such incursions and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre-and post-independence nations and communities" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000, p. 169). The concept of postcolonialism carries both historical and chronological implications and its conscious self-perception of the dichotomy promoted by the Western thinking (d'Haussterre, 2004).

Tikly (1999, p. 606) proposes understanding postcolonialism as a dynamic process of disengagement with the "colonial syndrome" and the contestation of colonial dominance and

the lingering impact of colonialism. First, this perspective places emphasis on the assertion that colonial modalities and effects are being altered as a result of globalization. Second, it allows for an investigation of colonial experiences both in former mother countries and colonies. Finally, it highlights the essential role that European colonial expansion has performed in determining postcolonial conditions.

According to McEwan (2007), postcolonialism deals with a wide variety of topics, including gender, race, ethnicity, and especially, the rapport between knowledge and power. Postcolonial theory seeks to identify the mechanism by which colonial powers create and apply knowledge of the subject races for the latter's own sake and the way in which the knowledge contributes to maintaining the inequalities between the two sides in the postcolonial context. It pinpoints the author of the knowledge of "Others" and its impact on the past colonial enterprise as well as present "developmental and geopolitical" interference. Additionally, it analyzes the relationship between the "language of colonialism" and the contemporary Western perception about the remaining parts of the planet.

The main thesis of postcolonial theory is that although European colonial rule has come to an end, the effects of colonialism are abundantly evidenced in the current political, social, and cultural lives of both formerly colonized and colonizing countries (de Coster, 1971; d'Haussterre, 2004; Krishna, 2009; McEwan, 2007; L'Espoir Decosta, 2011). The independence gained by colonized peoples through resistance does not totally liberate newly formed nations, but it marks, in many cases, the transition from direct domination to indirect domination, and non-European spaces remain subjugated by Western powers (Young, 2020). Postcolonial theory attempts to explain the persistence of this "cultural subordination and economic inequality" in once-colonized countries "by articulating major concepts of image or representation, identity and historical inertia" (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011, p. 53). Colonial enterprise associated with the civilizing mission and economic exploitation led to a

homogeneous view of people with different cultural backgrounds throughout a region or even throughout the world. Through the concept of heritage, postcolonialism purports to counteract Western stereotypes by "fostering and, indeed, sometimes actually recreating, the traditions and cultural identities that were previously invalidated or suppressed" (Marshall, 2004, p. 99).

Representation

One key feature of postcolonial studies is its deep concern about representation, especially through literature and other forms of textual materials (Styers, 2009). In Orientalism (as discussed above), Saïd recognizes the general continuum in the way the Occident and the Orient are projected. Occidentals tend to be associated with positive features, such as rationality, peacefulness, open-mindedness, logicalness, etc., and Orientals with negative characteristics, such as irrationality, degeneration, primitiveness, and suspiciousness. These representations, however, are imbued with political will to control and shape "what is manifestly different world" (Kapoor, 2005, p. 650). They represent "an ideological vehicle of power, which is not readily relinquished," leading to "weakened resistance to capitalist models of modernization" (d'Haussterre, 2004, p. 236).

Hybridity and mimicry

Postcolonial studies are particularly interested in the issue of hybrid identities (Loomba, 2005). In postcolonial theory, hybridity represents the transcultural process that emerged during contact between the colonizer and the colonized (L'Espoir Decosta, 2009). Postcolonial writings suggest that the gap existing between them is not as unbridgeable as it might appear, which sets "the stage for anxieties and ambivalences on both sides." Despite multiple clashes of civilizations caused by colonial encounter, "there was undoubtedly a transformation of identities through cultural contact, a process of uneven psychic exchange between the dominant

and the subordinate groups that was inevitable in the circumstances" (Desai & Nair, 2005, p. 249).

Hybridity is discussed by Bhabha as an "in-between" concept, which refers to a "third space of enunciation," and to ambivalence and mimicry, particularly in colonial settings (Hutnyk, 2005, p. 80). The intervention of this third space confronts the historical view of cultural identity "as a homogenizing, unifying force" (Bhabha, 2006, p. 156). Bhabha draws on Fanon to claim that "colonial identities are always a matter of flux and agony" (Loomba, 2005, p. 148). In other words, one establishes identity only regarding the other, and identity must be perceived "in terms of the desire or need to relate to the place of the other" (L'Espoir Decosta, 2009, p. 54).

The concept of hybridity is related to ambivalence, which is employed to describe the relationship between colonizer and colonized characterized by a complex mixture of allure and distaste (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000). In Bhabha's opinion, even though the colonizer is confident in his superiority, he cannot stop to seek recognition of this superiority from the colonized, who, in the colonizer's eye, is dishonest and unreliable. The colonized, on the other hand, nurtures great ambition to replace the colonizer's position while maintaining their despiteful attitude toward the latter (Krishna, 2009).

Hybridity emerges in postcolonial societies "as a result of conscious moments of cultural suppression, as when the colonial power invades to consolidate political and economic control, or when settler-invaders dispossesses indigenous peoples and forces them to assimilate to new social patterns. It may also occur in later periods when patterns of immigration from the metropolitan societies and from other imperial areas of influence continue to produce complex cultural palimpsest with the postcolonized world" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2006, p. 137).

Mimicry constitutes another form of identity emerging within the ambivalent relationship between colonizer and colonized (L'Espoir Decosta, 2009). Mimicry joins a broader strategy of colonial power and knowledge, referring to the desire for a transformed, identifiable "Other" (Bhabha, 1984). When colonial subjects are encouraged to mimic the colonizer, by embracing the latter's manners, beliefs, culture, and values, the outcome is far from a simple replication of these attributes. Rather, the outcome "is a blurred copy of the colonizer that can be quite threatening" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000, p. 125). "At one level, colonial rulers explicitly aimed to civilize their subjects and mold them in the image of Europeans; natives who imitated the colonizer were in this sense part of the colonial plan. But colonial imitation always threatened to become excessive and uncontrolled and thereby to unsettle the boundaries and relations of authority between settler and native that the colonial order depended on" (Ferguson, 2002, p. 553).

2.4.1. Postcolonial tourism

The colonial genesis of tourism in many developing countries and its developments reflecting colonial impacts make it necessary to study tourism and its developments "within the historical continuum of colonialism" (Decosta, 2011, p. 1). Tourism "both reinforces and is embedded in postcolonial relationships" (Hall & Tucker, 2004, p. 2). The rapport between postcolonial theories and tourism adheres to the exoticism sought by tourists in former colonies (d'Haussterre, 2004, p. 237). The word "exotic" first came into use in the 16th century and evolved through the 17th century to mean alien, foreign, and not indigenous. During the high imperialism, the exotic "increasingly gained, through the empire, the connotations of a stimulating or exciting difference" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000, p. 87).

Hall and Tucker (2004, p. 8) analyzed the differentness in relation to Orientalism, which centers on ontological and epistemological opposition between the East and the West. Such

otherness constitutes a vital determinant of tourism demand. However, tourists are usually attracted to a destination by its perceived otherness, seduced by representations of culture and landscape illustrated in promotional materials. The creation of a destination thus implies the generation of "the representation of that destination within the context of the historical consumption and production of places and the means by which places have become incorporated within the global capital system." As a result, the postcolonial experience also entails the invasion and exploitation of nature for the colonial powers.

Tourism development sustains colonial "forms of interaction that treat exotic as inferior" (d'Haussterre, 2004, p. 237). Western tourists bear in mind the idea that they represent the urban-industrial world and enjoy the privilege to explore/describe/position "things in and of the world." This constitutes the "invasive hegemony of colonial/Western values" through everyday visits of tourists and everyday actions of travel agencies; the "contiguity" between the Western perception of tourism and colonial power; and the "universalizing geography and the imperial memory of the exhibitorial force of tourism" (Hollinshead, 2004, p. 31). Desire (2004, p. 47) identifies three dominant ways in which "tourists" desire for destinations is constructed: (1) tourists are encouraged to seek places associated with pleasure, hedonism or escape from modernity; (2) a longing or nostalgia for the past; and (3) a longing for colonial or Western influences. Tourism narratives "stipulate tourists' exclusive access to luxury and unspoiled nature or them being distanced from, or elevated above, local inhabitants and mass tourists." These are described as common strategies employed to establish the relationship between tourists and the Other: superior tourists and inferior native people and mass tourists (Hollinshead, 2004, p. 45).

Tourism perpetuates colonial stereotypes (d'Haussterre, 2004) that have shaped the Western social construction of the world and tourist imaginaries. Tourist imaginaries permit consumers to imagine a place as a tourist destination, engendering desire, making the place

alluring, shortening the distance, and taming its exoticism (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012). Postcolonial islands have developed "paradisal" appeal due to current marketing materials that promote these destinations "according to similarly clichéd images of sea, sun, sand, swaying palms, and sexual permissiveness" (Carrigan, 2011, p. 16). Africa, on the other hand, is described by travel brochures and literature as a place that can offer unique experience, exoticism, and differences (Marshall, 2004). Tourism products in the periphery are thus designed in order to meet the demand of consumers from the core (d'Haussterre, 2004).

The colonial legacy in modern tourism development can be traced in the patterns of tourist markets, tourism destination promotion, products, and services. "Tourism by its very nature harbors the redevelopment of colonial-era heritage, given its capacity to utilize historical accounts critical to the constructions of people and place" (Cheer & Reeves, 2015, p. 158). As a result of mounting curiosity in heritage tourism, the use of colonial heritage for tourism purposes is on the rise worldwide (Betts, 2004; Cheer & Reeves, 2015; Henderson, 2001; Jørgensen, 2019), and this trend is clearly seen in former colonies of the British and French empires (Cheer & Reeves, 2015). Grand colonial-era hotels in many Southeast Asian countries have been renovated in order to target nostalgia-oriented customers (Cheer & Reeves, 2015; Henderson, 2001; Peleggi, 2005). Built heritage from the colonial tea industry in Ceylon is converted into tourist accommodations that comprises "rest houses, former planters' clubs, former tea estate planters' housing," and "redundant tea factory" "repurposed as a luxury hotel" (Aslam & Jolliffe, 2015, p. 112).

Foreign visitors want to see the world "in the same way as they are taught to see them in their formative years of image molding during the colonial period," leading to "staged authenticity" to attract tourists (Wels, 2004, p. 90). Authenticity is defined as "the accurate presentation of the past through the conservation of its relict features" (Teo & Yeoh, 1997, p.194). Historical authenticity of former colonial hotels is constructed through "architectural

enhancement," "discursive authentication," and services (Peleggi, 2005, p. 255; Peyvel, 2011). Studying the layout of some tourist accommodations in Southeast Asia, Jennings (2003), Peleggi (2005), and Peyvel (2011) recognize the efforts of local hotel owners to revive and reconstruct colonial style and ambiance in their restaurants and palaces through furniture, staff uniforms, rental service of old cars, and decorative objects. Beside exterior and interior décors, stories about the accommodations' past are created "to claim monumental status as well as to serve as marketing tools" (Peleggi, 2005, p. 255).

As an important force in the global economy, tourism remains overwhelmingly dominated by and reliant on the West (Akama, 2004; Marshall, 2004). The structure of the tourism industry established in 19th century was frequently reproduced in post-independent attempts to promote tourism as a fuel for economic growth in developing countries. "Defined by new forms of global transportation and mobility but drawing on the lingering legacies of 'colonial nostalgia', international tourism in the late-20th century was an integral element of non-territorial forms of empire" (Barranowski et al., 2015, p. 104). In Carrigan's opinion, mass tourism often "exploit uneven distributions of wealth, remapping colonial travel patterns," given the positive trend of consumers from rich nations choosing to take trips to poorer states. Tourism accelerates "environmental transformation, cultural commoditization, and sexual consumption," which can clearly be seen in many countries still trapped in the struggle with colonial legacies (Carrigan, 2001, p. x).

For instance, McKercher and L'Espoir Decosta (2007) investigated tourist movements for 56 economies that were once colonies, and L'Espoir Decosta (2009, p.1) studied "tourist flow patterns for 36 island jurisdictions in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and South Pacific for the year 2001," and the researchers conclude that tourist arrivals largely inherit colonial legacy. A vast majority of tourists coming to these areas originate from former colonial powers, especially the French and British empires, and they manifest "an overwhelming preference"

for islands with which they have colonial connections. Commonly accepted reasons, such as shared language and culture, cannot give satisfactory explanation for the phenomenon. Instead, McKercher and L'Espoir Decosta (2007 as cited in L'Espoir Decosta, 2009, p. 5) contend that "the colonial legacy in tourism flows is not coincidental, but may in fact be a product of a number of factors, including the colonization and decolonization process that embeds a continuing historical relationship between colonialism and tourism."

2.5. Synthesis

This chapter has discussed the concepts of colonialism/colonization, decolonization, and postcolonialism through their theoretical perspectives and implications in tourism. The theories revolve around the problem of power relations between Western powers and the remaining part of the world. Power relations underpin the invasion and exploitation of overseas territories by European countries, thus becoming the focal point of the decolonization process that attempts to reverse this unequal relationship. Nevertheless, the colonial legacy that is Western hegemony remains visible in former colonizing and colonized countries. Emerging primarily as a social phenomenon, tourism has been incorporated into the colonization and decolonization process as an important tool and lingers the impact of colonialism beyond historical and temporal boundaries.

This theoretical review sets a framework for the analysis of the relationship between tourism on the one hand and colonialization/decolonization/postcolonialism on the other in French Indochina investigated in this research. Further understanding of the history of tourism in the context of Vietnam potentially benefits both academia and pratices as the research on decolonization and postcolonialism in tourism studies in general have relatively neglected.

CHAPTER 3: TOURISM IN FRENCH INDOCHINA

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the history of tourism establishment in French Indochina. It begins with a brief account of the history of French colonization in Indochina from the late 19th to the mid-20th century. Tourism played an important part in the colonial policy of the French government as a means of conquering Indochina economically and spiritually (Demay, 2014). Mooney-Melvin (1991) identifies four prerequisites for tourism development: an acceptable transport system, safe and comfortable accommodations, a population with a disposable income and spare time, and available information on the tourist destination. A review of literature from previous research on French Indochina's establishment of infrastructure, for which the usage for tourism was secondary, and the impacts of this establishment on the formation of tourism and tourist markets is structured into five sections: transportation, accommodation, destination establishment, tourism promotion, and tourist markets and behaviors.

3.2. A brief history of French Indochina

To understand the situation from which tourism was established in French Indochina, it is necessary to take historical features of the area into consideration. The term "Indochina" has a two-fold meaning. First, it refers to the region located between India and China, which is commonly known today as mainland Southeast Asia, comprising Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam. The eastern segment of the area was invaded by the French in the second half of the 19th century and became "French Indochina," standing for the French part of Indochina to differentiate from the remaining parts belonging to the British and Siamese governments. Later, the term "Indochina" was seen as synonymous with "French Indochina" (Tønnesson, 2004).

Indochina was "an arbitrarily defined political entity" constructed by the French that was characterized by a wide variety of linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups. These societies had a common heritage of "combined Indian and Chinese influences" reflected in their religious philosophical ideology. Buddhism prevailed across Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam in particular (Raffin, 2002, p.367). French colonization has produced profound changes in Indochinese society by introducing Christianity to the area and gradually propagating Western culture through education, for example (DeFrancis, 1977).

French conquest of the Southeast Asian colony was "uneven and complicated" as a result of multiple conflicting interests. Until the mid-19th century, Catholic missionaries played the central role in building a diplomatic bridge between the Vietnamese government and France. The French military followed, purporting to compete with overseas British influences, especially as it concerned China. "Southeast Asia was France's path towards both its territorial ambitions in China and its efforts to contain Britain imperial progress in Asia" (Deyasi, 2015, p. 126), and "Indochina became the epicenter of French activity in the Far East" (Burlette, 2007, p. 14). After successful military campaigns, France signed different treaties with local monarchies and gradually invaded and controlled territory in Asia as well as trade routes and ports (Deyasi, 2015). Economic arguments were advanced by many proponents of colonial expansion who contended that it could "provide a safety valve" for the metropole's economy (Majumdar, 2007, p. 7).

French Indochina, or the Indochinese Union, was created in 1887 to group three regions of Vietnam: Tonkin in the north, Annam in the central, and Cochinchina in the south, as well as Cambodia under the French rule. Laos and Kouang-Tchéou-Wan of the Southern region of present China respectively entered the union in 1893 and 1900 (Dommen, 2001). A dual colonial structure was set up to administer the vanquished territory. Cochinchina, the first area to experience French rule and the region with the most economic potential, was administered

directly as a colony. The remaining regions were transferred to France in accordance with protectorate treaties signed with the local monarchies (Christie, 1996; Goscha, 2009). "In the protectorates, the traditional indigenous administration was maintained, but the French exerted real control through a parallel administrative structure that penetrated to the provincial level" (Christie, 1996, p. 9). However, the whole Indochina system was under the supervision of the government general based in Hanoi from 1887–1945, which was replaced by a high commission from 1945–1954. The union collapsed in 1954 following the Geneva Accord (Dommen, 2001), which officially ended the French colonialization of Indochina.

The common assumption underpinning all the discourses of the empire was a fundamental redefinition of relations between the nations concerned, in which the historical facts of the precolonial period were beclouded. As a result, all past attainments achieved by colonized peoples "were overlooked, played down or distorted." The colonizer ignored their accomplishments regardless of "economic development, scientific discoveries, mastery of technology, cultural diversity, political and military might." "They were to appear henceforth as backward outposts, on the fringes of the new historical narrative of the planets's development" (Majumdar, 2007, p. 7).

Thus, all European powers claimed to be responsible for the work of civilization as the justification for their invasion of overseas territories. The idea of a civilizing mission took root in certain fundamental beliefs about the "superiority" of French civilization and the "perfectibility of humankind," while "France's colonial subjects were too primitive to rule themselves but were capable of being uplifted." Thus, the French were chosen to undertake this task because of their "temperament" and their revolutionary history as well as their contemporary industrial power (Conklin, 1997, pp. 1–2).

Studying the colonizing process of Indochina, Brocheux and Hémery (2009, p. 116) point out three development dimensions. Firstly, the colony underwent a "quantitative growth

in production." "The second dimension consisted of the modernization of economic practices, modes of thought, and social relations, and the disciplining of minds and bodies according to the norms and the requirements of industrial work. The third entailed the setting in motion of multiple local processes that destroyed the existing socioeconomic structures and the progressive industrialization of a part of production in correlation with the increase in exchanges for money and the penetration of science and productivist values into modes of production."

3.3. Establishment of tourism in the colonial context

3.3.1. Transportation

Tourism development cannot be understood in separation from the development of transportation (Gay, 2006). In the classic work on Southeast Asia *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* Anderson (1991) contends that the late 19th and early 20th centuries experienced a dramatic rise of travelers due to extraordinary achievements in terms of public transportation that freed people from constraints on physical mobility. In British India, roads and railroads connected hill stations in different parts of the country and made the conquest of heights possible to the masses (Kanwar, 1984; Pradhan, 2007; Spencer & Thomas, 1948), whereas transport infrastructure in the Dutch East Indies shortened the distance between places of interest, paving the way for domestic tourism to become prosperous (Meulendijks, 2017). Tourism in colonies largely owed its emergence to the expansion of transportation networks both within and outside the territory.

In French Indochina, the railroad construction program launched by the Governor-General Paul Doumer since the late 19th century had facilitated exchanges between rural and urban areas as well as between the colony and the outside world (Demay, 2014). The most significant work was the Transindochinese Railroad (1,860 km), opened in successive

stretches: Lang Son - Vinh (1905), Tourane (present-day Da Nang) - Hue (1906), Hue - Quang Tri (1908), Sài Gòn - Nha Trang (1913), Vinh - Dong Ha (1927), and Tourane - Nha Trang (1936) (Brocheux & Hémery, 2009, p. 129). Discounted and promotional tickets were usually offered by transport providers as marketing tools to boost users' demand (DeWald, 2008). The road program initiated in 1911 complemented the railway to expand the land transportation network (Brocheux & Hémery, 2009). The Route Coloninale No.1 (present-day Highway No. 1), running a distance of 1,285 km, linked Hanoi to the border of Siam. Three axes enabled penetration to Mong Cai, Lang Son, Cao Bang, and Ha Giang in the north, while Savannakhet-Quang Tri, Vinh-Thakhek, and Vinh - Luang Prabang de-blocked Laos. Roads conducting to the high plateaus of southern Annam were opened, and local networks of the dam roads facilitated circulation within the Red River and Mekong delta (ibid.). Along the road network, car rental to coach services were opened (DeWald, 2008).

Fluvial and maritime ports also contributed to the expansion of the colonial economy and tourism (Brocheux & Hémery, 2009). Major ports located in Sài Gòn, Da Nang, and Hải Phòng offered services to smaller ports based along the coast (DeWald, 2008) and received international tourists whose long-haul travels were made possible by steamships and airplanes connecting the European countries with their overseas territories. Large shipping companies operated travel routes to and from Indochina for international travel. For example, the Messageries Maritimes and the Chargeurs Réunis figured among the main French suppliers. Their biggest competitors included the Dutch Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPN) and the States Steamship Company. By the mid-1930s, Air Asie and Imperial Airways further shortened the travel time between the colony and the outside world by operating regular weekly air services (DeWald, 2008).

3.3.2. Tourist accommodations

Besides the availability of transportation (Gay, 2006), the availability of accommodations was a condition for choosing a particular tourist site (Goodall, 1989). Therefore, accommodation development was included in the effort devoted by the colonial government to promote tourism. For example, the creation of hill stations in British India was followed by the construction of hotels, bungalows, villas, and other facilities aiming to entertain visitors (Kanwar, 1984; Pradhan, 2007; Spencer & Thomas, 1948). The same types of accommodation and commodities were found in French Indochina, where a substantial increase in the construction of tourism infrastructure was seen in the decade of the 1920s (Demay, 2014). The Indochinese government, from investing in building state-owned accommodations, had decided to retreat from this market in the 1930s and provide support to private initiatives instead (ibid.).

Hotels and bungalows in French Indochina operated throughout the year, except for some establishments that experienced intermittent closing periods due to seasonal access and attendance. Public establishments were categorized into three types respectively administered by provincial, local, and federal budgets. Private concessionaires were in charge of their commercial exploration pursuant to specifications defining the minimum level of staff, the prices for rooms, meals and board, as well as the composition of the menus. A supervisory committee was in charge of checking the number and behavior of the staff (ibid.). Large establishments, such as Langbian Palace in Đà Lạt, were erected as an oasis for the French expatriate population, where modern and comfortable rooms, European food, and leisure facilities were offered (Jennings, 2003). Similarly, accommodation in Dutch East Indies cities and mountain resorts intentionally satisfied European requirements of comfort and luxury (Meulendijks, 2017). In this market, small business, especially those run by Asians, encountered prejudices as the priority was given by the government to European-controlled

enterprises that could meet the demand of international tourists (DeWald, 2008). Asian entrepreneurs considered financially uncompetitive had to focus on domestic tourists (ibid.).

3.3.3. Tourist attractions

Being the "beating heart of the tourism industry" (Scantlebury, 2012, p. 1), attractions are vital to the survival of tourism (Lew, 1987). Tourism is primarily a Western invention being imported and adapted to the Orient world along with the European colonization of South and Southeast Asia. In the early days, tourist attractions in colonized countries featured the taste and demand of the European visitors, resulting in a proliferation of hill stations and seaside resorts across Asian colonies.

Hill stations were a phenomenon in many colonized Southeast Asian and South Asian countries, where tropical heat and diseases urged the authority to find retreats for their military and civil servants (Ingagaki, 2008; Kennedy, 1996; Spencer & Thomas, 1948). However, the development of hill stations reached its peak in India under British rule (Kennedy, 1996; Sacareau, 2007). Originating as military camps, these places gradually became popular among colonizers and turned into holiday and health resorts. Previous studies have identified the main functions of hill stations: first, a sanatorium where European residents could be reinvigorated; second, an equivalent to the homeland of colonizers that evoked a sense of nostalgia; third, a European enclave that provided an exclusive social atmosphere to privileged people; and finally, summer capital of the colonies or local municipalities (Fife, 2009; Jennings, 2003; Kanwar, 1984; Inagaki, 2008; Lorin, 2004; Reed, 1979; Sacareau, 2007)

Although the French in Indochina modeled British hill stations in India (Fife, 2009), French hill stations in Indochina were different, important figures. First, in order to choose appropriate locations for hill stations, the government created temporary study missions that performed exploration and acclimatization, followed by topographic missions finding access

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roads. The overall assessment of the site was carried out if initial inspections showed positive results. Finally, the authorities assigned a commission to evaluate the project, to decide the final location of the station, and to organize its development (Demay, 2014). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a series of hill stations were established in high-altitude locations throughout French Indochina, such as Sa Pa, Tam Dao, and Ba Vi in Tonkin; Ba Na, Bach Ma, and Đà Lạt in Annam; and Bockor in Cambodia (Demay, 2014; Fife, 2009). Despite decolonization, hill stations still survive in new nation states and are heavily frequented by domestic tourists (Inagaki, 2008).

Demand for seaside resorts in colonies was lower in comparison with hill stations (Demay, 2014; Spencer & Thomas, 1948). British India, the Dutch East Indies, and French Indochina did not heavily invest in developing beach resorts (ibid.). In Indochina, only three resorts were created by state demand: Cap Saint-Jacques (present-day Vung Tau), Sam Son in Annam, and Kep in Cambodia. There are several reasons behind the withdrawing of the authorities from the establishment of seaside resorts: lower cost and less mobilized technical resources, making beach resorts affordable to private businesses on the one hand and the quick and spontaneous growth of these vacation sites without state impulsion on the other. The Annamite coast witnessed the proliferation of seaside resorts, favored by their proximity to urban areas, and the creation of comfortable hotels and private villas (Demay, 2014, pp. 69–72; Peyvel & Vo, 2016).

Other natural landscapes as well as historical and cultural vestiges were also explored for tourism purposes (Demay, 2014; Meulendijks, 2017). In French Indochina, this movement resulted in official decrees issued to protect heritages from being destroyed and the creation of scientific institutions devoted to the heritages of the colony. The Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) played an important role in the discovery and preservation of monuments across

Indochina. However, the preservation efforts were not independent from political purposes (Demay, 2014).

3.3.4. Tourism promotion

Tourism promotional activities in the colonial period can be categorized in two main groups: dissemination of documentary sources and exhibiting the colonies. Among documentary sources, guidebooks wooed potential customers through descriptions of colonies as exotic, unique, and authentic (Demay, 2014; Meulendijks, 2017). Guidebooks praised natural beauty, introducing the history, geography, and ethnography of local places and providing substantial information relating to tourism services (Baranowski et al., 2015; Demay, 2014; Meulendijks, 2017). Additionally, these publications applauded achievements of the colonial government, thus defending and legitimizing colonialism (Lemaire, 2010; Meulendijks, 2017). French Indochina saw its territory strongly promoted in the *Madrolle*, the *Nores*, and the *Taupin* guides (Demay, 2014), whereas the Dutch East Indies witnessed the flourishing publication of guidebooks edited by the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, a semi-governmental tourism organization (Meulendijks, 2017). Radar (2008) mentions another corpus of documents comprising books and textbooks published in Metropolitan France as an effective marketing tool.

Efforts to stage the colonies were translated into museum projects, international exhibitions, and occasional festivals. Opened in every *pays* of French Indochina as purveyors of knowledge and propaganda vehicles in support of tourism, museums showcased the ethnographic and cultural tourist attractions of French Indochina: Khmer monuments and inscriptions, Cham art, Annamite art, and Laotian art. In the meantime, festivals for different occasions and at different places valued local customs and traditions (Demay, 2014). Exhibitions organized within and outside the colony attracted large audiences, making these

events powerful tourism promoters (Radar, 2008). For instance, essays published on the exhibition of Marseille in 1922 stated that the Indochinese colony and Angkor temples were ready to be visited and that French tourists could experience comfortable travel within and outside the area (ibid.). The exhibition held in 1931 in Vincennes, Paris, left widespread repercussions (Cooper, 2001; Demay, 2014; Furlough, 2002; Radar, 2008). Furlough (2002) describes the exhibition as a lesson given where its visitors gained knowledge about the colony and, at the same time, experienced colonial practices.

Actors of the aforementioned activities are tourism and propaganda agencies both in the metropole and the colony. In the Dutch East Indies, "the Vereeniging mobilized the consumption habits, imaginaries and anticipations, aesthetic norms and travel conventions that characterized modern tourism" (Meulendijks, 2017, p. 2), while tourism in French Indochina received generous support from politicians, elites, and entrepreneurs (DeWald, 2008; Lemaire, 2010). A Paris-centered tourism lobby was "composed of metropolitan shipping companies and French tourism advocacy groups such as the Touring-Club de France" (DeWald, 2008, p. 222). In the colony, the Economic Agency of Indochina, the Indochinese Tourism and Propaganda Office, the Central Tourism Office of Indochina, and Bureau of Tourism in different *pays* actively contributed to the expansion of tourism activities (Demay, 2014; DeWald, 2008).

3.3.5. Tourist market and behavior

The tourism phenomenon primarily concerned European residents in colonies (Demay, 2014; Spencer & Thomas, 1948). The first visitors to remote areas in French Indochina were military personnel who searched for locations for military camps or explorers who tried to draw local area maps and discover its natural resources and commercial roads (Demay, 2014). With the development of mountain and seaside resorts, they rushed to these sites in summer, leading

to some locations thronged with tourists (Spencer & Thomas, 1948). A preference for hill stations in high altitudes was seen among white people who wanted to live within their social enclave and enjoy their homeland's food, landscape, and leisure activities (Demay, 2014; Spencer & Thomas, 1948).

Indigenous people's participation in tourism was late and motivated by factors different from European's. They were elites who were influenced by Western education and philosophy, as in the case of Phạm Quỳnh, Nguyen Tien Lang, and Nguyen Van Vinh (Goscha, 1996). Their journeys were inspired by the thirst for knowledge, the wish to discover civilizations of different people living on the Indochinese peninsula, and their desire to expand their perception of the contemporary political, social, and cultural situation (ibid.). Their travel writings not only introduced local people and landscapes but also provided information relating to economic opportunities.

3.4. Tourism and colonization

Extant studies have extensively discussed the contribution of tourism to the French cause in Indochina. First, tourism was employed as an effective tool to promote the positive image of the colony, thus justifying colonial expansion. Travel writings, guidebooks, and exhibitions portrayed the colony as attractive and entertaining, where European tourists could enjoy exotic nature and experience alien culture, where French efforts brought material and civilizational progress to indigenous people. Thus, these publications and events were primarily intended to attract visitors to discover the beauty of the Far East colony. However, they simultaneously showed the colony's economic opportunities, inviting bankers, traders, entrepreneurs, and developers from the mother country to seek fortune overseas. In addition, they persuaded the public to believe in the legitimate nature of the French conquest of

Indochina and claimed the public's support for further investment in the colony (Furlough, 2002; Demay, 2014; Lemaire, 2009).

Second, tourism acted as a "catalyst" for and component of economic exploitation pursued by the colonizer. As a catalyst, site accessibility was stated as part of the reason behind the development of transport infrastructure, especially in mountainous regions where hill stations were projected. Thus, remote areas that local people left unexploited were "put into value" and generated considerable profit to European masters through the extraction and trade of natural resources, especially forest products and minerals. As a component, the emergence of tourism in Indochina provided an alternative for the regular repatriation of French officials that proved to be expensive and ineffective (Demay, 2014; DeWald, 2008; Fife, 2009; Jennings, 2003, 2011). Moreover, tourism took advantage of the colony's historical and natural sites, turning them into a profit generator without massive infrastructural investment (Demay, 2014).

Third, in social terms, tourism contributed to strengthening the cohesion within the colonizer community, thus maintaining their authority over the colonized society. Tourist sites, mainly accessible only to colonials, offered them an "island" where they enjoyed a European lifestyle. Holidays at hill stations and seaside resorts restored people's strength and allowed vacationers to participate in activities familiar to them in the mother country. Tourist sites whose conditions were similar to those in Europe remedied homesickness and simultaneously nurtured a sense of nostalgia. In the meantime, the availability of recreational facilities in large cities facilitated metropolitan life. The management of the colony required a significant number of colonials, and tourism, as one of the most important leisure pastimes, became an indispensable part of the community's prosperity (Demay, 2014; Jennings, 2003).

In the opposite direction, colonialism led to the emergence of tourism and exerted a positive influence on its development. Explorations by which knowledge about the country was acquired in service of colonial expansion eventually resulted in the discovery of the colony's

historical and natural sites that eventually became tourist attractions. The monumental complex of Angkor, one of the symbols of Indochina, was revealed to the public by the writings of naturalists and explorers while traveling across the colony for scientific research and military penetration. Indications on the Langbian plateau, where the Đà Lạt hill station was located, were provided to the government by Alexandre Yersin, a doctor and independent explorer (Demay, 2014; Jennings, 2003, 2011). Moreover, knowledge collected by explorers and scholars through missions funded by the colonial government became the ingredient of guidebooks and promotional material in support of tourism. Support of the colonial administration to tourism development in Indochina could also be seen in transport provision and subsidies to other tourism infrastructure, especially accommodations, as well as to European entrepreneurs (Demay, 2014; DeWald, 2008).

3.5. Tourism and decolonization

Extant literature discusses the relationship between tourism and decolonization from two perspectives: destruction of material presence and reaction to Western representations and assumptions. As a result of war, most hill stations in Vietnam were abandoned and demolished in large part until the economic renovation of the country in the 1980s (Fife, 2009; Inagaki, 2008; Michaud & Turner, 2006). Around 200 colonial buildings erected in Sa Pa by the French collapsed due to attacks of Vietminh sympathizers and the French army between 1945–1954 (Michaud & Turner, 2006). Bach Ma and Ba Na fell into ruin (Fife, 2009).

Regarding non-material decolonization, Cindy (2013) and Lap (2018) analyzed a number of Vietnamese elites' travel narratives to discover their attitude toward colonial domination and exploitation. Their scholarship mentions the discontent of the underdevelopment of the colony and the rhetoric of civilization promoted by the colonizer.

3.6. Tourism and postcolonialism

Studies on tourism in present-day Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia that draw on postcolonial theory remain scarce. However, exiting publications have acknowledged the impact of the colonial past on the current practice of tourism. The colonialism lingers in its representations that make former colonized countries into exotic destinations. Peyvel (2011) identifies four scales of exoticism in relation to French imaginary in present-day Vietnam's tourism. According to the author, the imaginary of the French colonial period plays an important role in the promotion of Vietnam in the international tourism market. A collection of colonial toponymy is employed by international travel guides instead of post-independent names, confirming the destination's "status of former French colony." The French imaginary also "constructed as an economic and spatial resource, on which the Vietnamese actors of tourism capitalize at national, local, and domestic scales, following complex process of exoticism and self-exoticism." The touristification of colonial buildings and the reviving of colonial decoration and furniture stem from this movement.

Källén (2015), studying tourism at the standing stones of Hintang in Laos, found a perpetuation of the dichotomizing opposition between tourists and locals that originated in the colonial period. While locals are primitive and belong to the past, tourists are modern and belong to the present. Källén suggests that archaeological and anthropological studies on Hintang from the colonial period "developed typologies for humans and things, and established ranking schemes on the basis of the evolutionist thinking of colonialism" (Kaya, 2017, p. 102). Western hegemony is also prolonged in the academic world. Mura and Wijesinghe (2019) acknowledge the reiteration of Eurocentric epistemic beliefs and practices by tourism scholars in postcolonial Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Moreover, tourism perpetuates colonial clichés of tourist sites such as Angkor. In Winter's opinion, the site is portrayed by tourists as "a desolate, abandoned landscape," and

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Angkor "serves as a metonym of nostalgia for a bygone and romanticized Indochina" (Winter, 2007, pp. 58, 90). The sense of nostalgia is also the reason behind the visit to Vietnam of international tourists who describe their visit as a journey through time and space (Peyvel, 2011; see also Jennings, 2003).

The postcolonial period also witnessed the reinvention of hill stations. Michaud and Turner (2006) found remarkable resemblances between the tourism development of the Sa Pa hill station during the French colonial period and since the site reentered the international tourism market in 1993. Da Lat is revived and has become a favorite destination of domestic honeymooners (Inagaki, 2008; Peyvel, 2011).

3.7. Conclusion

While interest in the history of French Indochina is widespread, tourism in this part of the French Empire remains relatively neglected by both historians and tourism researchers. The author has not found any academic publications on the topic in the Vietnamese language. The number of studies in the English and French languages is modest, and they leave several gaps to be fulfilled.

First, scholars tend to focus on a single site (Fife; 2009; Jennings, 2003, 2015; Michaud & Turner, 2006), a group of sites (Inagaki, 2008; Sarcareau, 2007), a particular phenomenon such as travel writings (Goscha, 1996; Lap, 2018; Nguyen, 2013), or a specific component of tourism such as promotion (Furlough, 2002; Lemaire, 2010). Studies of Demay (2014) and DeWald (2008) are two exceptions that cover all five main components of the tourism industry (transportation, attractions, accommodation, promotion, market and behavior). The two authors describe the establishment of tourism and analyze it against the backdrop of colonization. Nevertheless, their studies distance more or less the emergence of tourism from the historical

context of the colony. Moreover, previous studies place heavy emphasis on the contribution of tourism to colonization, thus relatively underestimating their reciprocal relationship.

On the other hand, while studies on postcolonial tourism acknowledge the continuing of colonial representations in current tourism practices, they have not thoroughly investigated the establishment of these representations by guidebooks and other promotional activities in the colonial period. How was the exotic image of the Indochinese colony's nature and people constructed? How was the hybrid identity created? How did European tourism practice influence native people's lifestyle through mimicry? These are questions that remain inadequately addressed. Finally, as a result of the lack of attention paid to native people's tourism, previous studies leave open the question about the contribution of tourism to decolonization.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides justification for the decision of the methodological blueprint of the research. The research questions and objectives provide guidance for the selection of the methodology. The qualitative approach that guides this study is exemplified in this chapter. It also explains the paradigm applied to interpret and construct the data. Finally, this chapter clarifies the reasoning for the adopted method and describes in detail the process of data acquisition, management, and interpretation.

4.2. Qualitative research approach

Qualitative research has proven to be an effective way to explain complex and multifaceted tourism phenomena in territories that have been predominated with quantitative approaches for a long period of time (Jennings, 2011; Slevitch, 2011; Wilson & McIntosh, 2010; Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015). The growing acceptability of qualitative research in tourism studies is demonstrated by an increasing number of interest groups and journals showing interest in these methodologies (Wilson & McIntosh, 2010; Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015). Qualitative approaches deepen the understanding of tourism and encourage researchers to investigate it in a more holistic way (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015). For the study of colonialism and tourism within the realm of tourism history, the qualitative approach to research inquiry prevails. The qualitative approach to research into the current topic is directed by the research questions proposed above and is guided by a set of principals in the qualitative domain, including paradigm, ontology, and methodology.

4.3. Research paradigm

The interpretivist and constructivist paradigms in qualitative research will drive this study. The interpretivist paradigm primarily aims to "understand the subjective world of human experience" (Guba & Licoln, 1989, cited in Kivunja & Kyuini, 2017, p. 33). Interpretivist researchers believe in the vital importance of context in the pursuit of understanding (Kivunja & Kyuini, 2017) and the inseparability between the researcher and reality (Weber, 2004). Interpretivism takes an "inductive approach that starts with data and tries to derive a theory about the phenomenon of interest from the observed data" (Bhattacherjee, 2012, p. 35). Closely related to interpretivism, the constructivist approach describes the acquisition of knowledge as an active process of building or construction (Fox, 2001). Pernecky (2012, p.1132) suggests that the constructivist approach can be applicable "to examine the meaning-making of individuals." As a subset of the interpretivist approach, constructivism poses no conflict to the former. In fact, the two approaches can be used in conjunction. These two paradigms are justified to shape the philosophical ground for this research, as the research uses an inductive approach to deconstruct archives of colonialization and then interpret the documents in the framework of the tourism system to answer the first research question. For the second research question, the researcher constructed an Indochinese sense of nostalgia in light of its impact on present-day tourism.

4.4. Ontological, epistemological, and methodological underpinnings

The interpretivist/constructivist paradigm requires relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, and hermeneutic methodology (Levers, 2013; Perneckey, 2012). From a relativist perspective, reality and human experience are not distinguishable from each other (Levers, 2013). In this regard, scientific research aims to "understand the subjective experience of reality and multiple truth" (Levers, 2013, p. 2). Subjectivist epistemology implies that a researcher's individual reflection and interpretation play an important role in the meaning-

making of data (Kivunja & Kyuini, 2017; Levers, 2013; Slevitch, 2011). It places emphasis on detailed description of the phenomenon through meanings, interpretations, processes, and contexts (ibid.).

Philosophical hermeneutics is believed to be "a thorough and well-conceived epistemological orientation that can help us to better understand our positions as knowing subjects and the power of our conceptualizations of the world in our everyday lives" (Caton, 2012, p. 343). Danner (2006), as cited in Viera and de Queiroz (2017), argues that hermeneutics comprises three things: expression, explication, and interpretation. Originally the interpretation of textual meaning (Ablett & Dyer, 2009; Rittelmeyer & Parmentier, cited in Viera & de Queiroz, 2017), the hermeneutic approach demands researchers to take into account the historical context of the object of interpretation (Ablett & Dyer, 2009; Caton, 2012).

Hermeneutic phenomenology has gained increasing momentum as research methodology (Laverty, 2003). Hermeneutic phenomenology is situated "within an interpretive paradigm that is grounded in a realist ontology plus an epistemology that involves hermeneutic interpretation" (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1071). Phenomenology attempts to explain the meaning of an experience or a phenomenon that other scientific methods are unable to understand (Tirrell, 2018). In tourism studies, phenomenology is employed to interpret or understand "the experiential, and lived existence of tourists/guests, locals/hosts, service providers and any other stakeholders that take part in the tourism phenomenon" (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1056). Therefore, philosophical hermeneutics constitutes a robust methodological underpinning to study the history of tourism.

4.5. Archival research method

4.5.1. Rationale for the method

To carry out the research, the author used the archival research method, which involves the analysis of historical documents containing information related to the research topic (Bailey,

1994 cited in Mogalakwe, 2006). The Society of American Archivists (as cited in McKee & Porter, 2012, p. 60) defines archives or historical documents as:

Materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence responsibilities of their creators.

As such, historical documents provide access to the organizations, individuals, and events of the past (Mohr & Ventresca, 2002), thus enabling researchers to answer research inquiries about past phenomena. Given that the data have been created previously and without relation to one's own research project, the archival research method is "free from researcher bias during the data collection phase, and free from respondent bias with regard to the research question" (Power, 2018, p. 232). In tourism studies, analyzing archival documents is crucial as it facilitates an understanding of the lifecycle of tourist destinations, the reaction of the public to tourism, and the effects of government actions to this industry (Timothy, 2012). In this sense, the researcher adopted an interpretive paradigm by selecting and interpreting existing documents in the archives and reconstructing them around tourism themes.

Nevertheless, the archival research method presents several potential challenges. First, archival documents are usually unique to a particular location and remain undigitized, which requires researchers to visit archival deposits (Dale, 2005). Second, a systematic approach is needed to "identify appropriate documents and artefacts" (ibid., p. 17). In other words, this method encloses basic historiographic skills fundamental to archival consultations (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011). Third, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to answer the research question in a clear and convincing way (Dale, 2005; Vela, 2008). Researchers thus need to consult a substantial amount of archival information in an organized way to thoroughly understand, discover, and produce evidence-based arguments about the character of past events (Mohr & Ventresca, 2002; Vogt et al., 2012). Finally, archival research requires good interpretation

techniques to analyze data and secure its integrity (Dale, 2005; Decosta, 2011). To tackle these challenges, the researcher adopted a constructivism paradigm to deconstruct these materials and then reconstruct them into the frame of the research.

The author has been working in the archives field for 10 years, having access to historical documents, especially those emanated from French administration in Vietnam. Moreover, the author's background in French makes it appropriate to adopt the archival research method.

For the purpose of this study, official documents created by the colonial government in French Indochina, especially those falling into the L-series (Commerce-Industry-Tourism), will be carefully selected and critically analyzed. These comprise official letters, reports, proceedings, and studies conducted at the request of the public administration and related to communication networks, tourist sites, accommodations, and promotion activities. The corpus of the source is expected to include guidebooks, newspapers articles, photos, posters, postcards, and films released in these old days to disseminate the image of French Indochina within the colony and throughout the world. Information contained in these documents will be selected and categorized into subsections to address the research questions, as mentioned above.

4.5.2. Data acquisition

Following a convention concluded between the French government and Bao Dai, an important part of the collection of archival documents emanating from the colonial government in Vietnam was transferred to France and preserved at the Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer in Aix-en-Provence. The remaining part is in the custody of the Vietnamese government and is currently preserved at National Archives No.1 in Hanoi, No.2 in Hochiminh City, and No.4 in Đà Lạt. The researcher's plan to collect data in foreign archival institutions (Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer in France and National Archives of Cambodia) could not be

implemented due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. The researcher instead focused on three archival repositories in Vietnam and consulted the colonial collection of the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences and the digital collection of the National Library of France as a supplement. Archival research was carried out in Vietnam from March 2020 to August 2020.

Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is "associated with the interpretation of text" (Paterson & Higgs, 2005, p. 342). Thus, hermeneutics is applicable to interpret a wide variety of archival documents, ranging from official reports to newspaper articles (moved from 4.5). Thus, the following types of documents have been collected:

- Official reports

- Official letters exchanged between colonial administrations at various levels of responsibility

- Official letters between the colony and the mother country

- Guidebooks and written documents prepared for exhibitions

- Meeting notes of organizations in charge of tourism governance and promotion

- Surveys and studies carried out by colonial officials

- Newspaper articles

- Books written by important figures of the colonial cause in Indochina

Hermeneutic phenomenology

The hermeneutic phenomenology principally purports to better comprehend "lived experience, privileging participant knowledge through their experience of living-or being-in-the-world, and offering a holistic perspective that is inclusive of emotional, embodied, existential, and pathic ways of knowing" (McAuliffe et al., p. 117). The interview prevails in this approach as a primary method to collect data, but other materials, including written

accounts of experience, prove to be an important corpus of analysis (Tirell, 2018, p. 31).

Therefore, hermeneutic phenomenology is pertinent to analyze travel stories in order to

describe the authors' experience and reaction to colonial power. As such, travel stories written

by Vietnamese elites were collected and analyzed in order to demonstrate the relationship

between tourism and decolonization.

4.5.3. Data management

On location at the different archival and social institutions, the collection of data began

with consulting electronic catalogs with keywords associated with the five main components

of the tourism industry. This step provided a large amount of information related to documents

potentially relevant to the research. Any information related to the five components, such as

tourism governance, tourism market, transport infrastructure, establishment of resorts, hotel

development, tourist destinations, and promotional material, were considered particularly

important. However, given that archival documents are organized into files and photography is

not allowed, the researcher consulted the files as a whole and chose the most significant

documents according to the list mentioned above to collect and took note of relevant

information if necessary.

More than 300 files were consulted, and more than 2,000 digitized pages of documents

were collected. Digital documents were organized into folders at four different levels. The first

level of classification was according to the components: transportation, attraction,

accommodation, governance and promotion, and market and behavior. The second level of

classification represented the subthemes of each component, such as railroad, road, water line,

and air transport, for the component of transportation. The third level of classification was a

chronological order according to the date when the documents were created. The last level of

classification was by the index of the archival files, such as GGI3034. The researcher also

printed out "core" documents and brought them back to Japan. "The availability of hard copies of these documents not only facilitated annotations and referencing but also enabled easier access to the data for analysis and cross-referencing with other documents and the literature" (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011, p. 143).

4.5.4. Data interpretation

In this thesis, colonialism, decolonization, and postcolonialism serve as theoretical perspectives "to make sense of the data, situate the research and give it direction" (L'Espoir Decosta, 2011, p. 150). To explore the relationship between tourism and colonization, the author applied a chronological description by dividing the investigated period into two different stages. Then, information relating to the establishment of tourism in each stage was grouped into five components (transportation, attraction, accommodation, promotion, market and behavior). Finally, the interpretivist approach was employed to interpret the data and provide concrete descriptions of tourism establishment in line with the corresponding colonial policies.

On the other hand, travel writings in the Vietnamese language were analyzed to demonstrate the decolonizing mission of tourism. Using the theory of decolonization, evidence from travel stories was extracted and divided into three main themes: self-representation and nationalism; discontent of colonial policy; and repudiation of the civilizational rhetoric. The author summarized the main ideas of the authors of travel stories and quoted important paragraphs to elucidate the arguments.

Finally, the author relied on the analysis of guidebooks, exhibitions, and travel stories to understand the formation of Indochinese identity through tourism. Drawing on the postcolonial theory, this section focuses on the concepts of exoticism, hybridity, and mimicry. Accordingly, the author selected relevant information from guidebooks and exhibition-related documents to provide evidences of the ambivalent image of Indochina constructed by the

colonizers. In the meantimes, historical data on the participation of native people in tourism were provided. The analysis was followed by a brief account of travel stories written by Vietnamese elites which examplify the hybrid identity in the colonial context.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has described the methodology and methods employed to conduct the study. Taking a qualitative approach, the research is guided by the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm that is underpinned by relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, and hermeneutic methodology. The previous philosophical assumptions dictated the use of the archival research method to collect, manage, and interpret the data.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS ON TOURISM AND COLONIZATION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter describes transformations brought about by French colonization to tourism establishment in Indochina. It also analyzes the contribution made by tourism to the justification and reinforcement of French power over the colony. The emergence of tourism is described in relation to the historical context of the colony that is divided into two periods: from 1897–1918 and the interwar years (1919–1939). Each period begins with a brief account of historical facts that have an impact on tourism development, followed by the description of transformations of relevant tourism components.

5.2. Period between 1897–1918

5.2.1. Historical context

After successive military expeditions, the French finally placed the entire territory of Cambodia, Dai Nam (present-day Vietnam), and Laos under their control by the late 19th century (Brocheux & Hémery, 2000; Dommen, 2001). The Indochinese Union was established in 1897, followed by considerable effort to exploit the colony. French colonization of Indochina was informed by the theory of pessimistic mercantilism that dominated contemporary colonial economic theory. This theory was developed from the assumption that industrialized countries produce more than the absorption ability of their markets, and thus, the colonies were assigned to perform the twin roles of producer of raw materials and market for manufactured goods. The colonized territory was therefore "locked into a trade economy in which industry plays a minimal part." A communication network was developed in accordance with this theory and constituted a crucial part of Indochina's economic activity in general and tourism in particular before 1914 (Hardy, 1998, pp. 808–809).

The French invasion of Indochina was hotly debated in the metropole because it incurred both significant human and material cost (Brocheux & Hémery, 2000; Dommen, 2001; Lemaire, 2010). In order to legitimize expensive military expeditions and infrastructure development in the Far East colony, the authority needed convincing reasons to gain public support and to encourage their investment. Tourism was used as an effective tool of communication in support of the colonial cause. The publication of guidebooks that widely disseminated the positive image of the Indochinese colony was another important feature of tourism in the investigated period.

On the other hand, the successful colonization of a space requires an understanding of the environment as well as its social and political structures. Explorers in the first years of conquest performed an essential role by observing and describing the colony's geographical features, topography, fauna and flora, and indigenous peoples (Demay, 2014). Their exploration resulted in the discovery of natural resources, trade routes, and economic opportunities in general that could enrich the community of the colonizer and provide the mother country with the advantages necessary to compete with other colonial powers (Burlette, 2007). It allowed the rulers to penetrate into areas that native peoples, deprived of expertise and technology, found hostile and inaccessible, especially high mountain ranges. In addition, their writings deepened the comprehension of the life of Indochinese peoples, their history, traditions, and the way in which they tamed the surrounding nature, which made profound contributions to the formulation of reasonable colonial policy (Demay, 2014).

Knowledge about the colony constituted a vital prerequisite for the emergence of tourism practices in French Indochina. Through explorations, explorers located places that met the requirements for mountain and seaside resorts, paving the way for the creation of enclaves that separated Europeans from the so-called "inferior" colonized community. In addition, historical vestiges of local lost civilizations were rediscovered and rapidly became well-known

tourist attractions. Information collected by scientific missions eventually became the ingredients of guidebooks and other materials that promoted the colony's tourism.

5.2.2. Transportation

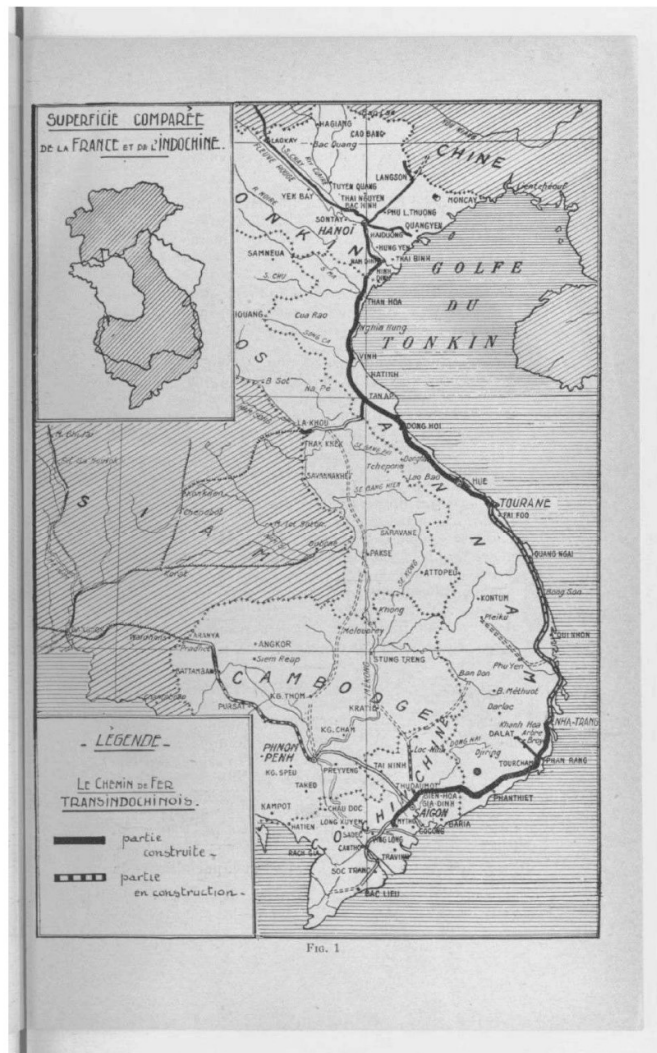*Figure 5.1: Transindochinois railway (source: Maignan, 1936)*

Modern infrastructure for transportation within Indochina was basically to be created. The idea of a railway connecting Sài Gòn with Phnompenh had appeared on the political agenda of the Cochinchinese government since 1874. However, the project proved to be infeasible due to difficulties in relation to the natural physical environment and the sparse

population (Taboulet, 1941). Before the arrival of Governor-General Doumer to Indochina, there was only the railway Sài Gòn - My Tho, with a length of 70 km constructed to shorten the journey from Sài Gòn to Phnompenh, and a line of 5 km joining Sài Gòn to Cho Lon (Maignan, 1936).

It was not until 1898 that the overall program of a railroad network was launched by Governor-General Doumer. It comprised a dorsal line (the Transindochinois) stretching throughout the country from Lang Son to My Tho and three transversals. The first section that connected Hanoi to Vinh was put into operation in 1905. The line Tourane - Dong Ha, placed in service in 1908, was constructed in two sections: Tourane - Hue and Hue - Dong Ha. The line Sài Gòn - Nha Trang opened in 1913. In the same year, the section Vinh - Dong Ha was launched but was then interrupted due to the outbreak of World War I (Maignan, 1936).

The road network was as important as the railway network given that it allowed the migration of the labor force from overpopulated areas to fertile but sparsely populated regions. Prior to 1912, projects of road construction were executed in each *pays* of the colony by its proper financial resources to meet the local demand. Large roads that allowed the communication between different *pays* were absent. It was not until 1912 that an ambitious project was initiated by Governor-General Albert Sarraut to equip the colony with a vast road network.

While the internal communication network remained deficient, Indochina was also difficult to reach from the outside. In 1902, only three shipping companies offered monthly travel from Marseille to Sài Gòn, namely Messageries Maritimes, Compagnie nationale de navigation, and Chargeur Réunies (Madrolle, 1902). Otherwise, tourists had to use foreign ships to come to the Far East (Singapore, Hongkong, Yokohama) before being transferred by a French company to Indochina. The situation just slightly improved in the following years

because the Messageries Maritimes had provided bimonthly travels to the colony since 1907 (Lemaire, 2010).

5.2.3. Resorts and historical vestiges

The Southeast Asian colony was initially under military control. According to Brocheux and Hémery (2009, p. 57), the expeditionary forces, which were comprised of 42,000 men at the end of 1885 and amounted a total of 100,000 with troop rotation, demonstrated low ability to adapt "to the political and strategic situation" they were supposed to matter. "These mediocre troops, in part recruited from dubious units were chronically ravaged by epidemics, such as cholera in August through September of 1885, which killed 4% of the corps." The considerable mortality of the military and then civil servants necessitated frequent repatriations and incessant transfers that disorganized the services and incurred significant cost without impressive results (Debay, 1904; Glaillard, 1919).

Indeed, the military and civil servants had to return to France to spend a restorative holiday, the former every 2 years and the latter every 3 years. Most military vessels and mail ships were utilized to transfer these officials from Indochina to France, and vice versa (Glaillard, 1919). Therefore, the establishment of local sanatoriums was a necessary complement of health care service in the colony. They could delay if not remove all repatriations (Debay, 1904) that caused heavy financial burden to the colony and the mother country's budget (Glaillard, 1919).

In Tonkin, following special instructions given by the Ministry of Colony, the governor-general of Indochina required a military delegation to find an appropriate place in the Tam Dao mountain range in Tonkin to create a sanatorium in 1904 (Coronnat, 1904). In search of a sanatorium at a greater height, near a railroad and on a larger plateau, which allowed the construction of necessary buildings, the Résident de Lao Kay proposed the plateau Sa Pa - Lo Sui Tong (Tourrès, 1909).
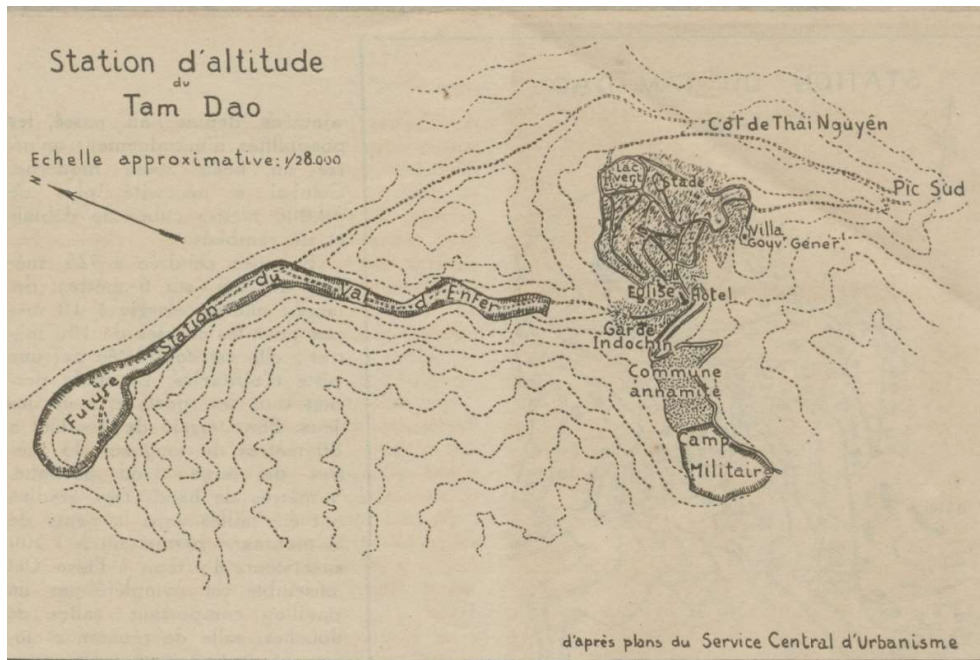
Figure 5.2: Plan of Tam Đảo hill station in 1905 (source: National Archives of Vietnnam)

In Annam, the exploration of the Langbian plateau by Dr. Yersin in 1893 resulted in the discovery of Đà Lạt. The site was then studied by many others, such as Resident O'Dendhal, Captain Thouard, architect Barsanti, General de Beylié, and Doctor Aueur, who unanimously appreciated the advantages of the station. A comprehensive planning map for Đà Lạt was erected in 1899 (Glaillard, 1919). The idea of the Đà Lạt hill station was initiated by Governor-General Paul Doumer in the late 19th century (Glaillard, 1919). However, it was not until 1916 that the construction was pursued, mainly driven by Governor-General Roume (Dr. Gaide, 1930). At the turn of the century, Bà Nà was discovered by Captain Debay dispatched by Doumer to search for a sanatorium near Tourane or Huế (Debay, 1904). The project, however, was delayed until 1916 following the exploration led by the director of health in Annam.
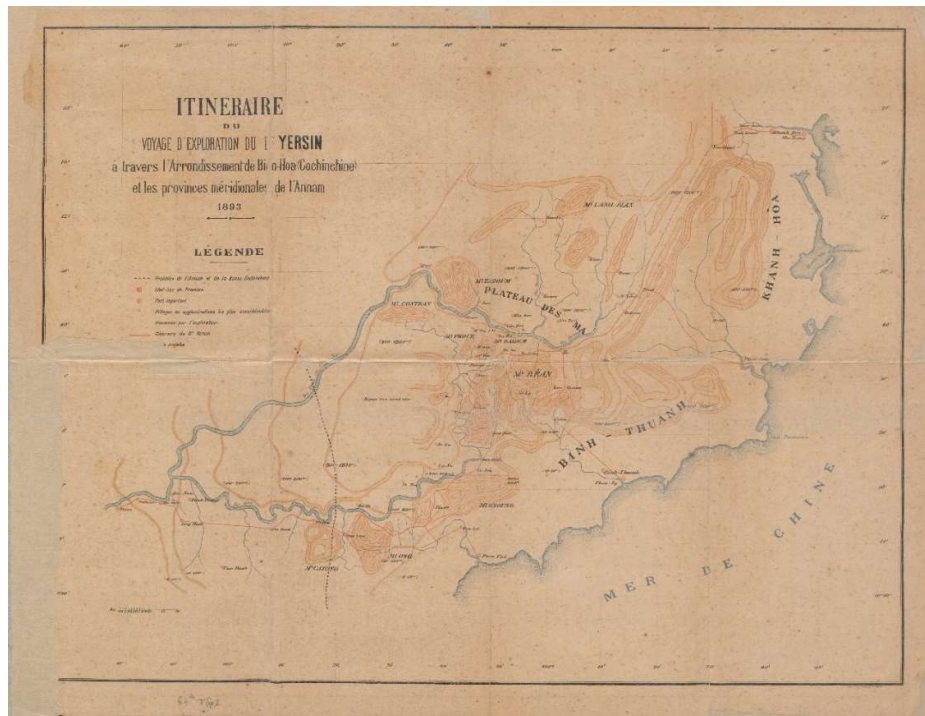
Figure 5.3: Itinerary of Yersin's exploration in 1893 (source: National Archives of Vietnam)

In comparison to Vietnam, hill stations did not gain currency in Cambodia and Laos. Bockor in Cambodia became a hill station in 1917 by the initiative of the country's resident-superior. Located on the heights of the Elephants mountains and near the gulf of Siam, the site was chosen for its combined advantages of sea and mountain. Bockor was favored by Europeans living in Cambodia, Cochinchina, and Siam. It was especially intended to receive people suffering from the depressing climate of the lowland. Tran Ninh in Laos, on the other hand, presents a number of high hills covered with pines, oaks, and chestnuts. It mainly attracted Europeans residing in Tran Ninh who preferred to come to the station in the period from November to March (Dr. Gaide, 1930).

While high mountains required careful investigation before any attempt, the coastal area appeared to be a feasible solution in the short term. Seaside resorts were located near garrisons and thus proved to be cheap solutions without disturbing the defense of the colony (Dr. Gaide, 1930). Unlike hill stations, few seaside resorts were created by state demand, with

only three under this category: Cap Saint-Jacques, Sam Son (as a seaside sanatorium), and Kep (in Cambodia).

Cap Saint-Jacques near Sai Gon was the first seaside resort created in Indochina. In 1894, the area became an urban center, and public works were carried out to turn it into an important port and city. A sanatorium was constructed, offering a low price to patients and convalescents (Picanon, 1896). However, after several attempts made with French troops, the Cap was completely abandoned until 1904, when a ministerial circular prescribed the creation of a sanatorium along with sanitation works. The project was doomed a failure without covering its ongoing costs. In 1912, one of the sanatorium buildings was bought by the administration and converted into a rest house for functionaries and individuals who wanted to have a vacation in the area (Dr. Gaide, 1930).

In Tonkin, Do Son was proposed for development since the turn of the century. However, tourists rapidly left Do Son for Sam Son in the central region, which gained more attention from the government. Tourists interested in spending their holidays in a seaside resort had many other choices, including, for example, Hon Gai in Quang Yen, Cua Lo 17 km from Vinh, Cua Tung in Quang Tri, Thuan An and Lang Co in Hue, My Khe in Tourane, and Nha Trang (Dr. Gaide, 1930). The proliferation of seaside resorts resulted from their easy accessibility and low-cost planning (Demay, 2014).

Explorations carried out by French explorers to gain knowledge about the colony that was necessary for a sound plan of colonial expansion resulted in the rediscovery of vestiges from local lost civilizations. The ruins of Angkor in Cambodia were a prominent example. The rediscovery of the historical site by French explorers in the late 19th century coincided with the conquest of Cochinchina and diplomatic negotiations between the French and Siamese governments that resulted in the establishment of a protectorate over Cambodia (Renan, 1922). Information relating to the Angkor temple was first given to French-speaking tourists around

1820 with translation by Abel Rémusat of an account of voyage written by Chinese who took a trip to Cambodia in the 18th century (Madrolle, 1902).

Among the first Europeans who visited and published their writings on Angkor, it is worth mentioning P.Bouilleveaux (1850), Henri Mouhot accompanied by a missionary named P.Sylvestre (1860), Bastian (1864), Thomson (1866), and the mission Doudart de Lagrée (1863, 1866) (Madrolle, 1925; Renan, 1922). Most of these visits were associated with colonial expansion. Henri Mouhot was a naturalist who came to Indochina in the first year of the French conquest (1858) in order to conduct research on the natural world of the colony. He heard about the existence of the monumental vestige while doing a survey in the Siamese province of Battambang and finally reached the site in 1861. Doudart de Lagrée, on the other hand, was the captain in charge of organizing the new protectorate of Cambodia. On his second visit to Angkor in 1866, he was the head of a scientific commission responsible for the exploration of the Mekong river (Renan, 1922). The commission comprised two groups. The first was entrusted to collect all documents that could clarify the history of Cambodia, and the second was to study all the resources of the country, its products, its geological constitution, and its fauna and flora so that competent figures could make the right decisions in terms of colonial policy (Capitaine de Frégate, 1883).

In 1861, French explorer Mouhot provided a description full of enthusiasm about the Buddhist monument, which was subsequently followed by Delaporte, a member of the mission Doudart de Lagrée, who conducted the first in-depth study on the vestige and organized the Khmer Museum later installed in Palais du Trocadéro in Paris (Madrolle, 1902). Archaeological and epigraphical studies on the historical site carried out by J.Harmand (1875) and Aymonier (1879–1884) were continued by independent scholars and those of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient. Their research was then popularized by publicists and tourists willing to understand these incomparable sites (Madrolle, 1925).

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5.2.4. Accommodations

Indochina was poorly equipped in terms of accommodation facilities necessary to receive tourists in the investigated period. In 1902, the number of hotels in the largest cities of the colony, as mentioned in Madrolle's guidebook, were modest: two hotels in Sài Gòn, five in Hanoi, two in Phnom Penh, and one in Tourane and Hue (Madrolle, 1902). The situation remained almost the same 5 years later. The number of hotels in Hanoi dropped to three, while that of Haiphong increased to four, and small cities such as Nam Dinh and Thanh Hoa possessed their own hotels (Lemaire, 2010). In 1913, Sài Gòn had three hotels, and one hotel was constructed near Angkor (Madrolle, 1913). Tourists could not expect to find any luxury, but hotels in large cities could provide comfort and proper installation for hot countries (Madrolle, 1902).

5.2.5. Promotion

In search for justification of colonial expansion, the governor-general of Indochina attempted to find an alternative to the 1902 exhibition in Hanoi that was doomed to failure (Lemaire, 2010). Guidebooks became his solution. In the same year, Claudius Madrolle published his first guidebook titled *Guide du voyageur* under the auspices of the Committee of French Asia and with the support of the government general of Indochina (Madrolle, 1902). Intended to facilitate the visit of Indochina in favor of French tourists, the publication of the document was singular: it was the first guidebook in a European language on this region of the world and fell within an industry that remained embryonic in Indochina (Lemaire, 2010). Madrolle justifies the necessity of guidebooks in his 1902 publication: "*A guidebook that provides both general information and special and practical indications about the country to travel, is the indispensable companion of tourists willing to use as effectively as possible the time spent on his trip; it facilitates the choice of places to visit, and the searching of means to*

get there, in short, it allows tourists to arrive in a foreign country that is already well informed instead of wandering in the vagueness and the unknown while wasting time and money" (Madrolle, 1902, Preface, I).

DE MARSEILLE A CANTON

Guide du Voyageur

PAR

CL. MADROLLE

Publié par le **Comité de l'Asie Française**

INDO-CHINE

CANAL DE SUEZ, DJIBOUTI et HARAR

INDES, CEYLAN

SIAM, CHINE MÉRIDIONALE

PARIS

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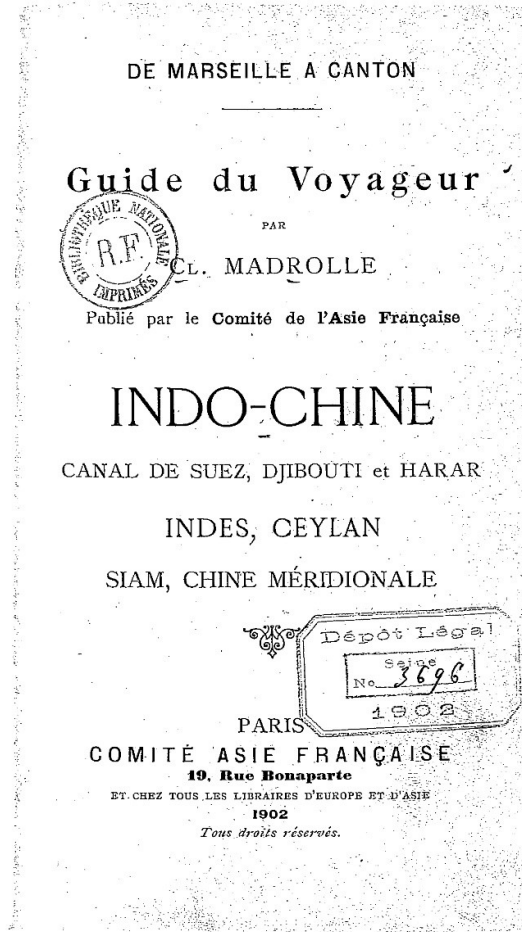
Figure 5.4: Cover page of Guide du Voyageur by Madrolle

(source: National Library of France)

Guide du voyageur comprised 257 pages, beginning with a general introduction to Indochina, followed by a description of its five *pays*. After a succinct history of the colony and its components, the book provides information relating to local administration, population, communication, culture, and interesting itineraries. In addition to official support from Governor-General Paul Doumer and the Committee of French Asia, Madrolle also received help from Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient and the Geographical Society for details in relation

to local history and languages (Madrolle, 1902). A similar scenario was repeated 5 years later, with the issuance of Madrolle's second guidebook, *Tonkin du Sud* (Lemaire, 2010).

All of Madrolle's guidebooks revealed to the reader the history of the Indochinese colony in general and its *pays* in particular. However, it is a history described through the lens of an advocate of colonial expansion. Before the arrival of the French colonizer, Indochina and its components were engulfed in civil wars and devastated by foreign invaders. Monarchical governments in charge of leading the countries were unqualified and became the reason behind the French intervention in the area by their unwise decision and aggressive attitude toward French citizens. For example, the history of Cochinchina is revealed as follows:

> "*French intervention [to Cochinchina] was motivated by the unwillingness of the Annamese governments towards our nationals and by the vexation and persecutions that French missionnaires and Catholics had to undergo*" (Madrolle, 1902, Cochinchina, p. 2).

All of this evidence was used to justify the French presence in this Far East continent where they were entrusted with the mission to pacify the nations and civilize the peoples (Madrolle, 1902, 1912, 1926).

5.3. The interwar years (1919–1939)

5.3.1. Historical context

In the aftermath of World War I, French domination in Indochina was well established (Brocheux & Hémery, 2000). This period was characterized by an extensive program of *mise en valeur* proposed by Albert Sarraut after returning from his second term as governor-general of Indochina in early 1919 to join Alexandre Millerand's government as the minister of colonies (Thomas, 2009). The so-called "Doumer program" was inherited and amplified to comprise not only railways and road networks but also water and air transportation.

The French wanted to assimilate their Indochinese subjects from the beginning of colonization (DeFrancis, 1977). The principal purpose of colonization was to "propagate among the natives the language, the methods of work, and, progressively, the spirit and the civilization of France" (Lewis, 1962, p. 143). Following and in addition to efforts of missionaries to convert natives to Christianity, the colonial government implemented a language policy that aimed to eliminate the Vietnamese language and replace it with French as soon as possible (DeFrancis, 1977; Lewis, 1962). After World War I, the policy of association replaced the policy of assimilation. Greater emphasis was placed on education, *quốc ngữ* was promoted, and a middle class emerged among native peoples, leading to profound changes in social life (Brocheux & Hémery, 2009; Cindy, 2013; Lap, 2018).

5.3.2. Transportation

The interwar years witnessed massive improvements in terms of transport infrastructure. While domestic communication was facilitated by the completion of the Transindochinese and the expansion of the road network, international travel was also enhanced, especially when air transport began to connect the colony with the outside world in the 1930s.

Following the Doumer program in the previous period, the network of railroads continued to expand. In 1922, the construction of the Transindochinese resumed, starting with the section Vinh - Dong Ha that came into use in 1927. The last section Tourane - Nha Trang, which reunited the sections Hanoi - Tourane and Sài Gòn –Tourane, was inaugurated in 1936 (Maignan, 1936). In particular, a cog railway was constructed between Krongpha and Đà Lạt, greatly facilitating the *mise en valeur* of the hill station and the highland region as a whole (Gouvernement général de l'Indochine, 1926).

By 1926, the road network covered more than 3000 km. The Colonial Road No.1 running from the Chinese border to the Siamese border followed the ancient Mandarin Road

opened by Vietnamese monarch in previous centuries and linked the four capital cities of Tonkin, Annam, Cochinchina, and Cambodia. Non-colonial roads were developed in every *pays* of the colony, de-blocking remote areas, especially the hinterland of Annam (Gouvernement général de l'Indochine, 1926). The development of a road network boosted car transportation. In 1931, there were 20,000 cars in Indochina, and one-quarter belonged to transportation companies (Gourdon, 1931). In many cities in Annam, private companies, either European or native, offered car rental services (Bureau du Tourisme de Hue, 1926).

Regular service of mail steamers and mixed liners connected Indochina and the outside world via major ports from Haiphong in the north to Sài Gòn in the south (Gouvernement général de l'Indochine, 1926). Ships of the French companies Messageries Maritimes and Chargeurs Réunis linked Marseille, Sài Gòn, and Haiphong and reached China and Japan. Other regional lines connected Tonkin with Hongkong, Sài Gòn with Bangkok, Java and Swatow, and commercial lines joined Indochina to the US, the Philippines, Tahiti, and New Caledonia (Gourdon, 1931). In 1931, it took 24 days to travel from Marseille to Sài Gòn via Djibouti, Colombo, Singapore; 13 days from Yokohama via Kobe, Shanghai, Hongkong; 4 days from Batavia and 27 days from San Francisco (Sylvestre de Sacy, 1931). The major ports of Sài Gòn, Da Nang, and Hải Phòng offered services to many smaller coastal ports along the country (DeWald, 2008).

In 1928, an office of air travel was established by the government general of Indochina in charge of improving infrastructure for air travel (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1937). In 1929, the first travel by seaplane between Sài Gòn and Angkor was carried out in 4 hours, marking the inauguration of air travel within Indochina (Bontoux, 1929). Up to 1937, except for Haut-Laos, 98 civil airfields were located throughout the colony: 30 in Annam, 21 in Tonkin, 18 in Laos, 16 in Cambodia, 11 in Cochinchina, and 2 in Kouang-Tchéowan (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1937). Outside the colony, the Compagnie Air-Orient, which

operated flight routes from Marseille to Beyrouth, prolonged this line to Sài Gòn via Irak, Persia, India, Birmania, and Siam (Gourdon, 1931). In 1933, the French pilot René Lefèvre finished his travel from Paris to Sài Gòn in 10 days and 7 hours on board a Mauboussin plane. Cooperation between France and Germany was discussed in the early 1930s to operate flight routes between Europe and the Far East.

In summary, until the first half of the 20th century, Indochina was equipped with modern transport infrastructure that linked all *pays* of the colony with each other and connected the colony with the outside world. This communication network primarily served the pursuit of economic profit by the colonizer. Governor-General Beau saw in the development of the transport system the possibility to exploit fertile areas outside the Red River delta. Indeed, routes broke the isolation of Laos and areas beyond the Annamese Cordillera and contributed to the clearing of thick forests in the eastern part of Cambodia. Mines and rubber plantations were connected to the port in Vinh and Sài Gòn, while shipping lines linked these ports to important trading centers in Hongkong, Canton, Bangkok, Singapore, Marseille, and beyond. The transportation network also allowed the mass migration of Annamese from Tonkin and Annam to three remaining countries of the union, where they performed various tasks such as government officials, traders, and especially plantation workers (Goscha, 1996, 2012). However, tourism enjoyed considerable benefit from the development of transportation infrastructure, which allowed tourists to reach the most famous destinations of the colony: the Angkor complex, Khône water fall, Kampot, and Bockor (Cambodia); mountains and temples in Tay Ninh, the Đà Lạt hill station, imperial tombs in Hue (Annam); Halong bay, Sapa, and Fan Si Pan (Tonkin); and Yunnanfou (Gouvernement générale de l'Indochine, 1931).

5.3.3. Tourist attractions

In the period between 1897–1918, health concerns guided the exploration and establishment of local resorts. Thus, attractions were mainly limited to hill stations and coastal retreats sparsely located in the five *pays* of the colony. In this period, the attention was devoted to Đà Lạt, aiming to turn the hill station into a summer capital upon the model of British Simla (Jennings, 2003, 2011). In the meantime, the *mise en valeur* program allowed the touristification of the colony's historical and natural attractions, greatly diversifying tourist itineraries to satisfy customers' demands.

Đà Lạt was the focal point of the *mise en valeur* program in terms of tourism. More than a tourist destination, Đà Lạt was expected to function as an "island" for European life, a summer capital, and a retreat from all disturbances found in the lowland. As Glaillard states in his report to the governor-general in 1919:

> *The Langbian responds perfectly to the thought of Mr. Doumer who wanted to create in Indochina, more than a simple resting place, an entire region where not only our compatriots, sometimes too tired, could come and restore their strength and their health but also where European life could be spent in a permanent and continuous way. It would be the location of a large city where all major governments, general services, schools and hospitals and even all of our military reserves could be transferred. There, […] the body and the mind [.] are sheltered from all the surprises which paralyze the best wishes in the Indochinese lowland.*

The consecutive construction of two motor roads allowed for the rapid development of the station and especially the construction of hotels, pavilions, and private and administrative villas. Moreover, after the completion of the cog railway Krongpha - Đà Lạt, the station became widely accessible to Indochinese and foreign tourists (Dr.Gaide, 1930). The city of Đà Lạt gradually took shape, wooing visitors with its comfort and modernity:

Đà Lạt, chief-town of the new province of the Langbian is built on the two sides of Camly river. A post-office where parcels are received, a militian-office, a forester quartering, services for Public Works, Medical Assistance as well as many settlers' villas and the installations of the master-builders are ready to be found in a large part of the centre of the city. [...] Tennis courts and golf links are awaiting players. The surroundings of Đà Lạt are embellished by some private houses erected on advantegeous sites. (Bouvard & Millet, 1920, p. 44)

Vue Générale

Cliché de l'Aéronautique Militaire

Figure 5.5: View of Đà Lạt hill station (source: National Archives of Vietnam)

The improvement of the communication network also allowed the touristification of historical and natural sites. In 1932, Norès proposed 31 itineraries: 11 in Tonkin, 10 in Cochinchina and Cambodia, and 10 in Annam and Laos (Demay, 2014). Five years later, Taupin suggested 231 itineraries that tourists could follow to reach destinations in five *pays* of Indochina from the largest cities to the most remote places. Tourist sites in the mountainous area of Tonkin, such as Ba Be lake in Bac Can province and Nguom Ngao cave in Cao Bang

provinces, were connected to the newly established road network. Car enthusiasts could go directly from Hải Phòng to Bai Chay for a visit of Ha Long bay. Colonial roads provided access to rubber plantations and cham towers that were dotted all over Annam. Angkor was 16 hours from Sài Gòn by car and 3 days by water transport (Taupin, 1937).

5.3.4. Accommodations

As a result of the greater attention paid to tourism in this period, the accommodation system showed remarkable refinement between 1919–1939. While important tourist hubs and cities were equipped with large, modern, and comfortable hotels, most small provinces possessed bungalows that could satisfy basic demands. The European standard of comfort was applied, and payments were flexible. The administration worked in collaboration with private partners to construct and manage these facilities.

Indochinese administration valued the important role of hospitality in tourism development. Beautiful and picturesque landscapes and historical monuments bearing witness of lost civilizations were not sufficient to attract and retain tourists. It was required to provide customers with suitable hospitality where they could retreat from the fatigue and risks inherent to tropical territories (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1933).

> *It is useless and even dangerous to attract tourists without means to receive them since this clientele is generally very demanding from the point of view of the comfort that they intend to find almost identical in all latitudes. (*Gouvernement général de l'Indochine, 1931b, p. 596*)*

Thus, in 1922, Governor-General Maurice Long wanted to equip the colony with comfortable hotels by searching for private contributions (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1930). Two methods were applied: (1) support of the colony for private initiatives and (2) construction of hotels by the government at its own cost (Gouvernement général de l'Indochine,

1931). His initiative was unsuccessful due to the lack of faith in the future of tourism in Indochina (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1930).

In 1924, a convention was signed between the government of Indochina and the Société d'Etudes, which allowed the latter to create the Société des Grands Hôtels Indochinois (SGHI) to manage hotel properties (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1930). Almost a decade later, Indochinese hotels figured among the most comfortable palaces in the Far East, and the most beautiful of these were located in Angkor, Đà Lạt, Hue, and Phnom-Penh (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1933). In Sài Gòn, the most ancient and famous hotel was the Continental Palace, with 140 rooms. In Đà Lạt, the Grand Hôtel, the Langbian Palace, and the Hôtel du Parc could receive 300–350 guests (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1930). In Ba Na, there were many villas and chalets and a hotel (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1924). One could find well-furbished hotels and bungalows along the Colonial Road No.1, in Tuy Hoa, Quang Ngai, Dong Hoi, Phan Thiet, Nha Trang, and Quy Nhon in An Nam (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1933).

Many hotels in Tonkin provided hot water during wintertime. In Indochinese hotels, one could find spacious room, well-opened and ventilated space, and rooms equipped with complete private bathrooms. Good French cuisine and high-quality wines and liquors were served. The majority of the large hotels in Indochina accepted travelers' cheques and coupons of leading travel agencies (Office Central du Tourisme Indochinois, n.d.). In 1938, there were more than 150 hotels in Indochina, most of the largest being located in Vietnam. State-owned hotels were given to concessionaries under contract for exploitation with or without subsidy (Office Central du Tourisme Indochinois, 1938).

Hotels were likely to derive commercial benefits since their opening, while bungalows, indispensable for a rational organization of tourism but located in unfrequented areas, ran the risk of loss during certain periods. Hotels were entrusted to private companies to which the

administration provided funds in advance that were necessary for the construction and were refundable within a certain time, and after that time, the company became the hotel's owner. Bungalows, on the other hand, were directly constructed by the administration and were exploited or managed by individuals who could receive public subsidy. Despite these, bungalows were installed with a concern for comfort hardly seen in similar establishments in neighboring countries (Sylvestre de Sacy, 1931).

Lang-Biang. Palace.

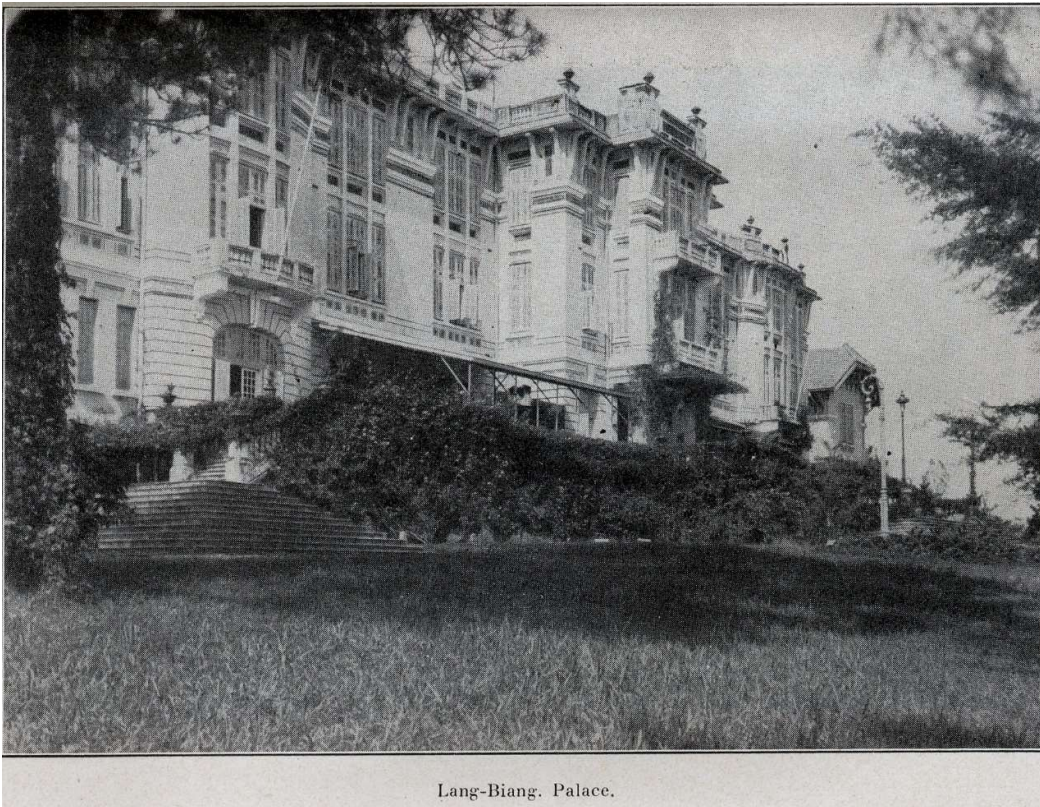*Figure 5.6: Langbiang Palace, Dalat (source: National Archives of Vietnam)*

5.3.5. Tourism governance and promotion

In the interwar years, colonial administrators showed their concern for tourism through the creation of public organizations in charge of tourism governance and promotion. Moreover, private initiatives were undertaken in support of specific tourist sites, mainly in Vietnam.

Guidebooks, documentaries, and exhibitions flourished and performed a fundamental role in staging the colony's attractions.

5.3.5.1. Tourism governance

In 1922, the government general laid the foundation of rational touristic exploitation. The project was implemented in three stages: hotel equipment, *mise en valeur* of tourist sites that depended on the development of rail and road networks, and coordination of interested activities by the Office du Tourisme et de la Propagande that came into function in 1923 (Maignan, 1936).

The Comité Central du Tourisme was formed in 1923, responsible for giving recommendations on tourism organizations and programs. It was presided over by the governor-general and made up of chiefs of local administration, the director of finance, the inspector general of public works, the director of economic services, the director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, the chief architect, representatives of Syndicats d'Initiative or private organizations of tourism, and three members assigned by the governor-general representing the press, the hospitality industry, and shipping companies (Agence économique de l'Indochine, 1923).

The Office Central du Tourisme subordinated to the Direction of Economic Services was created in 1923 and renamed the Office Indochinois du Tourisme in 1928 and the Office central du Tourisme Indochinois in 1935 (Office Central du Tourisme Indochinois, 1938) and was in charge of supervising tourist activities in the colony; disseminating information intended to make sites and monuments of the country; issuing itineraries, timetables, and fares in accordance with travel associations, Information Bureaux, tourist agencies, hotels, and transport undertakers; and carrying out all activities in favor of the development of tourism in Indochina. From 1935–1937, information on hotels, communication networks, and tourist sites

was recorded and published in books, posters, and advertisements in the French, English, and Dutch languages and was distributed in many Asian cities such as Hongkong, Singapore, Penang, and Kuala Lumpur (Office Central du Tourisme Indochinois, ibid.). In 1937, 10,000 leaflets on "French Indochina," 10,000 tourist maps (in French, English, and Dutch), 30,000 leaflets on Angkor accompanied with maps, 10,000 brochures on "La Route Mandarine" in French and English, and 20,000 maps of Sài Gòn had been issued (Office Central du Tourisme Indochinois, 1938, January 26). The office also held or participated in many exhibitions and fairs at Batavia, Sài Gòn, Hanoi, Haiphong, and Phnom Penh and exchanged correspondence with foreign partners (Office Central du Tourisme Indochinois, 1938).

Syndicats d'Initiative were non-profit organizations created to promote tourism in Indochina and to attract visitors to these places. The Syndicats d'Initiative de Sa Pa, Tam Dao, and Ha Noi were grouped under the name of the Union des Syndicats touristiques du Nord-Indochine, aiming at organizing tourism in Tonkin, North Annam, and Laos and developing tourism throughout Indochina. The union comprised four special commissions in charge of advertising, hospitality, sites, and transportation. Besides distributing information intended to make the Indochinese colony famous worldwide, the union acted as a bridge between different tourist organizations inside and outside the colony, trying to involve public authorities and transport providers in its projects and organizing tours inside Indochina (Union des Syndicats touristiques du Nord-Indochine, n.d.). Da Lat had its own Syndicat d'Initiative established in 1936 (Office Central du Tourisme Indochinois, 1938).

A Bureau du Tourisme, founded in 1923 under the patronage of the Syndicat d'Initiative de l'Indochine, was responsible for advertising the colonial tourism. In 1923, the bureau had collected comprehensive documentation of voyages in Indochina and could thus provide useful information and organize tours in every direction of the colony. However, there was a lack of budget to conduct advertising activities. In May 1923, the director of the bureau,

with the financial help of the Syndicat d'Initiative and the Automobile Club de Cochinchine et du Cambodge, issued the first number of the Revue du Tourisme Indochinois. A year later, 30,000 copies of the Revue had been distributed in the Far East, in France and French colonies, in England, in the US, and in Australia, and 2000 copies of the first guidebook edited by the bureau had been sold (Syndicat d'Initiative, 1924).
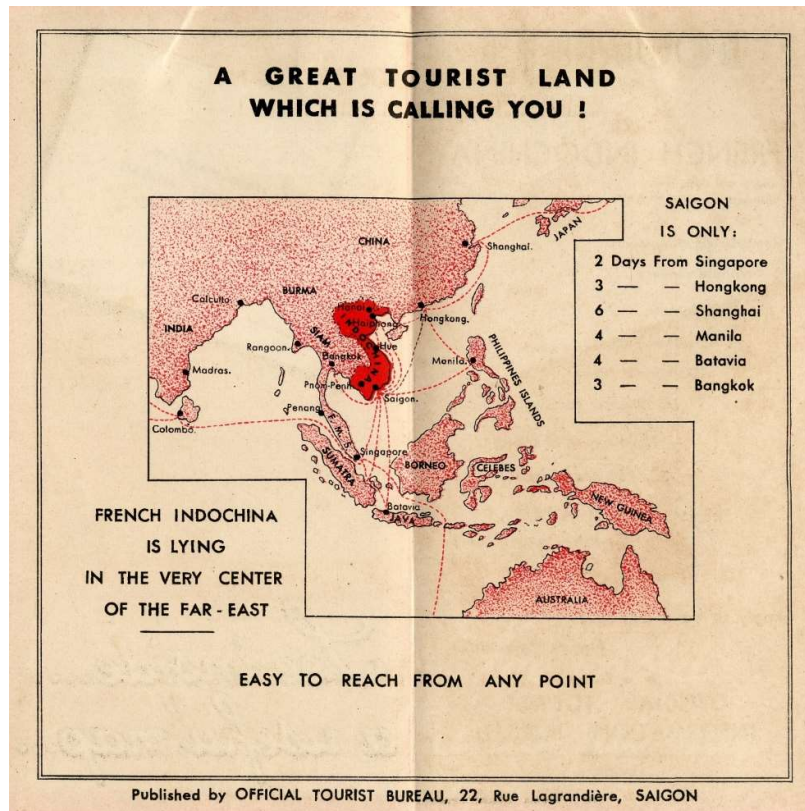
Figure 5.7: A brochure issued by the Bureau du Tourisme

(source: National Archives of Vietnam)

5.3.5.2. Guidebooks and documentaries

Following the success of his first cooperation with Paul Doumer's government, Madrolle formulated in 1918 a proposal to see the participation of Indochina in the publication of the guidebook *Indochine du Nord* (Madrolle, 1918). The resident-superior of Tonkin supported this idea, contending that the document "by the abundance and accuracy of its

historical, geographical and especially practical information, will compete with the best foreign publications which are dedicated to British and Dutch India, China and Japan, and attracted the flow of foreigners to those countries every year" (Garnier, 1918). The book appeared in 1923 and was reissued in 1925 (Madrolle, 1926). It covered a wide variety of topics, such as history, geography, geology, ethnography, religions, archaeology, climatology, therapeutic resources, description of itineraries, cities, monuments, picturesque, and historical and religious sites in the northern part of Indochina (Madrolle, 1932). Indications on the southern part were complemented by *Indochine du Sud*, published in 1926 (Madrolle, 1926), and his monographs related to Hanoi, Hue, Tourane (present-day Da Nang), and Sài Gòn (Madrolle, 1912, 1926).

The interwar years also witnessed the publication of two other important guidebooks on Indochina by Norès and Taupin. Norès intended to give indications that supported tourists to develop their own voyage itinerary and to travel around Indochina. His guidebook gathered a collection of schematic maps showing ferry terminals, railways intersection, cities, interesting sites, and maps of the largest cities in the colony (Demay, 2014). Taupin (1937) offered concise and practical information necessary for tourists willing to take trips to Indochina by providing an alphabetical list of provinces and cities and some succinct indications in the first part of his book. The second part proposed tours and excursions with summary introductions of sites and means of access. Other guidebooks introduced a particular site such as Đà Lạt (Bouvard & Millet, 1920), Ngu Hanh Son in Tourane, and imperial tombs in Hue (Bui, 1922, 1922a) or a particular *pays* such as Annam (Bureau du Tourism de Hué, 1926).

Moreover, documentation and information relating to the Indochinese colony were gathered and disseminated by the efforts of the government general of Indochina through a wide variety of channels: brochures, special editions of magazines, articles, or advertisement pages in French and foreign journals and magazines, as well as participation in fairs and exhibitions, photos, and documentaries (Gouvernement général de l'Indochine, 1931).

5.3.5.3. Exhibitions: Visualization of colonial achievements

The introduction of tourism to Indochina was intimately linked to the colonial context, and it constituted a tool of propaganda serving to legitimize the French presence in the colony, to justify the management of the colonial administration, and to underline the abundance of colonial resources (Lemaire, 2010). Colonial exhibitions were the most impressive demonstration of the empire and formed part of movement in support of imperial expansion that Lemaire (2010) termed "popular lobby."

The Direction of Economic Services of Indochina was in charge of organizing and preparing fairs and exhibitions held within and outside Indochina (Direction des Affaires économiques de l'Indochine, 1925). In the first four decades of the 20th century, the Indochinese colony had participated in dozens of exhibitions occurring in Asian, European, and American countries, both as participant and organizer. General exhibitions staged all forms of administrative, social, intellectual, and economical activities of the colony, thus providing an overview about its development and offering a comprehensive description of the French work in Indochina. Local exhibitions, on the other hand, showed the life and civilization of each part of this Far East Empire (Gouvernement général de l'Indochine, circa 1930).

For the international exhibition taking place in San Francisco in 1939, the colonial government built a pavilion that housed three sections: tourism, hunting, and crafts (Gouverneur général de l'Indochine, 1938). The Indochinese pavilion received approximately 1 million visitors during the exhibition. The tourism section also experienced exceptional success, daily visited by American guests who showed a strong desire to go on a trip to Indochina.

However, the colonial exhibition held in Paris in 1931 was an international event of first importance in which Indochina participated in an extremely brilliant way (Aubert, 1929). The exhibition would be a demonstration of the colonial effort of France in every field. The

event allowed tourists to "visit the magnificent ruins of Angkor Wat, drink coffee in A Cameroon café, ride a camel, watch African dancers, savor the sites and smells of exotic lands, and return home with exquisite North African rugs as souvenirs" (Furlough, 2002, p. 441). Therefore, all services in the colony were required to contribute to the success of Indochinese participation in this exhibition. The Indochinese section was expected to include a central palace that displayed the general services of the colony and some particular pavilions that showed five *pays* of the union and the territory of Kouang-Tchéou-Wan (Aubert, 1929).

Figure 5.8: Angkor Wat reproduced at Paris exhibition 1931

(source: National Library of France)

The 1931 exhibition attracted 8 million visitors and became the most impressive demonstration of the French Empire (Deyasi, 2015; Furlough, 2002; Lemaire, 2010). Colonial monuments, especially Angkor Wat, were faithfully reproduced, and indigenous "were exposed" to the French's eyes, praising accomplished progress and highlighting possibilities of exploitation (Deyasi, 2015; Furlough, 2002; Lemaire, 2010). A textual material edited to supplement an architectural display confirmed this rhetoric:

The work carried out by the French in Indochina is therefore considerable. Not only have the French brought security to this country, but they also worked hard to improve the destiny of their subjects in all fields. (Gouvernement général de l'Indochine, 1931a, p. 58)

5.3.6. Tourism market

Archival documents reveal the strong interest of the colonial administration in expanding the tourism market within and outside Indochina. There were multiple public and private efforts attempting to attract visitors to the colony. However, there did not exist in Indochina a professional travel agency that provided direct tours to and from the mother country like Thomas Cook & Sons in the British colonies. Europeans were the first to participate in the tourist market, followed by native entrepreneurs.

In the early stage of colonization in Vietnam, participants in the tourism market were mainly French and European. Rondet-Saint's report in 1913 stated that Indochina had great potential for the tourism industry and that the colony was located in a region where tourist intensity was considerable; however, the figure for Indochina was only 150 (Rondet-Saint, 1913). His report gained the attention of the Ministry of Colonies, especially the Comité du Tourisme colonial, who published a book on Indochina and made contact with travel agencies in 1914 in search of cooperation activities. In the same year, the Commité received the answer from American company EMS-HALL showing serious interest in organizing tours to Indochina (Tran, 2010). In 1935, the Compagnie des Wagons-Lits proposed to exploit dining cars and bunks on some rail networks (Inspecteur général des Travaux publics, 1935).

In 1935, Alcan, Delegate of Automobile Club Sud Indochinois in Malaysia, recommended the administration take into consideration two types of foreign visitors: those of grand cruises and inhabitants of neighboring countries. The former generally came in large

number to visit Angkor. Due to bad organization and expensive prices, they often made round trips via Aranya instead of Sài Gòn or the coast of the Gulf of Siam. From January to April 1935, four cruises visited Malaysia, Java, and the Siamese coastline and sent to Angkor between 300–500 passengers, which were ASTURIAS (English), EMPRESS OF BRITAIN (Canadian), RESOLUTE (German/American), and ANDORA STAR (English/South American). The latter were citizens of Malaysia who were discouraged by the price of transportation between Sài Gòn and Singapore (Alcan, 1935).

The tourism industry gradually encouraged the participation of Vietnamese enterprises. In 1931, Khanh Ky & Cie organized a tour to France on the occasion of the colonial exhibition. After the success of this tour, Khanh Ky & Cie opened an office in Paris and cooperated with Thomas Cook & Son to provide tours to Paris in May and November 1937 (Tran, 2010). A letter of the Office Central du Tourisme Indochinois (OCTI) dated June, 30, 1938, provided a list of sightseeing tours carried out by the office, in which appeared the name of many Vietnamese service providers. The OCTI was optimistic about domestic tourism and the emergence of native travel agencies. However, it preferred the expansion of several companies that had gained the public's trust by offering good service to the creation of native travel agencies in large number (OCTI, 1938 June 30).

5.4. Comparative analysis

Table 5.1 compares tourism facilities and infrastructure development between the two investigated periods. It summarizes changes in tourism establishment and highlights the impact of divergence in colonial policy on the transformations of tourism in French Indochina.

Table 5.1. Comparative analysis of tourism between two periods

Items of measurement	1887–1919	1920–1939
Colonial policy	Mainly assimilation Emphasis on communication network necessary for economic exploitation Tourism serving as justification for colonial expansion	Mainly association Tourism being an integral part of the colonial policy
Transportation	Transindochinois railway Road network initiated	Completion of transindochinois connecting three *pays* of Vietnam Road network expanded throughout the colony Availability of air transportation
Attraction	Hill stations and seaside resorts limited to experiments	Flourishment of hill stations, with Đà Lạt as the focal point Touristification of historical and natural attractions
Accommodation	Characterized by deficiency	Modern accommodations thanks to the program launched by the government general in the 1920s European hotel owners prevailed due to government's bias
Promotion	Guidebooks and exhibitions	Guidebooks, exhibitions, and documentaries Specific organizations in charge of tourism promotion
Market and behavior	Tourists were French and European	Tourists included colonizer and colonized Participation of native entrepreneurs in tourism market

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has shown transformations in tourism establishment in Indochina in relation to changes in colonial policies. In the period from 1897–1918, efforts of colonial administrators were concentrated on the development of transport infrastructure. The idea of local resorts had emerged, but public investment into these projects remained limited. Many attempts were abandoned until the end of the investigated period. Accommodation was deficient. Government support of guidebook publication was mainly intended to legitimize the colonial cause.

The situation considerably changed in the interwar years thanks to the program of *mise en valeur* and the policy of association. Tourism became an integral part of the economic and political agenda. The colony witnessed massive improvement in terms of tourism infrastructure, ranging from communication network to accommodation. The colonized community gradually participated in the tourism market as a result of political and social modifications. Tourism also assumed the role of showing the colony's power and achievement brought about by French colonization.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS ON TOURISM AND DECOLONIZATION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to shed light on the way in which tourism contributed to the decolonization of Vietnam by analyzing travel writings in the Vietnamese language published in three of the most influential newspapers in the early 20th century, namely *Nam Phong Tạp Chí* [*Journal of the Southern Wind*], *Phụ Nữ Tân Văn* [*Women's News*], and *Phong Hóa* [*Customs*] (Cindy, 2013). Travel stories constitute an original source that deepens the understanding of the Vietnamese people's view of the world in the colonial period (Goscha, 1996). Through their narratives, Vietnamese elites introduced a version of their country's history and people that was radically different from representations constructed by francophone guidebooks, showing their discontent with French colonization and their attitude toward the rhetoric of civilization promoted by the colonizer.
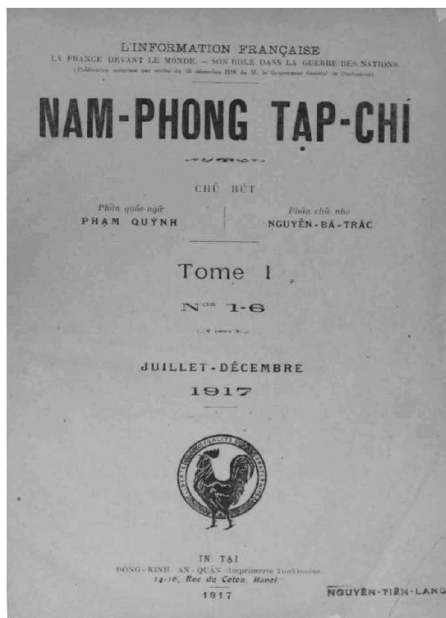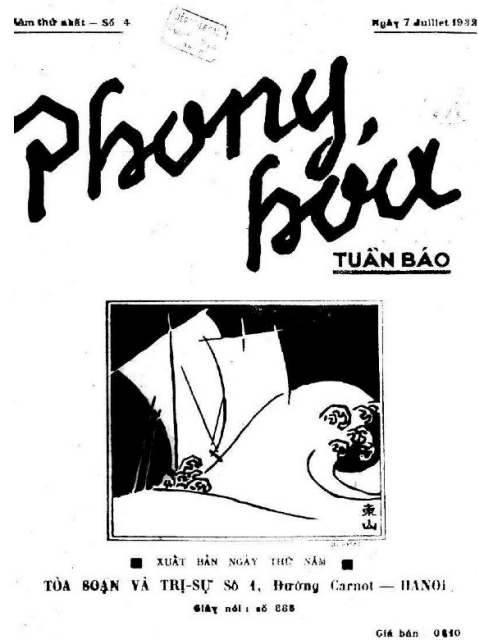
Figure 6.1: Covers of Nam Phong Tạp Chí, Phụ Nữ Tân Văn, and Phong Hóa

6.2. Self-representation and nationalism

While francophone guidebooks mentioned a Vietnam ravaged by foreign invasion and civil wars for centuries (see Madrolle, 1902, 1925, 1926), travel narratives in the Vietnamese language swelled with the pride of a long history of territorial expansion. Moreover, despite different regimes established by the French to rule over the country, Vietnamese tourists acknowledged territorial integrity and national unity. Phạm Quỳnh (1892–1945) is a prominent example. Born in 1892 in Hanoi, Quỳnh graduated from the College of Interpreters in 1908 and joined the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient until 1917, when he became director of the famous Hanoi-based journal *Nam Phong Tạp Chí* (1917–1934). Armed with a double French and Sino-Vietnamese culture, he published a number of articles and studies on cultural, literary, social, and political life. In addition to his writings, he was also vice president of the Grand Conseil de l'Indochine from 1929–1931, founder of the Association pour la formation intellectuelle et morale des Annamites, and president of the Société d'enseignement mutuel du

Tonkin (1925–1928) (Goscha, 1995). In the 1930s, he joined Bao Dai's government as the minister of education (Cindy, 2013).

Between November 1918 and January 1919, Quỳnh published his serialized travel stories "Một tháng ở Nam Kỳ" ["One month in the South"] in Nam Phong Tạp Chí. As the title of the series suggests, his voyage lasted 1 month, starting from Hải Phòng, where he boarded a ship of the company Messageries Maritimes. After three and a half days, he arrived in Sài Gòn, where he had multiple meetings with local editors and journalists. He visited Sài Gòn, Gia Dinh, and six provinces of the Lower Cochinchina. He described the region's landscape, climate, navigation, livelihood, and people. He complemented his southern compatriots for their fondness of learning and colleagues for their contributions to enhancing national literature (Quỳnh, 1918, 1919, 1919a). He eloquently expressed his pride for his country and fellow citizens:

> One thing that can be proud of while reading the country's history: during centuries, our ancestors by their great work had gradually expanded the territory to cover all the Indochinese region. As a result, the area extending from Chinese border to the Gulf of Siam, from Mekong river to the South China Sea is currently inhabited by a community that shares the same history, the same language, the same culture, and the same ideology as well. [...] Almost twenty million people living in this vast land for more than twenty centuries and experiencing together happiness and suffering, challenge and danger, had established a national pride that could be hidden in normal times but could motivate heroes and scholars to attain extraordinary achievements when the country faced threats. (Quỳnh, 1919a, p. 139)

The authors constructed travel narratives of a Vietnam of sacred land and talented people. In his series Cổ tích đất Nghệ Tĩnh ["Historical sites in Nghe Tinh"], published in Nam Phong Tạp Chí between November 1928 and July 1929, Tánh summarized heroic stories of

significant figures in the country's history (Tánh, 1928, 1929). Tánh described Lam Citadel in Nghệ An province as the witness of courageous wars against foreign invasion and a source of inspiration for numerous literary works (Tánh, 1929). In this journey, he also visited the monument dedicated to Nguyen Du, the author of Kim - Van –Kieu, a story that Tánh (1928, p. 470) called *"a literary masterpiece"* of Vietnam. While visiting the Hue temples and Citadel, Tánh (1929, p. 156) praised Vietnamese architecture, and in his opinion, "*such a spectacular monument could not be erected without remarkable skill of Vietnamese masters.*" Talented and hardworking, the Vietnamese people extended their influence outside Vietnamese borders:

> *Annamese people in Laos constitute a driving force behind the prosperity of the area. Long before the arrival of the French in Laos, Annamese people had made profound contribution to the development of the country.* (Quỳnh, 1931, p. 109)

Quỳnh believed in the future and capacity of self-determination of the Vietnamese people:

> *The more I travel to the South, the more clearly I realize that people in the Southern part are members of the same family with the Northern ones. There will be no limit to our future if we concert our efforts.* (Quỳnh, 1919a, p. 140)

The writers valued traditional culture and folk costume as well as the skills of the Vietnamese people rather than simply accepted Western ideals. While the Westerner criticized the custom of teeth lacquering performed by Annamese women and described it as a habit that disfigured the latter, Quỳnh defended this tradition:

> *Westerners may not appreciate it [teeth blackening] but oriental tradition values it, ladies having their teeth dyed black like the color of black amber appear more attractive to me.* (Quỳnh, 1923, p. 399)

In his opinion, Western beauty standards should not be generalized given that "*beauty is subjective,*" and "*a beauty is someone who is similar in appearance to one's dream girl*" (Quỳnh, 1923, p. 399).

Traveling to France, Quỳnh often chose Western wear to avoid curious regard from local people, but he valued and wore traditional dress for multiple formal occasions. He tried to introduce Vietnamese culture to French people through lectures and conversations. His answer to a French lady's question about the Vietnamese custom of betel chewing revealed his national pride:

> *In our tradition, betel leaves and areca nuts are offered as a first conversation starter to guests, they build bridge between people and show one's respect and affection towards others.* (Quỳnh, 1924a, p. 478)

Learning from his audience that many Europeans imitated Orientals in chewing a cinnamon stick to have nice smelling breath while having conversation, he argued:

> *[…] the Annamese custom of betel chewing is much more interesting, because the way in which one prepares, arranges and offers betel leaves and areca nuts is an important ritual of the communication.* (Quỳnh, 1924a, p. 478)

6.3. Discontent of French colonization

Traveling revealed to the Vietnamese elites the ugly truth behind French colonization, and travel stories disclosed their disagreement and critique of colonial policy. In "One month in the South," Quỳnh describes the landscape of Sài Gòn in comparison to that of Hanoi and criticizes the uselessness and architectural design of many buildings constructed by the colonial government:

> *Hanoi has a large opera house but no one knows the reasons behind its construction because the building keeps its doors closed throughout the year. In the meantime, the*

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public building [City Hall] where affairs concerning almost thousand people are dealt

with and where foreign guests are received is shaped like a cellar that blocks all light

from entering. (Quỳnh, 1918, p. 275)

In 1922, Quỳnh joined a delegation to attend the colonial exhibition held in Marseille, France. The delegation came to the site several days before the opening of the exhibition to examine its progress. Quynh's "Pháp du hành trình nhật ký" ["Journal of a voyage to France"] conveyed his disappointment of the way in which the exhibition was prepared:

The exhibition is due to be held in April 16, that means in six days' time, but the site

still looks messy; lime, brick, wood, and beam lying around everywhere. (Quỳnh, 1922,

p. 229)

He was discontented with the way in which Vietnamese workers were treated:

Hundreds of Annamese people come to prepare the exhibition, including craftsmen and

professional merchants… Except for wealthy people who can afford to eat out, all

craftsmen and workers who have meals at the exhibition site complain about miserable

meals and cramped accommodation. Indeed, nothing of the block of wooden sheds

temporarily installed for Annamese workers by the Exhibition Committee pleases the

eyes. And food supply is meager. (Quỳnh, 1922, p. 231)

The 1922 colonial exhibition "was an integral part of the propaganda network established by the Ministry of Colonies after the First World War" (August 1982, p. 147). Quỳnh blamed it for incurring exorbitant costs and expressed his doubt about the event's impact:

Indochinese colony has a main pavillion, a monumental reconstruction of the

Cambodian temple of Angkor Wat. Such a reconstruction that demands tremendous

effort and costs a lot of money […] will be destructed in six months' time […] so money

poured into the exhibition will evaporate. Will the repercussion compensate for the

cost?. (Quỳnh, 1922, p. 230)

Indochina's budget covered a large part of this cost that might, according to Quỳnh, considerably outweigh the benefits. Quỳnh reported the opening of the exhibition with a slightly ironic tone:

The exhibition opens today [April 16]. It opens though preparations remain unfinished.

It opens though many sections remain messy. (Quỳnh, 1922a, p. 332)

In 1931, Quỳnh took a trip by car to Laos in the company of his colleague Hoang Trong Phu in order to learn about the country's nature and culture on the one hand and to examine the life of the Vietnamese community in Laos on the other. They left Hanoi on January 25 and followed the Colonial Road No.1 to reach Dong Ha, where they turned onto the Colonial Road No.9 to go to Savanakhet. From Thakhek, they boarded a shallop of Messageries fluvial that carried them to Vientiane, their final destination (Quỳnh, 1931). In "Du lịch xứ Lào" ["Voyage to Laos"], Quỳnh describes his itinerary, introduces highlanders, the nature, climate, and Vietnamese workers migrating to Laos for mining work. The ethno-cultural transformation of the landscape struck him deeply:

The more we distanced Hue, the more we left the Chinese world behind us to enter into

the Indian world. (quoted in Goscha, 1996, p. 263)

Quỳnh placed emphasis on the fact that the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples were significantly different as their level of development was. In his opinion, the contribution of the Vietnamese people to the development of Laos could not be denied. Therefore, Quỳnh blamed the "policy of races" implemented by the colonial government for intentionally preventing the immigration of Vietnamese people to Laos and potentially causing conflict between different races inhabiting the Indochinese peninsula (Quỳnh, 1931). By applauding Vietnamese

immigration to Laos, Quỳnh placed the Vietnamese people on the same level as the Chinese or the French within their policy of association (Goscha, 1996, p. 265).

6.4. Repudiation of the rhetoric of civilization

Quynh's voyage to France lasted 6 months, from March to August 1922. He published his travel stories "Journal of a voyage to France" in 25 issues of Nam Phong Tạp Chí between April 1922 and November 1925. During this journey, he visited Marseille, Lyon, Paris, Reims, and a number of other small cities and their tourist sites. Intending to discover France's capital in detail, he included in his itinerary public buildings, academic institutions, museums, libraries, old battlefields, and streets and markets where low- and middle-income classes were living. Except for some formal occasions, he used public transport or walked to tourist sites and carefully observed the daily activities of local people. Quỳnh had been interested in Paris for a long time as Paris was associated with the construct of civilization, but the observation revealed to him the other side of the coin behind the glamor and elegance of France's largest cities:

The bad side of civilization is the battlefield that I visited several days before; villages of poor workers right here in the capital city; and tragedies happening around every day and reported in a lot of newspapers: husband killed by wife, wife murdered by husband, father killed by son, son killed by father... (Quỳnh, 1924, p. 465)

The rhetoric of civilization was also questioned by Cao Chánh in his article "Hai mươi bốn giờ của tôi ở đất Pháp" ["My 24 hours in France"], which appeared in the weekly newspaper *Phụ Nữ Tân Văn*. The article began with the author's perceived representations of France:

I reminded myself that I finally arrived in France, the cradle of the Great Revolution 1789, the motherland of Mirabeau and La Fayette, the land of freedom.

He prepared to enjoy the "*free and leisurely atmosphere*" and "*human right*" in the European world in the next 3 years. However, the events that followed immediately called this "*free and leisurely atmosphere*" into question. Surprised by the "*rudeness*" of a "*western man,*" he then met with a series of police interrogations that raised his doubt about the authenticity of freedom in France:

> He [the police officer] took out my passport from his jacket pocket, looked at my face, checked my identity, asked me how long I planned to stay in Marseille, when I planned to go to Paris, what I planned to do and where I planned to eat [...] Is it the free and leisurely European atmosphere?. (Chánh, 1929, p. 10)

The author concludes his article with his impressions on the train ride to Paris, in which he "considered the claims of Western comforts and cultural superiority" (Cindy, 2013, p. 60). The railway company sold more tickets than available seats, and thus, Chanh had to keep standing all the way to Paris. His ironic assessment of the train ride represented the metaphor for his first impressions and disappointment in France: "*My first night in France was very comfortable*" (Chánh, 1929, p. 11).

Studying abroad in France was another process by which Vietnamese intellectuals dealt with the rhetoric of France's civilizational supremacy and educational opportunity. In the early 20th century, overseas study was constructed by colonial administrators as "the opportunity for cultural and intellectual enrichment of the gentle, well-mannered, and hardworking Vietnamese." In addition, changing education policies, lack of budget, and a disorganized scope of curricula and training resulted in deficient educational opportunities offered by French colonial schools (Cindy, 2013, p. 63). Moreover, a metropolitan certificate was preferred both by academic institutions and recruiters in Indochina to a colonial certificate (Kelly, 1979). This hierarchical relation between metropolitan and colonial schools as well as the search for

intellectual enrichment motivated Vietnamese youth to study abroad in France (Cindy, 2013; Kelly, 1979).

Travel stories exposed to Vietnamese intellectuals the disadvantages of studying abroad in France and showed them how blind they were to believe in this "ideological and physical journey towards civilization" (Cindy, 2013, p. 72). Difficulties encountered by Vietnamese students in France had scarcely been mentioned in Quynh's "Journal of a voyage to France." A reading of Nhất Linh's "Đi Tây" ["Going to the West"], published in the weekly newspaper *Phong Hóa* between August 1935 and April 1936, offers more insight into Vietnamese intellectuals' view of the rhetoric of civilizing mission. Nhất Linh was the pen name of Nguyễn Tường Tam (Lockhart & Lockhart, 1994), one of the most prominent writers in colonial Vietnam (Lap, 2018). "Going to the West" is a semi-fictional account of the author's journey to France, where he studied journalism and earned a science degree in the late 1920s (Cindy, 2013; Lap, 2018; Lockhart & Lockhart, 1994).

Nhất Linh demonstrated in his travelogue how colonial policy denied progress to native people. The story's protagonist Lãng Du [wanderer] "*had sought official permission to go abroad for over three months*" (Nhất Linh, 1935, p. 13[2]) without receiving any reply from relevant authorities. His requests to study culture and science in France were dismissed due to the latter's prejudice against an insubordinate native:

> *I had sent ten travel applications to the authorities, but hadn't received a word in reply. I thought that was possibly because I said in my applications that I wanted to go to France to absorb Western culture, to study the miracles of French science, and to research astronomy, geography and philosophy. Perhaps, they thought I was a boastful, mixed-up sort of fellow.* (Nhất Linh, 1935, p. 13).

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[2] The author uses the translation of Nhất Linh's "Going to the West" by Lockhart & Lockhart (1994).

Lãng Du finally submitted his application form to the province chief rather than to the resident-superior of Tonkin. Interviewed by the province chief, he pretended that he wanted to study photography, a humble profession, and attempted to speak poor French to conceal his real intention (Nhất Linh, 1935).

Throughout the story, one could find a number of comparisons between the mother country and the colony, especially in terms of material progress, lifestyle, and consumption behavior. The underdevelopment of the colony was reflected in a comparison of railway speed between the two worlds:

> When I got on a train in France, I always thought of the trains at home. […] The trains in Indochina are always eager to run, but when they do they are as slow as a turtle. (Nhất Linh, 1936, p. 7)

Nhất Linh devoted an important part of his writing to everyday forms of recreation and leisure: coffee shops, restaurants, and vacation in the countryside. "Commercialized leisure serves in the text as the primary point of contrast between the backwardness of the colony and the progress in the metropole, a contrast used to capture the irony of the imperial project" (Lap, 2018, p. 382). The author also described the feeling of un-belonging, the disorientation, the homesickness, and financial difficulties faced by Vietnamese students to highlight "France as cultural and generational dystopia" (Cindy, 2013, p. 72).

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has offered an analysis of travel stories written by some of the most prominent figures in colonial Vietnam to demonstrate the relation between tourism and decolonization. Three main points have been discussed. First, tourism nurtures and reinforces national pride in the context of foreign subjugation. Through travel narratives, Vietnamese tourists constructed positive representations of their country and compatriots to repudiate the

racial rhetoric pertaining to colonial expansion. Second, tourism raises doubts about and criticism of colonization. Finally, travel accounts questioned the claims of the civilizing mission employed by colonial powers as justification for their annexation of and authority over overseas territories.

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS ON TOURISM AND POSTCOLONIALISM

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, postcolonial theory is applied to analyze the way in which representations about the colony were constructed through promotional materials. A collection of guidebooks were collected, and their content was extracted to highlight the perceived exoticism conveyed to guidebook users. In addition, the chapter includes a description of colonial exhibitions where "hybrid modernities" were displayed. Finally, it delves into the hybrid identity of the colony that resulted from colonial encounters.

7.2. Guidebooks: Between exoticism and familiarity

As Nash (1996) points out, the motivation for tourism takes root in the desire to escape the monotonous routines that shape an individual's life, which allows individuals to experience alien social, cultural, and spiritual elements (Qian, Wei, & Zhu, 2012). Colonial guidebooks were edited in line with this theory, offering to their users an unfamiliar and untamed world that was waiting for discovery and exploration. However, Milman and Pizam (1995) also suggest that familiarity with a destination exerted significant impacts on tourists' decision to visit and repeat visitation of certain places. In this case, guidebooks successfully performed the role of constructing the image of a European world created by a European colonizer outside Europe.

7.2.1. Exotic colony

The first guidebooks of Indochina were published by Claudius Madrolle and were considered to be the most comprehensively informative guidebooks about this colony. Indications about Indochinese nature, culture, and society highlighted the otherness that

motivated visitors to come and discover. A general idea that guidebook users drew from Indochina was that the area was vast, where a great variety of climates, races, regions, and languages coexisted and where tourists were invited to "*[…] go on excursions that are interesting from all points of view, study ancient monuments of a curious aesthetic, admire the natural beauties emerging at every step in these wonderful lands*" (Madrolle, 1902, Preface, II; see also Taupin, 1937, p. 3).

Beautiful, attractive, and redoubtable images of Indochina was concretized firstly through the description of its natural environment. The colony was an unexploited land, home to natural and virgin forests and wild animals, a promised land for enthusiasts of big game hunting that could be compared to Africa (Bouvard & Millet, 1920). As Madrolle states, in Indochina,

> *[…] we hunt: from a hide and over bait, tiger, leopard*; *by trail hunting and tracker using, large wild beasts such as elephants and bovine animals; by unexpected meeting, fleeing and running animals such as deer, pig and birds; by means of pointer dog, plains game.* (Madrolle, 1926, p. 13)

Bouvard and Millet (1920, p. 56), in their guidebook about Đà Lạt, named the site "sportsmen's paradise" and describe in more detail some endemic animals of the country, such as tiger, wild ox, gaurus, panther, and unicorn rhinoceros. The latter "is a capital trophy" as "it is an animal rarely slain." The colonial flora were as attractive as its fauna with exotic plants:

> *Bougainvillea with its purple flowers and flamboyant tree with its red flowers mingle with orange trees, grapefruits, mango trees and other trees native to Malaysia or Asia.* (Madrolle, 1902, Sài Gòn, p. 11)

The differentness of Indochina lies in its peoples and civilizations:

> *French Indochina is the very crossroad of the tribes and of the civilizations of Asia and of Insulinde (Dutch Indies). You can see there nearly side by side Cambodians imbued*

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with pure boudhism, Annamits hesitating between confuciasm, catholicism or free-thingking, Japanese, Chinese of any religion, Maltese, Mahometan Indues, Laotians, representants of the ancient tribes Moï, Thay or Cham. (Bouvard & Millet, 1920, pp. 4–5)

In his collection of guidebooks, especially *Indochine du Nord* and *Indochine du Sud*, Madrolle devoted a significant part to ethnographic description. Native people, through his accounts, were backward, primitive, and superstitious. They were radically different from and inferior to European races by their appearance, costume, traditions, habitation, ideology, religion, and so on. The textual description was supplemented by a visual demonstration of native peoples wearing their folk costumes and many being barefoot.

Indochinese peoples seemed to belong to the past. For example, ethnic minorities around Đà Lạt "were grouped under the offensive rubric Moï - meaning savage" (Jennings, 2003, p. 174) and were portrayed as they were going in the opposite direction to progress:

Superb waterfalls in curious and wild sites, groups of primitive Moïs scarcely dressed complete the rude charm of this landscape unique in the world. What a contrast between the simplicity and rudeness of their manners and twenty centuries of progress! (Bouvard & Millet, 1920, p. 10)

Administrative organizations of Annamese cities were compared to European medieval regimes:

[…] a very ancient municipal organization, strongly constituted and very particular that could be compared to a municipal feudalism, this one being attached to the central power only by certain general obligations, recalling the duties of the fiefs of our Middle Ages. (Madrolle, 1926, p. 52)

Their inferiority was highlighted in comparison to the modern and civilizational portrait of French colonials and tourists.

In Sài Gòn as elsewhere, the French can be easily recognized by their elegant appearance; men usually wear white linen attire in the form of a jacket, a dinner jacket or even a formal suit; in the latter case, the waistcoat is replaced, as in India, by a large silk belt. (Madrolle, 1902, Sài Gòn, p. 11)

They enjoyed total freedom to circulate and settle in the various *pays* that belonged to or were under the protectorate of France. They could easily hire a native as a guide, interpreter, or cook.

Indochina was a land of vanished civilizations. Guidebooks invited tourists to go on a journey through time by describing in detail the colony's historical remnants, especially Angkor in Cambodia and Cham sites in Vietnam. In addition to a concise introduction of the two relics in his general work on Indochina as a whole and its northern and southern parts, Madrolle devoted two guidebooks to the journey to Angkor (1925) and Cham sites (1926a). The image of Angkor "revolved around ideas of jungle-covered ruins as the remnants of a mysterious and intriguing classical civilization" (Winter, 2007, p. 27):

*All travelers are struck with surprise and astonishment at the sight of this prodigious mass of sculpted sandstone climbing the sky, emerging in the middle of the forest, and once invaded by vegetation. (*Madrolle, 1925, p. 43)

"Best in the world" (Bouvard & Millet, 1920, p. 7), "unique," "unforgettable" (Taupin, 1937, p. 44), and "incomparable" (Madrolle, 1925) were attributes associated with the site of Angkor.

7.2.2. Familiar Europe in a Southeast Asian colony

For tourists who wanted to find familiar representations in the Far East colony, the guidebooks offered descriptions of Europeanized landscapes resulting from French intervention. Hanoi and Sài Gòn occupied an important place in Madrolle's guidebooks given

their similarity to the mother country. Hanoi at the turn of the century consisted of three separate quarters: the European quarter, the Indigenous quarter, and the Citadel.

> *Paul Bert street is the shopping street of the European quarter, the Hanoians compare it to Peace street in Paris [...] Fine shops, cafes, hotels, some imposing buildings, Union Commerciale Indochinoise, Debeaux, and at the end the Opera House.* (Madrolle, 1907, p. 10)

Sài Gòn was referred to as "the Pearl of the Orient" by its modernity and animation:

> *Modern Sài Gòn is a well planted city, with wide and shaded streets; European buildings are comfortably furnished and surrounded by well-tended gardens where grow shrubs with multicolored foliage.* (Madrolle, 1902, Sài Gòn, p. 11)

Most of the buildings commonly found in Europe existed in Hanoi and Sài Gòn, providing tourists with comfort and entertainment that met Western standards: opera houses, cathedrals, post offices, banks, and hotels.

While cities recalled the modernity of urban Europe, hill stations such as Đà Lạt reminded of the mother country's nature and landscape:

> *To all those who are not tempted by distant trips or great sports, the enchanting landscape of Đà Lạt and its near surroundings will be sufficient by their variety to charm their sojourn. Nearly each traveler believes that he finds back some well-known spot; people belonging to the Eastern part of France are reminded of the round summits of the Vosges, except for their bareness. To the inhabitants of the Alps and of the Centre the waterfalls and pine forests are equal to those of their rustic country, while the lofty summits of the Langbian remind the Pyrenean people of the cragged peaks of their native land.* (Bouvard & Millet, 1920, p. 53)

7.3. Exhibitions and hybrid identity

"Hybridity is not just a product of postcolonial migrations and diasporas, but is integral to colonial contact and is, in fact, the result of colonialism's institutions and systems" (Morton, 2000, p. 13). To examine colonial hybridity, the author focuses on the 1931 exhibition because this event was different from exhibitions previously held in France. It was expected to call a halt to the artificial reconstitution of the exotic ambiance by architectural pastiches and processions of extras and reveal to visitors the impressive achievements of colonization, its present realities, and its future (Olivier, 1932). The design of the exhibition followed this governing idea, led to a hybrid display of modernity and backwardness, exoticism and familiarity, past and present.

Contemporary newspapers invited readers to take a round-the-world trip in one day by visiting the exhibition where the technological and cultural achievements of France itself juxtaposed the underdeveloped and primitive realities of its overseas territories and possessions (Deyasi, 2015; Furlough, 2002; Morton, 2000).

> *In just one day, you will have seen all these marvels. The virgin forest will hold no secret for you, the customs of the most savage tribes will have been revealed to you, you will be able to distinguish a pagoda from a mosque, a Chinese from a Japanese, you will know geography better than your teacher does, in short, you will have traveled the world in one day, **just two steps from the Eiffel tower**.* (Tranchant, 1931)

The monumental reconstruction of the Khmer temple of Angkor—the centerpiece of the Indochina section—offers a representative example of this hybridity. The structure was imposing and meticulously detailed:

> *The gigantic temple of Angkor-Wat, in its most minor details, this marvel of Khmer art, with its 5 domes, its vertiginous staircase, its 23 rooms, forms a picture of the activity and the infinite wonders of the Far East.* (Tranchant, 1931)

Figure 7.1: Cover page of Le tour du monde en un jour by Tranchant

(source: National Library of France)

However, the symbol of the vanished civilizations of the Indochinese colony was bathed "in blue, white, and red lights," and the organizers flew the tricolor flag "from its uppermost spire." While the exterior of the building honored the ancient glory, the interior showcased the imperial present and future: "inside was an exhibition of art produced by students of the new Fine Arts School of Cambodia, as well as didactic displays detailing French educational reforms in the colony" (Deyasi, 2015, p. 123). The reconstitution of Angkor made possible "the assimilation of Indochinese culture into a hybrid French identity defined by empire" (Deyasi, 2015, p. 136).

7.4. Tourist behavior: Hybridity and mimicry

"With the development of local transportation networks along rivers, road, rail, and air in the first decades of the 20th century, travel throughout Indochina became an experience not

just for rich Westerners or the Vietnamese royal family, but also for the expanding Vietnamese middle class" (Cindy, 2013, p. 26). A list of visitors having stayed at the Hôtel des Ruines in Angkor revealed that 24 Annamese came to the site between 1928–1929 (Goscha, 1996). From 1934–1939, the number of Indochinese tourists to Annam increased from 500 to more than 3700. Within the period between 1938–1939, visit permission of the Imperial Palace in Hue had been delivered to 3,776 Indochinese (Protectorat de l'Annam, 1939).

The participation of native people in the tourism market was evidenced by the flourishment of travel stories between the 1920s and the 1940s. During its existence (1917–1934), the journal *Nam Phong Tạp Chí* published more than 60 travel stories written in the Vietnamese language. The weekly newspaper *Phong Hóa*, as discussed above, serialized Nhất Linh's travelogue "Going to the West" from August 1935 to April 1936. In 1930, the authors of *Women's News* proposed a voyage to Angkor temple. A number of individual tourists brought out their own travel stories. Regarding international travel, Jacques Le Van Duc had "Tây hành lược ký"[3] and "Đông phương du lịch" in 1923; Nguyen Cao Tieu had "Ngự giá như Tây ký" in 1923; Nguyen Van Hai had "Thuật lại cuộc hành trình nhơn dịp dự cuộc đấu xảo các thuộc địa và các nước tại Paris năm 1931"; and Bui Thanh Van had "Tôi có đi chơi bên Nhựt Bổn và nước Tàu" in 1923 and "Dạo khắp hoàn cầu" in 1929. In terms of domestic travel[4], Jacques Le Van Duc had "Du lịch ba ngày xe hơi" in 1925; Bui Thanh Van had "Marble Mountains in Tourane" and "At imperial tombs" in 1922 and "Angkor temple" in 1923; and Hoang Mai Rinh had "Trung Kỳ du ký" in 1931, to name a few.

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[3] Literal translation: *Tây hành lược ký* [Summary account of a voyage to the West], *Đông phương du lịch* [Travel to the East], *Ngự giá như Tây ký* [Emperor's voyage to the West], *Thuật lại cuộc hành trình nhơn dịp dự cuộc đấu xảo các thuộc địa và các nước tại Paris năm 1931* [Account of a voyage to Paris on the occasion of the colonial exhibition in 1931], *Tôi có đi chơi bên Nhựt Bổn và nước Tàu* [My journey to Japan and China], *Dạo khắp hoàn cầu* [A round-the-world trip], *Du lịch ba ngày xe hơi* [A three-day voyage by car], *Trung Kỳ du ký* [Travel to Annam].
[4] In this case, domestic travel refers to travel within French Indochina.

An examination of travel stories shows a hybrid use of French, Sino-Vietnamese, and *quốc ngữ*. While Sino-Vietnamese had been used by Vietnamese literates for centuries, the French language was introduced to the country as part of the policy of assimilation and association. *Quốc ngữ*, on the other hand, was the adaptation of the Latin alphabet to the Vietnamese language (Haudricourt, 2010).

A closer look reveals an imperfect mimicry by native people. On the one hand, Vietnamese tourists followed journeys made by their European counterparts to go from Hanoi to Sài Gòn along the Colonial Road No.1 or to visit heritage sites like Angkor temple or the hill station of Đà Lạt. According to Cindy (2013, p. 27), these journeys "symbolized routes of engagement with the colonial project and essentialized constructs of the West" and resulted from "the fact that travel itineraries often developed based on existent European tourism or were shaped by a mimicry of leisure practices." On the other hand, while Western tourists traveled in pursuit of "a distant image of a nature far from all civilization" and "pristine landscape and untouched history" (Enzensberger, 1996, p. 125), Vietnamese elites followed an itinerary in the opposite direction. They came to developed countries like France, Holland, and Japan toward modernity and civilization (Lap, 2018).

7.5. Conclusion

This chapter built on postcolonial theory to explore the construction of Indochinese identity through tourism. It presented evidence from guidebooks and documents relating to colonial exhibitions to clarify the genesis of representations about Indochina as an exotic and familiar colony. It also analyzed Vietnamese travel writings to understand the impact of colonial encounters on the formation of the colony's identity. In summary, archival documents revealed a hybrid identity that stems from the contact between the colonizer and the colonized as well as their reciprocal influence.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings and relates tourism to colonization, decolonization, and Indochinese identity in line with the research questions. First, it clarifies the reciprocal relationship between tourism and colonization based on the three main implications of colonialism stated in Chapter 2. Then, it summarizes the findings on the decolonizing mission of tourism in comparison to extant literature before offering the answer to the question in relation to Indochinese identity. This chapter also identifies limitations of the study prior to ending with a general conclusion.

8.2. Response to research question 1: Tourism and colonization

The study of tourism in French Indochina confirms the thesis that the establishment of tourism in non-European territories in the late 19th and early 20th centuries could not be understood without referring to the history of colonial expansion. Although this research focuses on the period between 1897–1938, its scope is extended to the first years of French invasion of Indochina to explore the Western origin of modern tourism in this colony. The role of colonization in the spread of tourism practice is evidenced by the discovery of tourist attractions, transport provision, political and financial support to accommodations, and promotional projects.

Given that knowledge and power are interrelated, investigative missions dispatched to different parts of Indochina provided the colonial government with indications relating to every aspect of the colony that were necessary for sound policy decisions. Their primary purpose was to study the country's geography, natural resources, people in service of military expeditions, and economic exploitation. Many tourist attractions were unexpected results of these

explorations, among them, Angkor Wat became the symbol of the colony and later appeared in a large number of guidebooks and travel writings.

Transportation either by railways, roads, waterlines, or airways served primarily the economic exploitation and the French ambition to penetration into South China (Hardy, 1998). This infrastructure connected different sources, such as mining sites in Tonkin, rubber plantations in Annam, and forestry in Laos and Cambodia, with ports along the South China sea (Hải Phòng, Vinh, Ba Ngoi, Sai Gon), from where they were transferred to major trade centers outside the colony. Transport provision played an important part in the redistribution of the labor force by conveying thousands of workers from Tonkin and North Annam to rubber plantations in South Annam and Cochinchina and carrying officials from Vietnam to Laos and Cambodia (Goscha, 1996). Tourism was therefore the secondary use of this communication network.

Prior to World War I, government support in favor of tourism concentrated on the publication of guidebooks. First volumes of Madrolle's collection on Indochina saw the participation of Paul Doumer's government through providing historical and anthropological clarifications and financial aid. Doumer, in search of justification for France's annexation and exploitation of Indochina, especially after the limited success of the 1902 exhibition in Hanoi, considered guidebooks an important communication tool (Lemaire, 2010).

Changes in colonial policies seen in the interwar years, especially the program of *mise en valeur* and the policy of association launched by the Minister of Colonies Albert Sarraut, produced positive effects on tourism. Tourism was incorporated into the political and economic agenda. Investment in infrastructure improved the accessibility of tourist sites and the comfort of accommodations. Colonial exhibitions, especially the 1931 Paris exhibition, brought the colonial world to the French people, staging its exoticism and primitiveness sought by tourists from the civilized nations. In particular, government subsidies for hotel owners and

concessionaries motivated the development of accommodations between 1919–1938. In addition, preference was given to French hotel owners, allowing them to gain considerable advantage over their native counterparts.

In its turn, tourism legitimized colonial expansion by providing justification for French superiority over native people and praising the accomplishment of the civilizing mission. Guidebooks highlighted the divergence between precolonial and colonial Indochina and supported the argument that the material and social progress of the colony could not be achieved without French intervention. Hill stations, on the other hand, showed the colonizer's supremacy in many aspects. First, the establishment of hill stations demonstrated French technological advancements that allowed them to master remote areas causing fears to native people. Second, hill stations were social enclaves where the European community enjoyed the metropole's climate, diet, and recreation activities that evidenced their differentness from the indigenous (Jennings, 2003, 2015).

Tourism also provided budget solutions for colonial expansion. Local resorts called a halt to expensive and ineffective repatriations (Demay, 2014; Fife, 2010; Jennings, 2003, 2011). The touristification of the colony supplemented the budget essentials for the smooth functioning of the government (Demay, 2014). Tourism justified the opening of communication networks to remote regions, allowing the *mise en valeur* of these areas to the advantage of the community of the colonizer. Moreover, tourism sustained personnel essential to the management of the colony. Retreat to resorts during hot season reinvigorated colonials.

By dividing the history of tourism establishment in French Indochina into two distinct periods, this study highlights the reciprocal relationship between tourism and colonization rather than focusing on the one-sided contribution of tourism like extant literature.

8.3. Response to research question 2: Tourism and the mission to decolonize

Decolonization involves the critique and rejection of foreign domination and the repudiation of the rhetoric of civilization. The study of travel stories written by Vietnamese elites in the early 20th century has given some clarifications about the decolonizing mission of tourism.

First, travel writings were employed by native people to construct their own representations of their country and compatriots. In comparison to the primitive and backward image of Indochina promoted by francophone guidebooks, travel narratives in the Vietnamese language portrayed a country inhabited by brave and talented people. These publications nurtured and reinforced national pride by invoking the heroic history of territorial expansion and praising past and contemporary achievements of the nations. Travel stories also confirmed territorial integrity and national unity despite the division of the country into three *pays* under different political regimes by the colonizer.

Second, Vietnamese elites presented their critiques of colonial policy through their travel narratives. They revealed their doubt about the impact of colonial projects. They showed how badly Vietnamese workers were treated, and they criticized the policy of races implemented by the colonial administration. Rather than simply reporting the authors' itineraries and activities, travel writings served to enunciate the opinion of native people about colonial realities. They disclosed the ugly truth behind the rhetoric of colonization. Instead, of bringing benefit to subordinated territories, colonization exploited their labor force, imposed financial burden on colonial subjects, and attempted to cause conflict and division.

Finally, travel writings repudiated the rhetoric of the civilizing mission. The concept of the civilizing mission stemmed from the belief of the French in their superiority and their responsibility to bring progress to backward people in colonized countries. Representations of France were therefore the land of civilization, freedom, and a brighter future. Travel stories

countered this discourse by revealing to readers the "bad side of civilization" and by constructing France as a "civilizational dystopia" (Cindy, 2013). Moreover, travel stories highlighted the underdevelopment of Indochina as evidence of the failure of the civilizing mission (Lap, 2018).

Extant literature has analyzed travel narratives in the Vietnamese language from the perspective of national consciousness (Goscha, 1996) and failure of colonialism (Cindy, 2013; Lap, 2018). This research reveals that travel writings also convey the authors' national pride by constructing their own representations of the country and people. It also delves into Vietnamese elites' discontent toward colonial policy.

8.4. Response to research question 3: Colonial legacies in tourism

From a postcolonial perspective, the findings of this research highlight the dichotomizing opposition between the colonizer and the colonized constructed by francophone guidebooks and exhibitions. By juxtaposing the modernity of Western civilization on the one hand and the primitiveness and exoticism of the Indochinese landscape and people on the other, tourism applauded white supremacy and the civilizing mission pertaining to colonial discourse. Källén (2015) points out the prolongation of Western representations promoted by colonial archaeological and anthropological studies in present-day tourism. This research reveals that tourism itself shaped the prevailing view about French Indochina as a wild and exotic destination conquered and embellished by the French. This is perpetuated in current patterns of tourism in Vietnam, especially through the self-exoticism described by Peyvel (2011). It also explains the attachment of French tourists to areas that were once French colony (Jennings, 2003; Peyvel, 2011; Winter, 2007).

The research also employs postcolonial theory to analyze tourist behavior, which reveals a hybrid identity and an imperfect mimicry. Peyvel (2011) found the use of colonial

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toponymy in contemporary guidebooks about Vietnam. This research shows the hybrid use of language originated from the colonial period, particularly in Vietnamese elites' travel writings, as a result of cultural encounters.

The colonization process led to the appropriation of tourism practice by the colonized through mimicry. Intended to receive only the European community, hill stations were gradually frequented by Vietnamese tourists who had a fear of high mountains for centuries. However, while the colonizer preferred exotic landscapes, virgin nature, and the primitive "Other," native people took the opposite direction. Many of them traveled to developed countries and went toward modernity. Their itineraries represented a reaction to the attempt of the colonizer to assimilate the colonized and underdeveloped the colony. Moreover, the journey to civilized countries, especially the metropole, as discussed above, exposed to the colonized the other side of civilization and the underdevelopment of the colony that were contrary to the "rhetoric of empire" (Spurr, 1993). Postcolonial theorists contend that this "blurred copy" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000, p. 125) constitutes a threat to the power relations between the colonizer and the colonized on which colonial power depended (Ferguson, 2002).

8.5. Theoretical reflections

This research suggests some theoretical implications that can be useful in studying tourism in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Rather than adopting a historical research approach that traces the emergence of tourism in chronological order, this study describes tourism establishment in relation to the theories of colonization, decolonization, and postcolonialism. First, the study highlights the reciprocal relationship between tourism and colonization. Second, it recommends the reading of travel narratives written by native people to discover the decolonizing mission of tourism. Finally, it proposes the application of

postcolonial theory to understand colonial tourism and to explain the continuum of the colonial past in present-day tourism.

Reciprocal relationship between tourism and colonization

As shown by the literature on colonial tourism, tourism was not limited to an activity of a class, i.e., colonizers and local elites; tourism, in fact, was associated with the process of colonization of overseas territories by European powers (Castro, 2014; Hunter, 2004; Zuelow, 2016). The history of tourism in former colonies thus needs to be understood from the theoretical perspective of colonialism and colonization rather than from a purely historical approach. Figure 8.1 shows a framework to trace the history of tourism in former colonies and to analyze the relationship between tourism and colonization.
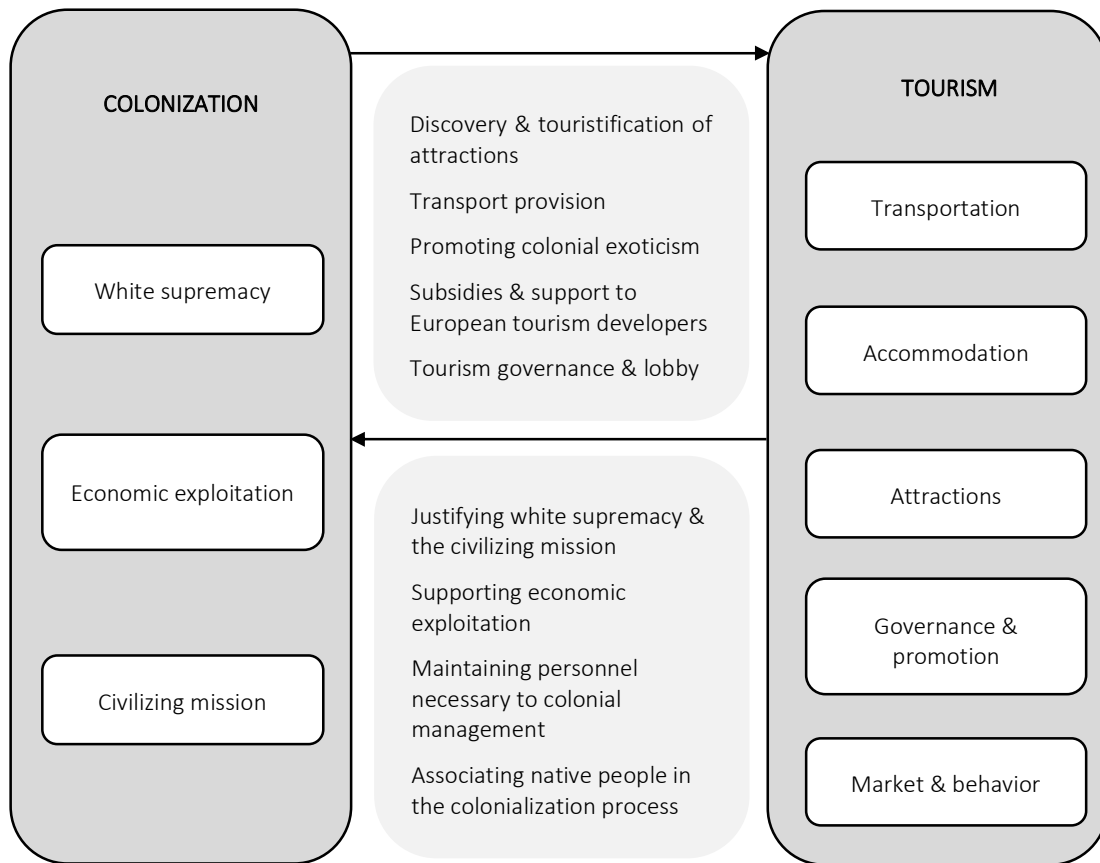

Figure 8.1: Reciprocal relationship between tourism and colonization (source: researcher)

Travel narratives as a tool for decolonization

The theory of decolonization places emphasis on the reverse of power relations between the "core" and the "periphery" that implies the total freeing of the colonized from alien domination (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007; Chakrabarty, 2005; L'Espoir Decosta, 2011). Decolonization thus involves the dismantling of Western assumptions that situate native people in a position inferior to their Western counterparts (Young, 2020). This study encourages the reading of travel stories written by native elites and to consider this corpus as a counter-narrative of the discourse promoted by colonial empires (Figure 8.2).
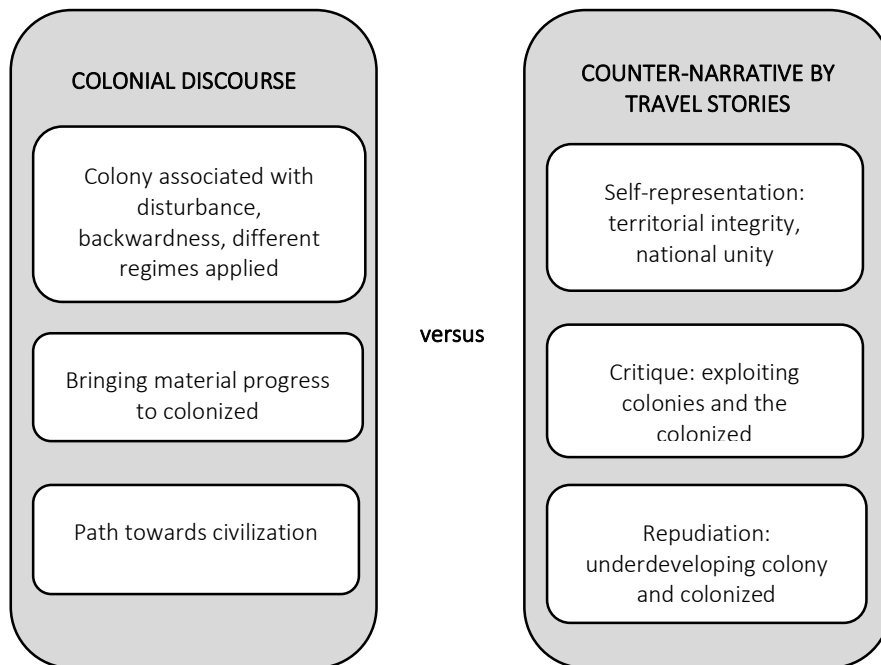

COLONIAL DISCOURSE

- Colony associated with disturbance, backwardness, different regimes applied
- Bringing material progress to colonized
- Path towards civilization

versus

COUNTER-NARRATIVE BY TRAVEL STORIES

- Self-representation: territorial integrity, national unity
- Critique: exploiting colonies and the colonized
- Repudiation: underdeveloping colony and colonized

Figure 8.2: Tourism and decolonization (source: researcher)

Longitudinal analysis of tourism in former colonies

Figure 8.3 synthesizes extant literature and the findings of this study to offer a longitudinal analysis of tourism development in French Indochina from the colonial period (including colonialization and decolonialization) to the postcolonial time. It demonstrates changes in the reaction of native people to Western hegemony in tourism. In the colonial period, the colonizer played the principle role in tourism development. They transferred tourism

practices from the mother country, established tourism infrastructure, and promoted the colony with representations of exotic landscapes, primitive people, and vanished civilizations. Archival evidence reveals the ambition of the colonizer to expose and confirm their superiority over native people through tourism. Due to the ambivalence of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000; Hutnyk, 2005), the colonized appropriated tourism practices but practiced them in a way that was both similar to and different from the colonizer's. In the meantime, the indigenous people in colonized territories struggled to reverse the power relations by denying Western assumptions and constructing their own representations of places and people as well as eliminating foreign presence by destructing colonial architecture and invention (hill stations in particular). Despite this, the colonial past lingers in its impact beyond the postcolonial period and results in the selective appropriation of Western elements in tourism, the reinvention of hill stations, and the consuming of colonial nostalgia. Explanation for this movement stems from the model of postcolonial hybridization and mimicry.
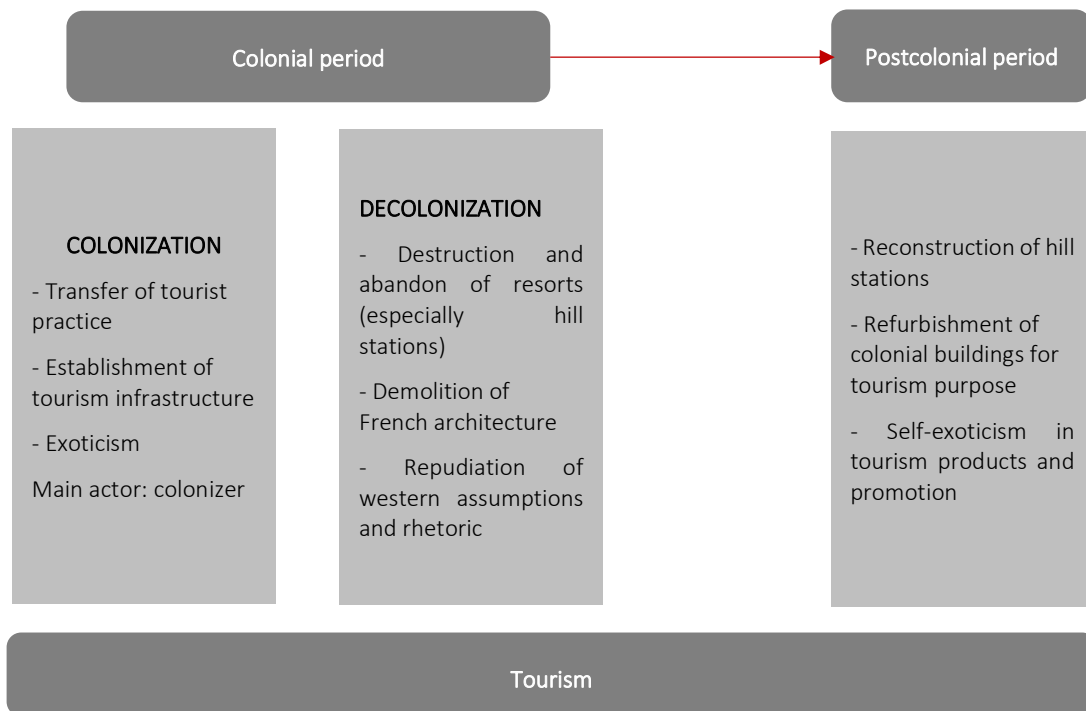

Figure 8.3. Longitudinal analysis of tourism in former colonies (source: researcher)

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8.6. Practical implications

As with many developing countries, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam largely owe their economic development to tourism. The colonial past has left undeniable imprints in the three postcolonial countries, and tourism is not an exception. This influence is clearly reflected in the tourism market with the large number of international visitors to the area from France. The findings of the study draw some practical implications in terms of tourism promotion and service.

Looking back at the literature of tourist motivation, a destination is desired by tourists when it meets one of three dominant criteria. First, it provides tourists with pleasure, hedonism, or escape from modernity. Second, it evokes nostalgia for the past. Third, it awakes a longing for colonial or Western influences (Desire, 2004). The development of tourism products and the marketing of tourist sites thus need a thorough understanding of colonial events pertaining to them. It is recommended that the history of tourist sites be carefully investigated and official publications be issued to document promotional materials as well as to provide tourist guides with accurate and reliable information that can enhance their performance.

The booming of tourism in the former territory of French Indochina fueled the need for renovation of colonial buildings (palaces, hotels, private houses…) for tourism purposes. The conservation and restoration of these constructions require deep understanding of their original architecture, histories and functions. Within that context, archival documents about the buildings, including textual and iconographical materials are extremely useful. A comprehensive analysis of the colonial narratives based on these documentds provide authentic narrations and stories for the sites. In addition, information extracted from archival materials are also useful to develop site narratives for the building and tour guiding professionals.

Finally, in the post-colonial period, the number of tourists from France accounts for a a considerable proportion of international visitors to present-day Indochina in general and to

Vietnam in particular. Thus, the training of French-speaking tour guides cannot ignore the historical background of the colonial tourism and the development of tourism attractions and services in the colonial time. Besides, it is recommended that tourist sites include activities that allow visitors to enjoy "colonial experience", such as a journey on cog railway in Dalat.

8.7. Limitations and future research

The findings of this study must be seen in light of some limitations. Firstly, the author only collected archival documents from repositories in Vietnam. A comprehensive understanding of the historical context of Indochina as well as the establishment of tourism in the colony requires the consultation of other sources, especially National Archives of France. Visit to archival repositories in Cambodia and Laos is also recommended. The reading of travel stories written by Laotians and Cambodians will give further insight into the attitude of the colonized toward the colonial policy and tourism.

Secondly, the research relies heavily on official documents. Thus, the role of private companies and associations in the emergence of tourism in Indochina has not been thoroughly examined. It is suggested that researchers open up archival documents of large shipping companies to further clarify the movement of tourists between the metropole and the colony. Moreover, archival documents of colonial hotels will reveal more about tourists' consumption behavior that remains inadequately addressed by this research.

Thirdly, the time scope of this study is limited to the colonial period. It is recommended that future research extends the investigated time to the postcolonial epoch in order to see the influence of colonial tourism structure and representations in present-day patterns of tourism. The touristification of colonial sites, including colonial hotels and the colonial legacy in tourism promotion and management, are some of the problems that need further investigation.

8.8. Summary and conclusion

Similar to other developing countries, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam highly depend on tourism for employment and income. Heavy influence of the colonial past on present-day tourism has been evidenced by previous studies. Colonial elements are visible in tourism products, tourist movements, and tourism marketing. Therefore, an insightful understanding of tourism history in the Indochinese peninsula is necessary for sound tourism management and development strategies.

In addition to other researchers' lines of investigation, this study explores the reciprocal relationship between tourism and colonization, the decolonizing mission of tourism, and the identity of the colony constructed by promotional materials and travel writings. It provides some clarifications about the context of tourism in postcolonial Indochina. It also enriches the understanding of an important aspect of colonization that remains neglected in Vietnam. Moreover, by approaching colonial tourism from the theoretical perspective of decolonization and postcolonialism, this study reveals the reaction of native elites to colonial domination reflected in their travel narratives.

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