

On the “Reclaim” of Hill Stations in the Post-colonial Era¹

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Abstract: There are not so many studies on hill stations, except for natural sciences such as animals and plants. [Lal, 1997] Moreover, a relatively small number of non-natural science hill station studies focuses on historical and geographical research related to the colonial era, and the subject is biased toward the colonizers’ perspective. As a result, the post-colonial era after WW II, and the colonized side has been nearly neglected in research. The hill station itself is an enclosed world separated from the surroundings, forming a kind of tourist bubble. Also, in the post-colonial era, many hill stations will be transformed into typical tourist destinations. From this point of view, the hill station in post-colonial era and behavior of once colonized people at the hill stations is important as an object of tourism studies. From the above perspective, this article uses the concept of “reclaim” to clarify how former colonized people regained the hill station to their side, especially in the post-colonial era. Through this, it will be considered how the post-colonial hill station responded to mass tourism, functioned, and transformed.

Keywords: hill station, post-colonial era, mass tourism, reclaim

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I— Introduction

Hill Station has a history of more than 200 years from its emergence to the present. [Spencer and Thomas, 1948] Although there are significant differences in the development process of each region, the history of the hill station can be roughly

divided into two stages. The two stages are the colonial era and the post-colonial era after WW II. The colonial hill stations can be regarded as a kind of lifestyle migration² because of its phenomenological nature of periodic inter-regional mobility. [Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Benson and O'Reilly, 2016] At the same time, it has been deeply involved in the historical expansion of tourism as a summer resort. [Kenny, 1995] Also, in the post-colonial era, the development of mass tourism will play a leading role in the transformation of the hill station. Therefore, hill stations have a great deal to do with tourism in two different aspect such as historically and by nature. [Mitchell, 1972]

However, research from this perspective is not always progressing. Of these, the focus of hill station studies is on the colonial era, and the transformation of hill stations during the post-colonial era has been nearly neglected. As mentioned above, hill station has been a continuous entity from its beginning to the present, imbalance in the research is resulting in a research gap. In particular, the post-colonial hill stations have often been transformed into tourist destination for domestic tourism, and it is considered the lack of research means that research on the relationship between hill stations and tourism has not deepened.

During the transition period from the colonial era to the post-colonial era, specific phenomena occurred at hill station that attempted to characterize the formation of a nation-state, and this tendency continues to the present while changing its form. This series of phenomena is to regain the hill station, which is an outcome of colonialism, [Kennedy, 1996] to the side of the nation-state. In this article, this multifaceted recapture is defined as “reclaim”. Also, this article will clarify the actual condition of

the reclaim, categorize it, and discuss its transition. Furthermore, through these analyzes, we will discuss the background and factors behind the “reclaim” and will clarify the duality of colonial memory held by post-colonial hill stations and its character as a phenomenon.

II— Research Methodology

This article is based on a typical qualitative research method, and mainly literature surveys, field observations, and field interviews are employed. The primary sources of hill stations are concentrated in the pre-WW II colonial era, including gazetteers, diaries, travelogues and even novels. Most of these materials are from the colonial side, and the local side materials are very few. Especially in the former British colonies, although gazetteer is extremely effective to tracing the formation process of the hill station, but it is not effective to clarify the involvement of the local people in it, which this article focuses on. In addition, in the period immediately after WW II, the character of the hill station changes drastically. This can be said the transition period, and very important, but the most of primary materials of this period are missing. This period is the period of formation of the nation-state immediately after independence, and social instability may be the cause. [Chin, 2003] Furthermore, the lack of regional statistics, including this period, is also a constraint on research.

After that, with the economic growth of the former colony and the progress of mass tourism caused by the emergence of the middle class, hill station undergoes a major transformation again. However, there are very few statistical data on each hill stations under mass tourism. There is a definite

lack of qualitative data such as form of travel and travel purposes of tourists visiting each hill station. Due to these restrictions, we proceeded with the investigation using the secondary materials based on the limitation of the primary materials. Furthermore, the obscure part is supplemented by interviews and observations at the site. In addition, at some of the survey sites, multiple surveys were conducted at intervals to understand the current state of transformation.

Total 24 sites were surveyed. These include 13 in South Asia and 11 in Southeast Asia. Details are shown in Tab-1. The survey site was limited to those confirmed as hill stations in the primary materials or multiple secondary materials, and those recognized as hill stations by locals. A place that only one the secondary material listed as a hill station is not included in the survey. In addition, the quasi-hill station or pseudo-hill station [Inagaki, 2012] is not included as well. In this article, hill station is defined as a temporary living space established in the colony by utilizing climatic conditions, mainly for colonizers, and is the subject of discussion. Hill stations are widely distributed mainly in South Asia and Southeast Asia. In this respect, there is a slight bias in the survey area. However, the hill stations

were highly developed mainly in the British colonies, except a few examples in French Indochina, the Philippines under US rule and Dutch East Indies. Most of the non-British colonial hill stations ended in the early stages of development. [Wright, 1991] From this point of view, it can be judged that the survey site in this article has sufficient validity to ensure the generality of the discussion. The literature review is mentioned in each section and is not a separate section.

III—Definition of the Reclaim

The term “reclaim” used in this article is approximately based on the terminology introduced by Howard for tourist enclaves. [Howard, 2005] Howard uses this term to describe the process by which the tourist enclave, which can be said to be a kind of concession formed mainly for Western backpackers, is transformed and the involvement of locals is increasing in various ways. Khao San in Bangkok, observed by Howard, is a tourist bubble [Judd, 1999; Jacobsen, 2003] in the city that originated from locals providing their homes as hostels and guesthouses for foreign backpackers visiting for tourist attractions such as the grand palace. As a resulting tourist enclave, Khao San has the exotic character as a space for others, which is sharply different from the surrounding area. However, as the tourist enclave develops, its uniqueness, exoticism, pleasurable particularities and multinational characteristics make it a place of leisure and amusement especially for local young people. As a result, it is pointed out that the number of visits by local urban residents will increase, and the tourist enclave, which was originally belong to foreigners, will be converted into a concurrent

Table 1 List of surveyed sites

Region	Colony	Nation	Hill Stations	
South Asia	British Colony	India	Dalhousie, Dharamsala, Manali, Shimla, Mussoorie, Naini Tal, Ranikhet, Darjeeling, Mount Abu, Kodaikanal, Udakamandalam	11
		Sri Lanka	Nuwara Eliya, Bandarawela	2
		Myanmar	Maymyo, Kalaw	2
Southeast Asia	British Colony	Malaysia	Penang Hill, Bukit Larut, Cameron Highlands, Fraser's Hill	4
		Vietnam	Sa Pa, Tam Dao, Ba Na, Da Lat	4
	French Colony	Cambodia	Bokor	1
Total				24

property with residents in terms of consumption. Howard calls it a “reclaim”. Similarly, Teo and Leong, using the same Khao San as an example, reports that the advance of Asian backpackers into the tourist enclave, which was formed for Westerners, will progress another kind of regaining. [Teo and Leong, 2005] In addition, according to a report of Inagaki based on the case of Ha Noi, from a certain point of time, the ratio of local urban residents among the number of visitors to tourist enclave has increased, then tourist business has become domestic, and the business is focused on local people has expanded. As a result, the transformation of tourist enclave will progress. [Inagaki, 2020] This series of phenomena can also be regarded as one aspect of the “reclaim” of the tourist enclave.

Like tourist enclave, at hill station, a which is an enclosed place that is formed for foreigners and has a very different characteristics from the surroundings, similar process by which colonized people regained the place as their own possession was generally observed. In this article, regaining the hill stations that are the outcome of colonialism in various ways, as a legitimate right that colonized people would have originally possessed, is defined as “reclaim”. Also, the term “reclaim” has two usages. On the premise of the above definition, the first is the use as a noun that refers to the collective behavior of regaining, and the second is the use as a verb that refers to regain.

The hill station and tourist enclave can point out morphological similarities from several characteristics. The most important common feature is that both are places created for foreigners, as mentioned above. At the same time, both were separated by boundaries as bubbles, and were different from the surrounding area by nature.

Furthermore, both have a common background that the reason for establishment is not the necessity of livelihood. As mentioned above, the tourist enclave is a tourist bubble, and a highly developed hill station that has escaped from the single function like medical treatment or military use can be regarded as a tourist bubble as well. Due to the nature of “a place for foreigners”, both the hill station and tourist enclave are often subject to reclaimed by locals. However, the mode of “reclaim” in both is not always similar in the historical process. The differences between the two are summarized in Tab-2.

Table 2 Comparison of hill station and tourist enclave

	Hill Station	Tourist Enclave
Background of occurrence	The necessity for colonial management	Responding to the needs of tourists
Main constituent	Colonizers	Locals
Hegemonic relationship	Dominance based on colonialism	Temporary dominance under economic relationship
Function	Daily living + Leisure	Leisure
Space	Reproduction of the vernacular scape of the suzerain	International scape

Source: by author

IV—Historical Phases of the Reclaim

It is an obvious fact that the hill station is an outcome of colonialism. All hill stations were discovered by the colonizers, given meaning by taheir ideas, and transformed into Western landscapes. At hill station, facilities to support colonial management, such as cantonment and sanatorium, were initially constructed.⁴ This was followed by the construction of bungalows, racetracks, golf courses, clubs, hotels, botanical gardens and other facilities needed to sustain the colonizers’ daily lives, including leisure. All of this is based on the needs of the colonizers, and the hill station is a place for colonizers built on the land of

others. In this respect, it can be said that hill station was in colonial tension from the beginning. It is undeniable that WW II was a major impetus for the end of the colony. However, the “reclaim” of the hill station by the colonized people as their own is not a momentary and dramatic occurrence that took place at the end of World War II and the subsequent independence of the colonies. The “reclaim” occurred with the establishment of the hill station and gradually progressed over time while changing its mode. Especially at the highly developed hill station in the British colonies, it is possible to see the whole picture of the transformation. The reclaim process of hill station can be approximately divided into the following four phases.

- 1) Initial involvement
- 2) Expansion of locals' rights
- 3) Reclaim by the nation-state
- 4) Massification

Of these, 1), 2) belong to the colonial era, and 3), 4) belong to the post-colonial era when the colonies after WW II achieved independence. However, not all hill stations follow these four phases. The reclaim process depends on the degree of development of the hill station. The degree of development here means not only the number of dwelling units but also the degree of concentration of functions and facilities. Hill stations are highly diversified, ranging from highly developed areas like Shimla, which incorporates administrative functions as a summer capital, [Pubby, 1988] to bungalow-compound consisting of several houses. [King, 1974] It is difficult to apply a specific year to each phase, because it is affected by the degree of development of each hill station. At the same time, each phase has

an order and does not occur randomly. However, depending on the degree of development, a specific phase may occur without going through the previous stage, but in this case as well, the order after that is maintained. For this reason, it can be seen some cases where reclaim starts from post-colonial era without the initial reclaim processes of 1) and 2). From what phase the reclaim occurs is a major issue for study on each hill station. As mentioned before, the former the British colony has many highly developed hill stations where it is possible to observe all stages of ordered reclaiming.

Even during the colonial period, as seen in the summer palace of rajah, the hill station was not the possession of the colonizer, and the colonized was also involved in the development of it. However, it tended to be limited to a specific social group. During the period from the establishment of the hill station to the beginning of the 20th century, the involvement of the hill station by a specific colonized social group represented by the rajah's summer palace is the phase of “Initial involvement”. Even if the people involved have no awareness of regaining their legitimate rights and the summer palace is an imitation of the leisurely part of colonizers' life, this



Figure1 Hotel Bikaner Palace (Mount Abu, Rajasthan, India)
Many summer palaces became unsustainable due to tax burdens and were converted to hotels. This 1885 built hotel is also still run by the clan of Bikaner's rajah.

is colonized people's first involvement in the hill station. Most of the major hill stations in India have rajah's summer palaces. In areas such as Mount Abu, which are surrounded by many princely states and have relatively few hill stations, many summer palace were built during this period. Even today, the converted summer palace occupies almost all the major hotels. [Inagaki, 2011] In this way, colonized people's involvement has a certain presence in the hill station. Similarly, in the former British colony of Malaya, many sultans' palace was built at hill station. Other than the former British colonies, there are very few examples due to the delay in the development of hill station, with exceptions such as Bao Dai's villa in Da Lat.⁵ Of course, at the hill station, the colonizers had a strong hegemony. From this point of view, the hill station was undoubtedly colonial entity. However, once the time the hill station depends on external goods and services was over and intra-regional production of goods and services was established to some extent [Mitchell, 1972], people of flatlands who engaged to this production migrated to hill station. As a result, a certain negotiation process has begun between the colonizers and the colonized people. The summer palace of rajah especially in the British colonies is a typical example. In this regard, the phase of "initial involvement" can be considered as an apparent social movement.

As development, the relative importance of military or geopolitical functions, which was the original purpose of the development will decrease, the functions for daily life of colonizers will be accumulated in the hill station. Its feature will be transformed into a multifunctional space for leisure and social activities. As a result, at the hill station,

the basis for entering the second "reclaim" phase was formed. This state corresponds to Stage III of Mitchel's the development stage of hill station. By getting away from the character of a mere consumer city, as internal production of goods and services, some major hill stations became a self-sufficient city with various functions. [Mitchell, 1972] The development of individual hill stations is widely diversified according to individual and historical circumstances and suzerains, and it is difficult to identify the time. It is known that the British colonies had already reached this stage in the late 18th century at several major hill stations. On the other hand, outside the British colonies, development was motivated by the success of hill station in the British colonies. In French Indochina,⁶ the hill station began as a place for recuperation to utilize the mountainous climate, [Jennings, 2006] but based on the experience of the British colonies, leisure functions were quickly adopted. [Jennings, 2003] Although, development was delayed compare with the British colonies. Even the most developed Da Lat began full-scale development in the 20th century. [Wright, 1991; Reed, 1995; Jennings, 2011] The second phase of "reclaim" will proceed during the interwar period from WW I to WW II at the major hill stations of the British colony with the above-mentioned foundation.

Thus, in the 20th century, especially after the interwar period, cases such as the enrollment of local pupils to its boarding school and the joining of local influential people to settler's club began to occur,⁷ and the localization of hill stations began to progress. This is a typical mode of second phase of "reclaim". The club was an important institution for maintaining colonizers' Westerner or "White" identity, especially in the British colonies. [Sinha,

2005] In this regard, even slow changes can be considered crucial to the colonizers' relationship with the colonized. In the second phase, as in the first phase, the aspect of imitating the lives of the colonizers cannot be denied. However, an important feature is that the colonized people have acquired the privileges peculiar to the colonizers, and the colonizers have had to accept it. In this respect, the second phase of “reclaim” can be regarded as a negotiation over rights rather than a one-sided imitation by a specific social group in the first phase. This is due to the fact that colonized people began to have a certain level of economic power in the colonial economy and could not be ignored, and that the colonized officers and soldiers played a significant role in WW I. More microscopically, the interwar period was a stagnation period for the hill station due to the post-WW I turmoil in Europe. Many hill stations in India had experienced population decline. [Tyagi, 1991] For these reasons, it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain a hill station without involving locals, then it led to the expansion of locals' rights. Considering this background more generally, the limits of colonialism became apparent at this time, from the standpoint of the suzerain, colonies were no longer merely targets of deprivation. The international conflict has created a need to incorporate colonies into a system that is integrated with their home country. Also, it became the main means of maintaining the colony. In this way, within the limitation of colonialism, the reclaim of hill station gradually progressed.

V—The End of the Colony and the Hill Station

As mentioned above, the transformation from the “discovery” of the hill station to the present when it

became a domestic tourist destination after the end of colonialism varies widely among the hill stations, and diversity and uniqueness can be observed. However, it is possible to conceptualize and grasp it within a certain range. Regarding this series of changes that is phase 3) and 4) mentioned above, in order to clarify the mode of “reclaim” after the end of colonialism in more detail, the concepts of micro-dynamics and macro-dynamics will be introduced. These are phases 3) and 4) of “reclaim” mentioned previously. Macro-dynamics means the transformation of the entire hill station, and micro-dynamics means the transformation of the elements or aspects that consist of it. How both macro and micro affect each other, and the interaction between micro elements will be examined. The colonial and post-colonial hill stations are continuous spaces. But the end of colonialism was the most drastic change in history of hill station. Especially with the end of the colonial era, hill station faced itself with the instantaneous loss of the colonizers that is most crucial element. The changes in hill station with the end of colonialism can be seen from three aspects as micro-dynamics: space, stakeholders, and social consciousness.

From the perspective of the space, with a few exceptions, most of the facilities that compose hill station will be handed over to the emerging nation-state. The facilities that compose the hill station are diverse and numerous, such as racetracks, golf courses, schools, churches, and hotels and so on. Due to the wide distribution of these facilities in the region, it was not possible to intentionally demolish them in a short period of time with the withdrawal of the colonizers, at the same time the nation-state had no intention to implement it. Also, as mentioned before, in the last stage of the colonial era at some

facilities, even though limited, but it can be seen in the acceptance of local believers in the church, the admission of local students to boarding schools, and accepting of locals to the membership clubs. The progress of localization may be one of the reasons for avoiding the destruction of colonial system. The social strata that have gained new privileges at these hill stations often play a leading role in emerging nation-states, and it is possible that their sense of intimacy with the hill stations has influenced avoiding destruction. Although there are cases where small hill stations have been abandoned, but it can be concluded that there was almost no spatial change with the end of the colonial period in the large-scale developed hill stations.

On the other hand, the second micro factor stakeholders, has changed completely. With the establishment of the nation-state, most of the colonizers returned to their home countries, and hill station lost its major actors for a while. Changes in stakeholders have had a major impact on the third factor, the social awareness of hill station. For the hill station as a space, the facilities that compose it, had been constructed and functioned as a device for colonizers to maintain their Western identity. Considering that the space of the hill station was given meaning by the relationship with the colonizers, however, the return of the colonizers to their home country is nothing but the loss of the meaning of the hill station as a colonial space. The colonial era came to an end with the formation of a new nation-state that was born as a result of WW II and the subsequent struggle for independence. As far as this is concerned, the changes in hill station with the end of the colonial era are extremely drastic and discontinuous.

At phase 3), “reclaim” due to the end of the colonialism had taken place on two major aspects. The first is “reclaim” by the legal framework. This corresponds to the collection by locals such as houses and bungalows whose ownership has become ambiguous due to the withdrawal of the colonizers, and the transfer of management rights and operation rights to facilities such as hotels and so on. [Bhatnagar, 2112] Of course, it includes handing over of the cantonment to the military of the newly born nation-state. Under legal procedures, colonial assets were regained by the nation-state, more specifically by the people of independent emerging nations. In this way, the restoration of potential rights and sovereignty at the hill station was realized by the handing over of substantial things based on legal procedures. Of course, the timing of this series of processes cannot be unequivocally specified due to the unique circumstances of each colony. However, in India, it was done relatively early in 1947.

The second aspect is the symbolic act of the “reclaim”. The subject of “reclaim” is not the individual, but the emerging nation-state itself and the purpose of the symbolic act is to make known in the form of embodying the end of the colonial era and the formation of a new nation-state. It can be considered that this is the act of reifying, visualizing and communicating the conceptual transition process. The hill station is a space where the memory of the colony is embodied. In the “reclaim”, a thing has to be reformed is not the hill station itself as a space, but the memories or consciousness of “once colonized” formed through it. However, it is difficult to act directly on memory. Therefore, a means of acting on memory is taken by manipulating the

physical figure. This is the background behind the symbolic “reclaim”. Various means were employed for this purpose.

The first that can be pointed out as a means of the symbolic “reclaim” is the adoption of the intended vernacular or traditional expression. This is done by adding traditional designs and styles to the space discovered by Westerners and created in a particularly Western landscape. Addition of traditional style buildings to Western gardens, construction of buildings that intentionally incorporate traditional styles, addition of street ornament such as murals using local designs and sometimes mountain people’s designs, construction of small shrines of traditional religions and so on, are typical examples. This is an act of clarifying who the hill station originally belongs to. It can be found frequently in the British colonies such as South Asia. Monuments for contributors to independence such as Gandhi and Chandra Bose will also be built. Besides, it is common for large-scale facilities to be converted to nation's use. Typical examples are the conversion of the Viceroy Palace to the research institute in Shimla and the conversion to the presidential villa in Nuwara Eliya. These intended to

visualize and impress the change in national sovereignty.

In the form of returning to the old name, some changes were made to the place name of hill station. The name of hill station is often derived from colonizers’ side such as discoverers and developers. However, the modification of place names has been not generalized, except for a few exceptions and small place names associated with specific things. Malaysia's oldest hill station, known as Maxwell Hill during the colonial era, [Aiken,1994] is now commonly referred to as Bukit Larut. This is a rare exception. It is considered that this tendency is influenced by the peculiarity of hill station, which will be described later. Utagamandalam in Tamil Nadu, a typical hill station in southern India, is still commonly referred to as Ooty that is an alias in the colonial era. [Panter-Downes, 1967; Westlake, 1993] Similarly, Pyin Oo Lwin (Myanmar), which was renamed to its former name in 1989, is still usually referred to by the colonial place name Maymyo. Regarding place names, it can be regarded as intention of the nation-state did not always match the idea or the sentiment of locals.

The transition from the colonial era to the post-



Figure2 Mural painting using the motif of mountain minorities (Mussoorie, Uttarakhand, India)

A mural painting is drawn with a design of hill tribes on the wall facing the main road of the hill station.



Figure3 Statue of Gandhi (Dalhousie, Uttarakhand, India)

Statues of national heroes of independence, such as Gandhi, are common at hill station.



Figure4 The Indian Institute of Advanced Study (Shimla, Himachal Pradesh, India)

The Viceroy's Palace, which was the center of summer administration in British India, has been used as one of the important research institutes since 1964.

colonial era can be considered as the interrelationship between the colonizers and the colonized. Due to this, the “reclaim” by the people of emerging nation-states is nothing but the process of loss from the colonial point of view. What was lost was the colonial memory and the colonial identity. In this regard, the transition period from the colonial era to the post-colonial era can be regarded as a period of conflict over memory and its inheritance. The nation-state side tried to dispel the colonial memory and the consciousness of being colonized by erasing the colonial tinged image from the hill station. For instance, the British officers' mess in Ranikhet, Uttarakhand, burned down the night before the British military withdrawal.⁹ There was little doubt that this was a deliberate fire. As is apparent from this example, the colonizers' side intended to leave the colonial memory on its side without being “reclaimed” by extinguishing the physical figure. The “reclaim” of hill station by the nation-state has a multi-layered structure. It mainly consists of the restoration of legal sovereignty, such as the transfer of ownership, and the overcoming of the colonized consciousness that surfaced with the



Figure5 Road sign of Bukit Larut (Bukit Larut, Perak, Malaysia) Formerly known as Maxwell Hill, it is now commonly called by locals as Bukit Larut.

end of the colonial era and the birth of the nation-state. Moreover, the negotiations over the emotional memory of the hill station are intertwined with it, and it is structured more complicatedly.

VI—Hill Station under Mass Tourism

The hill station in post-colonial era will transit to the next phase which continues to the present while changing its mode, via phase 3) that is the “reclaim” by the nation-state after independence. First, it will be confirmed the transformation of the hill station up to the post-colonial era by comparing it with the tourist enclave. The crucial difference between the hill station and the tourist enclave mentioned in the previous section is that the tourist enclave is built in a sovereign state, while the hill station was built in a colony. The tourist enclave has the character of a temporary escape from the hustle and bustle of a Third World journey. For this reason, the tourist enclave creates a space that resembles the daily life of mainly Western backpackers. However, no matter how westernized or internationalized appearance, the tourist enclave is only a temporary space. Even if the space suits the preferences of Western

Table3 Hotel converted from summer palace in Mount Abu

Name of Hotel	Original Owner	Present Owner
Hotel Bikaner Palace	Rajah of Bikaner	Rajah of Bikaner
Cama Rajputana	Officer's Mess	
Castle Rock	Rajah of Bhenswara	Rajah of Bhenswara
Connaught House	Sir Donald Field (Administrator of Merwar)	Rajah of Johdpur
Jaipur House	Rajah of Jaipur	Rajah of Jaipur
Kesar Bhawan Palace	Rajah of Palanpur	Rajah of Palanpur
Palanpur Palace	Rajah of Sirohi	Rajah of Sirohi

Source: by author's fieldwork

backpackers, the builders of it are the people of the nation-state. Sovereignty has already been regained, and there is no legitimate right to be regained in the tourist enclave itself. This point is also very different from the concession or the colonial hill station that had lost sovereignty.

From the perspective of the “reclaim”, it must be pointed out that the hill station has a peculiar character against the colonies in general, including coastal colonial cities. Most of the places established as hill stations were unknown to the people who became the main constituents of the nation-state after independence and were not recognized as their own places. It can be said that it was outside of former colonized people's awareness. The suitable land for the hill station was an undeveloped mountainous area that was difficult to access and had extremely low productivity. Historically, it was a place belonging to a mountain tribe. However even though the hill station is a place for colonialism, not all the inhabitants were colonizers or mountain tribes. As mentioned above, as a labor force to support it, many people of flatlands who became the main body of the nation-state after independence have migrated to the hill station. This was the first encounter between the colonized people and the hill station, and the forgotten frontier came into their horizons through the existence of the hill station. This is one of backgrounds for the people of new

nation-state to recognize the hill station as a special existence.

As the major features of phase 4), the first is the establishment of sovereignty and the establishment of national consciousness through phase 3). Secondly, it is pointed that the emergence of mass tourism, that is, the popularization of travel and especially the growth of domestic travel. In general, it is considered that the requirements for establishing mass tourism include an increase in personal disposable income accompanying economic growth, changes in social consciousness related to leisure, and the development of transportation facilities that support mass mobility. However, in many emerging countries in South and Southeast Asia, where many hill stations are located, the domestic social and political condition was often unstable even after independence. This tendency was especially remarkable in the mountain areas. [Chin, 2003] The establishment of social security that enables safe travel is indispensable for the establishment of mass travel. In many countries, the effects of the civil war and other factors delayed the fulfillment of this condition, and economic development was also constrained. Nonetheless, by the early 2000s, almost all countries have experienced the emergence and expansion of mass tourism, by the accomplishment of this requirement, even though the time history varied. In phase 4) will the difference cease to exist in terms of national sovereignty between the two tourist bubbles, the hill station and the tourist enclave. As the result, the factor that forms the peculiarity of tourism in the hill station is only the fact that it was a colonial outcome in the past.

Even in the post-colonial era, the hill station is recognized as a special place by the locals, which has a significant impact on the mode of tourism in the hill station. The peculiarity of the hill station from the perspective of tourism comes from the fact that it is a catabolized place. The catabolization of the hill station can be considered to consist of two aspects such as mythologization and embodiment. As mentioned above, originally the mountain areas where the hill station is located were outside of awareness and unnecessary places for the flatlands people who are the main constituents of the later independent nation. On rare occasions, it was only known as a sacred place or a pilgrimage site for native religions. It was through the existence of the hill station and its leisurely image that the mountain areas entered the consciousness of the flatlands people. In this respect, the hill station was not strictly under tension between the colonizers and the colonized, and positive image of hill station was formed even among the colonized people. And this image was strengthened in the process of regaining rights in phase 2). By the way, the hill station was established by taking advantage of the cool climatic conditions in the mountain area. The colonizers looked for a climate like their home country, similarly the climate at hill station was also attractive to flatlands people in terms of escape from the heat. [Robinson, 1976] Further, the flatlands people perceived the climate there as a catabolism, which is different from their own living area. This is a matter of physicality. In this way, the climate itself is embodied by locals and becomes mythical as a difference. The coalescence of the two led to the comprehension that hill station was a peculiar place of catabolized, and this became common among colonized people. For those who were once

colonized, the hill station was conceptually a place to “reclaim” but at the same time a place to feel intimacy. In that sense, hill station was a colonial outcome, but it had an ambiguity that was often discoursed favorably from the colonized. Therefore, hill stations are still referred to by colonial names, even though many coastal colonial cities have been renamed with the end of colonialism.

The end of the colonial era, a selection proceeded at the hill stations, due to the loss of the colonizers who supported it. Many of the smaller hill stations and early stages of development were abandoned, except for those specializing in military functions. On the other hand, the major hill stations almost survived, and the disparity between hill stations became clear. Under the influence of mass tourism, the number of tourists entering the surviving hill station increased significantly. In Mussoorie, the number of tourists entering the area has increased about 1.5 times from 946,000 to 1,417,000 in the four years from 1985 to 1989, and in Naini Tal, it has doubled to 600,000 in the 10 years since 1968. [Grötzbach, 2011] The percentage of foreign tourists is only about 10% even in Shimla, which has the highest ratio, and most of the actual increase is domestic tourists. The strata of visitors have expanded, and in addition to the former wealthy long stayers, mass tourists mainly the middle class, have become the center of demand, and their character has changed from a long stay living space to a transitory tourist destination. This progress of massification and transition to a tourist destination is a major feature of phase 4). Hill station accepts various social strata and travel modes such as family trips due to its newly acquired nature as a popular tourist destination. However, reflecting the nature of

the special place mentioned above, the percentage of tourists with a certain travel purpose is relatively high compared to other type of tourist destinations. Typical examples are incentive tours, conferences, and honeymoons. Hill stations are a very common destination for honeymooners in former colonial countries.

India's major hill stations have become typical honeymoon destinations. In addition, Sa Pa, which is in northern Vietnam and near the border with China, is also becoming a honeymoon destination as it shifts from a tourist destination mainly for ethnic tourism for foreign tourist to an idle ease domestic tourism destination. Also located in Da Lat, central Vietnam, the Dalat Palace Hotel that is a symbol of French colonialism in Indochina [Jennings, 2003; Ohashi, 2006] is known as a place for photoshoot for newlyweds. Besides, as another "reclaim" of the hill station by the masses, it can be pointed out that there is a tendency to incorporate the hill station into their own framework as a pilgrimage site. Some of hill stations have traditional pilgrimage sites, such as the Naini Devi Temple in Naini Tal. With the progress of mass tourism, pilgrimages increased as part of the



Figure 6 Traveling carnival at Naini Tal (Naini Tal, Uttarakhand, India)

Traveling carnivals are sometimes held at hill station to coincide with local religious events, creating a festival space for the masses.



Figure7 Marriage photo shoot at Dalat Palace Hotel (Da Lat, Lam Dong, Vietnam)

Marriage photography is very common in Vietnam and shooting photography at former colonial places has become a big business.

popularization of travel. This is a group tour that generally uses buses and has come to visit pilgrimage sites in the hill station as a stop-off sightseeing spot. There, the behavior of pilgrimage and enjoying the catabolized landscape of the hill station are integrated. The pilgrimage site at the hill station, though not the most important, [Singh, 2005] could be an attractive stop-off sightseeing spot in combination with its peculiar landscape. The facilities of the hill station, including the hotel, are generally expensive, and while there are no problems with incentive tours, conferences, honeymoons, but it has been a hindrance to increasing the number of visitors. Against this background, pilgrimage played a major role in expanding the use of hill stations to the lower middle class, and such use continues to the present.

In addition, at nearly abandoned hill stations in Southeast Asia such as Bokor (Cambodia) and Ba Na (Central Vietnam), large-scale amusement park development and casino development can be seen utilizing the image of "paradise on the mountain". [Inagaki, 2013] Here, the image of extraterritoriality as a special place of hill station is used. Large-scale

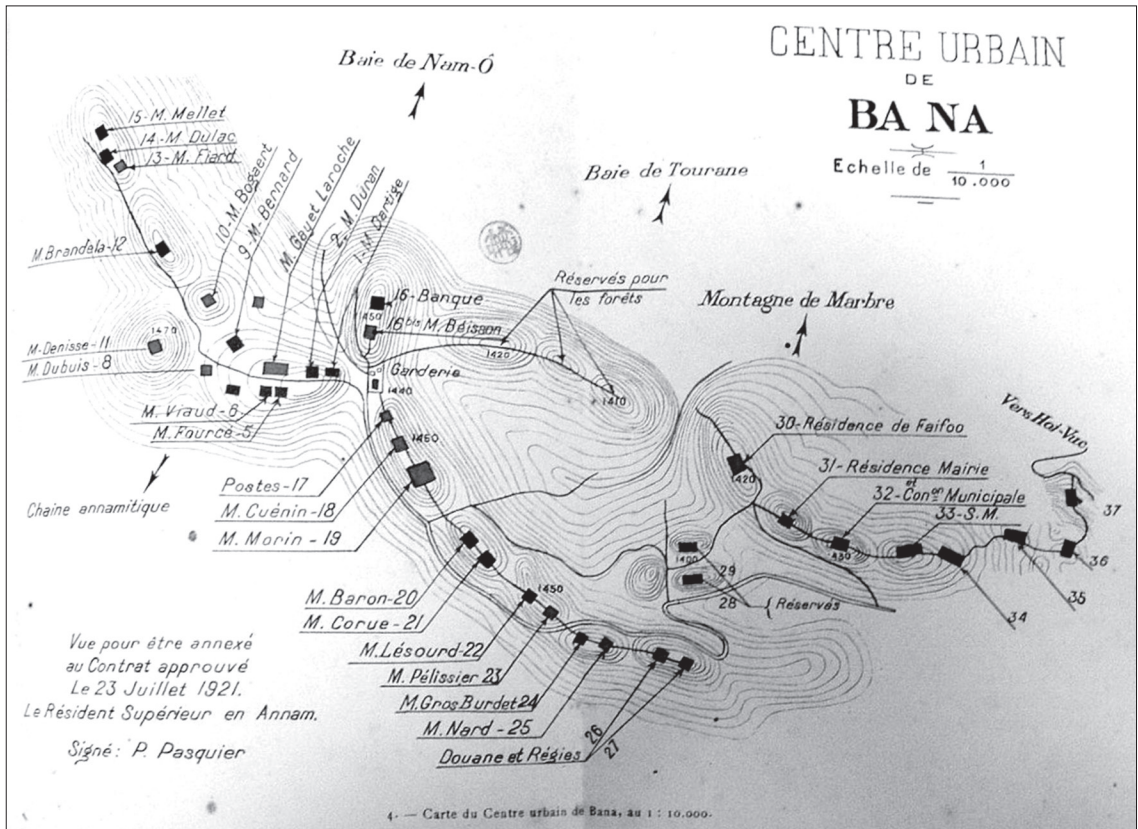


Figure8 Map of Central Ba Na (1921)

Source: Gaide, Laurent Joseph, *Les Stations Climatiques en Indochine*, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1930

development by a leading company has set special zone development permits and concession for the casino, and the casino is mainly targeted at tourists from neighboring countries where gambling is illegal. Especially the hill station, which was nearly

abandoned, has less complicated private rights than the active hill stations, and is suitable for large-scale development. In these developments, only the superficial image of the hill station was used, and in fact an artificial amusement space was constructed. As a result, a transient space for amusement which an abandonment of historicity is created in these areas. This feature is very similar to pseudo hill station such as Genting Highlands (Malaysia) [Reed, 1972; Inagaki, 2012]. In this respect, it can be considered that these areas meet the most vulgar tourism demand among the hill stations under mass tourism.



Figure9 Ba Na (Ba Na, Da Nang, Vietnam)

The former hill station at Ba Na Hills has undergone large-scale development, creating a space that imitates France, such as an amusement park and a shopping mall.

VII—Conclusion

The term “reclaim” was defined as “regaining the

hill stations that are the outcome of colonialism in various ways, as a legitimate right that colonized people would have originally possessed". It is positioned as a locals' restoration of rights to the colonial hill stations. Since the hill station is a colonial outcome, there was a tension between colonizers and the colonized from the beginning about the hill station. However, due to the overwhelming hegemony of colonizers, this fact did not surface. The relationship of power between the two gradually changed. Based on this understanding, it was clarified that the process of the "reclaim" can be divided into four phases. These are 1) initial involvement, 2) expansion of locals' rights, 3) reclaim by the nation-state, and 4) massification. 1) and 2) belong to the colonial era, and 3) and 4) belong to the post-colonial era. The first colonized people's involvement of the hill station began with an unaware imitation of leisurely life of colonizers by certain privileged social classes such as rajahs. This is considered as phase 1). Phase 2) is some regaining of rights due to the improvement of the economic power of locals and the change in colonial management which have become prominent since WWI. Subsequently, the end of the colonialism after WW II had a crucial impact on the "reclaim" and brought about major changes in the way of regaining.

After the end of colonialism and the establishment of the nation-state, the "reclaim" was progressed in two aspects, such as a legal act that retrieves real estate left by the colonizers and a symbolic act that informs and impresses the establishment of the nation-state and the end of colonialism. This stage is phase 3). Especially important in the post-colonial the "reclaim" is the fact that hill station is not only the subject of

"reclaim" as an outcome of colonialism, but at the same time it has an ambiguity that is discoursed by locals with attachment. The myth that the hill station was special, created in this way, had a great influence on its survival and transformation. This mythical and ambiguous image of the hill station continues to influence the growth of tourists to the hill station under the mass tourism that results from economic growth of the emerging nation-state.

The hill station under mass tourism in Phase 4) is characterized by the popularization of use and the conversion of the hill station into a tourist destination. The above four phases do not necessarily occur at all hill stations. This is because the time when the development of the hill station began differs greatly depending on the suzerain, and the stage and time of development differs depending on the colony or each hill stations. The "reclaim" of the hill station seems non-regular, but it is characterized by some basic common transformation process. The first is the expansion of the social strata related to the "reclaim". Initially, it was centered on the privileged class of colonies such as Rajah, and then expanded to the local wealthy group such as merchants and public servants. Then after the establishment of the nation-state, the masses centered on the middle class as mass tourists played a major role. Furthermore, the tourists visiting the hill station expanded to the lower middle class.

The second is the transition from a political background to an economic background. What was initially a hegemony negotiation based on colonial tensions has changed significantly to the economic relationship between the tourists and the tourism business under mass tourism. Especially in the post-colonial era, the process which the subject of the "reclaim" shifts from public to individual is apparent.

This is the change from the large entity like the nation itself to the above-mentioned entity of the tourists and the tourist business. Since end of WW II, the "reclaim" of hill stations evolved by being incorporated into tourist trades. As a result, Hill station transforms from an autonomous long-stay-type tourist bubble to a somewhat old-fashioned amusement-oriented tourist destination. At first

glance, this tendency seems to be retrograde when viewed from the general transformation process of tourist destinations. It cannot be denied that it reflects the tastes of tourists of the emerging countries that were once colonized. Also, it is a proof that the "reclaim" of the hill station during the post-colonial era was promoted by mass tourism.

Notes

- 1 A part of this research was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 23614023 and JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP15H13047.
- 2 Benson only presents a general understanding and illustrative of lifestyle migration and does not give a strict definition. In this article, we will extend the outline and examples by Benson to define lifestyle migration as "human mobility that seeks a better living environment that occurs in relatively affluent social groups and regions". Migration is not due to the necessity of maintaining a livelihood, and in this respect, it is decisively classified from refugees in general, including economic migrants. Against the background of anti-urbanization pointed out by Benson, the migration is mainly from urban areas to peripheral areas and from affluent areas to poor areas, which can be considered as a countercurrent of economic refugees.
- 3 In [Inagaki, 2012], mountain resorts developed in sovereign states that utilize climatic conditions and mountain resorts created using the image of hill stations after WW II are collectively referred to as quasi-hill stations. However, in various respects such as the relationship with national sovereignty, this categorization is considered to have analytical limitation. From this point of view, in this article, the former is called quasi-hill station and the latter is called pseudo-hill station.
- 4 Hill stations do not follow the same development stages. In some cases, a small hut is built by personnel who discover the place first. However, in India, for collective use, it is common to build cantonment for stationed military and sanatorium for disabled veterans prior to general colonizers' bungalows.
- 5 Although there are few villas at hill station, Bao Dai owns some villas in the seaside resorts developed by French such as Nha Trang and Doson, which can be regarded as one of the characteristics.
- 6 Resorts in the French colony that take advantage of the climatic conditions and the clean air, called station climatique are not necessarily located in the mountains, but also located in the coastal areas. A major feature of the French colony is that the proportion of beach resorts among so-called summer resorts is extremely high compared to colonies in other countries. [Demay, 2012]
- 7 According to the author's interview at The Hill Club (Nuwara Elliya, Sri Lanka), which was once a planter's club, accepting local people as members began in the 1920's, and in the 30's some people played a major role in the club.
- 8 Due to the nature of the hill station as a temporary living space, the issue of land ownership, especially ownership of bungalow (villa) is extremely important. [Sato, 2012] In addition, considering the transition from the colonial era to the post-colonial era, it is also very important what kind of national sovereignty the legal system for the transfer of ownership was based on.
- 9 Interview with the manager of the Ranikhet Club (formerly Officers' Mess of Kumaon Regiment) by the author.

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