



'They are stealing my island': Residents' opinions on foreign investment in the residential tourism industry in Tamarin, Mauritius

Tessa Wortman¹, Ronnie Donaldson² and Guus van Westen¹

¹Graduate School of Geoscience, Utrecht University, Utrecht, Netherlands

²Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch, Western Cape, South Africa

Correspondence: Ronnie Donaldson (email: rdonaldson@sun.ac.za)

The small nation of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, once a poor sugar plantation island, has successfully diversified and expanded its economy since independence, by attracting foreign investment in manufacturing and modern service industries. Tourism is a major part of the 'Mauritian Miracle'; in recent years residential tourism—attracting wealthy foreigners to take up semi-permanent residence—has become a growth industry transforming coastal areas like Tamarin. Based on in-depth interviews among 17 residents of Tamarin, this paper looks at how local people perceive the changes residential tourism is causing in the local area. It appears that while the majority is positive about economic changes like more jobs and income opportunities, and to some extent about improvements in infrastructure and services, there are growing misgivings about some of the social impacts. Notably, the increasing scarcity of land and rising house prices are making it impossible for growing numbers of local people to afford a place to live, resulting in growing squatter settlements in the area. Such growing social disparities challenge the Mauritian development model and may undermine its stability. These undesirable effects call for careful management of tourism development, incorporation of sustainability standards and attention to the position of major stakeholder groups, such as local residents.

Keywords: Mauritius, residential tourism, foreign direct investment, land grab, social impact

Introduction

As one of the fastest growing sectors in the world, tourism is said to play a fundamental role in economic growth of developing countries (Durberry, 2004; Samimi *et al.*, 2011; Seetanah, 2011). Countries or areas that aim to use tourism as a development strategy to finance investments at home highly depend upon foreign investors for the success of the tourism sector (Chien & Lee, 2008). Therefore, these countries seek to attract as much foreign direct investment (FDI) as possible (United Nations, 2006). While some scholars are highly critical of the assumption that large inflows of FDI can boost the economy of a country or region (Meyer, 2004; Meyer & Sinani, 2006; Buckley *et al.*, 2007), others have been positive (Globberman, 1979; Barry & Bradley, 1997; Liu *et al.*, 2000; Li & Liu, 2005). The majority of the existing literature on FDI focuses on the industrial manufacturing sector with a paucity of research involving FDI in tourism (Endo, 2006; Gatsinzi & Donaldson, 2009; Sheng, 2010; Pranić *et al.*, 2011) and more specifically residential tourism investments. However, tourism development can be seen as a variant of outward-oriented development strategies, not unlike the export manufacturing development successfully pursued by several (former) developing countries in Asia and elsewhere (Dicken, 2015). International tourism is a form of services exports, with the distinction that tourists visit the production site rather than commodities being shipped to consumers. Chien and Lee (2008: 261) argue that

'tourism-led growth occurs when tourism manifests a motivating influence across the entire economy in the form of spillovers and other externalities.' The 'tourism-led growth' hypothesis has been extensively researched over the past years (Balaguer & Cantavella-Jorda, 2002) and was applied to Mauritius by Durbarry (2002; 2004). According to this hypothesis, tourist spending, instead of export, can provide a source of foreign exchange earnings. The host country will use these earnings to import capital goods to produce goods and services needed for the growing tourism industry, which leads to economic growth. An increase in goods and services is often needed to keep up with the tourist demand for these goods and services, such as accommodation, food, transportation and entertainment. Especially in developing countries, an increase in demand often translates to an increase in current levels of production and in turn, stimulates a rise in employment (in theory at least) (Durbarry, 2002; 2004). Additionally, tourism can contribute to higher income levels by enhancing efficiency, which is stimulated by increased competition among firms and other tourism destinations, and by facilitating the exploitation of economies of scale in local firms (Samimi *et al.*, 2011).

Tourism-led development is particularly relevant for small islands. Their small size and lack of a resource base in terms of arable land and work force often prevent them from attaining the scale economies necessary to be competitive in an increasingly integrated global economy (Knox, 1967; Grossman & Helpman, 1991). The small sizes of islands have significant implications for their economic and spatial development, as small islands are particularly vulnerable because of several factors:

their smallness, remoteness, geographical dispersion, vulnerability to natural disasters, fragility of their ecosystems, constraint on transport and communication, isolation from markets, vulnerability to exogenous economic and financial shocks, small domestic market, lack of natural resources, limited fresh water supply and dependence on imports (Seetanah, 2011: 292–93).

Import dependence and the resulting high level of leakage imply that local multiplier effects tend to be limited. These disadvantages prompt pessimistic views of the development options of small island economies, best expressed in the 'migration, remittances, aid and bureaucracy' (MIRAB) model of colonial welfarism (Bertram & Watters, 1985; Bertram, 2006). Dominating thinking about small island economies since the 1980s, the MIRAB model emphasizes that a lack of private sector development leads to relatively large-scale outmigration, resulting in an inflow of remittances to support those that stayed behind. These remittances, together with aid flows sustaining the public sector ('bureaucracy'), permit a level of services and consumption well beyond the productive capacity of the domestic economy. This pattern of stunted development is likely to entrench dependence on the outside world. While the MIRAB model partly characterizes the development process in some very small island countries, subsequent research shows more diversity in island development patterns, with more reasons for optimism. Easterly and Kraay (2000) demonstrate that small sizes (not limited to islands) as such do not necessarily limit economic growth. Brau *et al.* (2007) in their empirical analysis of small economies find that small countries specializing in tourism development perform better overall than other small economies. In recent years, two (related) alternative models of small island economies have come to challenge the MIRAB stereotype (Oberst & McElroy, 2007). The PROFIT model (Baldacchino, 2006) argues that several small island economies have managed to create a dynamic private sector by cleverly manipulating their separate jurisdictional status. Here, separation from large established economies, combined with a degree of flexibility that would be difficult to achieve in large countries, offers opportunities to attract investment and activities. Tax havens,

offshore financial centres and free economic zones are typical examples (Oberst & McElroy, 2007). The second alternative model is presented by Small Island Tourism Economies (SITEs), which can actually be seen as a subcategory of the PROFIT approach. In these cases, as elaborated by McElroy (2006), labour-intensive tourism development and related construction work are the pillars of economic growth and diversification. So the small size of an economy tends not to obstruct growth in the case of a specialization in tourism, as is also confirmed by Brau *et al.* (2007). As it happens, many islands do have a significant comparative advantage to develop a tourism sector as a (partial) substitute for other export products. This advantage of islands is often found in their ability to provide natural attractions, long coastlines, unique flora and fauna and a feeling of being in another world (Seetanah, 2011). Islands' very isolation and exoticism, perceived or real, and their coastal qualities, at least when combined with a pleasant climate, can actually be assets in appealing to tourists. Today, small island economies can be seen divided into a few contrasting clusters in terms of economy models. While some may display MIRAB-type characteristics (often the most remote territories, especially in the Pacific Basin), others in varying degrees show PROFIT/SITEs features (like many tourist destinations in the Caribbean) (Oberst & McElroy, 2007), and a few have natural resource-based economies (UNDESA, 2014). While these different island economy models are typically developed for island territories smaller than Mauritius, the PROFIT/SITEs model(s) obviously has some relevance for Mauritius, which is elaborated in this paper.

The role of tourism in island development has encouraged increasing research into tourism and travel aspects of small islands. Among a wide range of topics, studies have focused on development types, dynamics and impacts (Wilkinson, 1989; Lockhart & Drakakis-Smith, 1997; Marwick, 2000; Hall, 2010), domestic tourism of islands (Canavan, 2013), aspects of seasonality and dependency (Boissevain, 1979; Wilkinson, 1987; Andriotis, 2005), competitiveness of islands (Croes, 2011), cultural aspects such as authenticity (Croes *et al.*, 2013), quality of life (Ridderstaat *et al.*, 2014) and issues of island tourism management (Keane, 1992; Conlin & Baum, 1995; Feick & Hall, 2000). More specific to Mauritius are the studies on the impact of relative prices on tourism demand (Seetanah *et al.*, 2015) and hoteliers' perspectives on hotel development and tourism impacts (Prayag *et al.*, 2010). A limited but growing number of studies focus on residential tourism and its impacts in a developing world context (e.g., Marjavaara, 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Hoogendoorn *et al.*, 2008; McWatters, 2009; Hoogendoorn, 2010; van Noorloos, 2012), although little of this literature relates to island settings (see Marjavaara, 2007a).

Residential tourism in small island developing states deserves more attention though. Although tourism has become the leading service industry in small island economies, according to Craigwell (2007), they appear to be losing ground in the global tourism market as a result of their higher price levels as compared to larger continental destinations. According to Craigwell, higher levels of investment could help to mitigate the price disadvantage. In this context, diversification of the tourism portfolio by attracting residential tourists could make a useful contribution. Residential tourists add to the inward investment flow in real estate and are expected to be more committed to a particular destination. It is therefore not surprising that several island 'destinations', including Mauritius, pursue a policy of residential tourism development in an attempt to expand and diversify their tourism portfolio. At the same time, tourism development 'creates management dilemmas at various scales' (Hall, 2010: 248). Whereas tourism may contribute to poverty alleviation, the benefits of tourism, such as bringing modernization

and reducing the islands' isolation, need to be weighed up against all its costs, such as undesirable socio-economic and environmental change (Hall, 2010: 248). These sustainability issues are exacerbated in the case of residential tourism, as increasing intensity of resource use (longer stays, more demands in terms of real estate and services such as water) implicit in residential tourism may clash with the limited resource base of small islands and the smaller size of the local community.

The conceptualization of residential tourism remains ambiguous and difficult to understand, especially compared to second-home tourism. On the tourism continuum, residential tourism can be seen as somewhere between permanent migration and second-home tourism. McWatters (2009: 3) defines residential tourism as 'the enduring practices and lifestyles which result from a channeled flow of consumption-led, permanent or semi-permanent migration to a particular destination.' Femke van Noorloss (2013:571) explains the concept as:

a mix of permanent and temporary mobilities, forming a bridge between tourism and migration and between nomadism and sedentarism. This makes it an interesting expression of current processes of mobility and globalization. In addition, residential tourism spawns a number of further migration flows (e.g. labor migration), causing a highly differentiated and segmented population landscape. These multiple human mobility flows in turn spawn an associated range of financial, material and cultural linkages.

As its nature differs from 'normal tourism', residential tourism may have other effects in both economic (expenditure patterns) and social (community involvement) respects. In this paper, we aim to appraise the sociocultural dimension of tourism impacts: in other words, the social sustainability of residential tourism in a small island context.

The context of sociocultural impacts

In general, sociocultural impacts of tourism concern the way in which tourism influences and creates changes and transformations in behaviour, daily routines, beliefs, values and the social life of people in the host community, as a consequence of direct or indirect contact with tourists. When an area is undergoing fast changes (e.g., growing villages, new jobs, new people, new customs), as is the case with Mauritius's shift from productivism to postproductivism, sociocultural impacts can be especially large and need to be taken into consideration, whether in a political, administrative, environmental or social context. Understanding the sociocultural impact of tourism on communities is therefore crucial to national and local governments for two reasons: to prevent a decrease in quality of life for local residents and to effectively manage sociocultural impacts, in order to prevent a community backlash against tourist and tourism development and to preserve the sustainability of the tourism industry (Deery *et al.*, 2012). The sociocultural impact and local residents' perceptions of tourism impact depend both on variables that are external to host residents (e.g., the level of economic dependence on tourism, the distance from locals' residences to areas with high residential tourism activity, the level of contact with residential tourists and the level in which people use facilities that are also used by tourists) and on value variables of a person (personal values, community attachment and social, political and environmental values) (Deery *et al.*, 2012).

A change in the local population's attitudes is a cause for concern when the negative impacts exceed the positive impacts (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009). In Doxey's (1975) Irridex model, residents' attitudes toward tourism go through various stages:

euphoria, followed by apathy as the novelty of tourism development starts wearing off, irritation and eventually outright antagonism. According to Butler's (1980; 2006) Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), impacts (positive and negative) are bound to increase with tourism development. Butler argues that although residents' attitudes at the first stage of tourism development are often very positive, these attitudes frequently change. If the number of visitors (as a consequence of residential and second-home tourism) continues to increase, local residents often become concerned with the long-term impact of tourism. When expectations of tourism-related benefits are not realized, feelings of frustration and regret appear. Expectations might not be met, because they were unrealistic to start with or the benefits are perceived to accrue only to a small part of the community. Even when the expected benefits are realized, negative attitudes towards tourism can develop as the negative impacts become more significant than initially expected by local residents (Akis *et al.*, 1996; Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009).

Social exchange theory explains the proposed relationship between residents' perceptions and the TALC. It describes how local residents evaluate tourism by looking at the costs and benefits they expect to incur for their involvement in it. When the perceived benefits are higher than the perceived costs, local residents are likely to have a positive attitude toward further development of the tourism sector (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009). The proposed relationship can be further explained by the social disruption theory, which is closely linked to the 'boomtown' sociology literature. Boomtowns are 'locations experiencing a sudden rapid growth in demand for social services and community infrastructure' (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009: 518). The theory suggests that once the first shock of change wears off, local residents will adjust to the new situation and the perception of costs may level off or even decline. However, when the increase in perceptions of benefits slows down, the rate of increase in perceptions of costs will start to rise again. This rise in perception of costs is now no longer offset by a rapid increase of benefits, leaving local residents with a more negative view of tourism development (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009). Residents' feelings will 'range from euphoria to regret over the span of the life cycle' (Johnson *et al.*, 1994: 630). Additionally, the economic dependence factor hypothesizes that:

the greater the economic dependence on tourism of an individual resident or a community, the more favourable the individual or collective attitude towards tourism, whereas the absence of economic dependence on tourism-related activity is associated with a lack of support for its further development (Vargas-Sánchez *et al.*, 2009: 31).

However, studies found that residents of communities that depend on tourism 'prefer less tourism development and perceive the impacts of tourism as more negative than the residents of communities that depend less on this activity' (McGehee & Andereck, 2004: 133).

Ap and Crompton (1993) suggest an additional view on attitudes towards tourism that are in line with the theoretical relationships described above. They propose that in the initial stages locals are likely to embrace tourism development, because of the potential benefits for their community. However, at some point, when negative impacts start to show, locals enter the tolerance phase, where they become more hesitant toward tourism development. This stage can be linked with the development phase of Butler's TALC. When the perceptions of negative impacts increase at a higher rate than the perception of positive impacts, the balance will start to tip. In this phase of adjustment, locals will stop spending time in the main touristic areas in their community. Finally, some locals may withdraw entirely from the community by moving elsewhere to get away

from the tourists and the associated perceptions of negative impacts. These phases of adjustment and withdrawal coincide with the decline stage in Butler's TALC model (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009). Although the model has been criticized for being overly simplistic, the underlying idea has been confirmed by evidence from many tourism destinations throughout the world. This suggests that when a host area aims to have a sustainable tourism industry, 'tourism cannot be permitted to grow uncontrollably' (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009: 512).

All destinations have a limit that cannot be surpassed without creating societal, economic and environmental problems. It is therefore extremely important for tourism destinations to identify potential limits to growth (spatial, economic, social), especially through indicators that allow tourism planners to react before entering the stage of decline (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009). As is the case in this paper, foreign investment in Mauritius's tourism development needs to be carefully examined and managed in order to protect the future of the tourism industry. Moreover, attention should be given to local perceptions of residential tourism developments.

Mauritius, the Black River district and Tamarin

Mauritius is a small island of 1969 km² located in the Indian Ocean, about 800 km east of Madagascar and geopolitically considered part of Africa. With 1.3 million residents, the Mauritian society is a very heterogeneous one. The main groups are Indo-Mauritians (68 per cent), Creole (27 per cent), Sino-Mauritians (3 per cent) and Franco-Mauritians (2 per cent). The island has been relatively successful in attracting foreign investment since independence in 1968. Today, the diversification of the economy is mainly driven by an increase in export-oriented manufacturing, financial and business services and the tourism industry (Sooreea-Bheemul & Sooreea, 2012: 139).

Mauritius can be seen as an example of a reverse resource curse. As in some East Asian 'miracle' economies, it was precisely the lack of alternatives due to its limited natural resources that prompted a number of wise economic policies following independence, paving the way for Mauritius's success. In a relatively short time the small Indian Ocean island of Mauritius changed from an agricultural monocrop economy (sugar cane) to a stable economy with a booming tourism industry (hotel and resort developments and of late second-home developments). This shift to postproductivism (or multifunctionality) has drastically changed, and continues to change, the island's economy, appearance and everyday life. The economic shift and consequent fast economic development resulted in the economy continuously growing at 5 per cent and more per annum, earning the island itself the label the 'Mauritian Miracle'. The IMF (International Monetary Fund) (2001) reviewed a range of theories as to why Mauritius was able to develop at this fast rate, while other (African) countries continue to struggle. Although there is no consensus on which theory best explains the Mauritian Miracle, it is clear that the development of the tourism industry is playing an important role in the fast-changing economy. More recently, residential tourism emerges as an important part of this process.

Contentiously linked to residential tourism is the fact that land ownership, as seen in many former colonies, has been a sensitive topic in Mauritius. The contemporary 'global land grab' has recently become a key development issue, with large-scale tourist complexes and residential migration identified as two of the seven processes that are driving the global foreignisation of space' (Zoomers, 2010: 430). Residential tourism goes hand in hand with processes of urbanization and the proliferation of a real estate market,

when neoliberal policies pursued by or forced upon southern governments encourage FDI (van Noorloos, 2012). Residential tourism is thus conceptualized in the debate on large-scale land acquisition and foreignization of land. Residential tourism is seen in this paper as ‘interconnected with large increases in foreign and domestic investments in land, and therefore constitutes a contemporary research topic in current debates on land (the global “land grab”) and development’ (Van Noorloos, 2012: 16). In 2006, the Mauritian government allowed residential-permit applicants with at least half a million USD to acquire freehold property and permanent-resident status (Kasenally, 2011:163). Kasenally (2011:163) claims:

the scheme has met with a mixed reaction, as to some it seems tantamount to the parceling off of Mauritian land to wealthy foreigners...These segregated enclaves are the cause of growing animosity and disenchantment among indigenous Mauritians who feel that their rights and liberties are being trampled upon to satisfy the wishes of a privileged few.

In view of the aforementioned Kasenally’s statement, the paper provides an empirical analysis based on a survey conducted in Tamarin, Mauritius, on opinions of local residents and stakeholders on foreign investment in the residential tourism industry. The paper aims to determine the perceptions of local residents toward the changes they are experiencing and facing as a consequence of these investments. Although residential tourism as experienced in Tamarin through second-home developments provides the context for the study, the paper is only about local residents’ opinions.

Of particular relevance here are the policies in attracting foreign investors, including people who want to buy property in Mauritius, such as the Integrated Resort Scheme (IRS) and the Real Estate Scheme (RES) in the residential tourism market. Both the IRS and the RES have had significant effects on the levels of FDI flowing into the real estate sector of Mauritius. To attract this type of investors, governments offer a range of benefits to those who purchase a house or a plot of land, such as permanent residency and citizenship. According to the Bank of Mauritius, most of the foreign investment in 2011 was directed to the real estate sector, which attracted USD 256.87 million (Table 1), of which 42 per cent came from the contribution of IRS and RES. The Board of

Table 1. Foreign direct investment (FDI) by sector, 2006–11 (USD million).

Sector	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	0.84	0.58	14.48	...	...	5.73
Manufacturing	5.86	8.78	4.83	15.71	2.04	1.75
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	0.55	...	...	...	0.06	0.03
Construction	0.39	1.46	2.2	6.83	41.84	67.81
Wholesale and retail	6.41	1.23	3.34	9.42	4.05	0.68
Transportation and storage	0.42	...	0.45	0.32	3.56	0.13
Accommodations and food service	44.76	103.27	43.65	59.91	27.07	18.75
Information and communication	1.39	0.58	0.26	...	7.61	2.46
Financial and insurance	116.36	131.35	147.8	44.4	150.43	53.3
Real estate activities	55.09	123.71	146.54	139.41	110.82	148.32
Real estate activities specific to IRS and RES	39.77	90.38	85.4	67.17	65.84	108.55
Professional, scientific and technical	...	...	...	...	13.08	7.03
Education	1.78	0.97	2.4	4.05	0.58	0.13
Health and social work	0.06	0.94	3.89	4.7	88.47	...
Arts, entertainment and recreation	...	...	...	...	2.01	0.1
Total	233.88	372.87	369.8	284.76	451.7	306.23

Source: Bank of Mauritius (2013).

Investment (BOI) expects levels of FDI in the real estate sector to grow even further in coming years, as the sector is a focus point for further development and has good investment opportunities (Investment Climate Statement, 2011). In addition, the 2011 Investment Climate Statement lists hospitality and property development (commercial malls, luxury villas, and international flagship hotels) as among the main investment opportunities in Mauritius (Investment Climate Statement, 2011). The national tourism policy of Mauritius 'emphasizes low impact, high spending tourism. Selective, up-market, quality tourism is favored, and although such tourism is not the only type, it constitutes the major segment of our tourists who stay in high class hotels' (Ministry of Tourism and External Communications, n.d.). Within this context, residential tourism has recently become a sector of interest for the island. Table 1 shows a comparative growth in this industry to other types of industry.

When the island first started to attract large amounts of tourists during the 1970s, tourism-related developments were concentrated in the island's northern part. Of late, between 1990 and 2010 tourist arrivals increased at an average rate of 9 per cent per annum, and it is the less developed Black River district in the west of Mauritius that is experiencing a major increase in tourism development as a result of an immigration boom, with wealthy foreigners (the so-called swallows) buying their own 'piece of paradise'. Black River (Figure 1) is one of nine districts in Mauritius (UN Habitat, 2012). The area had a population of 78 801 inhabitants in 2013. Although Black River is the third largest district, it is the least populated one. The Black River district used to be dominated by small fishing villages, salt farms and sugar cane fields. Today, many small towns, such as Flic en Flac and Tamarin, are rapidly modernizing with new resorts, hotels, restaurants, shops, sports clubs and supermarkets. Until recently Black River was considered one of the more deprived areas of Mauritius, ranked low in the government's Relative Development Index (UN Habitat, 2012: 8). Black River has relatively little rainfall and many natural sights such as the Tamarin Falls and Chamarel coloured earth, vacant areas and beautiful beaches, which make this area very attractive for tourism development. The district is well connected to the airport, the island's capital Port Louis and other larger cities, such as Quatre Borne by highway. All households in the area have access to electricity and water, with the exception of the squatter settlements. Created in October 1989, the Black River District Council is the youngest local authority on the island and comprises 16 Village Councils. Its most important function is 'to offer services that promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of the inhabitants' (UN Habitat, 2012: 8). Mauritius has a highly centralized government, and ministries and institutions at the national level manage issues on regional planning and land allocation (UN Habitat, 2012: 9). The Black River District Council plays an important role in tourism development within the area, as it is responsible for applications for building and land use permits (UN Habitat, 2012). The Black River area has the highest increase in property development projects in Mauritius (UN Habitat, 2012). The IRS and various residential developments are attracting an upper-middle class population to the area. According to the UN Habitat report (2012: 6), 'Black River has during recent years seen fast growing urban migration, which is having a significant impact on its socio-economic situation and development'. The Black River District Council acknowledged that recent developments are causing a tremendous rise in prices of private property and the dramatic growth in squatter settlements. In addition, now that many sugar fields and vacant areas are converted into luxury accommodations, the small town is rapidly modernizing with new shops, expat sporting clubs, supermarkets and schools (UN Habitat, 2012).

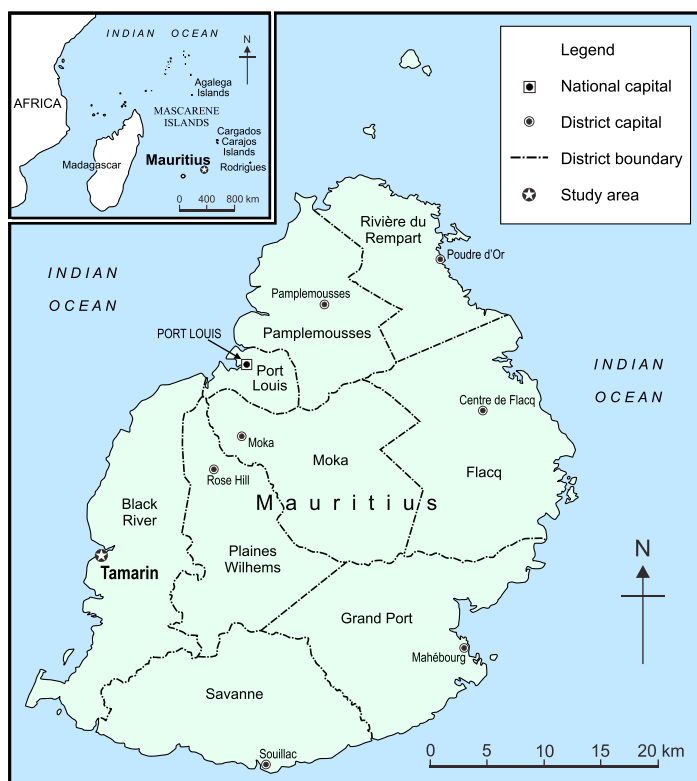


Figure 1. Location of Tamarin in Mauritius.

Tamarin is the capital of the Black River district and has a population of 3766 inhabitants (Republic of Mauritius, 2011). We selected Tamarin for the field research, as it is located in the area of the island that has witnessed the fastest increase in residential tourism developments in recent years (UN Habitat, 2012). The town of Tamarin used to be primarily a small fishing village but is clearly experiencing a fast increase in residential tourism developments by the look of some recent projects in the area. For example, at Grande Rivière Noire, situated directly south of Tamarin, a large property development project La Balise Marina is currently taking place. This IRS style development is worth around USD 135 million and is built on 12.8 ha of land. It consists of 113 luxury residences, a 'commercial center with restaurants, shops, boutiques... and a complex... consisting of high-end amenities, including a fine-dining restaurant, a gym, a spa and a Kids' Club' (Association of Hoteliers and Restaurants in Mauritius, 2012). Moreover, situated between Tamarin and Flic and Flac lies the recently developed shopping centre Cascavelle. Cascavelle consists of 10 000 m² of shopping area and 500 parking places. It has numerous fashion shops, restaurants and a large supermarket (Association of Hoteliers and Restaurants in Mauritius, 2012). Although these developments have a partly positive effect on the town, they are now a cause of concern among local residents and district councilors. Not only is the fast development of residential tourism causing an increase in property prices, but also the town is trying to manage the economic, spatial, environmental and sociocultural impacts of residential tourism, in order to safeguard the sustainability of its tourism industry and the quality of life for local residents (UN Habitat, 2012).

Methodology

In-depth interviews were conducted with the assistance of students from different ethnic backgrounds from the University of Mauritius, among who 17 were residents from Tamarin. As qualitative case studies examine a phenomenon within its real-life context, this study sets out to understand the meaning Tamarin residents have constructed about the changes taking place in their village because of residential tourism developments. Within an inductive thematic analysis methodological approach, we identified and coded four emergent residential tourism impact semantic themes that emerged from the interviews: increased property prices and subsequent displacement, alienation caused by overdevelopment, alienation due to the foreignization of space, and benefits. Interviewees were identified with the aid of the local municipal authority and found through word-of-mouth. Interviewees included people working in the tourism industry (waiters, taxi-drivers, hotel assistants), people who were relocated and now are living in the squatter area, people who are members of the local community organization, and people who have been living in Tamarin for at least more than four decades. The purpose of the interviews was to understand the respondents' opinions on the role that foreign investment plays in the development in the residential tourism industry of Mauritius and the extent to which these developments are threatening or contributing to the sustainable development of Tamarin. The interview schedule comprised of three main sections of inquiry revolving around the themes of FDI, second-home and residential tourism, and perceptions regarding economic, socio-spatial and environmental impacts. Perceived impacts can be different from the actual impacts, as the former reflects the way in which people see these impacts. As discussed earlier, local residents' perceptions of tourism and its impacts depend both on variables that are external to host residents and on value variables of a person. Each interview lasted between one and two hours. In addition, for background context and information, we interviewed four Tamarin second-home owners (identified randomly), four tourism employees at the local tourism office, a South African investor, an employee of the Board of Investment and an employee of the Black River District Council.

Opinions on the growth of the residential tourism industry in Tamarin

The UN Habitat 'Mauritius Urban Profile report' of 2012 states that the tourism industry is still perceived as a growth sector. For Hoogendoorn (2010) there are two main approaches toward the impacts of residential tourism on a host area. The first approach emphasizes the potentially desirable aspects of residential tourism developments in economic terms. The second approach emphasizes the undesirable aspects, such as a rapid rise in property prices, environmental degradation, displacement of local communities and uneven development (Jim, 2000; Marjavaara, 2008). The extent to which these impacts take place will depend both on the specific context of the area and on the level of tourism development. Who then really benefits from residential tourism development (Huete Nieves *et al.*, 2008): local residents, foreign investors or both?

A large number of foreign investors and high levels of foreign control may also threaten the sustainability of the residential tourism sector. Overdevelopment can cause a decline in the tourism industry, and subsequently investors might move on to other opportunities, leaving local residents with an overdeveloped and declining industry. Research indicates that residential tourists tend to spend less money on a daily basis than 'regular' tourists. For example residential tourists tend to go less to souvenir shops and restaurants or participate less in other leisure activities. However, residential tourists do

contribute to increasing numbers of employment opportunities and make large contributions towards the local tax base. Even more so than with 'normal tourism', the development of residential tourism often leads to a massive increase in property prices, making the purchasing of houses in those areas less affordable for local residents (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2009).

Residential tourism and the associated shift from productivism to postproductivism have considerable spatial implications in Tamarin. Rural land is rapidly transformed, and construction sites confirm the continuing trend of residential tourism developments. In the Black River district, property prices have escalated dramatically in the recent past, possibly because of the rapid development of tourism facilities, IRS and new private commercial property projects. District councilors and policymakers confirmed this rapid growth, by identifying a growing number of problems caused by residential tourism and resulting high property prices (pers comm., Tamarin, July 2012). The main identified negative impact is the growing number of squatter settlements within the Black River district. The majority of the people living in these squatter settlements were no longer able to secure regular accommodation. Some moved to the area because of the job opportunities and have not (yet) been able to find an affordable place to live. Others sold their properties, because they were tempted by the price they could get for it and have not been able to buy a new house with that money, because of fast rising property prices. The supply of affordable or social housing is not sufficient, forcing a growing number of residents to squat on land they do not own. Although authorities have facilitated a 'construction extension loan facility' for low-income groups, the major constraint of land availability remains. Moreover, the government policies that help those who can no longer afford their housing are counteracted by other policies to stimulate foreign investors to further develop the residential tourism industry within these areas. Especially in urban coastal areas, land is scarce and the prices of plots and houses are high. The latest housing and population census reveals that the number of housing units in Black River increased by 43 per cent between 2010 and 2012 (UN Habitat, 2012: 12). Major residential tourism developments are a large part of this increase. As they are often unaffordable for local residents, foreign investors are often the main buyers of such luxurious properties.

In view of the TALC model, Butler (2006) argues that the stage of decline can be predicted by measuring local perceptions on tourism impacts. Gursoy and Rutherford (2004: 495) confirm this view, arguing that there is a strong correlation between local residents' perception of tourism impact, the stage of tourism development and local residents' support for further tourism development. According to Marjavaara (2008), the impact of the socio-economic gap is largest in the early stages of residential tourism development. In the case of residential tourism, relations are often even more complex, as residential tourists are neither tourists nor permanent residents, but something in between. In the Tamarin case study we have identified four broad themes of residential tourism development: (1) increased property prices and subsequent displacement, (2) alienation caused by overdevelopment, (3) alienation due to the foreignization of space and (4) benefits.

Increased property prices and subsequent displacement

The first theme of rising property prices and displacement of local residents evoked strong emotions among respondents. Rising property prices may be seen as positive, as they increase the value of the assets held by locals. However positive impacts need to be weighed up against the negative impacts, which include the polarizing effect where wealthier residents benefit most and the poor and landless risk being crowded out of

the housing market, and the breaking up of communities as a result of such gentrification. At the heart of coastal and countryside small towns' gentrified leisure sites are second-home developments (Paris, 2009). Those forced to live in squatter settlements expressed feelings of frustration, anger and betrayal. Others who benefitted from increasing land prices may have different feelings, which does not compensate for the emotions of those who saw themselves as victims of foreignization processes on the island. The inability to live in a proper house made respondents feel like they have taken a step backwards and appeared to contradict the fast developments and improvements Mauritius is known for. Those people who seemed to miss out on the benefits of residential tourism felt left behind and forgotten by their government. One respondent shared his feelings:

How is it possible that my government is not building houses for its own people, but will do whatever they can to make beautiful houses for foreigners? When they have sold all the land to foreigners, where is my family supposed to go? I feel like they are so busy pleasing the 'men in suits' that they just forgot about me (52-year-old male resident who was forced to live in squatter settlements, pers. comm., Tamarin, July 2012).

As it turns out, the limited availability of land, in combination with the fast development of residential tourism, is not the only problem when it comes to housing.

Alienation caused by overdevelopment

Although majority of interviewees felt that residential tourism development has improved the appearance of Tamarin, fears of overdevelopment and overcrowding emerged as a second theme during the interviews. A 62-year-old woman who moved from Grande Baie in the north of Mauritius to Tamarin about 15 years ago explained:

I hardly recognize the street I grew up in. It used to be full of family houses, trees and flowers. We could easily walk to the beach; there was not much traffic at all. Now there are hotels and resorts everywhere. And did you see the huge shopping centre? I used to buy my fruit and vegetables at little markets on the street. You don't even see those anymore. It is bricks, streets, cars and neon light wherever you look. I have no idea why somebody would want to spend their holiday there. This is probably why people are now coming to Tamarin. We still have nice beaches here and quiet places for the honeymooners to kiss [laughing]. I'm afraid that Tamarin will be like Grande Baie in a few years. Then they have to find a new place on Mauritius, until the whole island is destroyed (pers. comm., Tamarin, July 2012).

Although this opinion is quite strong, almost all respondents in the in-depth interviews expressed their concern about the fast speed at which Tamarin is changing, the number of buildings (hotels, restaurants, shopping malls, etc.) and the number of people staying there. Most of the interviewees stated that although tourism has fast tracked the development of Mauritius, many people do not necessarily enjoy living in areas with high levels of residential tourism development. The negative impacts of residential tourism are likely to be perceived as larger when a person actually lives in an area with high levels of residential tourism. These findings are in line with the Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) theory, which is characterized by opposition by residents toward new development proposals that are close to their homes, even if residents feel these developments are necessary and/or desirable. However, the fear of overdevelopment and overcrowding was especially strong among respondents older than 45 years old. Respondents explained their concern in two ways, focusing on a decreasing quality of life for local residents and on a fear of ruining Mauritius's unique selling point

as a tourism destination. Similarly, in another island case study on Bruny Island, it was found that local residents avoided interacting with tourists because of overcrowded infrastructure (Moyle *et al.*, 2010: 353).

Alienation due to the foreignization of space

Tourism is known to have high levels of interpenetration, which refers to the level in which cultures that seem distant come face-to-face at the local level (Shaw & Williams, 2002). High levels of interpenetration can be a source of conflict. When residential tourism is expanding rapidly, as is the case in Tamarin, the sociocultural impacts of residential tourism can be considerable. We observed that residents were increasingly alienated because of the foreignization of space, a third theme of fieldwork observation. A 52-year-old male interviewee explained how residential tourism changed Mauritius:

I grew up in the north of Mauritius. You will not believe how much that part of the island has changed over the years. In the beginning we were all so happy. We were getting jobs and money. And yes, also shops and bars....all kind of things a young person wants. But now, it is like living in a zoo. I don't know any of the people living there anymore. It is only tourists and people working for the tourists. I work as a taxi driver, so for my job it was a good place to live. I moved to Tamarin to raise my children. Here I was able to afford a nice house and live a more quiet life. Now I see the same thing happening to Tamarin. Tourists and foreigners are taking over. Don't get me wrong, I have no problem with other people, but I feel like they are stealing my island (pers. comm., Tamarin, July 2012).

The feeling that 'foreigners are taking over the island' was expressed during almost all interviews. This feeling was intensified by the fact that there are no longer only short-term visitors coming to Tamarin, but a fast-growing number of residential tourists. The number of people buying property in Mauritius has especially increased since IRS and RES were launched. Foreigners buying property in Mauritius are often Caucasian, which intensifies feelings of 'us versus them'. For a country with a history of slavery, this new upper class of white foreigners living in luxury while local residents are struggling can be a source of frustration. In fact interviews revealed that 'white people' were seen to benefit more from residential tourism than locals do. This outcome is in line with the feeling that foreigners are taking over the island, not only as residential tourists, but also as active investors or high-ranking company executives who earn more money. In addition, residents also expressed feelings of exclusion and social polarization, as residential tourists often stay at the most beautiful places on the island and are wealthier. Moreover, some respondents were offended by how gated communities are advertised as benefiting from having a gate or fence between their little piece of paradise and the locals. One 36-year-old male respondent explained:

Mauritius has a lot of resorts and gated communities. The majority of the people who move to Mauritius do not really mix with us. I see them in some of the bars around here and maybe on the beach, but not on the street. And you know, that is kind of where the social life is really happening. But no, they lock themselves up in their resorts. Especially the older people who move here. Did you see the signs promoting gated communities everywhere? There is one that said 'Buy your safe piece of paradise in our fully secured community'. It has a picture of a happy white family on it. I find this extremely insulting. Like Mauritians are dangerous and you have to lock yourself away from us. But in the end, it's their loss...they will never feel the warmth of our hearts (pers. comm., Tamarin, July 2012).

Similarly, in interviews among some pioneering residential tourists, they expressed dissatisfaction about the changes taking place. The real estate boom within the area is

turning their 'piece of paradise' and 'escape away from it all' into a mass tourism destination with crowded beaches, neon lights and large shopping malls, which are not the reasons they invested here in the first instance.

Benefits

Most interviewees felt that residential tourism does have benefits, which is the fourth theme from the in-depth interviews. Local residents are excited about the new opportunities residential tourism development is bringing to Tamarin. Job creation is by far the most celebrated impact of residential tourism. In addition, a continuous investment flow, better infrastructure, more facilities and international connections are considered positive impacts. The positive attitudes toward residential tourism development are confirmed by the fact that the majority of the respondents believed further residential tourism development will have more benefits than costs to Tamarin and its residents. In this, the respondents' views reflect the positive experiences of Mauritius and a set of other small island countries that are pursuing a tourism-oriented economic development strategy (as in the SITEs model). Although residential tourism is creating sufficient jobs for local residents, job seasonality can be a reason for concern. A 28-year-old male respondent explained:

I much rather have a year around job with a set income that pays a little less. I have to provide for my family. We rent a house, so if I don't have enough tips one month, we will struggle. I just started working here, so I also don't know what will happen when the season is ending. But overall, I am just lucky to have found a job. Tourism is really helping people in this area to live a good life you know (pers. comm., Tamarin, July 2012).

Although tourism is known to create low-skill, low-wage jobs on the island, none of the respondents were concerned. However, jobs specifically in the residential tourism industry are often seasonal, creating an uncertain situation for employees. While economic growth due to residential tourism is undeniable, the qualitative research has shown that overdevelopment and overcrowding are threatening the quality of life for many local residents and residential tourists and the sustainable development of Tamarin.

Conclusion

Mauritius is known for its broad cultural diversity and tolerance, but the fast increase in residential tourism has drawn mixed reactions. While the majority of the population recognizes that these developments bring wealth and employment, complaints about the cultural insensitivity are surfacing. Not only is the local population complaining, expats who have settled in the Black River district at the beginning of, or even before, the large immigration boom are eager to protect their piece of paradise from newcomers and overcrowding. This research mainly focused on the perceptions of local residents. However, it appears that the town and its residents are currently at a crucial point, where attitudes toward residential tourism and its impacts are slowly beginning to change. This change in attitudes is largely due to the lack of addressing some major concerns. If Mauritius and Tamarin want to continue to attract large inflows of FDI into the residential tourism sector and to continue with further residential tourism development, the main negative impacts found in this study can no longer be ignored. Moreover, it often takes time before people start to notice negative impacts and speak up. At first, the allure of rising incomes, more job opportunities, better facilities and further investment overshadowed

associated negative impacts. However, at some point these negative impacts become too significant to be ignored. Not only are concerns like overcrowding and overdevelopment threatening the quality of life for local residents, the issues are also ruining the 'high-class residential tourism destination' the area aims to be.

Rising property prices are a larger problem within this area than first expected. As a middle-income country with rising income levels and new job opportunities, Mauritius should have decreasing squatter settlements. However, with only limited land available and the fast development of luxurious houses, skyrocketing property prices cause the number of squatter settlements to increase, especially in areas with high levels of residential tourism. While a part of the Mauritian population no doubt benefits from increased employment and new wealth pouring into the island, others feel sidelined. Along with other negative impacts associated with residential tourism, the housing problem causes feelings of frustration, exclusion and social polarization. The local residents of Tamarin started to feel that foreigners are 'taking over their town'. In addition some local residents felt that they are not taken seriously by their government, which is making more effort to make life easy for resident tourists than for local residents. The fact that many local residents have trouble finding affordable housing, while new property developments mostly provide houses for the up-scale market, is a good example of why local residents feel excluded. These growing tensions between local residents and residential tourism not only negatively affect the quality of life, but also threaten the residential tourism industry. Kasenally (2011: 167) takes a critical stance on the Mauritian Miracle, arguing that the growing socio-economic disparities and ethnic intolerance and the regressive approach of the political class bode ill for the country's future, and 'the vaunted Mauritian melting point could become a boiling pot'.

A duality of views has been observed in Mauritius. On the one hand, local residents who have benefitted from employment and infrastructure development—albeit in varying degrees—adopt the dominant modernization discourse propagated by the government and developers, reflecting a belief in progress conceived essentially in quantitative (growth) terms. On the other hand, local residents are becoming more aware of the uneven and partial nature of this progress, in terms of the distribution of its benefits and costs. Over time, the current model of tourism development is unsustainable, in economic and social as well as ecological terms. The challenge therefore is to timely shift to another more inclusive and sustainable development trajectory. The Mauritian case is similar to findings at a Mediterranean tourist area where the dualism of accepting and rejecting the diverse effects of residential tourism also exists. Huete Nieves *et al.* (2008) explain that the dominant discourse legitimizes, rather than resists, the effects of residential tourism, because of three reasons:

a certain adoption of bourgeois ways by virtue of which broad sectors of the population perceive an improvement in their quality of life, thanks to residential tourism modernisation... the attempt to produce a legitimising dominant discursive model [that]...would correspond to the groups who most benefit from this type of 'progress'... and... the acceptance of the existing reality by the citizens who are torn between resignation and approval (Huete Nieves *et al.*, 2008: 8–9).

In Mauritius, while local residents' perceptions of residential tourism development are presently still somewhat balanced between negative effects and positive expectations in terms of jobs and income, even a temporary setback in the tourism industry may cause a tipping point to be reached in popular support for tourism development. Should popular support collapse, Mauritius's present development

model risks becoming unsustainable in political, ecological and ultimately also economic respects. Tourist destinations are subject to a life cycle that one day reaches stagnation or even decline (Butler, 1980; 2006). Preventing the threat of decline calls for strategic management of tourism-related resources, including land, water, quality of life and other aspects of the environment. There are no standard recipes to deal with such pressures; however, it is clear that prudent management of long-term tourism development requires (Oreja Rodriguez *et al.*, 2008) the integration of sustainability standards in regulation and policy making, and a stakeholder approach that ensures a reasonable degree of consensus among major stakeholders. The resident population is not the least of these stakeholder groups.

References

- Akis S, Peristianis N, Warner J (1996) Residents' attitudes to tourism development: the case of Cyprus. *Tourism Management* **17** (7), 481–94.
- Andriotis K (2005) Seasonality in Crete: problem or way of life? *Tourism Economics* **11** (2), 207–24.
- Ap J, Crompton J (1993) Residents' strategies for responding to tourism impacts. *Journal of Travel Research* **32** (1), 47–50.
- Association of Hoteliers and Restaurants in Mauritius (2012) Discover IRS. Available at: <http://www.mauritioustourism.org/en/offres-promotionnelles/discover-irs.html> (accessed August 2015).
- Balaguer J, Cantavella-Jorda M (2002) Tourism as a long-run economic growth factor: the Spanish case. *Applied Economics* **34** (7), 877–84.
- Baldacchino G (2006) Managing the hinterland beyond: two ideal-type strategies if economic development for small island territories. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* **47** (1), 45–60.
- Bank of Mauritius (2013) Homepage. Available at: <https://www.bom.mu/> (accessed 2 May 2013).
- Barry F, Bradley J (1997) FDI and trade: the Irish host-country experience. *The Economic Journal* **107**, 1798–1811.
- Bertram G (2006) Introduction: The MIRAB model in the twenty-first century. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* **47** (1), 1–13.
- Bertram G, Watters R (1985) The MIRAB economy in South Pacific microstates. *Pacific Viewpoint* **26** (2), 497–519.
- Boissevain J (1979) The impact of tourism on a dependent island: Gozo, Malta. *Annals of Tourism Research* **6** (1), 76–90.
- Brau R, Lanza A, Pigliaru F (2007) How fast are small tourism countries growing? Evidence from the data for 1980–2003. *Tourism Economics* **13** (4), 603–14.
- Buckley P, Wang C, Clegg J (2007). The impact of foreign ownership, local ownership and industry characteristics on spillover benefits from foreign direct investment in China. *International Business Review* **16** (2), 142–58.
- Butler RW (1980) The concept of the tourist area life-cycle of evolution: implications for management of resources. *Canadian Geographer* **24** (1), 5–12.
- Butler RW (2006) *Applications and Modifications*. Vol. 1, *The Tourism Area Life Cycle*. Channelview Publications, Clevedon.
- Canavan B (2013) The extent and role of domestic tourism in a small island: the case of the Isle of Man. *Journal of Travel Research* **52** (3), 340–52.
- Chien MS, Lee CC (2008) Structural breaks, tourism development, and economic growth: evidence from Taiwan. *Mathematics and Computers in Simulation* **77** (4), 358–68.
- Conlin MV, Baum T (eds) (1995) *Island Tourism: Management Principles and Practice*. Wiley, Oxford.
- Craigwell R (2007) Tourism competitiveness in small island developing states. Research Paper No. 2007/19. UNU-WIDER.
- Croes R (2011) Measuring and explaining competitiveness in the context of small island destinations. *Journal of Travel Research* **50** (4), 431–42.
- Croes R, Lee SH, Olson ED (2013) Authenticity in tourism in small island destinations: a local perspective. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* **11** (2), 1–20.

- Deery M, Jago L, Fredline L (2012) Rethinking social impacts of tourism research: a new research agenda. *Tourism Management* **33** (1), 64–73.
- Dicken P (2015) *Global Shift. Mapping the Changing Contours of the World Economy*. 7th ed. Guilford, New York.
- Diedrich A, Garcia-Buades E (2009) Local perceptions of tourism as indicators of destination decline. *Tourism Management* **30** (4), 512–21.
- Doxey G (1975) A causation theory of visitor-resident irritants: methodology and research inferences in the impact of tourism. In *Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings of the Travel Research Association*, 195–98. Travel and Tourism Research Association, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
- Durbarray R (2002) The economic contribution of tourism in Mauritius. *Annals of Tourism Research* **29** (3), 862–65.
- Durbarray R (2004) Tourism and economic growth: the case of Mauritius. *Tourism Economics* **10** (4), 389–401.
- Easterly W, Kraay A (2000) Small states, small problems? Income, growth, and volatility in small states. *World Development* **28** (11), 2013–27.
- Endo K (2006) Foreign direct investment in tourism—flows and volumes. *Tourism Management* **27** (4), 600–14.
- Feick RD, Hall GB (2000) The application of a spatial decision support system to tourism-based land management in small island. *Journal of Travel Research* **39** (2), 163–71.
- Gatsinzi J, Donaldson R (2009) Investment in the tourism industry: the experience of Rwanda. *Journal for Development Support* **1** (1), 33–49.
- Globerman S (1979) Foreign direct investment and spillover efficiency benefits in Canadian manufacturing industries. *Canadian Journal of Economics* **12** (1), 42–56.
- Grossman G, Helpman E (1991) *Innovation and Growth in the Global Economy*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Gursoy D, Rutherford DG (2004) Host attitudes toward tourism: an improved structural model. *Annals of Tourism Research* **31** (3), 495–516.
- Hall CM (2010) Island destinations: a natural laboratory for tourism: introduction. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* **15** (3), 245–49.
- Hoogendoorn G (2010) Second Homes and Local Economic Impacts in the South African Postproductivist Countryside (PhD dissertation). Department of Geography, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein.
- Hoogendoorn G, Visser G (2009) Tourism, second homes and an emerging South African post-productivist countryside. *Tourism Review International* **15** (1–2), 183–97.
- Hoogendoorn G, Visser G, Marais L (2008) Changing countrysides, changing villages: second homes in Rhodes, South Africa. Paper presented at the New Zealand Geographical Society Conference 'Inequality, Sustainability, Policy: Geography across the Divide', 2–5 July, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
- Huete Nieves R, Mantecón Terán A, Mazón Martínez T (2008) Analysing the social perception of residential tourism development. In Costa C, Cravo P *Proceedings of the IASK International Conference: Advances in Tourism Research*, 153–61; IASK, Aveiro.
- Investment Climate Statement (2011) Mauritius Board of Investment. Available at: <http://www.investmauritius.com> (accessed 15 February 2013).
- Jim CY (2000) Environmental changes associated with mass urban tourism and nature tourism development in Hong Kong. *Environmentalist* **20** (3), 233–47.
- Johnson JD, Snepenger DJ, Akis S (1994) Residents' perceptions of tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research* **21** (3), 629–42.
- Kasenally R (2011) Mauritius: paradise reconsidered. *Journal of Democracy* **22** (2), 160–69.
- Keane M (1992) Case study: strategic management of island tourism—The case of the Aran Islands. *Tourism Management* **13** (4), 406–14.
- Knox AD (1967) Some economic problems of small countries. In Benedict B (ed) *Problems of Smaller Territories*, 35–45. Athlone, London.
- Lee D, Hampton M, Jeyacheya J (2014) The political economy of precarious work in the tourism industry in small island developing states. *Review of International Political Economy* **22** (1), 194–223.

- Li X, Liu X (2005) Foreign direct investment and economic growth: an increasingly endogenous relationship. *World Development* **33** (3), 393–407.
- Liu X, Siler P, Wang C, Wei Y (2000) Productivity spillovers from foreign direct investment: evidence from the UK industry level panel data. *Journal of International Business Studies* **31** (3), 407–25.
- Lockhart DG, Drakakis-Smith D (1997) *Island Tourism: Trends and Prospects*. Cassell, London.
- Marjavaara R (2007a) Route to destruction? Second home tourism in small island communities. *Island Studies Journal* **2** (1), 27–46.
- Marjavaara R (2007b) The displacement myth: second home tourism in the Stockholm Archipelago. *Tourism Geographies* **9** (3), 296–317.
- Marjavaara R (2008) Second Home Tourism. The Root to Displacement in Sweden? (PhD dissertation). Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umea University, Gerum, Sweden.
- Marwick M (2000) Golf tourism development, stakeholders, differing discourses and alternative agendas: the case of Malta. *Tourism Management* **21** (5), 515–24.
- McElroy, JL (2006) Small island tourist economies across the life cycle. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* **47** (1), 61–77.
- McGehee N, Andereck K (2004) Factors predicting rural residents' support of tourism, *Journal of Travel Research* **43** (2), 131–40.
- McWatters MR (2009) Residential Tourism. (De)constructing Paradise. Channel View, Bristol.
- Meyer K (2004) Perspectives on multinational enterprises in emerging economies. *Journal of International Business Studies* **34** (4), 259–76.
- Meyer K, Sinani E (2006) Spillovers from FDI: A meta-analysis. Paper presented at the Academy of International Business June 2006 Beijing. Available at: [/www.klausmeyer.cu.uk](http://www.klausmeyer.cu.uk) (accessed September 2015).
- Ministry of Tourism and External Communications (n.d.) Overview of tourism sector in Mauritius. Available at: <http://tourism.govmu.org/English/Pages/Overview-of-Tourism-Sector-in-Mauritius.aspx#policy/> (accessed 29 March 2016).
- Moyle B, Croy WG, Weiler B (2010) Community perceptions of tourism: Bruny and Magnetic Islands, Australia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* **15** (3), 353–66.
- van Noorloos F (2012) Whose Place in the Sun? Residential Tourism and its Implications for Equitable and Sustainable Development in Guanacaste, Costa Rica (PhD dissertation). Department of Development Studies, Universiteit Utrecht, Utrecht.
- van Noorloos F (2013) Residential tourism and multiple mobilities: Local citizenship and community fragmentation in Costa Rica. *Sustainability* **5** (2), 570–89.
- Oberst A, McElroy JL (2007) Contrasting socio-economic and demographic profiles of two, small island, economic species: MIRAB versus PROFIT/SITE. *Island Studies Journal* **2** (2), 163–76.
- Oreja Rodriguez JR, Parra-Lopez E, Yanes-Estevéz V (2008) The sustainability of island destinations: tourism area life cycle and teleological perspectives. The case of Tenerife. *Tourism Management* **29** (1), 53–65.
- Paris C (2009) Re-positioning second homes within housing studies: household investment, gentrification, multiple residence, mobility and hyperconsumption. *Housing, Theory and Society* **26** (4), 292–310.
- Pranić L, Ketkar S, Roehl WS (2011) The impact of macroeconomic country specific factors on international expansion of US hotel chains. *Tourismos* **6** (2), 33–51.
- Prayag, G, Dookhony-Ramphul K, Maryeven, M (2010) Hotel development and tourism impacts in Mauritius: hoteliers' perspectives on sustainable tourism. *Development Southern Africa* **27** (5), 697–712.
- Republic of Mauritius (2011) Housing and population census. Republic of Mauritius, Vol. ii, Demographic and fertility characteristics. Report. Ministry of Finance and Economic Development Statistics, Port Louis.
- Ridderstaat J, Croes R, Nijkamp, P (2014) The tourism development-quality of life nexus in a small island destination. *Journal of Travel Research* **55** (1), 79–94.
- Samimi AJ, Sadeghi S, Sadeghi S (2011) Tourism and economic growth in developing countries: P-VAR approach. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research* **10** (1), 28–32.

- Seetanah B (2011) Assessing the dynamic economic impact of tourism for island economies. *Annals of Tourism Research* **38** (1), 291–308.
- Seetanah B, Sannasee R, Rojid S (2015) The impact of relative prices on tourism demand for Mauritius: an empirical analysis. *Development Southern Africa* **32** (3), 363–76.
- Shaw G, Williams AM (2002) *Critical Issues in Tourism: A Geographical Perspective*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Sheng L (2010) Foreign investment and urban development: a perspective from tourist cities. *Habitat International* **35** (1), 111–17.
- Sooreea-Bheemul B, Sooreea R (2012) Mauritius as a success story for FDI: what strategy and policy lessons can emerging markets learn? *Journal of International Business Research* **11** (2), 119–44.
- UN Habitat (2012) *Mauritius: Black River Urban Profile*. United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Nairobi.
- UNDESA (2014) Partnerships briefs for small island developing states. UN Conference on Small Island Developing States. Available at: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/1359SIDS_BRIEFS_SustEconomicDvpmmt.pdf (accessed on 22 June 2015).
- United Nations (2006) FDI from developing and transition economies: implications for development. *World Investment Report 2006*. United Nations, New York and Geneva.
- Vargas-Sánchez A, Porras-Bueno N & Plaza-Mejía M (2009) Residents' attitudes towards tourism development in the Spanish province of Huelva. *Narodnostopanski Arhiv, International Edition* **2009** (5), 31–62.
- Wilkinson PF (1987) Tourism in small island nations: a fragile dependence. *Leisure Studies* **2** (2), 127–46.
- Wilkinson PF (1989) Strategies for tourism in island microstates. *Annals of Tourism Research* **16** (2), 153–77.
- Zoomers A (2010) Globalisation and the foreignisation of space: seven processes driving the current global land grab. *Journal of Peasant Studies* **37** (2), 429–47.