ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation / Thesis: **THE ROUTES OF BERMUDIAN SOCIETY: THE THEMING OF BERMUDIAN SOCIETY AS A TOURIST DESTINATION**

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In this dissertation I consider the socio-historical development of Bermudian society in response to the demands of mass tourism. There has been an active effort to shape Bermudian society, the 'natural' environment, and the tourist industry to conform to an idealized aesthetic that would ensure the continued arrival of visitors. Consequently, there has been a calculated attempt to *theme* Bermuda, much in the same way that the Disney Amusement Parks are themed to meet the expectations of tourists. The means to establish this theme was the creation of a Tourism Board which utilized the four main components of *McDonaldization* – calculability, efficiency, predictability and control – to shape Bermudian society to conform to the expectations of Bermuda's primary tourist market. Consequently, rather than locating mass tourism in terms of a consequence of an increase in available free-time, I have sought to locate tourism within the structural context of modernity.

THE ROUTES OF BERMUDIAN SOCIETY: THE THEMING OF BERMUDIAN
SOCIETY AS A TOURIST DESTINATION

By

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<u>Dedication</u>

To my family

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1: Introduction

No man, they say, is an island; in the age of international travel, not even an island can remain an island for long (Iyer 1988: 14).

What constitutes a tourist? A great deal of effort has been expended to carefully craft a typology of tourist experiences (Cohen: 1972; 1974; 1984). For example, much is made in the West of the difference between traveler and tourist; a tourist has a negative connotation while traveler a positive one (Fussell 1980). However, Bruner (1991:247) eschews such distinctions claiming that they are "more in the minds of tourists, and in the minds of scholars of tourism, than in the reality of the touristic encounter." He maintains that such distinctions are a "Western myth of identity" and should be conceptualized as such. From the native's perspective "a self-declared traveler is simply another variety of foreign visitor (i.e., tourist)" (1991:247). Wang (2000:6) considers the grouping of all travelers under the heading of "tourist" as a "supply-side definition".

The World Tourism Organization developed a definition adopted by the United Nations Statistical Commission in 1993. A tourist, or to use WTO terminology, a "visitor" is defined as

> … any person traveling to a place other than that of his/her usual environment for less than 12 months and whose main purpose of visit is other than the exercise of

an activity remunerated from within the place visited. (http://www.world-tourism.orge/statistics/tsa_project/basic_references/ingles/A.1.1.2.10.htm)

The "purpose" for such visits include:

1. Leisure, recreation and holidays
2. Visiting friends and relatives
3. Business and professional
4. Health treatment
5. Religion/pilgrimages
6. Other
(http://www.worldtourism.orge/statistics/tsa_project/basic_references/ingles/A.1.1.2.6.htm)

While useful as an objective standard for making statistical comparisons, such definitions tend to be all inclusive, failing to separate the various motivations and purposes behind touring. Consequently academics have tended to use more narrowly defined conceptualizations. As a case in point, Smith (1977:2) has defined a tourist as a "temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change." Tourism represents a leisure activity, where one leaves the confines of one's present structured society to participate in activities that would not be possible in one's own community. It allows the participants to get away from the routine of their workplace and home (MacCannell 1976, Krippendorf 1987, Rojek 1993, Urry 1990b). Tourism then is outside of the 'ordinary' because it occurs outside and physically away from everyday mundane life: "...[T]ourism necessarily avoids [one's usual] social *reality* in order to maintain the illusions necessary to its continuance" (Crick, 1985:80 italics added). Lett (1983) elaborates on this point by analyzing tourist behavior on the basis of Turner's theory of structure - anti-structure, as constituting the basic dialectic of social life (cf. Auge, 1982). Lett (1983:35)

concludes that the behavior of tourists can be viewed as a "symbolic expression and an inversion of the central sexual and social ideologies of the tourists' home culture."

The very fact that tourism is itself a leisure activity implies that it allows for a "freedom to transcend [usual] social structural limitations, freedom to play - with ideas, with fantasies, with words...and with social relationships" (Turner, 1974:68). In this conception, tourism is a sanctioned freedom to cross social boundaries to play, provided that it is removed from the arenas in which these sanctions apply. Some authors maintain that a distinction needs to be drawn between leisure and play. For example, Rojek (1985: 180) argues, "Leisure is an adult phenomenon which is defined in opposition to the play world of children." Utilizing Freud, Rojek maintains that the play world of the child revolves around a sense of selflessness which makes the child's play world volatile and unpredictable. In contrast, the fully socialized self of the adult is restricted to forms of play which are "closely codified and regulated" (Rojek 1985:78), and hence, not free. As such, adult leisure is organized in such a way as to "exclude the distinctive features of the child's play world (formlessness, frankness, lack of seriousness, and irrationality) or, instead, to tolerate them only in their mimetic forms" (Rojek 1985: 174-175). While play, as such, may take on various forms, it has traditionally been defined as:

> ...a free activity standing quite consciously outside "ordinary" life as being "not serious", but at the same time absorbing the players intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress the difference from the common world by disguise or other means (Huizinga 1971:13).

Such conventional definitions of play are based on assumptions that in the past seemed more obvious, but now perhaps less so: specifically, that play is to be distinguished by its make believe quality measured against what is intuitively perceived to be 'real'. Turner (1982:28-35) maintains that such oppositions are somewhat problematical in that in only certain types of cultures is there a clear distinction between 'work' and 'play.' He suggests that in traditional societies there were no radically different spheres of 'work' and 'leisure', that the clear distinction between 'work' and 'play' is only a phenomenon of post-Industrial Revolution societies. Hence, in the past there has been a ludic element in most areas of life. Rojek (1993:184) contends that the work-leisure dichotomy came about as a result of bourgeois culture, which he maintains, is the culture of modernity. Such a distinction conceives of reality as more or less a representation of some form of intuitive or pre-cultural characteristic of personal experience. This common sense notion of personal experience serves in many circumstances to orient ourselves toward the 'real' world in which we live and work, and by contrast, to make us aware of our playful and merely *temporary* departure from that realm as tourists.

Theory

Sociologically, the approach has been to view leisure and tourism as secondary to the 'real' and 'important' world of work and production. Pearce (1982:2) maintains that social science's reluctance to conduct any serious studies of tourism relates to Western society's deeply held convictions about work and play.

"Protestant cultural prescriptions have emphasized the value of hard work as a spiritual, or at least noble, cause for humanity." As Weber (1987:157) clearly states, "Not leisure and enjoyment, but only activity serves to increase the glory of God." As a consequence, those who wish to study play and leisure run the risk of being labeled less than serious. "It could only be the frivolous who would want to study play, only frustrated travelers and those seeking cheap holidays who would wish to explore tourism" (Pearce 1982:2).

Marx certainly saw leisure pursuits as strictly distinct from, and secondary to the "serious" capital accumulating side of life.

> [P]leasure is only a side issue - recreation - something subordinate to production; at the same time it is *calculated* and, therefore, itself an *economical* pleasure. ... [W]hat is squandered on his (*sic*) pleasure must therefore amount to no more than will be replaced with profit through the reproduction of capital. Pleasure is therefore subsumed under capital, and the pleasure-taking individual under the capital accumulating individual (Marx 1964: 157).

This perception of play as subordinate to production was also clearly delineated by Weber though he adds the concept of proper moral behavior.

> Sport was accepted if it served a rational purpose, that of recreation necessary for physical efficiency. But as a means for the spontaneous expression of undisciplined impulses, it was under suspicion; and in so far as it became purely a means of enjoyment … it was of course strictly condemned. Impulsive enjoyment of life, which leads away both from work in a calling and from religion, was as such the enemy of rational asceticism (Weber 1987:167).

In a similar vein, Durkheim (1933:240) argued that too much leisure would constitute a "danger" to society.

As such, leisure pursuits need to be constrained; they need to be organized, in short, rationally controlled. Such a view is in contrast to the more widely held

concept that equates leisure with free time (Van Moorst 1982:158). Instead, I shall be

using Rojek's (1985:181) contention that "Leisure relations are not relations of

freedom. On the contrary, they are relations of power whose dynamics and subjective

meaning reflect the historically structured economy of pleasure in society." However,

the Weberian (1958) concept of formal rationalization does not refer to a singular

process but rather a plurality of processes. These processes include, *inter alia,*

economic calculability, formalization of the legal and scientific spheres, and a

bureaucratic form of domination (cf. Kalberg 1980). More specifically, I will be

looking at rationalization in terms of the institutionalization of various structures

which have been put into place to achieve the optimum means to a given end. As

such, I will focus on those characteristics of rationality that Ritzer (2000) has

identified as "McDonaldization"[1]; calculability, efficiency, predictability, and control

over people through the replacement of human technology with nonhuman

technology. It should be understood that these four concepts interact in such a way

that increasing one tends to increase the others. For example, greater control ensures

greater predictability, which in turn ensures greater efficiency, which in turn …*ad*

infinitum.

Calculability refers to the tendency to reduce everything to some form of

quantifiable number. Hence performance in any given undertaking can be reduced to

a countable number in order to make comparisons of performance. However, inherent

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[1] Ritzer maintains that the fast-food restaurant, most notably McDonald's, has come to replace the bureaucratic structure as *the* model of rationalization. It is important to note that Ritzer is not referring to the spread of McDonald's restaurants, but rather that McDonald's serves as a symbol for "a process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world" (Ritzer 2000:1).

in such an approach is the tendency to place greater emphasis on quantity than quality.

Efficiency, as stated earlier, refers to the optimum means to a given end. Efficiency has risen to become one of the premier values in all aspects of Western culture. One need only look to Disney World to see that Scientific Management is as present in our leisure as it is in our work.

Predictability ensures that there is continuity in behavior. That is to say that structures have been put in place and normative expectations have been established to ensure that things will operate in much the same way from one time to another. However, as our lives have become more predictable, we have become less able to cope with unexpected situations.

Finally, there is an emphasis of control over people. Nonhuman technologies, including rules and regulations as well as the more obvious technological examples, ensure greater control of human behavior.

> [D]iscipline inexorably takes over ever larger areas as the satisfaction
> of political and economic needs is increasingly rationalized. This
> universal phenomenon more and more restricts … individually
> differentiated conduct (Weber, 1921/1968:1156).

Rojek claims that these traits are evident in our leisure practices at the level of both the body and society. With respect to the former, one need only consider dieting, exercising and sun tanning. Such activities serve to "regulate, standardize and discipline behavior" (Rojek1995: 70). Freud (1961) certainly saw the renunciation of physical desires, the transformation of the "pleasure principle" into the "reality principle", as crucial in the development of civilization. Foucault (1975, 1981)

contends that much of contemporary life has to do with controls and limits being placed on individuals by those in power. From Foucault's perspective it is as though society's sole aim was to place limits upon human pleasure, to control the release of such pleasures in a coordinated way. That is to say, such pleasures have been codified in law and moral prohibitions.

Foucault has also shown that there are more subtle forms of control at play. One such form is the "gaze", which seems particularly relevant with respect to tourism as 'seeing' is such an intrinsic part of the touristic experience. The concept of the gaze developed out of Bentham's Panopticon, an architectural model for the 'ideal' prison in the eighteenth century. The design was such that prisoners were under constant surveillance by any individual placed in the central tower. As such, anyone can watch and be watched without the ability to verify that that is the case. Consequently the individual internalizes the gaze to the extent that each of us has become our own overseer (Foucault 1979).

Ritzer (2000) maintains that as a consequence of this rationalizing process, there is little room for spontaneity; life has been reduced to an ever-shrinking series of consumer choices. The 'cage' of rationality, iron, velvet or rubber, has led to the routinization of living such that nonconformist ways of thinking or acting are reduced. Böröcz (1996:28) claims such effects are evident with respect to tourism in that "[t]he penetration and extended presence of commercial leisure flows … transforms societies receiving tourists by setting off a cycle of commercialization, *standardizatio*n and *normalization*" (*italics* added).

Theming

Chang (2000:37) argues that with respect to tourism, it is the development of themes that "has a domesticating effect as it renders spaces safe and usable for select audiences and subservient to dominant economic and political goals. What results is a place product that is amenable to touristic consumption and enjoyment." Gottdiener (2001:134) maintains that theming provides people with a "controlled, crime free, entertaining crowd experience."

Theming has been defined as the attempt of capitalism to create a "material space for the realization of consumer fantasies" (Gottdiener 1997:70), as well as an "effort to carry a particular motif throughout all aspects of a cathedral of consumption" (Ritzer 1999:124). Gottdiener maintains that theming in general has become pervasive throughout society. Specifically, he defines a themed environment in terms of two social processes. "First, …socially constructed, built environments … designed for commodified interaction. Second, …themed material forms that are products of a cultural process aimed at investing constructed spaces with symbolic meaning and at *conveying* that meaning to inhabitants and users through symbolic motifs" (Gottdiener 2001:5).

Gottdiener (2001:137) claims that "overseas tourism is invariably themed because hotels and resort[s]…tie their environments symbolically, if not strictly superficially, to the local culture." There is little doubt as to the importance of place themes to tourist destinations. Dann (1996) refers to a "multiplicity of themes" with

respect to various tourist destinations, while Desmond (1999) writes of the importance of such themes as "paradise" and the "hula girl" with respect to tourism in Hawaii.

Additionally, Ritzer and Liska tacitly acknowledge the importance of theming when writing about the influence of McDonaldization on tourism. "While McDonald's itself has not been without influence in the tourist industry, it is Disney and its phenomenal success that has been most responsible for bringing the principles of McDonaldization (or of rationalization) to the tourist industry" (Ritzer and Liska 1997: 98). In fact, Bryman (1999) identifies theming as one of the essential characteristics of what he has termed "Disneyization".

At the societal level, the process of rationalization has led to a clear differentiation between work time and leisure time, between work space and leisure space. This is perhaps best illustrated by the separate, purpose-built leisure areas such as seaside resorts and theme parks. As Durkheim (1965:492) explained, "it is necessary that space in general be divided, differentiated, arranged, and that these divisions be known to everybody." Such spatial segregations serve to highlight the differences, both social and economic, between those who are 'at work' and those who are 'at leisure'. With respect to tourism, such divisions also serve to make the differences between 'host' and 'guest' more salient. Pearce (1989: 95) argues that this planned segregation was a deliberate means of limiting 'outside' influence on the host population.

Statement of the Problem

It is apparent that neither reality nor pretense is as simple as it once seemed. Foucault (1970) has shown us that the nature of these laws which place limits on human behavior are purely a human construct and that therefore, things need not be as they are. In light of this, in this dissertation I wish to consider the socio-historical development of Bermudian society in response to the demands of mass tourism. There has been an active effort to shape Bermudian society, the 'natural' environment, and the tourist industry to conform to an idealized aesthetic that would ensure the continued arrival of visitors. Consequently, there has been a calculated attempt to *theme* Bermuda, much in the same way that the Disney Amusement Parks are themed (cf. Bryman: 1999), to meet the expectations of tourists. In this dissertation I ask one broad question, how does an overly rational touristic culture get created and maintained?

I explore this question in the following chapters. I begin by reviewing the relevant literature with respect to tourism and theming. In chapter 3, I summarize the methodological approach and research methods that I used to uncover information in pursuit of the main goals of the research project. Chapters 4 through 6 delineate the development and theming of Bermudian society to create a welcoming tourist environment that would conform to the expectations of Bermuda's primary tourist market, wealthy East Coast Americans. Chapter 7 summarizes these findings. I conclude by discussing my major findings and what they mean – theoretically and politically.

2: Literature Review

As with most areas of sociology (cf. Ritzer 1975), the sociology of tourism is best described as multi-paradigmatic. As Cohen (1979:31) explains, "The complexity and heterogeneity of the field of tourism suggests that there is no point in searching for *the* theoretical approach to the study of tourism." Cohen (1984) further summarizes the sociological treatment of tourism from the late 1950's to the mid 1970's as having been characterized by a critical analysis of the tourist as someone who was lacking in cultural knowledge and easily manipulated by the tourist industry (cf. Boorstin 1964, Turner and Ash 1975, Young 1973). For example, Boorstin (1964:94-99) saw the tourist as existing within a "tourist bubble", living in the familiar American-style hotel, gullibly enjoying inauthentic contrived events while all the time insulated from the strangeness of the host environment. This was certainly the case with the large international hotels. As Conrad Hilton assured potential consumers: "Each of our hotels is a little America" (quoted in Turner and Ash 1975:146).

Turner and Ash (1975) extend these theses by drawing analogies of travel agents and hotel managers as surrogate parents, who serve to relieve the tourist of any

responsibility and protect him or her from any sense of the harsh reality of the *Other*.

The end result is that:

> The world of the Pleasure Periphery must remain outside our real experience...In our search for the 'change that is as good as rest', in our eagerness to savor 'local delicacies in perfect safety', we may succeed in making...a small, monotonous world that everywhere shows us our own image...the pursuit of the exotic and diverse ends in uniformity (Turner and Ash 1975:292).

However, with the publication of MacCannell's work, *The Tourist,* in 1976, there is a shift in orientation in which tourists are viewed as individuals undertaking a quest for authenticity. In this, they search for the *reality* of the host population. As such, sightseeing is thought of as a ritual in which the tourist pays homage to the attractions. The tourist is in search of experiencing the 'real lives' of the other, who possess a reality somehow absent in the regular everyday lives of the tourist's home culture; "reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles" (MacCannell 1976:3). This is similar to what Fussell (1980:38) has referred to as "the bourgeois vogue of romantic primitivism." Tourism thus becomes the equivalent of the traditional pilgrimage in search of the holy; the sights and objects of travel have become sacralized.

While such an approach countered Boorstin's (1964) conception of the tourist as a superficial dupe, MacCannell also recognized that the tourist industry itself thwarted such 'sacred quests'. Utilizing Goffman's (1959) "front-back" dichotomy, MacCannell was able to show that the tourists' 'authentic' experiences could be manipulated by the host society. He maintained that this was necessary for the protection of the host's back regions, as well as to maximize the benefits to be derived

from the tourists. Hence, once tourism became institutionalized, tourists only ever succeeded in penetrating front regions set up to resemble back regions. Consequently, in order to meet the tourists' demands for authenticity "the production of tourist space…[comes to involve]…the intensification of attempts to design and theme space" (Edensor 2001:64). However, MacCannell (1976:93) cautions that inherent in this differentiation of society into front and back regions is a "weakened sense of reality." He argues that "once this division is established, there can be no return to a state of nature. Authenticity itself moves to inhabit mystification." He maintains that once a society begins to sell itself as an attraction, "it ceases to evolve naturally" (MacCannell 1992). As Eco (1986:8) explains, nothing can be left to chance, "the American imagination demands the real thing, and to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake."

Crick (1988) has countered MacCannell's argument, claiming that such manipulation of authenticity makes it no less real than any other culture, since all cultures are 'staged' to some extent. His line of reasoning is that since all cultures are remade and reorganized, this makes the hosts' culture no less 'authentic' than what takes place in all cultures anyway. Aramberii (2001) also questions the whole idea that once cultural institutions become a commodity they lose any authentic meaning. To begin with, he asserts that academics serve as the gatekeepers to authenticity, "authentic is what academics and other social scientists define as such" which leads him to ask "why should an ecotour in the Amazon be a more genuine experience than a visit to Disney World" his answer: "because some scholars say so" (Aramberii 2001: 740).

The theming of space has not been limited to tourist destinations. Gottdiener (2001:74) argues that "due to increased competition, businesses increasingly use thematic and symbolic appeals in order to sell their product." He maintains that this is a general trend of the later half of the twentieth century, in the attempts to continually stimulate mass consumption of mass produced goods, the artificially created symbolic value of products has come to overshadow their intrinsic use value. Following Baudrillard (1975), Gottdiener bases his argument in a critique of the political economy and its emphasis on production and the use and exchange value of goods. He maintains that while earlier civilizations were "over endowed" with symbols and themes, early industrialization discouraged the use of themes in the environment. As a result, the modernist movement minimized the use of symbols. However, with the development of consumerist values in the 1960s, the forces of capitalism staged the "vengeful return of meaning and symbolism" (Gottdiener 2001: 34) to "create space for the realization of consumer fantasies" (70).

Chang (2000: 36) maintains that thematic development in tourism is evident in at least three ways: marketing themes, which attempt to capture the essence of place through slogans and official promotional materials; theme parks; and "place development themes in which entire neighborhoods, towns, cities and even countries are infused with a strategic vision that guides overall development plans as well as individual projects."

As an example of the latter, Chang (1999, 2000) cites the "thematic enhancement" programs undertaken by the Singapore Tourism Board in the last two decades. In 1986 Singapore's "first tourism master plan was … to revamp Singapore

according to five themes" (1999:94). This was followed up with further thematic development in 1993, and more recently the Singapore Tourism Board has sought to utilize thematic development to "reformulate the Singapore product … targeting opportunity areas around suitable existing attractions and sites, and transforming them into 'thematic zones' with a unifying character or theme that will be strongly reflected in terms of the activity clusters, services, facilities and even street furniture" (Singapore Tourism Board 1996:27 quoted in Chang 2000:400).

In a like vein, Hoelscher (1998: 372) delineates the development of New Glarus, Wisconsin into "America's Little Switzerland" through "local efforts to create a *recognizably* themed place, … deliberately contrived to appeal to the outsider" (emphasis in original). While New Glarus selected a Swiss theme based on the heritage of the local population, other towns have adopted themes based solely on their ability to attract tourists. For example, in the case of Leavenworth, Washington, a Bavarian theme was selected for the town based solely on the town's mountain setting. The lack of any Bavarian heritage was not seen as a handicap. In fact, "it was all the easier for image makers because they did not have to sanitize a local history, package a heritage, or commodify an indigenous culture. The town's reputation was linked only to its perceived authenticity, its convincing realness" (Frenkel et. al. 2002: 570), a simulacrum. Such "image makers" are, according to Baudrillard (1994: 2), imperialistic in that they "attempt to make the real, all of the real, coincide with their models of simulation"; in so doing, they destroy the "sovereign difference" between the simulation and the real.

Such an approach moves us into the postmodern perspective, the position adopted by Urry (1990b) in his book *The Tourist Gaze*. Urry begins with a delineation of the development of tourism, which followed along the modernist divisions. There, the various realms of society are rationally separated into the divergent aspects of high and low culture. For example, he sees the development of seaside resort tourism in Britain as being two fold. For the working class, travel to the seaside and the corresponding expansion of holiday camps served to reinforce a sense of social solidarity (the "collective gaze"). For the upper classes, he focuses on the development of the "romantic gaze", the aim of which was to look upon nature in order to get a sense of spiritual upliftment.

However Urry maintains that, the postmodern condition[2] has tended to render such distinctions problematic. There has been a fundamental shift in that pleasure has come to be seen as a form of self actualization rather than an activity to be avoided. Additionally, dedifferentiation[3] and a rejection of mass-anything has led to a period in which the image, the sign (Baudrillard 1981), is more important than reality, where hyper-reality becomes superior to reality itself (Eco 1986).

From Baudrillard's perspective, personal reality is now subordinated to a ceaseless movement of codes of consumption which can never be satisfied, resulting in an endless desire to confront and possess the real, where there can only ever be

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[2] I use the term postmodern not in the sense of a radical break from modernity, but more along the lines of an ongoing process in which modernity and postmodernity coexist (Lyotard 1993). Consumption replaces productive work as the central life activity for many people, which in turn alters the meanings not only of human actions but also of social relations. Postmodernization challenges our understanding of unity, rationality and identity.
[3] Dedifferentiation refers to the idea that traditional divisions and boundaries have collapsed or imploded one upon the other – the interchangeability of shopping, leisure, eating, sport, education and

access to an image of the real, a simulation. Consumers of these signs must constantly

alter their sense of self in an arena of instability and quest for satiation; yet there are

always more images to be consumed and more desires to address. Consequently "it

will be clear there can never be any achieved satisfaction" (Baudrillard, 1998: 77-8).

The end result is that we no longer engage ourselves with the real, but with the

hyperreal that has everywhere supplanted it (Baudrillard, 1993).

Hyperreality refers to a situation in which the relation between truth and

fiction has become problematized. There is a collapse of the real into the hyperreal.

The real is no longer a given but is artificially reproduced, "preferably through

another reproductive medium such as advertising or photography" (Baudrillard 1993:

71). As such, the (re)produced becomes not real nor unreal, but more real than real,

hence hyper-real. Hyperreality represents a blurring of the distinction between what is

real and what is unreal.

Urry (1990b) maintains that the activities of tourism precede such a

postmodern ethos. When considering tourism, one must accept the fact that much has

always been made of spectacle. Not only must one consider the enhancement of the

various tourist sites proper, but also the countless reproductions of the site through

photographs and post cards. As such, sites become mere constructions and signs.

Attractions are no longer to be contemplated, but rather they are to be consumed as a

form of distraction.

What is of value in Urry's analysis is his treatment of authenticity. While

MacCannell saw the quest for authenticity as crucial to the touristic experience,

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so on. Gottdiener (2001) sees such dedifferentiation as a result of theming, leading to such concepts as

Urry's postmodern authenticity does not reside in 'reality', but rather in an interpreted sense of reality. Thus as Cohen (1995:16) points out "Although created for commercial touristic purposes, Disneyland over time became an American cultural landmark. Despite its 'contrived' origins, it acquired a measure of 'authenticity'"

In looking at the impact of globalization and mass tourism, Nijman (1999:156) argues that in the case of Amsterdam, global mass tourism has "eroded some crucial parts of Amsterdam's place-authenticity." Consequently, he maintains "that 'ordinary life' has been reshaped to form part of a décor of tolerance to accommodate the tourists. Along the way a significant part of the city centre has evolved precisely into a sort of 'theme park' – one with the appearance of authenticity." Contrary to Engler (1994:23), who maintains that the development of "place-rooted community themes" strengthens community roots and identity, Nijman (1999:162) argues that even when a location theme has it origins in "place-authenticity", when combined with mass tourism it "results inevitably in an increasingly shallow understanding of local cultures and identities. In the process, the localities themselves turn into caricatures or mutant reflections of their past." As place themes become simplified for easy consumption "complex structuring of landscape and people, and the human experience of 'real' place, is replaced by a signifier" (Goss 1993: 686). Consequently "all over the world the unsung armies of semoticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of signs of Frenchness, typical

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"infotainment", "eatertainment" and "shoppertainment"

Italian behavior, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs" (Culler 1981:127).

In a more positive light, it has also been argued that place theming has led to the development of ethnic consciousness (de Kadt 1979, Esman 1984, MacCannell 1992, Manning 1973, 1979), or in the case of heritage tourism, as a means of recovering aspects of history that have been neglected (Meethan 2001). Such an approach argues that thematic development in the name of tourism can reinvigorate cultural identity through exposure to appreciative audiences, thus securing pride and recognition.

In looking at such themed landscapes, Young (2002:7) explains that these areas "must be removed in space and time from everyday life". Such a landscapes is more than just a location, it is "a shrine to its message and to succeed must be bounded – isolated from the ordinary landscape." While other locations may blend one into the next, it is crucial to know when one is entering or leaving a themed locale, "[p]ilgrims have to know when they enter a pilgrimage site". In other words, theme parks constitute what Victor Turner has referred to as liminoid.

While the touristic pilgrimage is for the most part secular, tourist trips can come close in spirit to a religious odyssey. Schwimmer (1979) made a similar observation drawing a comparison between tourism and the activities involved in feasting, i.e. the accumulation of material and symbolic resources for the purpose of a 'sacred' time of specified duration (cf. Leach 1961:124-136). Dann and Cohen (1991:161) point out that such an approach leads to the notion that "the quality of touristic experience is unrelated to the institutional structures of tourism." Hence,

Moore (1980) found that although visitors to Disney World were aware of the ludic nature of their commercialized surroundings, they were still able to enjoy the experience of liminality.

Conceptualizing tourism as a pilgrimage opened the door for Victor Turner's (1973) work on pilgrimages to be applied to the study of tourism (cf. Cohen 1984; 1988; Lett 1983; Wagner 1977). Turner locates the 'centre', the goal, not within the spatial or symbolic boundaries of society, but rather within the antistructural liminal recesses of the *Other*. It is here that one may find society's most sacred values, where the individual may experience his or her humanity in its unconstrained fullness, enjoying *communitas* with his or her fellow beings, search for what is lacking in one's home community.

For Turner, society constitutes a dialectic between structure and anti-structure. Structure refers to a social organization which is a "...differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men in terms of 'more' or 'less'" (Turner 1969:96). By anti-structure he means not the reversal of structure but rather "...the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, ...from the normative constraints incumbent upon occupying a sequence of social statuses" (Turner 1974:75). Liminal activities are therefore legitimized anti-structural activities sanctioned by society that ignore the norms and rules of everyday life. However, as Young (2002:6) points out, if there is a failure to make a distinction between special and ordinary, "the former offers no control over the latter and fails to be a pilgrimage site." In essence, a tourist sight must be rationally separated from everyday life.

Tourism and Modernity

This dissertation elaborates on the relationship between tourism, rationalization, and theming. Tourism is located within the context of being a contemporary phenomenon and is therefore analyzed in terms of the larger context of modernity/postmodernity. One can ask if the whole idea of mass tourism is not in itself a crucial factor of modernity. Cohen (1995: 12) describes tourism as "essentially a modern western phenomenon", while Clifford (1997) cites the hotel lobby as *the* place of modernity. Perhaps tourism and travel are metaphors of modernity. This is certainly supported by Kristeva's (1986:286) contention that "a person of the twentieth century can exist honestly only as a foreigner", or more specifically in the title of Dann's (2002) recent publication *The Tourist as a Metaphor of the Social World*.

With regards to the impact of tourism on the host society, Dogan (1989) points out that the socio-cultural impact of tourism has been an area much neglected by the social sciences. Chambers (2000:ix-x) makes a similar observation noting that while there has been a great deal of research theory building with respect to the behavior of tourists, "there is precious little in the nature of complementary theories of the equally dynamic process of 'hosting' and hospitality." The aim of this research is to produce a theoretically grounded understanding of how tourist destinations put structures into place to theme a destination to attract tourists.

While the literature on place theming is both abundant and diverse (see Chang 2000; Engler 1994; Frenkel et. al. 2002; Gottdiener 2001; Hoelscher 1998; Nijman

1999; Soja 1992; Sorkin 1992) most scholars have focused on the theming of small towns, urban spaces, shopping malls, theme parks, and other more bounded spaces. The focus of this research is somewhat unique in that I will be looking at theming as applied to an entire society. I argue that in the name of tourism, there has been an active effort to *theme* Bermuda under one overarching theme, much in the same way that the Disney Amusement Parks are themed (cf. Bryman: 1999). Bermuda's Trade Development Board, and later the Department of Tourism, have taken on the task of shaping Bermudian society and the tourist industry to conform to an idealized aesthetic that would ensure the continued arrival of visitors. In this project, I discuss how this has occurred.

3: Methodology

Research Design – Case Study

Bermuda presents us with a unique case in that the whole of Bermuda is perceived to be a tourist site. As tourists have come to look upon and consume the Bermuda aesthetic, so the host population comes to consume this same aesthetic. Urry (1990b: 82) claims that "people are much of the time 'tourists' whether they like it or not. The tourist gaze is intrinsically part of contemporary experience." However, in Bermuda there is no way to escape the gaze; there is no separation of work space from leisure space. As was so aptly stated in a recent ad campaign: "… every bit of Bermuda is ready for visitors to see" (Bermuda Department of Tourism 1994 advertisement). As such, Bermudians are continuously consuming the Bermuda aesthetic.

An oft cited advantage for case study research revolves around uniqueness, its capacity for understanding complexity in particular contexts. Yin (1989) explains that the choice of the case study method is appropriate when investigating contemporary phenomena in their real-life context, when there is little control over the actual behavioral events, and when multiple sources of evidence are used.

One of the major criticisms of the case study method of research centers around the concept of representativeness and the generalizability of the findings beyond the confines of the case. Such a perspective perceives the case study as a poor substitute for a well-conducted survey. However, such conceptualization fails to grasp the fundamental difference between generalizing to theory (typical of case studies), that is to say analytical generalization, and generalizing to populations, a feature of statistical generalization (typical of surveys) (Yin 1989, 1993). In other words, the case study method lies mostly outside the discourse of statistical analysis that has dominated American sociology. In the case study, individual "cases" are not sampling units in any statistical sense.

Yin (1989) maintains that the proper framework for generalizing beyond the findings of the immediate case is that of theory development and generalization to theory. Ideally, the case study design is based on well-grounded theory. Findings may then be generalized to that theoretical base depending on the extent of the corroboration the findings provide to the original propositions. Should the empirical findings support either the theory, or a rival theory, theory development is realized. Yin (1993) argues that case study methods do this well in situations in which the context is important and the events cannot be manipulated, as is the case in a classic experiment.

In looking at Bermuda as a unique case to study the social impact of tourism, the context obviously plays a crucial role. In addition, the scope of the study is such that there was little opportunity to affect behavioral events, and by necessity I made use of multiple sources of data.

Tracing the development of Bermuda's tourism industry must by its nature be historical in scope. As such, a good deal of my data came from archival records, particularly the period dealing with the development of mass tourism. An attempt has been made to show that those practices we take as 'normal' are historically produced and reproduced.

Current documentation of curriculum development and tourism policies were also utilized to show continuity with contemporary issues concerning the impact or continuation of a touristic culture.

As with any historical approach, there is the issue of interpretation, that is to say the researcher must be aware of the fact that one is interpreting the historical evidence based on an awareness of the past while living in the present. Additionally, when undertaking qualitative research, it is important that the researcher locate him or herself within the field of study. I have resided in Bermuda for the past 19 years, having taught anthropology and sociology at Bermuda College for most of that time. Being married to a Bermudian and having gained Bermuda status[4] has provided me with the opportunity to interact with both the local and the expatriate community with relative ease. In essence, I have attempted to use a Millsian "sociological imagination" in order to make sense of what I have observed in the society in which I found myself.

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[4] As Bermuda is a colony, one is not granted citizenship, but rather status.

Study Site

In looking at tourism development, one must first deconstruct the development discourse, looking specifically at the conditions under which development has become 'evident', ceasing to exist as an object of attention and therefore seemingly becoming necessary and unchangeable.   The term development itself signifies positive change and progress. As such, we are dealing with transformations of not only the way things were and are, but also the imagination of things to come. This approach illustrates the connectedness of the development discourse, its regimes of truth and power intimately linked to social practices, tourism, and the notion of sustainable development.

With limited landmass, Bermuda lacked sufficient natural resources to develop a modern society through the more traditional forms of production. The means to progress lay in the establishment of a post-industrial service industry. In Bermuda, tourism came to represent *the* means of development, with little regard for any consequences. Böröcz (1996:16) claims that historically, such an approach has led to the perception of tourism as "a benevolent external factor that is completely independent of any global, regional or subnational structural process or constraint." As a result, at least from an economic standpoint, tourism development has become an uncritical 'numbers game' in which more has become equated with better.

Data

The main source of data for this study came from the minutes of the Trade Development Board - Department of Tourism, placing a greater emphasis on the minutes from 1940 to 1972. The year 1940 was chosen as the starting point, as many of the developments that resulted from the war were crucial for the development of mass tourism, specifically a land-based airport and the introduction of motorized vehicles. One inherent difficulty when dealing with government records in Bermuda is that all government records are sealed for a period of thirty years. As a result, the most recent minutes are from 1972.

Consequently, policy decisions, promotions, and other such developments which have occurred in the last thirty years were tracked through the local newspaper, various travel magazines, government reports made available to the public which relate to tourism, tourist brochures, and an interview with the chairman and the administrator of the Visiting Industrial Partnership. In the interest of construct validity, popular sources were also utilized for the same period of time that government records are available.

In some cases, earlier minutes of the Trade Development Board and other government bodies were used when they were referenced from the minutes and reports that fell within the designated time interval.

Measures

My original intent had been to utilize Turner's (1969) concepts of anti-structure and liminality to examine the effects of tourism on Bermudian society. Huzinga's (1971) concept of play, Goffman's system of performance (1959) and total institutions (1961), and Bandura's (1962) notion of vicarious learning were to be reconsidered in the light of Turner's work. The objective was to discern the encroachment of "anti-structure" into everyday "structure" of Bermudian society to illustrate how Bermudians have adapted to the presence of large numbers of tourists.

The utility of Ritzer's (2000) theory of rationality developed from my reading of the minutes of the Trade Development Board, and is therefore grounded in the experiences of the developers of Bermuda's tourist industry. Such an approach provides rich contextually sensitive data, facilitating theory generation in an area that has lacked an "explicit, theoretical orientation" (Cohen 1984). The intent is not to test in any strict way Ritzer's theory of McDonaldization, but rather to utilize his concepts to delineate the structural development of Bermuda's themed environment. As such, Ritzer's four categories of rationalization will be operationalized as follows:

Calculability

Calculability refers to the tendency to reduce everything to quantifiable numbers. Consequently, quantity becomes the measure of quality. In looking through the archival data, I will be looking specifically at instances in which quantifiable measures are used to influence policy decisions. For example, the use of visitor arrival statistics to justify capital expenditure, the use of mathematical models to

study the economic impact of tourism, and the setting of minimal household income as an indicator of the right 'quality' of tourist.

Efficiency

Efficiency is defined as the optimum means to a given end. Of course there are many means and many ends. I will be looking at instances where Bermuda is touted as an efficient holiday, that is to say that one can spend less time traveling (means) to reach their destination (ends). I will also consider those policies that lead to the most vacation for the money, as well as policies aimed at reducing those local traditions which are deemed to decrease efficiency.

Predictability

Predictability refers to the trend to ensure that things will operate in the same way from one day and place to the next, and that unexpected occurrences are kept to a minimum. According to Ritzer (2000:79) this entails "discipline, order, systematization, formalization, routine, consistency and methodical operation." It simplifies the task of managing both producers and consumers. As such I will be looking for instances in which systematic programs are put into place to ensure that the natural, the built, and the social environments are consistent with Bermuda's aesthetic theme. Examples of formalizing and routinizing the behavior of both hosts and guests, and policies to ensure that standards are maintained, will be examined.

Control

Control generally refers to technologies used to increase the control of human behavior. However, I will be focusing on technology more broadly to include what

Ritzer (2000:101) has identified as "skills, knowledge, rules, regulations, procedures and techniques". Over time organizations gain control over people gradually and progressively by utilizing ever more sophisticated technologies. Hence there is a change from the more traditional face-to-face control of an external agent to an internalization of expected behaviors.

Analysis

I made notes from the minutes of the meetings of the Trade Development Board from 1940 through 1968 when the Board was replaced with the Tourism Department. I also made notes of the minutes of the Tourism Department from 1968 through 1972, which, as mentioned above, is the most recent data available to the public. My goal in reading through the minutes was to locate information directly related to the main research question of how Bermudian society has been actively structured to conform to an idealized aesthetic.

In my first pass through the data, I coded statements from the minutes in a very general way. For example, I coded any general reference to the ethereal aspects of the aesthetic (customer relations, enchanting, salubrious) as "appearance". These included such concepts as "courteous behavior", public relations campaigns, planting of flower beds and other such aspects of the Bermudian aesthetic. I also looked for a more active, physical manipulation of the environment which I coded as "development". This included such obvious examples as the development of hotels, golf courses, historical sites, and other attractions, as well as active attempts to beautify nature.

As I made my way through the minutes, I recognized that there were consistent sub-themes emerging within each of my gross categorizations. For example, there seemed to be an increased demand for greater control of the behavior of the local population. When I realized a pattern was emerging, I developed a new code under the umbrella of "appearance" called "appearance – control". Once sub-themes developed within each category, I generated more precise coding structures. The general categories became "trees" with numerous branches or sub-categories. I then returned to the minutes and passed through them again looking for instances where the Board sought to gain greater control over various aspects of Bermudian society. During this pass through the data I found other codes emerging, for example an increased concern with quantifiable economic results. Essentially, I went through the data, created categories, and as I created and refined my categories into trees with sub-categories, I returned to the data in search of other examples or further refinement of codes. I passed through the data several times while generating and refining codes. While there are many software programs available for the analysis of qualitative data, I relied on the tried and true method of color coded tags and flow charts. I also made extensive use of the 'search' feature in Microsoft Word. This provided me with a clear enough view of the data to build and report the emerging model of the thematic development of Bermuda, which I will outline and discuss in the subsequent chapters.

The next three chapters contain the findings of this project. Chapter 4 summarizes the history of Bermudian society and the history of tourism in Bermuda. Chapter 5 gives a detailed account of the governmental process in Bermuda in order

to facilitate a greater understanding of the power wielded by the government and the

Trade Development Board. Chapter 6 analyses the data in terms of rationalized

thematic development and chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the research. In the

final chapter, I have taken a somewhat speculative look at some of the possible

consequences of living in an all encompassing rationalized tourist environment.

4: Historical Development of Bermuda

In examining the history of Bermuda, one cannot ignore the significant role played by race. Emphasizing the effects of race and slavery helps to set the stage for the development of a ruling class who controlled the social and economic aspects of Bermuda's society.

Bermuda's first settlers arrived in 1609 when the *Sea Venture*, bound for Virginia with 150 settlers, wrecked on the easternmost end of the uninhabited island. They remained for only ten months, but opened the way for a future British settlement. By 1612, the Virginia Company had dispatched 50 people to establish a permanent settlement. Three years later the control of the islands was relinquished to the Crown and a new charter was granted to The Somers Island Company, who maintained the colony for the next 69 years (Tucker 1975).

Among the early settlers were "sturdy and industrious types, rather conservative for pioneers", as well as a number of recruits from London's slums and jails (Smith 1976:10). The first reference to blacks occurred in 1616 when Governor Daniel Tucker ordered Mr. Wilmott to "goe wth the pennace to the Sauadge Islands wth such puisions as we have put abord him, to trucke ther for...negroes to dive for pearles" (*sic*) (Lefroy 1981 I: 115-6). By 1617 the number of blacks seems to have been growing, as reference is made to a "good store of neggars" in a correspondence

with Sir Nathaniel Rich (Ives 1984:25). It is also during this year that the first mention of a Native American is recorded.

During this early period the blacks and Indians were regarded not as slaves, but as free or indentured servants who had been sought after for their skills in local agriculture and pearl diving (Packwood 1975). This is not to say that there was no slavery in Bermuda at this time, as the records clearly show that penal slavery was common for individuals of any color. In October of 1617, Nicholas Gabriel, a white man, and "Simon the negro" were sentenced to slavery on various charges (Lefroy 1981 I: 127). There are also records of orphaned white children being sold into slavery to defray the debts of their deceased parents (Smith 1976).

By 1622 there were a sufficient number of blacks to merit "An Act to restrayne the insolencies of Negroes", reputed to be the first law in English specifically dealing with blacks. The white inhabitants had accused the black servants of stealing and secretly carrying weapons. The resulting law forbade blacks to "buy or Sell, barter or exchange for goods Tobacco or other thinges whatsoever, without the knowledge and consent of his Mr" (*sic*) (Lefroy 1981 I: 308-9).

While some blacks were still being treated as indentured servants as late as 1626 (ibid.:389), it was generally the case that references to both the blacks and the Native Americans changed from one of indentured servant to one of life servitude.

By 1640 there was a steady inflow of slaves, most of who came from the West Indies on captured Spanish Ships. While the majority of these slaves were black, there seems to have been no preference for blacks over Native Americans, as was the case in other Caribbean colonies (cf. Elkins 1968:94). In 1644 Captain William

Jackson brought a shipment of North American Indian slaves to Bermuda. They were a small group of Pequots who had been captured in skirmishes with the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonists (Van Wyck Mason 1937). This shipment was soon followed by a shipment of Mohicans (Rabito 1979), who were sent as a gift from the Dutch Governor of New York. By 1652 the Colony of Massachusetts had passed a law that all Indian prisoners "were to be either sold or shipped off to the Bermudas and other ports, or reduced to slavery in New England" (quoted in Van Wyck Mason 1937:618). In the 1650's and early 1660's these slaves were joined by Scottish and Irish prisoners of the English Civil War, who were bought and sold into slavery for a period of seven years. These newcomers were ostracized by the white inhabitants, and placed in an inferior position, on par with that of the blacks and Native Americans, with whom they freely intermingled. This led to several instances of collaboration between the Scots, Irish, blacks, and Native Americans ranging from a multi-racial crime syndicate to the conspiracy of 1661, in which the Irish and the blacks had plotted to destroy the entire English population (Smith 1976).

This level of interaction led to a high degree of miscegenation. This interbreeding was not restricted to the above groups; in many cases it was reported that "there is often a strain of some of the best local white blood in some of the best colored families" (Strode 1932: 136). There are also records of a number of instances of white females giving birth to colored children (Bermuda Colonial Records V B 1661-1676: 80, VII 1679-1689: 33, Bernhard 1999), an act which appears to have

gone unrecorded in other British colonies.[5] However, it seems that these activities were at a high during the period of time in which the Scottish and Irish were present, for in 1663 the General Assembly enacted a regulation stating: "That if any of his maiesties ffree borne subiects, hee or shee shall presume at mary with or haue commerce with any negroes molattoes or musteses, then after conuiction they are to bee subiected to the colony or be Banished" (*sic*) (Lefroy 1981 II: 190). This law prohibiting miscegenation appears to have been unique to Bermuda, as no such laws were passed in the other British colonies, where it was such an accepted practice that Long (1774 II: 328) wrote:

> He who should presume to shew any displeasure against such a thing
> as simple fornication, would for his pains be accounted a simple
> blockhead; since not one in twenty can be persuaded, that there is
> either sin or shame in cohabiting with his slave.

This same regulation restricted the period of freedom for people of color to a period of one year, at which time they were to return to slavery or depart the island.

Bermuda had proven to be an agricultural failure; the limited land area, shallow soil, high winds, humid climate, and lack of a water supply all made the growing of sugar cane and tobacco most unprofitable. Interests were gradually turning towards the sea, but as long as Bermuda was under the charter of the Somers Island Company, agricultural quotas still had to be met. This stagnation in agricultural production led to a decreased need for labor, thus prompting an act in

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[5] Bermuda is somewhat unique in the sex ratio of the white population. For example, in Jamaica, white males outnumbered white females two to one by the mid 1700's (Jordan 1962), white females in Bermuda outnumber white males three to one during roughly the same period (Packwood 1975). In the case of Bermuda, this imbalance has been attributed to the heavy loss of life from maritime activities.

1674 prohibiting any further slave importations; for fear that they would be a danger to the colony (Lefroy 1981 II).

Having claimed possession of the Turks Island in 1673, Bermudians had developed a rather extensive salt raking industry. Each year more than one quarter of Bermuda's population, both free and slave, would sail to the Turks Islands and rake salt. The salt was then traded along the eastern seaboard and the traded goods brought back to Bermuda, leading to the development of a merchant elite (Bernhard 1999). This in turn meant that the colonial tenants were accumulating capital independently of the Somers Island Company, thereby nullifying the role of the landlord, and propelling Bermuda into a more capitalist state. The end result was that Bermuda was returned to the Crown in 1684 thus freeing her inhabitants to pursue a broader range of economic endeavors and engage in unrestricted capital accumulation.

Another vital source of income proved to be privateering, an occupation which made use of both slaves and freemen. Those who owned sloops, built ships or went privateering, profited greatly from these activities (Tucker 1975). This served to secure the merchant class in a position of dominance and influence. However, "the line between privateering and piracy was a very fine one indeed. Bermudians were not adverse to engaging in acts of piracy if the occasion presented itself" (Packwood 1975:39). A consequence of this increase in maritime activity was a decrease in agricultural interests, leading to a surplus of slave labor. As a result, Governor Coney complained that the "country is pestered with theeves and idle psons" (*sic*), and

advised that the number of slaves be restricted to ten per master (Lefroy 1981 II: 563).

As the years passed, agriculture became viewed as an "inferior occupation reserved for old slaves and little children" (Smith 1976:63). This lack of interest in agriculture led to a growing dependency on imported foodstuffs, which in turn led to periods of near starvation, often resulting in a mass exodus of whites and slaves to other colonies which were more able to support them.

By 1707 the increasing number of slaves, and decreasing need for them, led to a tax of 40 shillings per head on all blacks and slaves who entered Bermuda. By 1728 this tax was increased to five pounds, only to be decreased in 1732 to two pounds. Added to this concern for the slave population was once again a growing uneasiness towards the increasing number of free blacks and Native Americans. Hence, in 1705 and 1730 all free "Negroes, Indians and Mulattoes" were given the choice of leaving the island, or being sold into slavery (*Journals of the House of Assembly* vol. I (1691-1759) *Act for extirpating all free Negroes, Indians and Mulattoes* 1730: 213).

By this time the vast majority of the population was making a living from maritime activities. Bermudian built ships had gained a reputation for being the fastest and best built available, creating a greater demand for the local ship yards and thereby an increased demand for labor. Male slaves were no longer working solely as field hands, laborers, fisherman, and house servants; now they were working as boatmen, carpenters, caulkers, masons, pilots, sailors, sawyers, ship builders, gunners, joiners, mariners, and whale hunters. Female slaves served as cooks,

domestics, maids, house servants, laundresses, nurse maids, sick nurses, washerwomen, and weavers (Packwood 1975).

Slaves had become more than just a source of physical labor, they were now skilled artisans. As such, they had become a source of income to their owners, to be hired out when not needed. This also meant a source of income for the slaves, as many were allowed to retain a small portion of their wages. Restricted to the lowest level of the stratified society were slaves and free blacks working in skilled trades, responsive to the needs of the market, and in direct competition with the working class whites. In some sense the slaves accounted for a major portion of the working class in Bermudian society.

By 1760 the number of free blacks had once more risen to a level alarming to the white inhabitants. Following an unsuccessful slave conspiracy in 1761, legislation was passed banishing all free blacks and Mulattoes. Reasoning that they "daily corrupt and debauch the Principles of such as are Slaves" and that they were "not only concerned in the late intended Conspiracy of our Slaves, but in all Probability were the chief Instigators of it." It was also stated that they were "a growing Evil and being to the last degree corrupted in their morals" (*Journals of the House of Assembly* vol. II (1759-1779): 976). The law also required that the freeing of slaves be done through a license from the Governor, who was to determine if the slave had done anything "meritorious and worthy of freedom". Provided this criterion was met, the freed slave then had six months to leave the island.

In 1774 the government once again resorted to a tax on all imported slaves in the hope of limiting the black population. By May of 1785 a new tax was

implemented on all slaves and free blacks. The owners of slaves had to pay one shilling for each slave, while the free blacks had to pay one shilling and four pence. This law was renewed in 1797 and the tax increased to two shillings and six pence per slave, and five shillings for each free black. Those free blacks who failed to pay would be sold at a public auction (Bermuda Acts 1704-1794 p. 237; 1794-1803 p. 84-84).

Slavery debates were now being carried on in the British Parliament, resulting in the request for reports on slavery from all of the colonies. In June of 1788, an official report was sent to Lord Sydney from Governor William Browne. According to this report, the importation of slaves had dropped to not more than ten of both sexes in the last 30 years. The report goes on to state:

> Slaves in Bermuda are either purely domestic, and work at home, or are Artificers and Labourers, and work abroad for hire.
>
> The former are tolerably lodged, cloathed and fed, at their Masters' expense; generally however sparingly and meanly, because for the most part the circumstances of their owners are slender, and inadequate to a liberal allowance. The latter are decently clad, by a deduction they are allowed to make from their employers.
>
> I believe it is almost universally the practice here to allow Negroes, who work for hire, a proportion of their wages sufficient to defray the expence of their maintenance except their diet (Secretary of State Despatches and Miscellaneous, CO/37/40 Entry No. 45, June 1788).

The sailors were paid by the month, and the artificers and laborers by the day. In describing the ship building trade, the Governor claimed that about one half of the carpenters involved were whites, who "worked promiscuously with Blacks, and the labour is performed without any distinctions than those of strength, activity, ingenuity, etc., which are common to all collections of Artificers elsewhere" (ibid.).

When referring to the marriage of slaves he wrote that they were not governed by laws, but were influenced "by the manner of the whites", and that they "consider and regard to their engagements as a duty of indispensable moral obligation, and that separation without good cause is reproachful." He then went on to write that "an attachment to their offspring contributes to make them constant in their co-habitations. Promiscuous lewdness is not fashionable amongst them" (ibid.).

The 19th century brought the loss of the Turks Islands to the government of the Bahamas. This loss of the salt trade was accompanied by a drastic decrease in privateering. Hence Bermuda was forced to rely almost entirely on shipbuilding and trading, so much so that in 1817 the tonnage of shipping owned in Bermuda amounted to nearly two tons for each white inhabitant (*The Bermuda Gazette* 26 July 1817).

It is during this period that several letters appeared in the local paper recommending that slavery be abolished in Bermuda - and the slaves deported - as it had long outlived its usefulness. There were also several remarks about the fact that agriculture was being ignored. Given the decline of the economy, there was good reason for both of these concerns (Smith1976).

By 1810 many slaves were sent to work on the construction of the Dockyard at Ireland Island, along with both free blacks and whites. They were the mainstay of the work force until 1824, when convicts were sent out from England. Interestingly enough, both black and white Bermudian workers had been paid the same rate while those laborers who had been hired from England were paid a higher wage (Carr 1893).

When Emancipation reached Bermuda in 1834, there was little opposition on the part of the slave owners. Freedom was granted without the stigma of a forced apprenticeship, as it was felt that the slaves were capable of taking care of themselves (Packwood 1976). At the time of Emancipation, 18 slaves were registered as field laborers, 2,327 as domestic servants, 293 tradesmen, 664 involved in maritime activities, 604 children under the age of six, and 107 aged or diseased (*Bermuda Royal Gazette* 30 December 1834:3)

When slavery had ended, the majority of slaves were skilled laborers and domestics, as opposed to simple field hands. While there had been a high degree of miscegenation, mulatto offspring were not legally recognized as such, and a race bar was in effect. Blacks accounted for 52% of the population.

By the late 1840's, agricultural activity had dropped to such a level that it was necessary to import laborers from Madeira to serve as agricultural workers.

> ...no labourous occupation has suffered so much disgrace from having so long to keep company with Negroes as that of agriculture; and for this reason, that it has always not only been in the hands of the slaves, but of the meanest and most worthless of them. Our field labourers are generally those, of either sex, who are incapable of any other employment: they are chiefly old negro women. Here, the prejudice has extended even to the negroes. I am convinced that a young Black sailor, carpenter, or joiner, could not be more mortified, than by being compelled to do work, which he has always considered as very much beneath him (The Bermuda Gazette and Advertiser 28 March 1807).

In 1847 a bounty of 400 pounds was offered to any ship bringing in Portuguese settlers to work the soil. This migration proceeded at a slow pace until 1920, when over 3,000 acres of Bermuda were under cultivation (Butland 1981). It was the export of agricultural products to the United States that that would eventually put Bermuda

on the path of tourism. Fresh fruits and vegetables were exported to the United States and wealthy visitors were brought back on the return voyage (Zuill 1973).

Tourism in Bermuda

The development of tourism in Bermuda has been a carefully crafted, rational process. The engineers of Bermuda's tourist industry "would shape and preserve the colony's society and landscape to oblige the sensibilities of its most promising tourist market - wealthy, east coast North Americans" (McDowall 1999:66). Additionally, there was the expectation that visitors to Bermuda would play their part in behaving according to the Bermudian aesthetic; those who would not were not welcome.

To ensure this, Bermuda has always been selective in its strategy to attract the "right type of person" to its shores. This was clearly expressed by John Cox (a Member of Parliament) when he stated that the aim was:

> … to appeal to the better class of tourist trade. People with good taste who would appreciate the charm and simple pleasures that the islands had to offer. By attempting to attract the highest type of visitor the demoralizing effects of the trade were to some extent mitigated (*Bermuda After the War: Problems and Answers*).

Tourists themselves have been instrumental in the creation of the Bermudian aesthetic. As early as 1908, Mark Twain and Woodrow Wilson, both regular visitors to the island, drafted a petition to the House of Assembly demanding that the automobile be banished from Bermuda. It was argued that not only were such devices noisy and dangerous, but that they were an affront "to persons of taste and cultivation." It was also feared that the automobile would encourage the arrival of "reckless tourists" as Bermuda was "one of the last refuges, now left in the world to

which one can come to escape such persons" (Wilson 1974:609-610). The government took such viewpoints seriously, and shortly after the petition was submitted, cars were banned from Bermuda, and would remain so until 1946.

There were also concerns that Bermuda not be allowed to develop into anything as crass as Coney Island or Niagara Falls. To this end the Advertisement Regulation Act of 1911 was passed. Merchants were free to advertise in their shop windows, but they were prohibited from using billboards, as this was considered an affront to the carefully crafted aesthetic. Again, the impetus for the act was the reaction to the complaints of tourists, and the fear that such gaudy displays would impact upon the 'uniqueness' of the Bermudian image (Mayer 1964). In short, the architects of Bermuda' had hit upon the principles of theming. They would socially construct and build an environment to "create space for the realization of consumer [wealthy East Coast Americans in the case of Bermuda] fantasies" (Gottdiener 2001:70).

Historical Development

At this point in time, there can be little doubt that tourism is driven by the pursuit of personal pleasure and diversion. Vacations offer an escape from the pressures of daily life (MacCannell 1976:13, Krippendorf 1987:22-29, Rojek 1993, Urry 1990b: 2-3), an opportunity to sample other ways of life (Smith 1977:2), and the chance to experience other cultures. Currently, the emphasis is on self-indulgence on a global scale.

In the nineteenth century, tourism was different affair. Most obviously, both technology and affluence were more limited. Not only was it more difficult for people

to travel any great distance, but fewer people possessed the wealth and leisure time to tour. Those who did, did so for a number of reasons, none of which can be described as purely hedonistic. They traveled for education and social prestige; the Grand Tour had as much to do with seeing Europe as it did with cementing one's social eminence back home in England. They traveled also for their health, not to sunbathe or frolic on the beach, but to combat tuberculosis or battle gout at the spas of Europe. Others traveled to indulge their amateur passions for naturalism, to wander Alpine paths, collect fossils, and sketch flowers. Such an approach mirrors what Rojek (1995) has termed "modernity 1," in which leisure pursuits fall under the heading of 'high culture'. Under "modernity 1" leisure serves "an observable function…which [is] necessary to the stability of the whole social system." Such practices are seen as "orderly and decent" (1995:38-40). Tourism in the nineteenth century was thus a socially and geographically limited and rather earnest affair.

By all accounts, Bermuda was not a tourist destination in the nineteenth century. Too much worked against it. For one thing, Bermuda was rather difficult to reach. While the Gulf Stream provided for Bermuda's subtropical climate, it made getting there a rather arduous journey. As Mark Twain declared, "Bermuda is paradise but you have to go through Hell to get there", or as another writer of the time explains "Crossing the Gulf Stream diagonally is not conducive to ease of mind or body" (Dorr 1886:6).

In 1873 regular steamship service was established when the Quebec Steamship Company agreed to make the trip from New York to Bermuda at least once every three weeks. While the early numbers were low, the regular steamship

service provided sufficient quantity that the *Bermuda Almanac* published a 3 and 10 day itinerary for seeing the island. Shortly there after, road maps[6] were produced to show those tourists who rented bikes, the most picturesque way to travel around the island.

Once on shore in Bermuda, the situation wasn't much better. There were few attractions for visitors. The roads were poor and only the most resolute visitors ventured outside the city limits of Hamilton, Bermuda's capital. Until the Hamilton Hotel opened in 1862, there had been only sporadic lodgings of questionable quality.

Health seekers were likewise disappointed. While Bermuda had been initially advertised as being of interest to New York invalids (*The Bermuda Almanac* 1870), it soon became apparent that Bermuda's hot and humid climate was of no benefit to tubercular patients. By 1880 the *Bermuda Almanac* advised that "Bermuda is not suitable for those in the last stages of hope for more life, but it is eminently adapted for those who are in need of rest and change"

Beyond the humidity, lack of hotels, and seasickness, two more pervasive obstacles discouraged Bermuda tourism in the 19th century. To begin with, there was the persistent notion that the colony was an unhealthy place. This was a cumulative product of more than a few centuries of fevers, shipwrecks and hurricanes. Shakespeare's label had caught on, the place always seemed to be "vex'd". Members of the British military were particularly adept at reaching unflattering conclusions about Bermuda. Richard Dashwood's 1872 dismissal of Bermuda as a "bunch of

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[6] This map has since developed to become one of the handiest guides available to tourists to date. While the map is quite detailed in those things deemed of interest to tourists, it is also rather telling in

rocks" crawling with "centipede, cockroach and jigger" will perhaps suffice to make the point. Such views served as a powerful deterrent to the creation of a benevolent aesthetic for tourism in Bermuda. People must first perceive a place as attractive before they will book passage to it.

The second obstacle to tourism was the local inhabitants, Bermudians were largely content being farmers. The 'onion patch' flourished in the late nineteenth century, providing winter vegetables to New York pantries. However, the vegetable shipping season, April to June, did not coincide with the would-be tourist season of December to the end of March. As the House of Assembly consisted if landowners, they could find little reason to encourage tourism, an industry that would largely benefit the merchants of Hamilton. So it was at some risk that Harley Trott built the island's first luxury hotel, the Princess, in 1884.

Otherwise Bermuda tourism languished in the 1890s, though it is worth noting that at this same point in time Florida began to capitalize on affluent New Englander's appetite for escape. Railways were built and locales like Palm Beach were created as America's first winter retreats.

As the century closed, Bermudians finally awoke to the allure of tourism. Three things had happened. After three decades of sluggish economic activity, prosperity returned to North America, industrial America was booming. Commodity prices rose and industrial production flourished. Americans, particularly those in the urban-industrial belt along the eastern seaboard, now had the money and the incentive

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what is omitted. For example, the island's most prestigious gated community has, until recently, been portrayed simply as an impenetrable green mass.

to travel. They discovered that brand of hedonistic tourism described earlier. Palm Beach was their kind of town and that message was finally being heard in Bermuda.

Secondly, the onion patch began to wither. The value of Bermuda agricultural exports peaked in 1890 and their volume began declining shortly thereafter. Competition from Texas, California, and Florida slowly squeezed Bermuda out of the vegetable export business. The onion patch was no longer a growth sector of the economy and farmland began to lose value. By the turn of the century, many a Bermudian was asking what would take up the slack. In this light, the promotion of tourism no longer seemed the hobbyhorse of a few prophetic merchants and colonial administrators. As Meethan (2001) has noted, tourism as a form of development has a lot going for it. Unlike other forms of development, tourism has one obvious advantage in that it requires relatively low capital investment.

A third factor would powerfully facilitate the other two. In the later half of the 19th century Bermuda's image in outsiders' eyes had undergone a remarkable transformation. It completely shed its old image as a place of shipwrecks and yellow fever and had emerged in the eyes of foreign observers as a place of rest, natural beauty and unspoiled naturalness. The transformation was gradual and for the most part accidental, the product of Bermuda's 'discovery' by a succession of influential visitors. They were few in number, not more than 2,500 a year in the 1890s, but their impact was profound. American, Canadian and British writers, painters, and public figures began to find that despite the rough sea voyage, Bermuda had much to offer those weary of the growing pressures of modern-industrial life. Bermuda provided a kind of pre-industrial oasis in the mid-Atlantic, detached from the hurly-burly of

modern life. They were the "Isles of Rest". Much had been made of the infatuation

for Bermuda of Mark Twain and Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria.

Twain's habitual resort to Bermuda in time of personal stress lent great prestige to the

colony.

Princess Louise had much the same effect. The New York Times provided

extensive coverage of her stay in 1883. Readers of one of America's most influential

newspapers found that only "seventy hours" separated them from "the depth of winter

and the middle of summer." While both of these celebrities were more or less private

in their love of Bermuda, others proved to be much more public transmitters of

Bermuda's charms. In 1901, Winslow Homer's beautiful Bermuda land and seascapes

were displayed at the Pan American Exhibition. New York galleries were soon

selling these same canvases into the drawing rooms of the America's east coast elite.

Here were vivid semitropical images of a winter haven waiting to welcome winter-

weary Americans. These same drawing rooms most likely contained copies of

Harper's Weekly, the magazine of American middle class distraction. There, its

editor, Charles Dudley Warner (1894), used his weekly column to proselytize about

Bermuda. "There is scarcely any other place in the world so defended and certainly

the inhabitants of the United States can in no other two day's journey get so

completely out of the world and all its uneasiness."

In 1906, the Bermuda Tourist Association was created in order to provide

information deemed useful to tourists. It consisted of The Quebec Steamship

Company and a host of Bermudians who might profit from the further development

of the tourist trade. In 1907, the Association placed an advertisement in the *New York*

Commercial, marking Bermuda's first attempt to advertise itself abroad. However, for a variety of reasons, the Association proved unsuccessful and folded in early 1908 (McDowall 1999).

The demise of the Tourist Association had little impact on tourist arrivals. It was rather the combination of North American prosperity, the decline of agriculture and Bermuda's benevolent new aesthetic image that produced Bermuda's first tourist boom in the years just prior to World War One. Tourist arrivals increased from 5,418 in 1908 to 27,049 by 1911. Acting Governor Brock-Smith (1911) opened the Assembly session by announcing that the colony had entered a "new stage of development", for the first time the number of annual visitors to the colony exceeded its resident population.

This large influx proved to be a mixed blessing. In order to boost the number of passengers, the Quebec Steamship Company had offered cheap package deals. Without any form of regulation, the hotels were full to overflowing during the spring season, which meant that the excess numbers of tourists were forced to sleep aboard steamers in the harbor. In addition, a great many of these tourists proved to be the "wrong sort of people", prompting Woodrow Wilson (1974: 608) to complain of "reckless tourists who would care nothing for local opinion." Such complaints were not unique to Bermuda as the leisure class in general had come to fear that greater accessibility to their formerly exclusive pleasure havens would result in such locations being overrun by people of lower social standing (Pemble 1987).

However 'accidental' the tourist boom had been, few could ignore its benefits. Agriculture was fading fast; onion exports had dropped from 400,000 boxes in 1905

to 140,000 in 1912. American protectionism was on the rise. There was talk of

unemployment, yet the tourists brought money. The 1908 to 1913 tourist boom

coincided with a sharp rise in colonial revenues and in the colony's cash balance on

hand. It was estimated that each tourist generated £1.10 in colonial revenue taken

from light tolls imposed on ships and from customs duties. Bermudians were

beginning to recognize that tourists might be able to replace their onions.

   In order to better *control* the aesthetic, regulate arrivals, and exclude those

who would not 'play along', the Bermuda Government established the Trade

Development Board[7] in 1913. It was felt that a single body was needed to take

control of all aspects of the industry and mould it into a cohesive whole that could

manage tourism with *predictable* outcomes. The Board was invested with wide

ranging powers to do nearly anything it felt necessary to promote the growth of

Bermuda's tourist industry. The Board was to have only the loosest relationship with

the Assembly. It was empowered to enter contracts, dispense subsidies, hire experts,

pressure other agencies of government and exercise its influence over the colony's

tourist operations. It would not be too strong to say that from the outset the Board

was a power unto itself. The only discipline on it was its annual obligation to submit

its budget, and any contract it signed, to the House of Assembly for review.

   One of the first tasks undertaken by the Board was the publishing of

Bermuda's first 'official' guide book, *Nature's Fairyland,* in which the island is

referred to as 'wholesome', without automobiles or any of those other forms of noisy

transportation. This was soon followed by negotiations for larger, more regular

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[7] Henceforth to be abbreviated as "the Board" or TDB.

steamships. Tourists would not come if the steamers were slow (*inefficient*), infrequent and small. Regular steamship service would provide *calculability*, providing control of not only the number of visitors, but also the timing of arrivals and departures. Once visitors arrived on the island, their departure could not deviate from the schedule imposed by the steamship line.

With the outbreak of the First World War, Bermuda found it increasingly more difficult and costly to maintain its link with North America and expensive stop-gap measures were taken to ensure continued service between Bermuda and North America. As the war came to an end, the Board realized that it must be in a position to attract the pent-up boom in North American tourism that peace would bring. Three members of the board were dispatched to New York to convince the British steamship line Furness Withy to accept a five-year contract to serve Bermuda; in exchange, the British line would collect a yearly subsidy of £15,000. Thus began one of the most fruitful transportation relationships that Bermuda has ever known. From 1919 to 1966 Furness Withy ships were Bermuda's enduring gangway to the world. Furness provided the colony with large, stylish modern liner service. The service was impeccable – Furness ships were modern in every way – each cabin had its own bathroom, the lounges were adorned in the latest in art deco and their speed was renowned. The enchantment of the Furness ships ended all talk of seasickness and rude service at sea. Getting to Bermuda had become half the fun.

As tourist transportation changed in these decades, so did the Board's attitude. In the late 1920s the world had become enamored with aviation. Within a month of Lindbergh's Atlantic flight in 1927, the Board was offering a prize for the first

aircraft to land in Bermuda. Aviation was not only seen as glamorous and a real

publicity draw, but the Board sensed that the early patrons of air travel were exactly

the type of well-heeled, society traveler that Bermuda saw at the heart of its tourism.

When the first plane reached Bermuda in 1930, the Board hosted a celebration for the

pilots and donated the plane's compass to the Bermuda Historical Society.

Throughout the early Thirties the Board spearheaded the colony's efforts to

attract regular air service to the island. The Board petitioned both British and

American authorities, suggesting that Bermuda could offer a mid-Atlantic way-

station for transatlantic flights. Naturally they also surmised that some of the

passengers might chose to linger in Bermuda's sun. In 1934, an act was passed to

subsidize a seaplane base in Hamilton Harbor; two years later, a huge hanger was

built at colonial expense.

While the Board actively pursued high-end travel, it also fought to protect the

low end. When the woes of the Depression produced cheap package cruises out of

New York, the Board moved quickly to keep them away from Bermuda shores. From

the Board's perspective, the "cruisers" brought the wrong kind of tourist to Bermuda.

The Board learned to regulate the cruise ships, turning away the most "vulgar" – the

ones carrying the "cheap people" – and carefully regulating the stays of others.

This then was the Trade Development Board's first contribution to the early

years of Bermuda tourism – assured *efficient* comfortable transportation dedicated to

the "right kind" of tourist.

Its second duty lay in theming Bermuda to live up to the tourists'

expectations. The Board made itself the chief overseer of the colony's aesthetic. In

charting the course that tourism would take, the Board was forced to consider that given Bermuda's small size, 21 square miles, it would not be possible to cordon off areas for touristic activities from the rest of Bermudian society. There would be no rational separation of work space from leisure space, work time from leisure time. As such, the Board took on the task of theming Bermudian society and the tourist industry to conform to an idealized aesthetic that would ensure the continued arrival of visitors.

The Board's first attempt at theming Bermuda was to capitalize on the earlier perception of the Island as paradise, a place of restful bliss, a "noiseless country, without railroads, trolley cars and automobiles." The Island was to be themed as a tonic to the rush and demands of modern industrialized society. Bermuda was to be perceived as relaxed, genteel, where people were not bound by the sense of urgency imposed by the modern clock. The natural landscape too would play a role, having lacked the intrusion of modern industry, visitors were free to gaze upon unspoiled nature, a return, in some sense, to the Garden of Eden. Gottdiener (2001: 177) maintains that the theme of "'tropical paradise' remains powerful as an escapist fantasy."

While tourist arrivals increased from a mere 1,345 in 1918 to 3,010 in 1919, both the Board and Furness Withy recognized that steps had to be taken to attract more visitors to Bermuda. The attraction was to be found in sport, specifically golf, which had become quite popular among North America's affluent class. This

combination of healthy activity and the growing popularity of sun worship[8]
necessitated a shift from winter resort to summer resort.

In October of 1919, Frederick Lewis, managing director of Furness Withy,
along with golf architect Charlie Macdonald, began to scout the island for a suitable
place to build an 18-hole golf course. While they could find no suitable area near
Hamilton, they were taken with the possibilities offered by Tucker's Town, a secluded
seaside landscape in a corner of St. George's Parish. As this meant some length of
travel from Hamilton, Lewis proposed a grand plan to develop a self-contained
destination that could provide a luxury resort hotel, a first class 18 hole golf course,
as well as provisions for tennis, sunbathing and riding, and an opulent residential
community where the wealthy could live amongst their own kind (*Debates of the
House of Assembly*, 27 February 1920, 499-502). In essence, what Lewis had
proposed was what Ritzer (1999) has termed a "cathedral of consumption", a place of
spectacular setting in which to consume expensive homes, a wealthy lifestyle, golf,
tennis and other such amenities.

The end result was a 400-room hotel, the Castle Harbour Hotel, with its own
18-hole golf course, swimming pool and tennis courts; the exclusive Mid-Ocean
Club, consisting of an eighteen-hole golf course, several tennis courts, and equestrian
trails; and Tucker's Town, 300 one-acre lots which, along with a hefty fee, including
membership in the Mid-Ocean Club ('Agreements with Furness Withy'). Tucker's
Town was essentially to be what we now refer to as a gated community. The

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[8] Feifer (1985:216) explains that in the 1920s "the suntan became the golden emblem of beauty and
freedom."

enchantment[9] for such an establishment was provided not only by the tropical

surroundings,[10] available activities, and a tax-free location, but also by the new

residents themselves. The rich and famous were actively recruited and celebrities

such as Babe Ruth were photographed golfing at the Mid-Ocean Club. The only

potential threat to the enchantment of such a place would have been the local

inhabitants themselves. Having poor people living in the same neighborhood was sure

to be a disenchanting experience. To prevent this, the government approved the

forced removal, with compensation, of the 400 black Bermudians who resided in the

area.

The development of Tucker's Town is clearly an example of what has been

referred to as "leisure imperialism" (Davis 1978:305), or what Fanon has termed a

"settler town".

> The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easy going town: its belly full
> of good things. The settler's town is a town of white people, of
> foreigners (1974:30).

Perez (1973) has claimed that international tourism echoes the historical colonial

process, in that areas of one's country are given over to the pleasure of foreigners

irrespective of the impact on the local population, all defended through the rhetoric of

development.

By 1922, Bermuda had begun to advertise on a much grander scale, becoming

the first resort destination to systematically use color advertisements to promote itself

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[9] Ritzer claims that the new means of consumption, or cathedrals of consumption, have an "enchanted, sometimes even sacred, religious character for many people" (1999:8).

[10] The firm that had designed New York's Central Park had been retained to ensure that tasteful bungalows and lush plantings would be the norm, thus ensuring the Bermuda aesthetic.

(McDowall 1999). These ads were strategically placed in high-end magazines to reach

the "right kind of people". The Board's goal was not to aim for a large quantity of tourists, but rather to attract those visitors who would spend a large sum of money. Their belief was that such visitors would also adhere to a proper sense of decorum, that of the upper class. As such, the *quality* of the tourists had become reduced to the *quantity* of their disposable income.[11] "Thus, one of the major tendencies of life – the reduction of quality to quantity – achieves its highest and uniquely perfect representation in money" (Simmel 1907/1990: 280).

The use of color advertisements would be necessary to serve as a sign to signify that Bermuda was extraordinary, or to uses Ritzer's terminology, "enchanted". Campbell (1993:89-90) has argued that that modern consumerism has less to do with an insatiable desire of acquiring and using objects and more to do with experiencing in "reality" the "pleasurable dramas which they have already enjoyed in imagination". In other words, Campbell claims that it is day dreaming which sets in motion the need to consume. Urry (1990b:3) maintains that the places tourists have chosen to be "gazed upon" are a result of "anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy…constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines…" As such, the colors and hues of a tropical oasis would be significantly different from the more muted tones of the Northeast Coast. What better mechanism to set in motion subconscious desires?

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[11] The target market is presently a household income in excess of $125,000 (RG 16 Oct. 2002:1).

The Board eventually concluded that they could use color advertisements to improve upon nature. They commissioned "posters looking like colored photographs, but actually painted by artists from photographs, which means the picture contains everything that is required" (Trade Development Board Minutes[12] 02 June 1956). The Board had struck upon the concept of hyper-reality, a simulation of a picture which is itself a simulation of nature.

This was not the Board's first use of hyper-reality. In 1924 a "news bureau" was set up to plant flattering stories about Bermuda in the foreign press, and prominent editors were treated to trips to Bermuda.[13] Again, the goal was to get people thinking about Bermuda all of the time, but this time without having to resort to the vulgarity of advertising. Out going mail was stamped with the slogan "Come to Bermuda - Mid-Ocean Playground." The Board was adjusting Bermuda's theme to reflect the change in visitor expectations. The "Isles of Rest" were to be transformed to the "Mid-Ocean Playground" as visitors sought out more active forms of diversion. To fit the image of 'playground', three more golf courses were built,[14] and facilities for tennis, sailing, and those sports deemed complementary to the attitudes of the upper classes, were all greatly expanded. The Board took an active role in theming this new aesthetic of Bermuda as a summer playground, setting limits on what was considered to be an appropriate form of play. Consequently, baseball was deemed to

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[12] Henceforth to be abbreviated as TDBM

[13] It is interesting to note that Disney adopted a similar strategy. Fjellman (1992:160) explains that company policy has always been to "elevate Disney above crass advertising by convincing the mass media to cover Disney events as news". This has been accomplished through press support and free junkets.

[14] With eight golf courses, Bermuda boasts the world's highest number of golf courses per square mile. Plans have been submitted to construct an additional course on land formerly occupied by the U.S. base.

be a threat to the British atmosphere, and powerboat racing far too profane, the theme of exclusivity was to be continued.

One harvest of this careful cultivation of Bermuda as a 'Garden of Eden' for tourists was its emergence as one of North America's most favored honeymoon destinations in the 1920s. The honeymoon was a late nineteenth century social development. Marriage had previously been followed by what was called the "nuptial journey", an opportunity for a newly married couple to undertake a prolonged trip in the company of other family members. Such journeys were intended to introduce the newlyweds to society. They were the product of an age when travel and the demands of work made attendance at weddings an awkward obligation. Consequently, the couple would go to the relatives. There was obviously little that was private about such journeys. However, urbanization and better transportation in the nineteenth century made weddings more genial affairs. Better attendance at the wedding freed the couple to escape after the ceremony, freed from social pressures to seek blissful isolation (Rothman 1984). Bermuda offered the perfect honeymoon: a luxurious separation from North America by way of a glamorous Furness-Withy steamer, exquisite hotels and a mingling with just the right sort of people. Recall that Young (2002:7) claims that to be successful, themed areas "must be removed in space and time from everyday life". To secure this lucrative niche, the Board heavily advertised in magazines such as *Bride*, and reinforced the social prestige of honeymooning in Bermuda through its news bureau, pumping photos of honeymooning Americans and Canadians back into the press back home. The Board also saw newlyweds as beneficial to the maintenance of the Bermuda aesthetic. "The Board does desire

fashion because it is attractive and it is smart, which is one reason why it looks with favour upon honeymoon trade because these travellers are always well dressed" (TDBM 15 November 1960).

If newly-weds fit perfectly with the social blueprint of Bermuda tourism, other groups did not. The Board's dedication to giving affluent North Americans just the kind of holiday they wanted meant that it was obliged to follow that group's biases to the full. In the 1920s and 30s Jews and black tourists found themselves increasingly unwelcome in Bermuda. In both cases, there was never an official exclusion policy. In fact, the prosperous Jewish community of New York was one of the earliest steady customers of Bermuda tourism. In the 1920s New York Jews constituted 20% of Bermuda tourism, rising to 70% during the Christmas season (TDBM 17 February 1937). The problem was that many of Bermuda's non-Jewish visitors brought their anti-Semitism with them to the colony, where it took root in the rapidly growing small hotel and cottage colony sector of the industry. Owners of these thriving establishments soon found that some gentiles were uncomfortable with the presence of Jews and quietly began turning them away. The practice soon spread to the larger hotels which began inserting phrases such as "select or restricted" clientele into their advertisements. While there was never an official policy of anti-Semitism, the hoteliers were quick to cite the 1930 Hotel Keepers Act[15] as a sanction of their private property right to select their clientele. Consequently, the Board always turned a blind eye to what it came to euphemistically call the "restriction"

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[15] It is interesting to note that this Act allowed hotel owners to turn away would-be guests, even though English common law clearly stated that innkeepers must take in weary travelers. The legal argument came down to the contention that Bermuda was too small a place for travelers to become weary.

policy. Only Furness Withy and the Colonial Office complained; the steamer company because no hotels for Jews in Bermuda meant fewer passengers and the danger that an American newspaper might stigmatize the colony for its intolerance. The Colonial Office complained in part because of a strong Jewish lobby in Britain.

Black visitors never really even registered on the Board's consciousness. White Americans came to Bermuda to escape the racial tensions of their homeland. Bermuda attracted them because these tensions seemed in abeyance – the popular tourist beaches were all segregated. *Harper's* ran an article that complemented Bermuda's government for its "handling of the colour problem" in which "the ruling class show[ed] how to be conservative gracefully", as there were "no insulting Jim Crow arrangements" (Allen 1938:473). In a feature spread in *Holiday* (1947) magazine, Bermuda's black population was described as behaving "in the manner of American negroes in 'Gone With the Wind'." *House and Garden* proclaimed that the reason that Americans traveled to Bermuda and continued to return on a regular basis was because Bermuda was "old fashioned...It has both manners and a manner...This quaint lack of interest in 'progress' as such seems at first strange, then comforting and finally completely charming" (Achesson 1939). Selwyn (1993) has identified a similar trait in the portrayal of the host population in South-East Asia, where the natives are, like "Peter Pan", simple, innocent, and never growing up. Bermuda was to be seen as "beyond the influence of history", a key aspect to successful theming (Young 2002: 8). Once again the theme was to be that everyone was well behaved and knew their place. It was not until the 1950s, that the Board begin to devote even a

small amount of money to the promotion of black tourism to Bermuda, and this only after pressure form black hoteliers.

The Board went to great lengths to *control* all aspects of the theme that they were creating. If clientele at various attractions were excessive in their celebrations, the management was told to curb their behavior. When postcards were marketed depicting seasick travelers on the way to Bermuda, the Board 'asked' that they be removed. Shipwrecks along the coastline were ordered blown up so as "not to mar the beauty of Bermuda" (TDBM 22 April 1924, 15 Dec. 1926, and 17 Aug. 1927) The Board had broad powers to have hedges trimmed, litter picked up and beaches raked. Again, nothing was left to chance; the Agriculture Department was directed to be less forceful in their approach to hedge trimming along the roadside as it was felt the present practice was having a negative impact on the beauty of the island. The extent to which the Board went to ensure that all was as it should be was extreme. Joe Outerbridge, then secretary of the Board explained the guiding principle as follows:

> The greatest need in the development of our tourist trade is to get Bermudians as a whole, and this includes hotel managers and shop keepers, to accept the principle that our 'visitors' are our guests, and that they should be treated as such (Outerbridge 1928).

This ideology remains to the present. Editorials often blame a slump in tourism on the lack of courtesy on the part of the local population and constantly remind them that tourism is their lifeblood. Letters written by tourists commenting on the friendliness of the Bermudians are reprinted in the letters to the editor section of the island's daily newspaper.

The people we encountered, from the bus drivers to salespeople to children to just ordinary Bermudians, were truly the kindest, most polite people we have ever met.

… The children were so well behaved, and so very polite. ...and was one of the most delightful persons anyone would want to meet...

There were so many more who have all helped make our trip the most memorable ever. Needless to say, we are looking forward to a return trip in the near future.

We realise tourism is your livelihood, but Bermudians surpass everyone in hospitality. Thank you, Bermuda, for fulfilling our dream. We shall return (*Royal Gazette* 22 April 1987:4).

. . . I had to write to you to express my delight and appreciation of the friendly and warm hospitality received by my husband and myself.

This was indicative of the welcoming approach we received all over the Island…Could I also express my gratitude to…who not only gave up their precious time to show us around the Island, but also invited us to their 'open day' to meet their friends and family.

Thank you people of Bermuda, you made us believe there is hope for us all yet. (*Royal Gazette* 16 Feb, 2001:4).

The degree to which this message was internalized was evident in the actions of the Young Folks' Cycle Club. During the 1930s, the club launched a campaign to encourage people to keep their bicycles clean by tying tags to those bikes that were dirty, admonishing the owners to help to maintain a neat and tidy image.

The Second World War introduced some dramatic changes to the island, not the least of which included the construction of an airfield for land-based aircraft[16], as well as the introduction of motorized vehicles to the island. By 1943, the TDB reached the conclusion that the introduction of automobiles to the island was inevitable, but it was thought that such introductions should be controlled, that the

vehicles should be small and slow, perhaps even specially designed for the island.
The Board's New York advertiser suggested that he approach an American firm to
determine if they would be willing to undertake such a venture. However, many on
the Board felt that such a vehicle should be of British design, in order to ensure that
the steering wheel was on the 'wrong' side, thereby ensuring that Bermuda would
continue to look different in the eyes of the tourists (TDBM, 21, 25 March 1943).
Again, the Board was at the forefront of promoting Bermuda's British heritage as a
consistent element of Bermuda's theme.[17]

The automobile thus most clearly represents the Board's use of simulation, the
creation of the real through conceptual models without connection to reality. The
Board, as model builders, has succeeded in making "the real, all of the real, coincide
with their models of simulation" (Baudrillard 1994: 2). Hence, the model has become
the determinant of our perception of reality forever altering our sense of difference
between the simulation and the real. What was themed for the sake of tourism
becomes the "reality" of culture.

The Board was not idle during the war years. The "news bureau" was busy
writing stories about Bermuda in which words such as "placid" and "tranquil" were
prominently featured in the headlines (TDBM 16 May 40). A social security system
of sickness benefits, workman's compensation, and old age pensions was instituted as
"Bermuda had the chance to become a model community, and social security
measures of this kind would…be of interest to tourists who like to visit places where

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[16] There was concern that scheduled air service might upset the predictability that the weekly steamer
service had imposed. Tourists would now be free to arrive and depart when they wanted.

conditions were good" (TDBM 10 March 1943) Additionally, the Board was active in undertaking efforts to make Bermuda more attractive during the remainder of the war period. To accomplish this, the Board felt that there needed to be an awakening of civic pride to encourage Bermudians to beautify their properties. The companies operating public utilities were instructed to give greater consideration to the appearance of their respective utilities. All Government departments were to instruct their employees to at all times:

> Bear in mind general appearances, and whatever the activity to make sure the office, workshop, equipment or job looks "smart" and attractive to the beholder. The activities of the Public Works Department are most prominently before the public, and here consideration might be given to having the tool boxes of road maintenance gangs of uniform size and design, and painted a pleasing colour (TDBM 29 March 1943).

 It was determined that an experienced landscape architect would be retained to "make a survey of the whole of Bermuda" and submit proposals "for the guidance of all persons" to make Bermuda a more beautiful place. And finally, that an attempt be made to eradicate all ragweed so that Bermuda could be advertised as "being free from this bane of hayfever sufferers".

The Board was not content to stop there, but felt that perhaps a little greater control of the 'hosts' themselves might prove beneficial to the industry. A call was put out to "return to courteous behavior and good morals … for the sake of the tourist trade" (TDBM 25 May 1943). A public relations firm was retained which determined that:

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[17] Such an approach was made explicit when the Board ran an ad campaign in which Bermuda was referred to as "Great Britain's Loveliest Colony" (TDBM 29 June 1960).

(a.) It must be brought home to Bermudians that they were dependent on "tourism";

(b.) A systematic campaign to make Bermuda tourist-conscious would have to be carried out;[18]

(c.) Bermudians should look on visitors as 'guests' and not as 'tourists' from whom every possible dollar should be extracted. (TDBM 20 June 1944).

To best achieve this goal a meeting was arranged with the Board of Education. It was determined that the curriculum should include an emphasis on the importance of tourism to Bermuda, and that the children should be trained in "good manners and courtesy".

With respect to Bermuda's image abroad, the Board considered all matters that might reflect on this to be within their purview For example, in July 1944 a letter was sent to the *New York Times* denouncing an editorial in which the hot and humid weather in New York was attributed to a "Bermuda High" as there was concern about how this might reflect on Bermuda (TDBM 25 July 1944; see also 12 September 1955).

By August of 1946 the Board had drawn up a policy

(a.) To make Bermuda a high-class resort.

(b.) To direct advertising with a view to appealing to the class of tourist travel which appreciates the services and amenities found in a high-class resort.

(c.) To discourage the introduction into Bermuda of features which would be detrimental to the accomplishment of (a) and (b).

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[18] The campaign to make Bermudians more tourist conscious has continued to the present.

(d.) To consider for the time being 100,000 as the maximum number of visitors to be encouraged to the Colony each year. (TDBM 30 August 1946).

There was no level of management considered out of reach to the TDB. When it was found that postcards of "inferior quality" were being sold, the Board stepped in to produce their own and sell them to the retailers at cost (TDBM 22 April 1946). When commercial radio came to the island in 1948 and it was suggested that each hotel room be equipped with a radio, the Board rejected the suggestion on the grounds that tourists had come to get away from such noise (TDBM 17 February 1948). In 1947, the TDB began to surveying departing guests to find out what had motivated them to visit Bermuda. In 1954, the Colonial Secretary was informed that there were too many dead frogs on the road and that something needed to be done about it. The police were asked to crack down on young boys who were speeding and driving recklessly, as Bermuda was supposed to be a leisurely slow paced place (TDBM 1 June and 31 August 1954). Commercial airliners were not permitted to land at night as they were considered too noisy, and neon lights were banned in 1958.

By 1953, there was a growing concern about the ever-increasing numbers of locals and tourists alike. Tourist arrivals had broken the 100,000 mark, and in the ten short years since the outbreak of the war, Bermuda's population had increased by over 20%. The result was an increase in the demand for new housing, which in turn impacted upon the natural beauty that had attracted the visitors in the first place. In an attempt to control the urban sprawl, Will Onions, regarded to be Bermuda's best vernacular architect, was commissioned to create a series of cottage designs, to provide young Bermudian families with "an attractive and comfortable home in

conformity with Bermudian tradition" (Bermuda Historical Monuments Trust 1948: preface). Each would be a simulation of the others; in essence, creating an environment that fetishizes the Bermuda aesthetic.

Larry Burchall (1991:39) described Bermuda at this time as "a 13,000 acre living room with naturally courteous, honest, and gentle hosts who were always extremely proud of their Living Room which was, then always neat, clean, tidy, well kept, and uncrowded."

The far-reaching power of the Trade Development Board ended with the introduction of universal suffrage in 1968. With a demand for greater government accountability, the Board was replaced with the Department of Tourism, a more bureaucratic structure, with a minister who could be held accountable.

While the organization structure may have changed, the goal has remained the same. To this end, the government has played an active role in maintaining the theme of the Bermuda aesthetic. In a speech broadcast on the local news, the Director of Tourism asked if tourism was not the ability

> ...to provide an environment in which we can exhibit our quality of
> life, our heritage, and our joy, with those with whom we share this
> planet. Isn't being good at tourism actually being good at human
> relations, no matter who the person is or where they come from?
> (Phillips 1987).

In contrast with much of the Caribbean, where working in the tourist industry is seen as replication the racist role of the past (Hiller 1976, Erisman 1983, Palmer 1994, Chamber 2000), Manning (1979) claims that Bermudians have presented themselves not as a society of bellhops and waiters, but as social directors and public

relations officers. The economic success of the tourist industry has helped to enhance

this performance as well as the positive reinforcement of the tourists themselves.

> Hence, unlike other societies - notably those of the Caribbean - where
> the encounter has become associated with colonial servitude and racial
> subordination, Bermuda has evolved a set of symbols that define
> amiable interaction with tourists as an essential expression of social
> identity and cultural character (Manning1979: 173).

That the engineers of Bermuda's tourist industry were successful is without

question. Bermuda has consistently ranked as having one of the highest standards of

living in the world. In 1938, tourism accounted for 80% of the GNP. In the 1980s,

tourism accounted for 40% of the GNP (Archer and Wanhill 1985:iv).[19] In 1987

Archer (1989: 78) estimated that "60% of all employment in Bermuda is either

maintained by or severely affected by tourism." While there has been an active

attempt to diversify Bermuda's economy through off-shore finance and re-insurance,

as recently as 1992 Archer (1994: 84) explained that tourism is "the largest industry

in Bermuda. It creates more foreign currency, income, employment and public sector

revenue than any other export sector."

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[19] The decline in tourism as a percentage of the GNP is attributed to a dramatic increase in the off-shore and exempt sector of the economy, as well as a shift in the travel patterns of tourists (shorter stays, a significant increase in the percentage of cruise ship visitors).

5: Governance

Walt Disney was a cartoonist turned businessman who ran his enterprise like a small country. Bermuda leadership consists of businessmen turned politicians who run their small country like a cartoon (Editorial in *Mid-Ocean* 12 April 1996).

In the previous chapter, I stated that it would not be too strong to say that the Trade Development Board was a power unto itself. In order to better understand the power structure of Bermuda, and the amount of control that has been exerted in theming Bermuda as a tourist destination, I have delineated the historical development of Bermuda's ruling class.

Political Development

Form the outset, Bermuda was governed as a capitalist venture, first under the control of the Virginia Company for a period of three years, and then the Somers Island Company, who governed the island for 69 years.

Following her return to the crown, Bermuda established a representative system of government consisting of a 36 member House of Assembly to be elected by Bermudian landholders, and an appointed upper house of parliament. The executive authority rested with the Crown appointed governor. While similar forms of government were established throughout the British West Indies, elected legislatures

were for the most part abolished, to be replaced by an imposed Crown Colony Government. In contrast, Bermuda managed to avoid such outside interference and maintains the oldest parliament in the Commonwealth, second only to Westminster.

Consequently, Bermuda's form of government experienced only minor changes for roughly three centuries. Throughout this period of time, the government had been characterized by insular power continuously held by a small number of white mercantile aristocrats, familiarly known as the "Forty Thieves". These descendants of Bermuda's early settlers have monopolized the control of both the economy and the parliament. While originally the most prominent of merchant mariners, privateers, and pirates, they diversified into entrepreneurial and financial undertakings, allowing them to control the economy, from the development of market garden agriculture though tourism and off-shore finance. According to the Wooding Commission (1969: 9), from the outset, Bermuda was governed by an oligarchy. "It is perhaps not surprising that members of the oligarchy became in time bankers and commercial entrepreneurs. They had the opportunity, the means and the training. They were thus enabled to lead the way and to entrench themselves in strength."

Control on the political front was maintained through franchise, the requirement of land holding in order to vote. When slaves were emancipated in 1834 the property qualification was raised from 30 pounds to 100 pounds (Cox 1970). This requirement was later reduced to 60 pounds, but this still entitled a relatively small number of people to be eligible to vote. For example in 1936, only 15 percent of whites and 5 percent of blacks were eligible to vote (Residence in Bermuda 1936). Women were not enfranchised until 1944, provided of course, they owned property.

By 1946, only 7 percent of the adult population was on the voters list. Blacks often

found that their properties were deliberately undervalued as the clerks who assessed

the land were white and under the control of the "Forty Thieves" (Philip 1987).

The system of land franchise was further reinforced by a system of plural

voting. This allowed for land owners to vote in any parish in which they owned land.

This was made possible by holding elections over a period of three days to allow

property owners to travel from one parish to the next. As Bermuda consists of nine

parishes, and each parish was represented by four representatives, it was often the

case that one man could cast 36 votes. Additionally, whites often purchased land as a

syndicate in order to maintain a numerical advantage over black voters in any given

constituency. In one case, such an arrangement allowed for an additional 42 persons

to vote in a parish in which it was determined that there was a narrow margin of

difference between eligible black voters and white voters (Hodgson 1988).

The Forty Thieves have held the Queen's Honours and other such distinction,

and had the royal charter bestowed on their elitist sanctuaries, such as The Royal

Bermuda Yacht Club and the Royal Hamilton Amateur Dinghy Club. Such symbolic

trappings are held in high esteem by the majority of the population and have served to

legitimize the Forty Thieves retention of political and economic control.

An additional factor which must be taken into consideration is the system of

patronage which developed through the system of slavery and continued following

the emancipation of slaves. Having complete control of the political and economic

aspects of the Island, the Forty Thieves maintained their position through patronage.

As such, the Forty Thieves dispensed the spoils to those who courted and won their

favor. The white oligarchy certainly saw their role as benevolent and paternal (cf. Mayer 1964: 81).

The fact that Bermuda is small and isolated, has led to Bermuda becoming a collection of large extended families, interrelated both within and across racial lines. Consequently, patronage often functioned along family lines, reinforcing the obligations entailed in such a system. As such, black families were often indebted to white families because at some point that white family had left some property to a member of the black family, provided a loan to another relative, provided a job, or extended credit to some other member of the family. Such a system leads to a reciprocal act in which blacks buy goods and services from his or her patron, or by voting for a family member.

The oligarchy was secure enough that they did not delude themselves with any notion that they lived in a democracy. For example, when a bill was introduced in parliament to give land holding women the right to vote, then Attorney General and Member of Parliament Tom Dill explained "This country is not a democracy but an oligarchy, governed by a few land-holding people, and we have governed it to our own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of those not land holders, and I think we should continue it, …We have never taken on these foreign fads of democracy here, but we have held ourselves an oligarchy, ruled by the land-owning classes" (Bermuda House of Assembly Debates (1927-1928): 386, *Royal Gazette and Colonist Daily* 23 January 1928). In fact, Bermuda even went so far as to produce promotional catalogues in the 1940s, in which they boasted that Bermuda was not a democracy (Philip 1987).

It was not until 1959 that black Bermudians publicly challenged the stipulation of segregation in a forceful and widespread campaign. During that time, a non-violent boycott of the island's cinemas was organized, resulting in their closure and eventual reopening on an integrated basis. By 1961 all facilities, with the exception of hotels and guest houses, were desegregated. After several demonstrations in 1960, the oligarchy was forced to make some concessions to the black majority. While these fell far short of the more democratic demand for one person one vote, they did increase the political power of the general population. Simply stated, the voting age was raised from twenty-one to twenty-five, an extra vote was guaranteed to those who held property, multiple member constituencies would be maintained, and two-thirds majority vote would be required before any alteration of the electoral law could be instituted. Hence, the potential electorate was increased from 5,500 to 22,000 but landholders retained 60 per cent of the vote (*Royal Gazette*, May 1, 1963:1). In the end, the oligarchy only gave up the requirement of land ownership, and the right to vote in more than one constituency, while at the same time instituting three Acts to help contain what was perceived as black militancy. The Prohibited Publications Act gave the Governor the power to prohibit certain publications; the Public Order Act made it necessary for official permission to be granted for any public procession; and the Emergency Powers Act, which granted the Governor unlimited power in the event of an emergency (Ryan: 1976).

It was during these early movements for universal suffrage, that the blacks came to the realization that disunity was hindering their cause. This resulted in the formation of the Progressive Labour Party (PLP) in 1963, the first political party in

Bermudian history. The credibility of the party system became apparent when six of the nine PLP candidates were elected to the 36 seat House of Assembly in the 1963 General Election (Manning 1978). One major problem the party was forced to consider early in its inception was which stance should be taken on racial issues. Eventually the party leadership adopted an integrated policy by placing whites in safe seats, but it was at the expense of stalwart blacks (Ryan 1976). From its beginning it seems that the PLP was falling back on the belief that it required a white seal of approval if it were to be considered legitimate (cf. Fanon 1967).

Although initially opposing the party system, twenty-four white legislators formed the United Bermuda Party (UBP) in the summer of 1964. The UBP also adopted an interracial stance and incorporated two black members of the legislature, as well as the only black member to have served on the executive council. While both parties were organized on an integrated basis, it became clear that the PLP served as the voice of the black working class, its strongest supporters, and that the UBP represented the wishes of Front Street, the Forty Thieves (Ryan 1976).

After the 1963 election, the PLP declared that more electoral reform was needed. They noted that out of the total number of votes cast, one half were plural votes cast by property owners. It was also pointed out that under the current boundaries concerning the electoral districts, one third of all eligible black voters were restricted to one constituency, Pembroke North, while some white constituencies had as few as 331 potential voters in all. The resulting concession was the reduction of the voting age to twenty-one, and the abolition of the extra property vote, both instituted in 1965 (Ryan 1976).

A constitution was drafted in 1966, coming into effect in 1968. Eight of the nine parishes were divided into two constituencies, and the ninth into four constituencies. Thus Bermuda's House of Assembly was increased from thirty-six to forty members (Manning 1978).

With the new constitution and concessions made in 1965, the PLP felt assured of a victory in 1968, the first election under full and equal adult suffrage. The end result was that they won only one quarter of the parliamentary seats, making Bermuda the only predominantly black country in the Caribbean region to return a white government in its first election under universal suffrage (Allen 1973). On the surface, reasons for its defeat were clear. The UBP had co-opted several of the PLP's proposals, pushing for desegregation, universal suffrage, and free secondary education. On those PLP positions considered controversial, the UBP presented a more moderate proposal. In the end it served to force the PLP further to the left. They came out unequivocally in support of independence, as well as favoring a more socialistic and racially tinged campaign (Ryan 1976; Manning 1978). The UBP maintained their control over the government for the next thirty years, until November 1997 when a deeply divided UBP lost to the PLP.

While the introduction of partisan politics and the social advances of Bermuda's black population have challenged the cultural premise of the patronage system, Manning (1978:112-3) claims that there has been little change with respect to the underlying distribution of power. "Patronage has been transferred from private hands to an expanded governmental and civil service hierarchy, making clientship

depend less on personal rapport with individual white benefactors than on cooperation with Government and support by the Government party."

This process had actually begun somewhat prior to the development of the party system. In the early 1950s, the Board made reference to "a large number of coloured Bermudians of a high intellectual type who, in many instances, had received a good formal education abroad." The Board felt that "when these young Bermudians returned to the Colony there was no way in which they could utilize the training which they had received, and therefore they became very discontented." Consequently the Board determined that "certain jobs in the Civil Service should be opened to selected coloured individuals, and that this would, to some measure, counteract the discontent which was then prevalent", however they cautioned that "any such programme…would have to be gradual" (TDBM 27 February 1951).

Economically, the "Forty Thieves" have made use of their political positions to maintain economic advantage. For example, the government passed legislation effectively preventing foreign competition with Bermuda's two established banks. However, when two local black consortiums petitioned for the incorporation and authority to conduct banking business, government was counseled that new legislation needed to be put into place to govern banking and protect the depositor. As such, the Queen was advised not to assent to the enactments allowing for the establishment of the new banks until the recommended legislation could be approved. In another example, a similar consortium petitioned to establish an insurance company, only to find that legislation had been passed increasing the paid up capital from £5,000 to £50,000 before a charter could be obtained. The Wooding

Commission (1969: 81) concluded that "political power is being used in aid of economic power."

While such blatant manipulation of the legislature is no longer tolerated, there has been little change in the power exerted by the "Forty Thieves". A Royal Commission set up in 1984 determined that the amount of influence in the hands of the capitalist class was detrimental to the whole notion of democracy.

> The Commission has heard from many persons who have spoken of threats of either withdrawal of a mortgage or the non-granting of a mortgage, especially if the person seems to be an "independent thinker" or a person who speaks out on issues that may be unpopular and thereby have the potential of disturbing the status quo. It also is reported that those persons who from time to time have taken an unpopular stand, eventually find that certain areas of employment to be closed.
>
> …[T]he fear of possible denial of mortgage funds or the "calling in" of an existing mortgage if a person steps out of line, concerns many Bermudians who are striving to establish security for both themselves and their families.
>
> …As a direct consequence of these perceptions, important voices within the community are lost and the opportunity for significant public discussion of important issues, a process essential to the maintenance of a strong democratic system, is denied (Archibald 1985: 52).

It is only in March of 2003 that the Bank of Bermuda, largest of the Island's two retail banks, dropped the clause from their mortgage contracts that allowed for a mortgage to be recalled without cause.

Clearly Bermuda's power brokers have been able to exert a tremendous amount of outright control over Bermudian society. As such, the Board, the government, and the economic sector were able to ensure conformity to an idealized aesthetic (theme) in order to ensure the success of tourism.

6: Rationalization

*Nature gave Bermuda one of the kindest climates imaginable, and the Bermudians have so controlled the growth of tourism as to leave their island unspoilt and charming (*Simply Caribbean* 1989:7).*

As an industry, tourism is exceedingly vulnerable to any form of natural catastrophe, or instabilities in general. Such impacts on the tourism industry tend to be abrupt and dire, as safety is one of the foremost concerns of tourists, tour operators and governments alike. As such, any form of instability, be it real or perceived, can often times have a long-term impact on the tourist industry. In attempting to minimize the likelihood of such an occurrence; the majority of tourist locales have undertaken strategic planning at the national level. While much of the Caribbean has been characterized by short-term obsession with an increase in tourist arrivals, (Pattullo 1996, Dann 1996), Bermuda has utilized a coordinated long-term approach, utilizing those characteristics of rationality that Ritzer has identified as "McDonaldization" in order to ensure stability.

Calculability

The success of Bermuda's tourism industry has for some time been based on the concept of *quantifiable* results (e.g. Archer 1995). Critical to such an approach

have been statistics, which have played a major role in serving to legitimize and
underscore the importance of tourism. Certainly the rapid growth in tourist arrivals
(Figure 1), has served as justification for its continued development.

Figure 1. Tourist arrivals in Bermuda
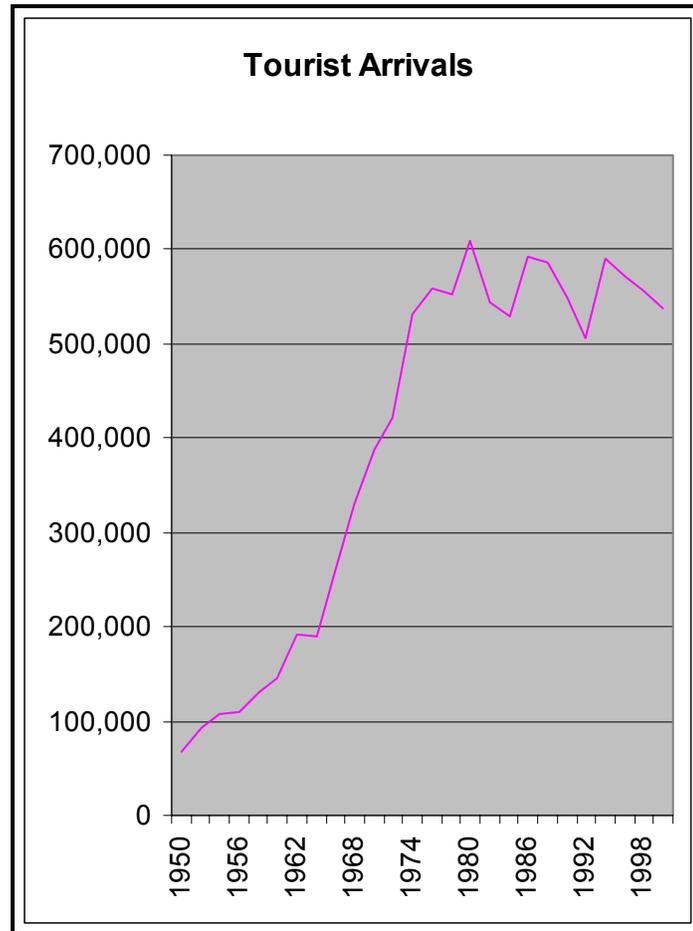
source: (Bermuda Department of Tourism)

Tourism has proven an attractive course of development as it offers the
chance of modernity with little capital outlay. In this respect, tourism is seen in terms
of an invisible export, and is assumed to be a major foreign-exchange earner. Looking
at statistics from Bermuda (Table 1), the growth in arrivals, population, number of
hotels rooms, visitor spending, and tourist expenditure as a percentage of GDP are
illustrated.

Table 1 Bermuda's Annual Tourism Indicators

	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total visitor arrivals	338,903	609,556	547,460	538,031
Total Bermuda Population	52,330	54,870	58,460	62,059
Total visitor expenditures in millions of dollars	64.5[*]	290	490	421.3
Total number of rooms	3,522	4,650	4,280	4,251
Tourist expenditure as a percentage of the GDP	#####[**]	38.4%	29.6%	12.4%

source: (Bermuda Ministry of Finance)

[*] TDBM 01 April 1970

[**] Bermuda did not calculate GDP until after 1975

The significant rise in tourist arrivals has led to a considerable increase in the importation of tourist related consumer goods such as perfume, watches, china, jewelry and clothing. As virtually all of these goods are imported, economic leakages are created. Consequently, an increase in tourist numbers does not always result in increased spending benefiting the tourist destination (Wood 1979; Bryden 1973).

Of great concern in Bermuda is the importation of food. Given the dramatic increase in the local population, 50% since 1960, and a significant increase in tourist arrivals, there has been a corresponding increase in the importation of foodstuffs. A considerable amount of food must be imported by hotels and restaurants, which must cater to the tastes and demands of Western clientele, calling for choice cuts of beef, cheese, as well as other sorts of fruits and vegetables which either cannot be grown locally or are out of season and are consequently imported. Of course when dealing with Bermuda one must also take into consideration the limited availability of arable land. The amount of land under cultivation decreased form three thousand acres in

1921 to approximately 650 acres in 1980. It has been estimated that in 1980, were all land area in Bermuda to be under cultivation, Bermuda could sustain only 10% of its population (Hayward and Rowlinson 1981). At present, 400 acres are under cultivation, with 13.7% of Bermuda's total land area covered by concrete (DeSilva, Furbert, and Rodrigues 2001).

Focusing on the fiscal aspects of the tourism industry tacitly illustrates the dominance of numbers. One method frequently used to assess the economic impact is known as the 'multiplier effect'. Such assessments commonly focus on the foreign exchange earned through tourism, its contribution to the gross domestic product and the impact of tourism on general employment rates. In a report prepared for the Department of Tourism, Archer and Wanhill found that in 1984 the 528,871 tourists who came to Bermuda spent $339 million dollars, generating $370 million dollars in household income. Tourist spending accounted for 40% of the national income, as well as nearly 40% of the public sector revenue. It also accounted for one-half of Bermuda's foreign exchange. The multiplier effect, according to Archer and Wanhill (1985), was such that every dollar spent by the tourist generated $1.09 dollars in household income. The original dollar spent by the tourist is subsequently re-spent by the local business to buy goods and services, and to pay wages. This dollar is then re-spent by the employee or second business and so on.

In comparison, the figures for 1980 clearly indicate that unlike most other Caribbean tourist areas, the multiplier effect in Bermuda has had a beneficial effect on the local economy (Table 2) (Archer and Wanhill 1980). The variation in the multiplier effect can be traced to the variation in each country's economic system.

The magnitude of the impact made on a country by tourist expenditure depends upon the diversity of its economy and, even more significantly, upon the extent to which the tourism sectors are integrated into the national economic system. The degree of interdependence between the sectors of an economy is largely a function of the range of activities within the country. The wider this range, other things being equal, the greater is the amount of trading that is likely to take place between sectors and, in consequence, the larger will be the size of the multiplier. The size of the tourism income multiplier in particular depends upon the degree to which the sectors which service tourists trade with the rest of the economy, i.e. the extent to which these sectors have developed backward linkages to the local agricultural, fishing, construction, manufacturing, service and traditional craft industries. In those island economies where the hotels and large retail shops buy few goods and services from the domestic sectors and in consequence have a high propensity to import, the multiplier effect, other things being equal, is relatively smaller than in other areas where these sectors are more closely integrated into the national economy (ibid.: 52).

Table 2 The Tourist Income Multiplier in the Caribbean for1980

country	tourism multiplier
Dominica	1.20
Bermuda	1.03
Antigua	.88
Bahamas	.78
Cayman Island	.65
B.V.I.	.58

source: Archer and Wanhill 1980:55

Dominica is at the upper end of the spectrum due to its large agricultural base, while those at the lower end have a more "open" economy with "weaker inter-sectorial linkages". Bermuda has developed a "high quality tourism market" with a "relatively high value-added per dollar of sales", placing it at the upper end of the scale despite the high need to import (ibid.: 53).

Tourist expenditure is seen as an invisible export, creating an inflow of foreign currency into the economy. In addition, the presence of the tourists creates the need for additional imports. Archer and Wanhill (1985:11) identify three types:

I)   direct imports: goods and services imported directly for resale to tourists.

II) indirect imports: additional imports which service (a) firms supplying goods and services to tourist (b) establishments whose turnover has risen as a secondary result of tourist spending.

III) induced imports: which (a) supply those households whose income has risen due to the direct or secondary effects of tourism (b) or service those establishments whose turnover has risen as a consequence, direct or secondary, of household expenditure.

According to Archer and Wanhill, approximately forty-two percent of the total import bill occasioned by the tourists was of direct benefit to the local population (ibid.: 12).

To further emphasize the influence which tourism exerts over Bermuda's economy, it was determined that every $100,000 dollars spent by tourists in 1985 maintained either wholly or partly, 6.52 jobs. For every direct job in hotels and other places of accommodation, tourist spending maintains an additional 1.67 jobs elsewhere in the economy, and affects another 1.67. Without tourism over one third of all jobs would be lost while another one third would be seriously affected, becoming either part-time or casual, or by having their remuneration reduced (ibid.: 46). The economic benefits of tourism are familiar to all Bermudians as children are exposed to the concept of the multiplier effect as part of their core curriculum (see appendix A).

While the theory of the multiplier effect seems apparent, determining the exact coefficients is open to debate. For example, other models of tourism development have focused on the maximum number of tourists that can be accommodated in a given destination in order to maximize benefits and minimize the negative impact on the visitor experience. However, endemic to such an approach is the difficulty of quantifying the quality of tourists' experiences. Other approaches include "Tourist Intensity Ratios" in which annual tourist arrivals are related to the size of the population, the "Tourist Penetration Rate" commonly referred to as 'bed-nights', correlating total tourists nights to nights spent in the country by all residents, the "Tourist Density Ratio", which is similar in the focus on the ratio of tourists nights to the destination area of the region.

The Board has utilized various models over the years. For example, The Board had calculated that given that the average length of stay was seven days, "theoretically [Bermuda] could accommodate 52 people per bed per year. In 1955 it was 25.1 and in 1966 it was 39.3" giving a total bed occupancy rate of 73.5% for 1966 (TDBM 15 February 1967). At other times, the Board endeavored to calculate the peak carrying capacity of the islands infrastructure (TDBM 30 August 1946, 15 November 1960, 19 December 1961, 10 June 1964, 15 February 1967, 05 May 1967, 30 January 1969, 09 April 1969, 12 June 1969).

This diversity of paradigms allows for the possibility of placing the emphasis on features other than simply comparing numbers of tourist arrivals. However, a limit to all of these approaches is the lack of examination of the social impact, remaining instead within the statistically measurable models. They also fail to take into

consideration the seasonality and/or the concentration of tourist facilities, all the more important when dealing with a small island destination such as Bermuda.

As the economic benefits of tourism are complex, the generalization of the fiscal effects and benefits of tourism may be misguided, uncritically accepting the notion that more unproblematically equals better. Nonetheless, it appears that addressing the development of the tourist industry as a matter of economic growth seems to be the guiding principle in Bermuda and many other tourist destinations, supported by the modernist philosophy of continual growth. As Sir Henry Tucker explained to Bermuda's Trade Development Board: "you must have an annual increase in business; you can not limit it, but must develop it." He added that he "did not think the Board has any right to express a negative view when it comes to something that will increase business" (TDBM 19 December 1961). The Board later determined that they should aim for "at least a 4% yearly increase in [tourist] trade" (TDBM 16 July 1963).

Illustrative of this neoclassic economic approach to tourism development are the models of Noronha (cited in Cohen 1979:23-24) and Butler (1980). Noronha maintains that tourism develops in three stages: 1.) discovery; 2.) local response and initiative; and 3.) institutionalization. Similarly, Butler's (1980) tourist area cycle of evolution model states that destinations progress through a cycle of evolution similar to the lifecycle of a product, in which numbers of visitors replaces sales of a product.

While useful in terms of a conceptual framework, both of these models can be criticized for their unilinear, evolutionary approach, utilizing a functionalist

perspective of organic change over time. Changes in technology and the market make development paths to tourist destinations far less predictable. For example, locally owned accommodation facilities and the changes brought about by reservations through the Internet makes it possible to increasingly reduce the flow of money to tour operators. Moreover, Butler fails to comprehend the role of local agents, focusing explicitly on external quantifiable factors determining the path of tourism development. Such models conceive of the local inhabitants in terms of passive, powerless victims.

Accordingly, rather than perceiving the host population as simply coping with or surrendering to tourists' demands, strategic resistance can occur at multiple levels of society. While quantifiable results continue to dominate tourism development, the state of affairs is far more diverse and complex than is represented in the above models. The interrelated modes of power, knowledge and subjectivity are dependent on cultural meanings. Consequently, the prevailing tourism development discourse does not exist in a vacuum but is produced and reproduced at multiple levels, leaving it open to change and manipulation.

Historically, the government has stressed that tourism is to be seen as vital to the survival of Bermudian society. Tourism has often been referred to as "the lifeblood of the Island" (Deacon 1995:11) or the "backbone" of the economy (RG 25 March 2002:4). The mission statement of the Visitor Industry Partnership states "We believe that improving the excellence of our visitor industry is indivisible from the well being of Bermuda. Our purpose is to…revitalize the Visitor Industry"

Note how the architects of Bermuda's tourist industry have found it useful to utilize a biological metaphor in portraying both the economy and society of Bermuda as a living organism that is "depressed" and in need of "revitalization". This has been a long-term approach as evidenced from the Board's statement that they were "working on plans for the *resuscitation* of the tourist trade after the war" (TDBM 08 August 1944 *italics* added). Conceptualizing the industry in terms of a functional perspective leads to the notion that if one part of this organic whole malfunctions, the prerequisites (ala Talcott Parsons) for the system to reproduce and survive over time are at risk. The continuity of such development metaphors justifies the consequences in that they provide a perspective for making sense and creating both order and certainty at multiple levels of society. That is to say it authoritatively provides us with not only an image of 'what is', but also the rationale for what 'ought to be'.

The 'pulse' of the industry is consistently monitored and disseminated throughout the general population.[20] The newspapers, radio stations, and television stations routinely inform Bermudians of the visitor arrival statistics, hotel occupancy rates, and foreign income generated through tourism, drawing comparisons with previous seasons as well as projections for the future. Accordingly, the 'health' of the industry is continually presented in quantifiable terms.

The notion that Bermuda 'ought' to continue to view tourism as the path of development is further put into perspective by references to St. David's, an island on the eastern end of Bermuda. Historically, there has never been an active effort to

attract tourists to St. David's. It has been described as "Bermuda once was many years ago, before the commercial aspects of Bermudian life moved from the sea onto the land, following the growth of the tourist industry" (Hudson 1934:11). As such, Bermudians have developed connotations of the St. David's Islanders as "backward" and "laid back". As one Bermudian explained: "They aren't like regular people…if you put them in the classroom with you or I, they wouldn't learn the same – they don't want to. They're happy just living down there and being barefoot and fishing and farming" (Rothwell 1989: 97). Implicit in such statements is the notion that failure to develop tourism will have tragic consequences. This perception was perhaps best illustrated in the government's locating of the U.S. Base.[21] By locating the naval air station in St. David's, the argument was put forth that "less important amenities would be disturbed" the rationale being that after all "only a very small percentage of tourists ever visited St. David's" (Wells 1941:28).

Accordingly, the overriding concern is one of quantifiable economic results. The socio-cultural effects of mass tourism are perceived to be of little or no consequence, provided they do not impact upon the allure of the island as a destination. This sentiment was succinctly put forth when the Island experienced a downturn in tourist revenue; "monetarily there has been a decrease in Bermuda's economy; *only that figure* is of interest to the Board" (TDBM 14 August 1962 italics added).

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[20] The Board first used this approach when it had determined that it would be beneficial if "the general public were aware of the tourists figures" when there was a downturn in advance bookings in 1960 (TDBM 30 May 1960).

Having made the case for calculability, it should be noted that while quantitative measures have been used with respect to tourism, there has also been a great deal of concern with quality (see Bryman (2002) for a similar observation with respect to Disney World). For example, concern was expressed that increased arrivals were having a negative impact on Bermuda's "snob appeal" (TDBM 19 December 1961). Consequently, the Board sought to "strike that balance between numbers of tourists and kinds of tourists that will best sustain the economy of the island without destroying in the process the quiet, isolated charm that has accounted over the years for its reputation as a desirable tourist resort" (TDBM 10 June 1964). As such, Bermuda has historically limited the number of visitors to a level which would not impinge upon the perceived quality of the visit, though this number has historically increased.

Efficiency

Given Bermuda's limited landmass, The Board recognized the need to limit the quantity of tourists who visit, while at the same time maximizing the return on said visitors. That is to say that Bermuda was going to have to be very *efficient* in the way that it dealt with tourists. This is what the Minister of Tourism has referred to as getting a "higher yield" from the tourist product. "We want to increase the numbers, but we need a higher grade accommodation to increase the yield …We need to give

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[21] In 1940 as a result of Churchill's "bases for destroyers" deal, Bermuda was requested to grant the U.S. base rights for a period of ninety-nine years as a token of appreciation for America's contribution to the war.

incredible service to increase the yield" (David Allen quoted in *The Royal Gazette* 30 August 2001:01)

Getting There

In terms of attitudes toward time, the ethic of open-ended consumption of goods has simply carried over to the consumption of experiences, making time the ultimate scarce commodity. Additionally, the rise of *efficiency* to one of the premier values in contemporary culture has meant that much leisure activity is undertaken with the same attitudes toward saving time as is the case with work, robbing it of much of its pleasure. Individuals in society have come to define themselves almost solely by what they do. The ancient Athenian ideal of leisure, the absence of the necessity of being occupied, is now rarely realized and is considered by many to be a waste of time - being busy has become a primary indicator of importance. Consequently, tourists want to 'waste' as little time traveling as possible, getting to their destination in order to 'do' their vacation.

Bermuda has capitalized on this leisure transformation by emphasizing that the Island's close proximity to the North-East Seaboard means that little time will be 'wasted' in traveling to the destination.

In 1904 The Quebec Steamship Company commissioned the *Bermudian*, the first ship designed specifically for travel to and from Bermuda. The Quebec Steamship Company had already retained Thomas Cook and Son as its New York Passenger Agent. The expedience with which one could begin their holiday was celebrated in their brochures "Within seventy hours' travel from New York, it is

hardly possible to find so complete a change in government, climate, scenery and vegetation as Bermuda offers" (quoted in McDowall 1999: 48).

The shipping route was later taken over by Furness Withy and the time of travel reduced to forty hours, The Board was always anxious to increase the efficiency of travel to Bermuda. Within a month of Lindbergh's Atlantic flight in 1927, the Board was offering a prize of £2,000 to the first aviator to reach Bermuda. Aviation would not only provide for a more efficient means of reaching Bermuda, but would appeal to the higher end of the tourist market, those tourists who were most likely to produce a "higher yield".

Throughout the early thirties the Board spearheaded the colony's efforts to attract air service. The Board appealed to British and American authorities with the notion that Bermuda would offer a mid-Atlantic way station for transatlantic flights. And, of course, some of the passengers might chose to linger in Bermuda's sun. The Board had already concluded that an aerodrome was necessary in order to provide landing facilities. They also recognized that if they built the facilities, it would allow them to control air access (TDBM 25 August 1928). In 1934 an act was passed to subsidize a seaplane base in Hamilton Harbour; in 1936 a huge hanger was built at colonial expense. The following year Bermuda entered the age of commercial aviation when Pan Am's *Bermuda Clipper* arrived on 12 June 1937. The travel time to Bermuda was reduced eight fold to just five hours.

The impact of commercial aviation was more than just a reduction in travel time. Pan Am's Bermuda bound customers were taken by limousine from downtown Manhattan to the awaiting aircraft. The planes themselves were comparable to a first

class railway car. Lunch was served on linen tablecloths with silver service along with coffee and brandy all served by white-jacketed stewards. Such amenities went a long way towards the theming of Bermuda as a place of superior quality. Upon arrival, the passengers underwent abbreviated customs formalities, followed by a fast launch to Hamilton and then a carriage ride to their respective hotels.

While the flying boats accounted for a negligible percentage of Bermuda's total tourist arrivals, they were significant in that they catered to the high-end visitors. Only the rich and famous could afford to fly down to Bermuda. Such visitors also provided publicity for Bermuda as a playground for the well to do. In a sense, these visitors were serving as unpaid laborers in Bermuda's promotional campaign.

The Second World War provided for the infrastructure and technological advancements necessary for the development of land based air arrivals. By 1946, the first commercial land-based aircraft arrived from New York. Three years later there were regular flights from New York, Baltimore, Washington and Montreal. For the first time, Bermuda shifted from a destination reached primarily by sea to one reached by air. The use of land-based planes had further reduced the travel time from New York to Bermuda to just three hours.

The Board recognized that the development of air travel posed a potential threat for the development of a tourism industry in the islands to the south (TDBM 16 June 1945). While Bermuda was better positioned in light of a more developed infrastructure, the Board saw the opportunity to capitalize on the introduction of faster air travel, and Bermuda's proximity vis-à-vis the North-Eastern Seaboard. Taking advantage of this fact, the copy in the *New York Times* read "Do you want to

have fun getting there or get there fast to have fun?" In a display window at the 1965 World's Fair, the text read, "Beautiful Bermuda is only ninety minutes by jet from the World's fair City of New York" (File PRO/BER/12 DOT Papers). The Department of Tourism has continued to rely on this formula, most recently in their "short trip" ad campaign, summed up in the catch phrase "A short trip to the perfect holiday"

Travel to and from the United States was further streamlined when Bermuda was able to secure pre-Customs clearance for people traveling to the United States (TDBM 30 May 1960). This was significant in that travelers from Bermuda would not have to waste time by being grouped with travelers from around the world. Travelers would no longer be left with a long line at customs clearance as the last memory of their travels.

Processing of arriving travelers was just as important and the Board went to a great deal of trouble to ensure that people would be processed quickly. "Attention was drawn to the efficient and courteous manner in which Customs and Immigration Officials had handled a large group of visiting salesmen from the USA at that time visiting Bermuda. It was agreed that appropriate recognition be made of the valuable services of the Dept. of Customs and Immigration at an early date" (TDBM 14 February1950). At the same time, the government has been quick to condemn when tourists are not processed smoothly. When delays resulted as a consequence of reorganizing Immigration and Customs into one department, the Minister of Transport stated that he hoped the "People who process passengers will achieve a level of efficiency so it can be done quickly and properly. This isn't rocket science" (Ewart Brown quoted in RG 28 May 2002).

While commercial air travel has been of tremendous advantage to the island, air travel too has its limitations. As most people visiting Bermuda tended to travel on weekends, the Board undertook a campaign to persuade the local population not to travel on weekends as this tended to tie up seats that would otherwise be available to tourists thereby reducing the efficiency of available seating (TDBM 08 July 1960).

Package Tours

The introduction of package tours served to increase all aspects of the rationalization process (Ritzer and Liska 1997). I have chosen to place it under efficiency because those who tend to opt for package tours in Bermuda are looking for the most vacation for their dollar.[22]

The Board recognized the importance of package tours from the outset. When Furness Withy opened the Castle Harbour Hotel in the early 1930s they were essentially offering a packaged holiday. Tourists boarded a Furness Withy liner in New York, were then transported by tender to a Furness Withy hotel, where they could play golf and tennis and lounge on the beach. Of course the Board was also aware of the implications that "package tours" carried, and almost immediately determined that the term "package tour" was not the connotation they wished to present, it did not fit in with the theme the Board was trying to portray. With respect to Bermuda, package tours would be referred to as "an all expense holiday". This was not to be simply a matter of syntax, but rather a change in image, significant enough

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[22] The most efficient form of package tour to Bermuda is of course the cruise ship, in which virtually all aspects of one's vacation can take place on board ship for the price of the ticket. Conversely, cruise ship passengers are less efficient for Bermuda's tourist industry as such visitors contribute considerably less to the local economy than "regular" visitors who stay in hotels. Specifically,

that the Board felt that a "public relations job should be done with the public and the hotels here to educate them to this fact" (TDBM 16 September 1955). It was suggested that possibly the Board should adopt a slogan of "Ten days in Bermuda". One obvious consequence of a ten-day tour is increased calculability. As with all things to do with the promotion of tourism, the Board felt that they "should help in the printing of these package brochures in order to control the appeal and indirectly the tourists that would come to Bermuda" (TDBM 12 September 1955).

One could argue that the concept of a "package tour" in Bermuda is a contradiction; it appears to be far too mass-market oriented for Bermuda's market. The Board had clearly stated that they "did not feel Bermuda wanted to or should become a 'mass island'" (TDBM 15 November 1960). Urry has argued that as there has been a shift to a postmodern culture, so has tourism itself become postmodern in nature.

> 'mass holiday-making' to the British seaside resort was the quintessential form of tourism in *industrial* society. With more recent changes in the direction of a *post-industrial* society, there has been the emergence of what has been journalistically characterized as 'post tourism' (italics in original 1988:35-36).

He maintains that there has been a shift away from "Fordist holiday-making" to post-Fordism with an emphasis on freedom, highlighting the individual over the mass market (Urry 1990b: 14). However, as Ritzer and Liska (1997) point out, while Urry is right in claiming that there has been a reduction in the highly controlled standardized tours, package tours themselves remain very popular. They argue that these tours no longer need to be rigidly constrained due to the success of the

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$1,148.53 per regular visitor as compared to $210.75 per cruise ship visitor in 2000 (Ministry of

McDonaldization process in general. Certainly with respect to Bermuda, one can argue that the visitor has little to fear from anything too unusual or unpredictable.

Tourists

What can be more efficient than utilizing the tourists themselves as part of the product that is consumed in the process of touring? In fact, the tourists themselves are essential to the success of the tourist product. As Urry (1995:138) states, "people give atmosphere to a place. They indicate that this is *the* place to be and that one should not be elsewhere." This has certainly not been lost on the purveyors of Bermuda tourism.

In explaining the role of cruise ships with respect to Bermuda's tourism industry, the chairman of the Visitor Industry Partnership[23] explained "there is a misconception about the cruise ships in as much as people think because there's cruise ships, that they generate a lot of business, they don't, but they generate a lot of interest. People come to town because there's a perception when there's a lot of cruise ship people in town and therefore it creates a place to go … because they're in town, people will go there" (personal communication "Toppy" Cowen 14 November 1997). Ritzer (1999: 107) refers to this process as a having an enchanting effect. "People seem to be animated by the presence of large numbers of people and that animation could translate into increased sales of goods and services."

The Board had earlier recognized that the tourists could also play a role greater then that of signifier; that some tourists could serve as a 'site' for other

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Finance 2001).

tourists. For example, the Board determined that an increase in the advertising budget for the United Kingdom was essential in as much as "it is important to attract as many visitors as possible [from the UK] in order to keep up the British image of Bermuda" (TDBM 21 June 1966). British visitors would in essence be active participants in the theming of Bermuda as a British colony. In essence, the tourist industry utilized a concept which Ritzer sees as crucial to efficiency, the idea of putting the customer to work. "The modern consumer spends an increasingly significant amount of time and energy doing unpaid labor" (2000: 50-51).

Monetary Exchange

In 1969 the Bermuda Government established the Bermuda Monetary Authority. During this period, the British Pound Sterling was changing over to a decimal system. It was at this time that the Bermuda Government elected to peg the Bermuda dollar to the U.S. dollar. In order to realize this exchange, The Bermuda Monetary Authority is required to maintain investments equal to at least 115 percent of the value of the Bermuda notes in circulation (Stewart 1997). While there are many advantages and disadvantages to a small country pegging its currency to their main trading partner (c.f. Kreinin 1991: 237-240), the greatest advantage to Bermuda was clearly the increased efficiency of having a dollar equal in value to the dollar of 84% of its tourists. The vast majority of tourists would not have to waste time having to calculate the exchange rate and hence the cost of consumption. Additionally, there would be the assurance of predictability of cost in that there would be no fluctuations in exchange rate during the course of one's visit.

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[23] The Visitor Industry Partnership was "formed [1995] as a permanent council to guide Bermuda's

Predictability

One of the main concerns in the consumption of travel has to do with the concern for safety and well being, and the avoidance of risk. As our lives have, over time, become more predictable, we have become less tolerant of, and less capable of handling, unpredictable events (Ritzer 2000; cf. Giddens 1991). Meethan (2001:79) explains that "the elimination of risk and issues of safety and security appear to be prime factors in the choice of destination regardless of, or in addition to, other considerations." In a recent poll conducted by the Department of Tourism, tourists ranked personal safety as "critically important" in their choice of travel (Royal Gazette 16 February 2004: 1). While not all forms of tourism attempt to avoid risk, as for example 'alternative' holidays, tourism in Bermuda has a lot to do with predictability. In the words of one travel writer; "Well tended, well watered and well regulated…that's Bermuda, …It's not laid-back, not an anything-goes place. Conservative. Dependable and wholesome. And almost antiseptically clean" (Smyth 1999: G1).

A great deal of the predictability of Bermuda has to do with theming the island as a more sanitized version of carnival. Frederick Lewis (1923) clearly stated in a letter to Bermuda's Governor that Furness Withy had come to Bermuda with the understanding that the colony "Not be allowed to degenerate into what is generally known as a Coney Island."

Tourism Awareness and Visitor Appreciation activities".

"Natural" Environment

Given Bermuda's limited land mass, the developers of Bermuda's tourist industry were forced to deal with the fact that there would be insufficient space for the creation of a 'leisure area' distinct from a 'work area'. This necessitated the massive undertaking of ensuring that all of Bermuda would conform to the idealized aesthetic that was to be the theme of Bermuda. While a great deal had been done with respect to the physical appearance of public land in Bermuda, it was during the Second World War that the Board began to look at getting all Bermudians involved in the development of the aesthetic. The Board was "endeavouring in every way to assist in making Bermuda more attractive" and believed that "much could be accomplished … by voluntary efforts on the part of all" (TDBM 29 March 1943). In order to achieve this goal the Board devised a rather detailed course of action.

Even at the height of the Second World War, the Board felt that much could be done during the "remainder of the war period to enhance the general appearance of Bermuda, and make the Islands even more attractive." This was to involve not only matters such as transportation, sanitation and education, but the Board also felt that "the natural beauty of the Islands [could be] brought out to greater advantage" (TDBM 29 March 1943). The belief was that a great deal of this could be accomplished by 'awakening' the local population's pride in the appearance of the Islands with a bit of judicious advice on the laying out of landscapes and the planting of tropical trees, shrubs and flowers.

Hedges were to be planted, except where they might "shut off from the roadway the beauty of the landscape." Coconut palms were to be planted on the far

side of Warwick pond "so that in future years their graceful fronds could be reflected in the water", irrespective of the fact that this necessitated the removal of surface mud from the pond in order to facilitate the reflectivity of the water. The Department of Agriculture were instructed to make full use of their plant nurseries in order to provide suitable stock of ornamental trees, palms and shrubs "for a sustained programme of plantings in conformity with some acceptable scheme for general landscape improvement" (TDBM 29 March 1943). Farmers were asked if some fields of lilies could not be grown which would be left in flower during Easter season for visitors (TDBM 30 January 1951).

There was also to be an effort to remove those species of flora that did not fit with the image of paradise. For example, the Fiddlewood trees were slated for removal, as they were hosts to "the obnoxious whitefly". While there was concern that this insect negatively impacted citrus production, there was greater concern over the fact that parasitized fiddlewood trees and the surrounding vegetation were "polluted" with the "blackening 'honeydew' of their scale" In addition, ragweed and poison ivy was singled out for eradication as such plants negatively "impacted on visitors" (TDBM 29 March 1943; 17 June 1952), such species simply do not fit in with the theme of paradise.

The Board also drew attention to the issue of litter. In September of 1954 the Board declared that trash around the island should be cleaned up. Two years later they drafted a letter to the Colonial Secretary with respect to the "Unsatisfactory condition of garbage collection … with a view to making Bermuda more attractive and desirable to visitors." In addition, the Board requested that "service should be

extended to the collection of corpses of birds, frogs, and cats from the roads" (TDBM 15 August 1956).When letters to the editor appeared about litter on Bermuda beaches the Board undertook "an immediate response" (TDBM 22 April 1958). This concern about litter resulted in the formation of "Keep Bermuda Beautiful" in the 1960s. The campaign was carried out through the school system, as teachers were warned that Bermuda was under threat by a group of "anti social, beauty-destroying, health-hazarding polluters who couldn't care less about keeping our lovely Bermuda lovely" (PRO/BER/10, DOT Papers). The focus had shifted to not only the negative impact that litter might have on the predictability of a beautiful vista, but also to include a condemnation of "anti social polluters", those people who were not behaving in a predictable manner.

The Board was also concerned that visitors should not feel as though they were being taken advantage of with respect to visiting the island's natural attractions. To this end, the Board requested that the Governor set fixed (predictable) rates of admission for the various caves, as some visitors had complained about the cost (TDBM 23 May 1944).

As the competition for tourists increased, Bermuda was forced to concede that during the winter months, warm and sunny weather was far more predictable in the Caribbean than in Bermuda. While there was little that the Government could do about controlling the weather, they did attempt to lessen the impact of cold fronts with the weather guarantee. Under this approach, tourists were financially compensated on those days in which the temperature failed to reach 68 degrees Fahrenheit.

The Sea

It is reputed that the reefs that surround Bermuda have claimed thousands of ships. The clear waters, shallow depths and close proximity make Bermuda one of the world's premier locations for wreck diving. Wrecks range form 16th, 17th and 18th century ships with cannons and anchors, paddle wheel blockade runners from the American Civil War, and even a B-29 Bomber that went down in 1961. More recent wrecks display anchors, propellers, huge boilers, engines, and a myriad of cargo. One can find cannon balls, live ammunition from the two World Wars as well as the possibility of gold bars and doubloons (Berg and Berg 1991). These facts not withstanding, there remains the problem in that all of these ships *wrecked* on Bermuda's reefs. As such, they no longer physically resemble a 'ship'; in fact, many could easily go unnoticed without the aide of a trained eye.

What was needed was a simulation (Baudrillard 1983) of a shipwreck that would present the image as portrayed by Hollywood and children's stories; a ship, resting upright on a sandy bottom surrounded by brightly colored fish. To this end, four ships have been scuttled in Bermuda's waters to serve as 'shipwreck' dive sights. A description of one such site should suffice:

> The *Hermes* has become one of the most popular wreck dives on the south side of the island. Unlike many wrecks lost to Bermuda's treacherous barrier reefs that are scattered across the sea bed, the *Hermes* is the classic story book shipwreck. She remains intact, upright and magnificently photogenic. She sits in 75 to 80 feet of water, and divers can explore her pilot house, galley, engine room and cargo hold. All her hatches were removed prior to the ship's sinking to ensure safe wreck penetration (Berg and Berg 1991:30).

So even a 'wreck' must be predictable, with an easily recognizable silhouette and all dangers removed.

During the early 1990s a sightseeing submarine was operated in Bermuda. However, due to the inefficiency of travel to and from the coral reefs, the unpredictable nature of the weather, and the unpredictable nature of the fish, the submarine venture proved to be a dismal failure. Much more successful has proven to be the simulated submarine ride at the Bermuda Underwater Exploration Institute. Here the seas are always calm, so no one gets seasick, the fish always make an appearance (in fact they can never leave), and the inefficiency of time 'wasted' in travel is completely eliminated. It is interesting to note that one of Bermuda's most popular attractions for tourists and locals alike is the Aquarium, itself a simulation of the sea.

While glass bottom tour boat operators must deal with similar concerns, there are some fundamental differences. For one, no time is 'lost' in travel as the boat ride is part of the tour; points of interest are readily identified by the tour guides, and alcohol and entertainment are provided to and from the viewing area. The viewing area itself is located over the simulated wreck of *H.M.S.* Vixen. This 19th century iron gunboat was scuttled in 1869 to block a narrow channel as a defensive measure for the Naval Dockyard. This wreck is easily located as the bow protrudes through the ocean surface. Brightly colored fish heavily populate the wreck as the tour boat operators continually chum the area to maintain the presence of the fish.

There is an important concept here that needs to be addressed, the extensive use of simulation in the theming of Bermuda. Baudrillard (1994) conceives of a simulation as the creation of the real based on conceptual or "mythological" models which lack any connection to reality. Consequently the model becomes the

determinant of what we perceive to be real. Accordingly, our perception of reality becomes dictated by ideal models. The boundary between simulation and reality "implodes", thus leading to the world of hyperreality, in which the distinctions between real and unreal are blurred. Thus the lines between fact and information, information and entertainment, entertainment and productive work all begin to blur.

Simulation is to be differentiated from what Baudrillard (1994: 3) terms dissimulation. Dissimulation is to pretend; in pretending, one imitates something which is real and therefore affirms it and hence one "leaves the principle of reality intact: the difference is always clear." To simulate, on the other hand, is "to feign to have what one doesn't have" and thereby threaten "the difference between the 'true' and the 'false,' the 'real' and the 'imaginary.'" The end result is that simulation destroys any connection to reality.

Built Environment

The Board also believed that the built environment would benefit from a little bit of sprucing up. It was felt that Bermuda should capitalize on its position as the "Gibraltar of the West" and undertake a general retooling of its fortifications. In May of 1944 it was agreed that "bronze plaques directing attention to places of historical interest" be erected throughout the island as "it would make Bermuda much more interesting to visitors" (TDBM 09 May 1944). Having signified the sight worth seeing, the Board turned its attention to the sites themselves. After haphazardly looking into fixing up fortifications throughout the Island (TDBM 13 May 1944; 08 Nov. 1949, 09 May 1950), the Board hired a full time employee to "assist with

schemes for the general improvement of the appearance of Bermuda and the

development of her attractions for visitors" (TDBM 16 May 1950). Roads were

rebuilt to facilitate visiting the forts, and in some cases were extended to "provide an

excellent scenic drive for visitors" (TDBM 30 Nov. 1950). Shortly thereafter, it was

suggested that that the Board "take over Fort Hamilton" as it "could be a great tourist

attraction especially due to its central location." It was further recommended that "the

moat could be made into a garden [and] the Fort could be made into an amusement

place" (TDBM 06 Sept. 1954). Having still not achieved the proper level of

enchantment, certain members of the Board recommended that Fort Hamilton might

be made more attractive if its name were changed to the "Tower of Hamilton", and

uniformed guards were used to "make it more foreign" and hence more enchanted

(TDBM 28 May 1956).

When the Director of Public Works proposed replacement of the Somerset

Bridge[24] with a concrete arch or girder bridge, the Board replied that they "were not

in favour of the replacement of Somerset Bridge as proposed, in view of the value of

the present bridge as a scenic point of interest to visitors" (TDBM 01 March 1949).

When the petition was again made to replace the bridge with a more modern

structure, the Board replied that "from a tourist attraction point of view, the original

construction be retained" (TDBM 29 June 1960). The Bridge has recently been

rebuilt using concrete construction designed to simulate the original wooden timbers,

and the drawbridge feature has been retained.

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[24] With a gap wide enough for the passing of a sailboat mast, Somerset Bridge is reputed to be the smallest drawbridge in the world.

From the inception of Bermuda's tourist industry, there has been a concern that billboards would detract from the natural beauty of the island (Brassey 1885:50). The end result was the passing of the Advertisements Regulation Act of 1911 in which all "unsightly advertisements" were banned from the colony. From that time on, the authorities have been diligent in restricting allowable advertising, ranging from concerns about signs advertising Coca-Cola and Pepsi, to the signs at the various gas stations, to "unsightly advertisements" in general (TDBM 06 Sept. 1954; 18 Aug. 1956; 11 Dec 1956; 05 May 1967). From 1958 to the present, merchants are not permitted to display neon signs in their windows. Even road signs have come under the Board's scrutiny. When the Transport Control Board submitted new metal road signs for the Board's approval, they were rejected. The Board felt that "rustic-type signs constructed of Bermuda cedar would be more in keeping with the general atmosphere in Bermuda" (TDBM 15 Jan 1951). The Board was also concerned with "the imported telephone kiosks" which they believed "were not very attractive. It was agreed to write a letter to the Telephone Co. asking their co-operation, with a suggestion that next time the kiosks were painted it should be in pink" (TDBM 18 Aug 1956). As one travel writer has noted, in Bermuda there is "an unfailing belief that the colour pink goes with anything" (Ross 1996:42).

In 1958, when ZBM erected a new broadcasting tower, the Board immediately drafted a letter to the Colonial Secretary demanding that in light of the stronger signal which the new tower provided, "action should be taken to eliminate as many outside antennae as possible" as they were an offence to the Bermuda's scenic beauty (TDBM 14 Oct. 58).

Noise

In the interest of maintaining the image of a tranquil paradise, the Board has also looked into the issue of noise. In the 1920s the Board had opposed the idea of powerboat racing as too noisy and vulgar, it did not fit in with Bermuda's theme. By 1955 they were seeking to eliminate noises form motorbikes and motorboats. The Board eventually concluded that "it was not in the best interest of Bermuda as a tourist resort to have visitors disturbed by excessive noise, especially near a hotel or guest house and that steps should be taken to eliminate all unnecessary noises" (TDBM 07 Jan. 1958). As a consequence, the Board prohibited commercial airliners from landing at night, placed restrictions on the hours of operation for quarries near tourist accommodations, opposed the application from the construction of a bowling alley on the grounds of noise, and drafted a law that bans automobile radios from being played at a volume that can be heard from greater than 30 feet away; all in the name of tourism. Radios have been a particularly contentious issue with the Board, who have bemoaned the introduction of radio to the Island as it felt "radio broadcasts would not add to the enjoyment of the tourists" as they should do there utmost "to keep Bermuda a place for complete relaxation" (TDBM 11 Feb. 1948).

Front Street

Front Street is the main thoroughfare in the city of Hamilton running along Hamilton Harbour. A great deal of effort has gone into the theming of Front Street. Buildings along Front Street are restricted to three stories and regulations require that all buildings have a front porch and balcony. Buildings one block away from Front Street have been limited to five stories, while the remainder of the city is limited to

seven stories. Such measures ensure that people who stroll down Front Street are never overwhelmed by monumental architecture. Additionally, such restrictions ensure that such locations appear timeless. Young maintains that one of the crucial aspects of a theme park is that the landscape appear "beyond the influence of history, landscapes frequently appear frozen in some vague period" (Young 2002:8). This is perhaps best illustrated by a former Member of Parliament for St. George's, when he stated that "antiquity was St. George's future" (TDBM 12 May 1965).

Hotels

Bermuda opened its first 'grand' hotel in 1861, the Hamilton Hotel. The financing of the hotel had not been through private industry, but rather the public purse of the city of Hamilton. The hotel eventually grew to 100 rooms and was run on "the American principle". The management had been recruited from hotels in the Adirondacks, thus insuring a seamless transfer from the summer resorts in upstate New York to a winter resort in Bermuda. Running the hotel on the American plan thus insured that tourists' experiences would be predictable. In fact, it was one of the managers of this hotel who eventually pushed for the establishment of a hospital in Bermuda, as "visitors to these islands will feel safer with such an institution" (Williams 1994).

The success of the Hamilton Hotel led to the construction of the Hamilton Princess in the 1880s. Bermuda's second hotel was funded as a capitalist venture, though external financing was hampered by regulations concerning foreign ownership. The Princess was also significant in that it was Bermuda's first hotel to be

built on the waterfront. This hotel was also managed along the lines of the finest American resorts.

By the 1920s the restrictions on foreign ownership had been relaxed so that Furness Withy was able to add the Bermudiana and the Castle Harbour hotels to the growing list of luxurious places to stay. These hotels were also managed and operated on the principle of the prestigious North American resorts. Foreign ownership of hotels allowed for the introduction of hotel chains, and thus ensured even greater predictability (Jordan 1985, Ritzer 2000) .

One of the keys to operating a luxury resort is service. If one is to charge top dollar, the service has to be impeccable. To this end, a privately funded domestic science school was established in 1936 in order to train would-be waiters and maids. The Board took the issue of service very seriously. After investigating complaints concerning excessive charges for hotel rooms, the Board concluded that the complaints were "directed not so much against excessive charges, as against the low standard of service received in certain departments of certain hotels." The Board concluded that "much of the lack of courtesy in Bermuda hotels was due to the fact that little or no assistance in the way of trained hotel help was available from outside the colony" (TDBM 04 February 1946). Training would ensure a more predictable level of service. The Government responded by developing the Bermuda Hotel and Catering College, which latter developed into the Bermuda College.

The Board was not afraid to use its power in trying to enforce a certain standard of service. For example, after receiving a letter of complaint concerning the treatment of a Bermudian and her two guests in one of the hotel dinning rooms, the

manager of the hotel was summoned, "to meet with the Chairman and Secretary of the Trade Development Board and explain the matter" (TDBM 18 August 1950). The Board would also step in if hotels did not maintain the physical structures to a suitable standard (TDBM 30 May 1960).

It was also determined that it would be far more predictable and efficient if the Bermuda Hotel Association were to employ one person to "furnish all the entertainment for all hotels, thereby guaranteeing a standard, and contributing to a better type of entertainment than that found at present" (TDBM 16 September 1955).

Housing

Bermuda presents us with a unique situation in that the whole of Bermuda is perceived to be a tourist sight. A tourist sight is to be defined as a spatial arena differentiated from the everyday, ordinary, by way of some cultural, natural, or historical sense of extraordinariness. Urry (1990b:11) locates such sights as resulting from the basic binary divisions of the ordinary and extraordinary (though he warns not so different as to make one feel too much "out of place" (see also Krippendorf 1984:30-43)). Of course such distinctions must by their nature be culturally constructed.

The Department of Planning has gone to great lengths to ensure that virtually every house on the island is a simulacrum of the 'traditional' pink cottage with green shutters and a white washed roof.[25] All construction in Bermuda must first be

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[25] Miniature simulacra of these cottages are readily available in many of the souvenir shops throughout the island. In addition, there are assorted, somewhat generic, watercolor prints of the same images.

approved by the Department of Planning.[26] The government has encouraged that

yards be planted in a more tropical and lush manner, and thereby re-enforce the theme

of the tropical paradise. To this end, all owners of newly constructed homes are

entitled to purchase fifty plants from the government nursery at a considerable

savings. Added to this is the fact that Bermuda is only a mile and a half at its widest

point, ensuring that one is never too far from an ocean front view.

The end result of all of this is that there is literally nowhere for anyone to go

that is not also a sight.

> There is the carrying out of familiar tasks or activities within an
> unusual visual environment. ...all have particular significance if they
> take place against a distinctive visual backcloth (Urry 1990b:12).

Additionally, the Board saw fit to set a limit on the amount that Bermudians

could charge for renting their homes to visitors. "In any case where a residence in

Bermuda is leased to a person not ordinarily resident in Bermuda, the Board shall,

when it appears to them to be in the public interest…indicate…the maximum rent

which in the opinion of the Board should be charged for such premises" (TDBM 18

June 1948).

Holidays

With respect to holidays, the Board was faced with an interesting dilemma.

How does one maintain a high-end tourist destination, necessitating that the whims of

the tourists are catered to, when the local population are themselves on holiday? This

is an issue that the Board has had to wrestle with from their inception. During its first

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[26] By their nature, such regulations insure predictability in that the appearance of each dwelling is
tightly controlled.

year of existence, the Board received complaints from a group of clergy objecting to the fact that passenger ships were setting sail from Bermuda on Sundays. The Board replied that while they were sympathetic to the views expressed, "the exigencies of the tourist business and other transportation requirements necessitated the sailing of the ship on Sundays" (TDBM 22 December, 1913).

While the objection to Sunday sailings was dispatched without great effort, the Board would find the traditional holidays to be a bit more difficult to brush aside. The first holiday the Board took on was the Annual Cup Match Holiday.[27] The Board felt that while it would not be possible to abolish the holiday all together, it might be possible to move it. "It was generally felt in view of inconvenience caused to visitors by having the shops closed and understaffed [unpredictable] service in hotels in the busy month of August, it would be preferable to have the Cup Match Holiday in the slacker season of September" (TDBM 15 August 1956). While the Board was optimistic that this would be possible, the request was rejected by executive council.

By 1961, the Board was once again tackling the thorny issue of holidays. It was argued that the Christmas and Boxing Day holidays left "the vast numbers of people who arrived on these two days most upset to find the stores closed, and a skeleton staff in the hotels." It was noted that the problem of holidays "intensified" around Christmas because the weather was so unpredictable. It was pointed out that "one of Bermuda's best drawing cards was its shopping facilities, and that many people came to Bermuda for that express purpose, and went away very much

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[27] Cup Match takes place on the first Thursday and Friday of August. At this time, the East end of the Island plays the West end of the island in a two-day game of cricket. These two days are officially

disgruntled if it happened to be over a time…when the shops were virtually out of commission" (TDBM 24 January 1961).

Discussion once again returned to the topic of the Cup Match Holiday as the island was virtually shut down for a period of four days. While the suggestion of splitting the two holidays was rejected, the Board decided to enter into negotiations with the Cricket Clubs to once again see if the holiday could not be held later in the fall, as "it would mean that less visitors would be affronted". The Chairman pointed out that one of the problems was that the Holiday Act was very restricting. This left the avenue of changing public opinion, and it was suggested that "Bermudians had to periodically remind themselves that they were a tourist resort, and must, therefore, provide services for the visitors" (TDBM 24 January 1961).

Having been once again unsuccessful in their bid to alter Cup Match,[28] the board turned their attention to a less sacrosanct holiday. It was proposed that the Board should consider abolishing the Remembrance Day Holiday. It was argued that "the celebration in Bermuda was not a sacred one, it was purely a holiday" and that it had a "detrimental effect upon visitors" (TDBM 11 July 61). Nonetheless, this once again proved to be beyond the reach of the Board.

Things changed however when the government decided that "the Board were to be given jurisdiction over holidays" (TDBM 01 August 1961). As such, "it was now the responsibility of the Board to oversee the issuance of Holiday Trading Licenses" (TDBM 16 January 1962). The Board wasted little time in using its new

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known as Somers Day and Emancipation Day, though all Bermudians refer to the two days as Cup Match. While the "holiday' is only for two days, historically the weekend has been included.
[28] Cup Match in now touted as a drawing card under the guise of cultural tourism.

found authority, and moved the Victoria Day Holiday[29] in 1963 as a Cruise ship was

to arrive on the 24th of May for a one day visit, and again in 1965 when the holiday

was changed from the 24th of May to the 22nd of May so as not to interfere with the

arrival of five cruise ships (TDBM 19 March 1965).

As result of the success of McDonaldization, it is now commonplace for

people to be required to work on holidays. Consequently, the Department of Tourism

no longer alters the timing of Bermuda's traditional holidays.

People

When talking about consumption and tourism, certain matters require

clarification. To begin with, one is not simply consuming an object as such, but rather

tourism involves more of a social consumption. In the traditional concept of

consumption, one can measure the consuming of tangible goods, such as the airline

ticket, the hotel room, or a meal in a restaurant. These have been the traditional

measures that governments have used in establishing the success of the tourists

market, as well as the impact tourism has on a given society. However, when

considering tourism as a form of consumption, one must also consider as a means of

consumption those things which are much more difficult to quantify.

Much of what constitutes a successful travel experience has to do with social

interaction. This interaction is two fold in that part of a successful experience depends

upon the providers of tourist services, and part depends upon the company of like-

minded consumers, that is the tourists themselves.

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[29] The 24th of May is now Bermuda Day. Traditionally, this is considered to be the first day for
Bermudians to go swimming to begin the summer.

While hoteliers and tour operators attempt to guarantee a certain holiday experience, much of this requires the consumption of social interaction, which is more difficult to quantify and control. For example, an otherwise pleasant holiday experience can be put in jeopardy through the action of a rude taxi driver or a waiter at a restaurant. Sobhani (1998) determined that two of the most important variables in determining a positive post-trip image of Bermuda were the promptness and friendliness of staff, and the convenience of available service.[30]

The second factor deals with the composition of the consuming group. In other words, the company of other consumers creates part of the ambience in a given location, what Ritzer (1999) has referred to as enchanting. Urry (1995: 138) has referred to this as the "collective gaze". He maintains that the collective gaze requires the presence of large numbers of other people. The Board's long term approach to attracting "visitors of quality" (TDBM 30August 1946, 12 September 1955, 15 November 1960, 04 May 1970) ensured that these large groupings of people behaved in a predictable manner, creating "a tidy atmosphere among the kind of people you can depend on to behave as you do" (House & Garden 1956).

Bermudians

Bermuda has gone to great lengths to ensure that the local inhabitants present the visitor with a predictable product. For years Bermuda has traded on the perception of her people as courteous and friendly. A 1938 children's book told the story of Sukey, a young Bermudian black girl who, in the course of her journeys, discovers a beautiful cave (future tourist sight) and encounters "two elegant white ladies". Sukey

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[30] This is not to deny that such aspects cannot be quantitatively measured

ends up serving as a tour guide who is able to answer all of their questions (Garrard 1938). Such scripts subtly explained the proper behavior for all Bermudians to follow.

The Board was quick to realize that any deviation from this performance would in turn have a negative impact on the tourist trade. For example, in 1940, the Board was informed that an American woman had cut short her visit because of concern over "criticisms voiced by some Bermudians with regard to the attitude of the United States in the present war." It was agreed that "such outspoken comments on this subject might do considerable harm," and steps were taken to rectify this situation (TDBM 19 June 1940). In fact, the Board felt that the war was having a deleterious effect on Bermuda's youth. The various sailors and soldiers had proven to be poor role models for the impressionable youth. A call was made for "a return to courteous behaviour and good morals…for the sake of the tourist trade" (TDBM 25 May 1943). To remedy the situation the Board approached one of the local pastors "regarding the possibilities for educating the youth of Bermuda in their responsibilities to the future and particularly to develop among the youth a return to that courtesy and hospitable treatment of strangers for which Bermuda had been well known in the past" (TDBM 12May 1943). In essence, the Board was seeking to ensure more predictable behavior on the part of the local population.

The war, in particular the U.S. base, gave Bermudians the opportunity of seeking employment in areas other than tourism. The Board soon recognized that that "Bermuda was going to find it extremely difficult locally to engage the trained help necessary to efficiently cater to the tourist trade, unless a determined effort was made

soon to interest local people in preparing themselves therefore." It was felt that as a

first step towards this end, "a course in domestic science should be included in the

curriculum of all local schools, and that the teaching of good manners and courtesy

should be given more attention" (TDBM 02 May 1944).

To accomplish these objectives, the Board retained a public relations firm

from New York (TDBM 20 June 1944), and met with the Board of Education in

August of that same year. During the meeting the Chairman of the Board explained

that they were "working on plans for the resuscitation of the tourist trade after the

war" which would involve a cooperative effort between the Board of Education and

the Trade Development Board.

> The success of the Island's future tourist trade would depend to a very
> large extent on the attitude of Bermudians toward that trade, and it was
> very important that Bermudians should be instructed how to behave
> towards visitors so as to give the best impression possible of Bermuda
> and her people. …The Trade Development Board were of the opinion
> that one of the first steps should be the training of children in good
> manners and courtesy, and the inculcation within them of a greater
> pride in their country through the teaching to them of the early history
> and accomplishments of Bermuda, and it was the opinion of the Board
> that this could best be accomplished in the schools, through the Board
> of Education. (TDBM 08 August 1944).

The educators agreed, stating that "the manners and deportment of the youth

of the day left much to be desired, and that there was an apparent lack of a sense of

responsibility and recognition of obligation towards society." It is interesting to note

that when the Board of Education explained that it would be difficult for them to take

on any additional responsibilities given the inadequate physical and teaching

resources, the TDB stepped in to supply the necessary funding (TDBM 8 August

1944). From this point forward, the Department of Education has whole-heartedly

embraced the teaching of tourism in core areas of the curriculum. In 1997 the theme

for education month was "Tourism: We Are Bermuda". Former Minster of Education

Jerome Dill stated, "It is our intent to promote an understanding of appreciation for

the part each of us play in the success of this industry."

Taxi drivers were also to come under the scrutiny of the Board. For one,

drivers were instructed that there was to be no "spirited soliciting" by independent

taxi drivers, as this "did not project the Bermuda image." In fact the Board required

that a Transport Control Board Officer be assigned to the docks to check on "the

deportment of the drivers, i.e., dress, manners and cleanliness of the taxis" as the

Board felt that this "is a very important matter" (TDBM 02 July 1968). This had

certainly been the case when a derogatory remark made by a taxi driver was reported

to the Board, who immediately sent the secretary to discuss the matter with the

Executive Officer of the Transport Control Board (TDBM 17 June 1952). Again, the

Board was seeking to ensure predictability in the services rendered.

Bermudians are continually reminded that they have a role to play in the

tourist industry. When the Board noted that the city of Hamilton was crowded on

Saturdays, they undertook "a special public relations campaign …to appeal to the

Bermudians to be mindful of the tourists" (TDBM 22 March 1955).

More recently, the Island residents were urged to "pull out all the stops" to

"make a good impression" on visiting travel writers who were attending a conference

on the Island. Government Information Services urged that "anyone who sees these

people with their delegate badges on who need help, that if you could really trot it out

it would help" (*Royal Gazette* 28 August 2001: 1). A portion of the conference

involved a series of cocktail parties which residents have agreed to stage in their own homes. Then use of private homes in the name of tourism has been a long standing strategy (TDBM 10 July 1949). Recently, the Minister of Tourism put out an Island wide request for people to open their homes to tourists when all available accommodations were taken during the 2000 Tall Ships Race.

Clearly one of the key aspects to the successful theming of Bermuda as a premier tourist destination has to do with predictability. A great deal of time and effort has been spent ensuring that there would be no surprises in Bermuda. The high standard of living ensures that there are no hustlers or poor beggars. The hotels are run in the same manner as a tourist is likely to encounter in his or her home community as most are managed by major chains. Hotel rooms are provided with cable television which carry a host of US stations as well as a feed from the BBC and a few Canadian stations. Restaurants maintain a high standard of hygiene and cater to a Western palate. Nature has been tamed to avoid unanticipated threats, not even mosquitoes.[31] And the host population has been properly primed to behave in a predictable manner.

Control

With respect to tourism, the greatest threat to predictability and efficiency are people. The maximization of these two concepts requires technologies to increase the control of human behavior. As Ritzer (2000: 101) explains, the basic idea is "to gain

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[31] A program carried out in the 1940s and 50s eradicated mosquitoes from Bermuda.

control over people gradually and progressively through the development and deployment of increasingly effective technologies."

Ritzer goes on to point out that both the military and the fast-food restaurant have tended to recruit teenagers, as they are predisposed to "surrender their autonomy to…rules, and procedures more easily than adults do" (2000:102). Bermuda begins this process as early as 4 or 5 years of age, thus ensuring a high rate of success, though David Dodwell, Shadow Minister of Tourism, has argued that "we need to start from birth to make Bermudians more conscious of tourism and the opportunities it provides" (FM 106 25 March 2004).

A key figure in theorizing the deployment of effective technologies for gaining greater control over human behavior is Michel Foucault. Foucault considers such technologies as the development of timetables, school rules, examinations, drills, and manuals in terms of various disciplinary methods developed to gain greater control over the population at the individual level. "Thus discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies" (Foucault 1979: 138). Foucault delineates four principles that regulate this process.

The first involves the distribution of individuals in space in order to "guarantee the obedience of individuals" (148). Social segregation allows for a more rational administration of discipline, "to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities and merits" (143).

The second principle concerns the coding of activities. Individuals are subject to certain disciplinary principles concerning the use of their bodies in the codified execution of specific tasks, what Foucault (1979:153) refers to as "instrumental coding of the body". These principles are inculcated through the use of routine. Certain courses of action are thus permitted in some contexts and "organized out" of others. Consequently, the body becomes "a body manipulated by authority, rather than imbued with animal spirits" (155). One obvious consequence is greater predictability. The third principle is the accumulation of training time or what might be termed an increase in the routinization of activities. For example, students in schools are subject to a training schedule consisting of a series of graded tasks and exercises. Progression from one stage to the next requires that the pupil demonstrate mastery through some form of examination. Foucault draws a correlation between an increase in the routinization in training schedules to an increase in the population and the growing demands of capitalism.

And last but not least, there is the composition of forces, or what might better be termed the synchronization of activities. Foucault starts from Marx's basic premise that "the sum total of the mechanical forces exerted by isolated workmen differs from the social force that is developed, when many hands take part simultaneously in one and the same undivided operation" (Marx cited in Foucault 1979: 164). Thus the task of discipline must be to produce a system in which the social group is trained to fulfill a function in concert with others. "Discipline is no longer simply an art of distributing bodies, of extracting time from them and then accumulating it, but of composing forces in order to obtain an efficient machine" (Foucault 1979: 164). The dream of

the perfect society is to create an efficient predictable social machine predicated on

the premise of "automatic docility". By introducing tourism into the curriculum of

Bermuda's education system, the Board made explicit the utilization of those

disciplinary techniques identified by Foucault.

Moreover, Foucault recognizes that these disciplinary techniques are

associated with the development of efficient new means of surveillance and

observation by the state. The first of these is the ability of the officials to oversee all

with "a single gaze to see everything constantly" (173). However, this gaze was to be

discreet and permanent an "automatic and anonymous power" (176).

A consequence of this gaze is the ability to make normalizing judgments.

Those who fail to conform could be subject to "micro-penalties" for violations of

time (lateness), activity (lack of zeal), of behavior (impoliteness) and of body

(incorrect attitude). Foucault (1979: 183-4) sees normalization, coupled with

surveillance as "one of the great instruments of power." The process of normalization

"differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, [and] excludes [people]."

In the end, Foucault argues that as these techniques of discipline have spread

through society they have produced a "carceral archipelago" in which discipline is

transported "from the penal institution to the entire social body" (Foucault 1979:298).

It is important to understand that Foucault is arguing that contemporary populations

participate in regulating and controlling their actions. It is at the micro-level of

relations that Foucault locates the regulation and consent of individual bodies to be

maintained and reproduced. And indeed, it is at this level that the engineers of

Bermuda's tourist industry have been most effective in transforming Bermudian's behavior

Locals

The public middle school curriculum was recently restructured in 1996. As part of the change in curriculum, the Visitor Industry Partnership and the Department of Tourism were asked to help expand the emphasis of tourism awareness in the curriculum. The extent of the intrusion of tourism into what might be considered core subjects has been rather remarkable. As Suzanne Decouto, administrator of VIP explained:

> It's quite interesting to how they're doing it … basically they're including tourism in everything they do. In math they're counting hotel beds, they're not counting apples. … to show how important it is ... they're including the visitors in the family studies, they're doing it at gym….We have a big case at every school with every brochure that's available on the island ...and we produced a supplement last education month (personal communication 14 November 1997).

The rationale for this approach is to make students aware of the important role that tourism plays in their lives. According to Helen Stemler, curriculum coordinator for restructuring with the Department of Education, "In mathematics class they saw the chart (tourist arrivals) but never understood how that related to the future of Bermuda's business or to our civic responsibility to be polite to the tourist on the streets. Now we can integrate this" (Ratteray 1997:5).

Scholastic indoctrination into the tourism mindset begins with the introduction of structured education. Pre-school children are taught "how to receive, inform and chat with tourists". To accomplish these goals the children utilize role-playing (Foucault's "instrumental coding of the body") in which one pretends to be a

tourist while another 'acts' as a Bermudian. The rationale for this undertaking is that tourism "is something that is surrounding them all the time. They have to know why it's here and who these people are that we are catering to" (Stemler quoted in Ratteray 1997:4). By Primary Two (grade one) children are taught how to recognize tourists and why they *must* be courteous and helpful whenever they talk with one. The emphasis on the obligation to be "nice" to tourists plants the seeds for the early development of normalizing judgments. This is further reinforced through an integrated approach, so that when teaching science at primary school it is looked at in terms of how it impacts on visitors. "We're looking at the things that attract visitors to our country – the weather, the flora and fauna, the ocean and entertainment, but with an emphasis on science."

As students progress (the accumulation of training time) through the education system, greater emphasis is placed upon a sense of duty to be pleasant and helpful to tourists. "In Primary Five (grade four), when we teach civics, there is now a major emphasis on citizenship responsibility which included being pleasant and supportive of tourists while they're here in Bermuda" (Stemler quoted in Ratteray 1997:4). The inclusion of "being pleasant and supportive of tourists" as one of the key aspects of good citizenship further ensures the codifying of such attributes as a key component of the normalizing judgments.

In Middle Level One (grade six), the overarching theme for the integrated curriculum is "Bermuda's Visitor Industry". The amount of information with respect to tourism is astounding. Children are taught the monthly arrival statistics, what activities tourists enjoy, where such attractions are located, and the economic impact

of tourism in Bermuda (see appendix B for a full list of materials presented). Even complicated economic principles such as the multiplier effect have been included in the curriculum (appendix A).

In Middle Level Two (grade seven) students study the reasons for travel and the types of travelers, revisit the economic impact of the travel industry in Bermuda, and "visitor ethics - how to treat visitors". Note the progression from one stage to the next in encoding proper behavior with respect to interaction with tourists. Students have progressed from an understanding that they must be nice to tourists, to a sense of civic obligation as a member of the community, and finally to a matter of ethical behavior. In addition, computer applications – word processing, database, spreadsheet, are all taught using "data associated with the visitor industry" (synchronization of activities). Objectives for the curriculum in the following year (grade eight) include "examine the relationship between tourism and hospitality, identify various jobs or career opportunities within the hospitality industry in Bermuda, [and] list educational requirements for jobs or careers in food service and lodging both in Bermuda and internationally" (Middle School Curriculum, Department of Education 1997).

The Department of Education has been effective in achieving its goals with respect to tourism as is evident in a survey carried out in one of the island's primary schools in which ten-year-old children were asked why they should know more about tourism. Forty-five percent responded that if a tourist asked them a question, they felt that they should be able to answer it. When asked how to make a visitor's experience better, 45% answered with what might be regarded as being helpful/friendly/polite,

22% felt that Bermuda should be kept clean so that it stays beautiful for tourists, and

10% felt that crime should be reduced so "tourists would feel more comfortable" (The

Visitor Industry: An Integrated Approach to Curriculum 1997). Letters in the

newspaper confirm their success:

> My husband and I were map reading in Somerset Village when
> Tiffany (aged 10) jumped off her bicycle and asked if she could help.
> Our next hour was the most memorable of our trip. What a delightful,
> bright, articulate and knowledgeable child Tiffany was…she insisted
> on walking with us…and she gave a very intelligent commentary on
> the way, with a description of the area, the different types of coral,
> Easter lilies…She also had extensive knowledge of the latest
> development of facilities around the Long Bay area, including the new
> nature reserve. …She has a future as a tour guide. (*The Royal Gazette*
> 12 May 2000)
>
> The government has also been active in controlling the interaction of hosts

and guests through scripting. The Board determined that it would prove beneficial to

have Customs Officers extend an official welcome to incoming visitors. The Board

and the Department of Customs were to "collaborate with a view to providing an

appropriate address to welcome and coaching the Officers selected in presentation of

the welcome" (TDBM 30 November 1948). In other words, the interactions were to

be routinized.

Scripting such interactions limits and controls the interaction between service

providers and customers. "Verbal and interactive skills are being taken away from

employees and built into the scripts in much the same way that manual skills were

taken and built into various technologies" (Ritzer 1998: 64). Consequently,

employees can no longer be relied upon to present unique styles of interaction, but

are asked "to follow scripts as mindlessly as possible."

The Board later undertook the publication of the booklet *As a Matter of Fact*. This was to serve as a guide (standardization) to help taxi drivers, shop people and hotel people provide scripted answers to questions that tourist frequently asked (TDBM 02 February 1960).

Evaluations of Bermudians performances ensure that the scripts are followed. Historically the Board has been quick to act on any complaints of 'behavior un-becoming a Bermudian', from comments about a tourist's home country (TDBM 19 June 1940), to rude waiters and/or taxi drivers (TDBM 18 August 1950; 17 June 1952), to the rude behavior of young people on the beach (TDBM 5 June 1962). More recently, the initiative of the Visitor Industry Partnership has been to set up a central clearinghouse to deal with both tourist's and local's complaints about poor service or attitude, which would then notify the appropriate authority so that steps could be taken to rectify the situation.

In a similar manner, the local population is rewarded for adhering to the idealized behavior of host. The Bermuda Sunshine Award is a quarterly reward given to a local resident who has been nominated by a visitor for having made his or her visit to Bermuda "a little brighter". The reward consists of airline tickets and accommodations. For those locals directly involved in the visitor industry, there are the Excellence Awards, consisting of 17 categories covering all aspects of tourism and hospitality. The winner of each category receives airline tickets and assorted prizes, and the overall winner receives a $20,000 Money Market Fund.

Perhaps the most telling was the casting of a bronze statue of Johnny Barns. Mr. Barns' claim to fame is that rain or shine, he can be found every morning at the

main entrance to the City of Hamilton, where he greets everyone with a smile, a frantic wave and a cordial greeting.

Consequently, all of Bermuda is potentially a stage on which Bermudians must perform, whether performing (at work) or not, constantly under the surveillance of what Foucault has referred to as the "panoptic" gaze. In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault (1979:203) describes the practice as "He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes a responsibility for the constraint of power; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles: he becomes the principle of his own subjection." Through the diffusion of disciplinary technologies, the process of normalization, increased rationalization, organization and homogenization, are spreading, whether to small groups of individuals or entire populations.

The ability to define, to control the place of one's authority makes possible the production and control of knowledge that defines and supports it. So, for the tourist, Bermuda is a place to stand and look, to gaze – observing, measuring – which by definition is a measure of that power. For those who lack such a place, or the ability to define one, the realm of Bermuda is not a place to be so much as a position to hold. Bermudians find themselves locked in the place of the other, they are always being looked at: for them, being in Bermuda suggests the perspective they lack, the view of someone observing them from every possible angle. Thus develops the concept of 'Bermudian', one tenet of which invites the habitual confusion of the personal with what might be termed the 'corporate'.[32]

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[32] Former Premier David Saul continually referred to Bermudian society as "Bermuda Inc."

'Expats'

Having lacked the benefit of extensive tourism etiquette education, much needs to be done to inculcate newly arrived foreign workers to the requirements of proper attire and deportment. The level of concern for the proper indoctrination of such folk has even made it into the debates in the House of Commons. One Government Member of Parliament is quoted as having stated that "Women come here from Europe and they are very plain. But during that first year they begin to dress like Bermudian women. They make their faces up like Bermudian women. …They wear deodorant. …Within a year they look like us – they do themselves up" (Butler (*Royal Gazette* 30 July 2001).

There is a 92-page publication, *New Resident*, with the sole aim of helping the newly arrived to make the necessary transitions, covering such topics as the island's dress code, facts and figures, and proper island etiquette. Ex-patriots are admonished that dressing "scruffy" will be perceived as rude. They are also cautioned not to wear "skimpy swimsuits, very short shorts and tiny shirts" anywhere other than the beach or pool as they risk the possibility of a fine of $2,880 and/or six months in jail (*New Resident* 1999/2000:15).

Another source goes into great detail in explaining the appropriate attire:

> The correct height for businessmen and civil servants to wear them
> [Bermuda shorts] is three inches above the knee. Accompanying them
> are Bermuda hose (socks), plus a white or blue button down Oxford or
> other appropriate short sleeved shirt and conservative Windsor knotted
> striped or corporate insignia or club or regimental tie, with a single or
> double breasted navy blue blazer or a sport coat of madras or linen
> jacket that contrasts with the Bermuda shorts. The most appropriate
> shoes are loafers with tassels – in black or brown.
> (http://www.bermuda-online.org/shorts.htm)

New residents are also cautioned to, above all else, be friendly and polite. "DO say *Good Morning*, *Good Afternoon* or whatever is appropriate when you greet a Bermudian. Failure to do so will severely impede your chances of ever getting anything to eat, purchasing products, or making a cab move in a forward direction. In short, being nice is a necessity here" (New Resident 1999/2000:32).

In a more subtle manner, expatriates come to feel the "normalizing gaze" (Foucault 1979) and understand that they are expected to buy into the idea that they too have a role to play with respect to tourism. As a colleague once commented to me: "After you have been here for a while you feel as though you have to be nice to them (tourists), giving them directions and telling them good places to eat and stuff."

Tourists

The Board's reach extended to visitors as well. After concern had been expressed over the "type of dress worn by visitors which was to be seen very frequently in and around Hamilton, and which was not in conformity with the regulations set forth, i.e., shorts not more than 4″ above the knee, etc.", the Board distributed leaflets and cards "to all hotels, guests houses and private homes, on which it was pointed out that short shorts, beachwear, etc. were not proper dress for street wear in Bermuda." In addition, a letter was drafted to the Colonial Secretary "suggesting that the proper authorities be asked to enforce the existing law with regard to dress on local streets" (TDBM 10 July 1949).

In 1965, the Visitor Service Bureau began receiving "an increasing number of complaints from tourists and locals with reference to certain types of tourists wearing

very short shorts" (File PULC/ TDB/12 DOT Papers). In response, the Board had

green cardboard notices printed up for the police to attach to hired mopeds.

> May we respectfully suggest that in order to feel "at home" in
> Bermuda, visitors should know that it is against Bermuda Law and
> custom to wear abbreviated costumes on the public streets. Extremely
> short shorts and/or bra or halter ensembles should not be worn in any
> public place other than the beaches where, of course, the latest bathing
> and sports costumes are quite acceptable. Your kind cooperation will
> be greatly appreciated and will add to your vacation enjoyment as well
> as help Bermuda maintain its position as an attractive and pleasant
> holiday resort (File PULC/ TDB/12 DOT Papers).

A year earlier, the Board had commissioned a calypso song to rid the colony's streets

of hair curlers.

> In Bermuda, it's taboo
> Look out: don't let de cops catch you.
> Keep your curlers out of sight
> Don't let'em show in broad daylight...
> (File PULC/TDB/32, DOT Papers)

More recent literature simply states "A friendly policeman will sound the

alert, if he sees you in public without any shirt. (Please respect Bermuda's dress code

and cover up when not at the beach or pool. And ask about proper attire for dinning,

tennis and golf!)" (File DOT/ 10.94/ BP 60M/ 447, DOT Papers). As one travel

writer noted, in Bermuda, "some resorts have a dress code whose subtle permutations

can require whole paragraphs of explanation" (Ross 1996:42).

Code of Conduct

In a recent publication distributed to every household throughout the Island,

The Department of Tourism has issued guidelines to "assist in the promotion of

tourism by making our visitor feel welcome". They recommend the following:

1. Invite a visitor to your home.

2. Offer directions if they appear lost and, if possible, guide them to a location where the next part of the journey is easy to locate.

3. Offer to take a couple's photograph[33]

4. Show courtesy on the roads by observing the speed limit.

5. Refrain from honking your horn when travelling behind a visitor (flash your lights instead to greet friends).

6. Make sure that THEY are aware that they have the right of way at pedestrian crossings.

7. Do not pass them on the inside.

8. Suggest your favourite restaurant and give the reason why, i.e. good prices, good value; recommend a person who works at the establishment and tell the person to look after them.

9. Try not to regale them with negative personal opinions of Bermuda.

10. Smile at them and let them know how much you value and appreciate their choosing Bermuda.

11. Make them feel like coming back
    (*Outlook on Tourism* November 2001:6).

One is struck by the similarity between some of the guidelines above and the rules of employees of fast food restaurants or Disney World. Reiter (1996: 136) lists the rules at Burger King as urging employees to "be pleasant, cheerful, smiling, and courteous at all times", as well as showing pride in their work. Bermudians themselves are primary enforcers of the "appear to be pleasant" ideology. Should one fail to provide a "good morning" or "good afternoon", the phrase will be repeated until one succumbs to "being nice". Such surveillance means that disciplinary power is "both absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individuals

who are entrusted with the task of supervising; and absolutely 'discreet', for it

functions permanently and largely in silence" (Foucault 1979: 177).

Population

By 1964 the Director of the Board had summarized that the aim of the Board

was "conservative expansion of numbers, along with hotel beds; occupancy to be

increased; length of stay to be increased; tourist income to be increased and slow

down expansion of population" (TDBM 04 January 1964). This was not the first time

the government expressed concern over the size of Bermuda's population. Thirty

years earlier, the House of Assembly had expressed similar sentiments with respect to

the level of single mother births among the island's black population ('Birth Control'

file #67544, CO 37, BA). "Some measure to restrict the increase in population must

be devised … failing to use the knowledge of birth control is a failure to use the

knowledge of adapting ourselves to our modern environment and needs, and is really

a sin of omission in prompting the well-being of humanity." In fact, it was mentioned

that perhaps they should look to Germany with respect to limiting the growth of the

population. "The sterilization of mental defectives and of habitual criminals has been

adopted in Germany" (*Journal of the House of Assembly of Bermuda* 1934-35:282).

Crime

Bermuda has long traded on the image of the island as a safe haven. While

much of the Caribbean is plagued with high rates of crime, Bermuda has maintained a

relatively stable, crime-free environment. This is of prime concern for many tourists.

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[33] It should be noted that traffic, both vehicular and pedestrian, will come to a stop to allow a tourist to take a picture.

While the level of crime against tourists in the Caribbean has remained relatively

small, the area has ranked in the top five destinations where tourists have felt

"threatened or shaken" (Pattullo 1996:97).

To belie such fears, Bermuda maintains one of the highest ratios of law

enforcement officials to private citizens in the world. According to government

statistics, counting police officers, security guards, and traffic wardens, there is one

enforcement officer for every 57 inhabitants.[34] However, crime still occurs, and

literature provided by the Department of Tourism cautions about protection from

becoming a victim of crime. While noting that Bermuda "is the most beautiful and

friendliest place on Earth. Just as you would do anywhere you travel, please take care

to secure your personal belongings – whether at your hotel or out and about" (DOT/

10.94/ BP 60M/ 447).

Recently there has been a call to amend the laws such that crimes against

tourists are punished more harshly than crimes against residents. The head of the

Bermuda Hotel Association has claimed that "These people who are attacking tourists

are also attacking every man, woman and child that depends on tourism … there

should be tougher sentences to send out a message" (*Royal Gazette* 2 October 2001).

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[34] Comparatively, in 2002 the United States averaged 1 law enforcement employee for every 286 inhabitants (http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/cius_02/html/web/lawenforcement/06-NC.html).

The Shadow Minister of Tourism has made a similar call referring to crimes against tourists as "crimes against the economy." Justice Archie Warner, in sentencing a man for snatching a handbag from a tourist, stated that he considered such crimes to be "an attack on a tourist and the survival of the country … this kind of behaviour will not be tolerated, especially against tourists" (FM 106 20 November 2001). Minister of Public Safety, Paula Cox, while not publicly supporting harsher penalties for crimes against tourists, left little doubt that she was sympathetic to the cause in stating that crimes against tourists undermine "the very fabric of the community … We know Bermuda to be a safe and welcoming Island, where residents and visitors alike are usually treated with civility and respect. Indiscriminate acts of violence distort this picture immeasurably, sometimes irreparably" (*Royal Gazette* 4 October 2001).

For those who have failed to internalize sufficient social control (Foucault 1979), the government has chosen to remove them from society. As recently as 1991, 39.1% of all offenders placed in custody were being held for minor offenses, lest they spoil the enchanting atmosphere of the aesthetic. Minor offenses include but are not limited to: drunk and disorderly, offensive words, wandering abroad, littering, disobeying a traffic sign, driving while disqualified, careless driving, trespassing, and bad influence. To facilitate the policing of Hamilton, the police have installed 50 close circuit cameras throughout the city. As a result, Bermuda has one of the highest incarceration rates in the world, 1,317 per 100,000; just over three times that of the United States.

The Media

The Board has always been concerned about the portrayal of Bermuda in the Media. For example, the Board had determined that it would be advisable to conduct at "an informative advertising campaign in an attempt to control the American public's thinking about Bermuda." (TDBM 02 August 1943). When an overseas promoter recommended advertising Bermuda via the radio during the wee hours of the morning, the Board declined as they could not control who the listening audience would be (TDBM 01 August 1962).

With respect to the local press, the Board was a bit more forceful. The Board determined that they should "stop unfavourable publicity from appearing in the local papers…[as] this tended to develop critical attitude among tourists who were completely contented until they read criticism of Bermuda…in the papers" (TDBM 20 June 1950). To rectify the situation, they sent the Chairman to speak to the Speaker of the House of Assembly. Six years later the Board once again demanded that "Bad publicity in Bermuda's newspapers should be stopped" (TDBM 27 March 1956). More recently, the webmaster of Bermuda.com was pressured to remove "anti-Bermudian" remarks for fear that it might damage Bermuda's image to potential visitors (*Royal Gazette* 12 October 2001: 2).

The level of control the Board was able to exercise over the general population has been extreme. Through the use of extensive training throughout the education process and the normalizing gaze throughout society, the Board was able to ensure that the vast majority of the population would behave in a manner consistent with Bermuda's overarching theme.

Irrationality of Rationality

There are of course obvious and well documented irrational consequences from the McDonaldization of mass tourism. The sheer numbers of the tourists has a profound an effect on Bermuda, both socially and environmentally. During eight months of the year one in every five people is a tourist (Manning 1979:161). Transportation facilities, which are barely adequate for the host population, are pressed to their maximum by visiting tourists. Tourists increase both the noise and the waste produced on the island simply by their presence. In addition, with a 21 square mile limitation, the addition of some 600,000 people to the base population of some 62,000 brings Bermuda up to, if not over, the point of saturation (Jackson 1978; Murphy and Gomez 1981). With the cruise ships at the Hamilton docks from Monday through Friday, many of the local population find it difficult and undesirable to go into town and often choose to wait until the ships have left.

The economic success of tourism has led to an increase in the cost of living as well as an increase in the population. Additionally the economic success of tourism has led to over-employment, allowing for locals to simply not show up for work or to leave work early, secure in the knowledge that should they loose their job, they can easily find another (RG 03 May 2001: 1). Over-employment has also had a negative impact on the level of educational attainment. Teenagers have found that they can make considerable sums of money during summer vacation. This in turn has led to

students drifting to full time employment as soon as they have passed the compulsory school age (Wooding et al. 1968:77).

Over-employment has also led to social problems within the family structure. With both parents working and some also moonlighting, children are often left on their own or are looked after by a grandparent or some other older person. Lack of parental attention has resulted in the younger people drifting to the streets, followed by the pubs and clubs, where they consume excessive amounts of alcohol, due in some measure to the pattern set by the tourists (Paul 1983; Murphy and Gomez 1981). Another casualty of rationalization is enchantment. The exercise of control to ensure predictability is by its nature disenchanting. "Nothing would destroy an enchanted experience more easily than having it become predictable" (Ritzer 1999: 98). Given that all of Bermuda has been themed to satisfy the desires of mass tourism, there is literally no place that has not been made predictable. There are no places that are out of bounds to tourists.

A further consequence of the rational theming of Bermuda is that the interaction that takes place between visitor and host has come to have a simulated character. Rather than 'real' interactions between hosts and guests, Bermudians follow the scripts and manners they have practiced since preschool while the tourists respond with "routine responses they have developed over time to deal with such scripted behavior" (Ritzer 1999: 116-7). Consequently, authentic interaction rarely takes place. In fact, as the majority of our interactions have come to be simulated we come to accept them as a 'real' form of interaction, the distinction between 'real' and simulated is lost so that the simulated comes to constitute the real.

Perhaps the ultimate irrationality of successful mass tourism is that mass tourism, by its nature, tends to ultimately consume the destination itself.

7: Conclusions

I sometimes wonder if there is a "Stepford Effect" looming in Bermuda (Carol Shuman *Bermuda Sun* 09 June 2004)

In this study, I have attempted to theorize the phenomenon of tourism from a sociological perspective. Rather than simply accepting the more commonsense notion of mass tourism as having resulted from technological and material advancements leading to an increase in available free-time, I have sought to locate tourism within the structural context of modernity.

I have argued that the alienation of modernity has led to a motivation to travel to a destination in search of what is lacking in one's home society. Tourists are searching for what might be termed existential authenticity, escaping from the structures of mainstream society (liminality), relaxing in the *communitas* absent in their everyday lives. They are seeking an escape from the stress inducing temporal requirements of a routinized society. And finally, people have turned to tourism to escape the negative aspects of modernity as they have come to locate such escapes in the *other*, both with respect to the environment and society.

Consequently, there is a relationship between the motivational factors of tourism and the structural aspects of modernity. However, the relationship between

tourism and modernity is somewhat problematic. If we accept that tourism can be seen as a response to the dissatisfaction with the state of modernity, we must also recognize that mass tourism is only made possible when the structures of modernity have led to the production of sufficient material means and technological advances for people to make mass travel possible.

Paradoxically I have shown that the same factors which lead to the dissatisfaction with an overly rationalized society are the very same factors that have been employed which enable tourists to gain a sense of fulfillment through tourism. Through a process that Lanfant (1995:35) has referred to as "touristification", societies and environments are turned into consumption sites. Culture, heritage, and landscapes, entities which had previously been economically idle, readily become commodities for tourist consumption. As such, tourism reflects one of the hallmarks of modernity/postmodernity in which "formerly non-commercial settings are becoming cathedrals of consumption" (Ritzer 1999: 181).

In Bermuda, the process by which this touristification was accomplished was not haphazard, but rather was rationally controlled (chapter 4). Bermuda's Trade Development Board was established so that a single body could take control of all aspects of the tourist industry and mould it into a cohesive whole that could manage tourism with predictable outcomes. The Board was invested with wide-ranging powers to do nearly anything it felt necessary to promote the growth of Bermuda's tourist industry. It was empowered to enter contracts, dispense subsidies, hire experts, pressure other agencies of government and exercise its influence over the general population.

I have shown that due to the control which the oligarchy held over both the economic and political realms, the Board in fact had the power to carry out its mandate (chapter 5), and that due to the restrictions of size, the Board would have to involve all of Bermuda in its planning. There would be no clear separation between leisure space and work space.

I have delineated how the Board utilized the four main components of McDonaldization – calculability, efficiency, predictability and control – to shape Bermudian society to conform to the expectations of Bermuda's primary tourist market (chapter6). With respect to calculability, while the Board continually expressed concern with regard to the quality over quantity issue, they continually revised the upper limit of acceptable tourist numbers, utilized quantitative data to rationalize their undertakings, and ultimately reduced the quality of the target visitor to the quantity of his or her disposable income. Efficiency has always been of great concern as the limit of available space requires efficient use of the resources at hand. In fact, efficiency was even used in marketing, given that it takes little time to travel to Bermuda.

Of the four concepts of McDonaldization, Bermuda has been most careful in cultivating the latter two - predictability and control. The Board had recognized from the outset that the environment and the local population were going to be key aspects in the success of the tourist industry. To this end, they have taken great effort to ensure that each played its part. The natural environment was changed from semi-tropical to 'tropical', tidied up, and altered to accommodate the demands of tourism. With respect to the local population, indoctrination was begun at an early age and

continued throughout one's life, with friendly reminders, financial incentives, and the removal of those who do not conform. The level of success has been remarkable, as so aptly stated in the guidelines for new residents – "In short, being nice is a necessity here" (New Resident 1999/2000:32).

Such a level of control would seem to be at odds with the level of control Ritzer attributes to a McDonaldized system. Ritzer (1998: 63) maintains that work in a McDonaldized setting, what he has termed "McJobs", is more than "simply the deskilled jobs of our industrial past" employees are subject to "many distinctive aspects of the control of these workers." He puts forward the use of scripts as an example of not only deskilling, but also as a more invasive form of control; "in both action and interaction employees have little choice but to 'execute' management's demands" (1998: 64). Citing Leidner's (1993) work on Combined Insurance, and Horschild's (1983) research on airline attendants, Ritzer (1998:64) argues that there is evidence of "a series of unprecedented efforts to control employees." Consequently, many organizations now seek to control not only what people do or say at work, "but also how they view themselves and how they feel."

However, Ritzer (1998:64) maintains that these examples are not indicative of McDonaldization. He argues that McDonaldized systems have little concern for how employees perceive themselves as most are short-term, part-time employees. He claims that such systems are "merely interested in controlling their employees' overt behavior." The key to the difference lies in the fact that one system seeks to transform the self while a 'McEmployee' is supposed to suppress the self (Ritzer 2000).

And yet, if we accept the argument that the McDonaldization process is penetrating ever deeper throughout society, then one has to account for the actions of individuals who are not simply short-term part-timers. The behavior of Bermudians is controlled in a number of ways including not only the scripting of interactions, but there has also been an outright attempt to transform how Bermudians come to see themselves. The friendliness of Bermudians is consistently mentioned as one of the top draws as an island destination.

Consequently, Bermuda's metaphoric translation of workplace, worker, and labor into paradise, host, and human relations is crucial to understanding how Bermudians make sense of themselves. Many Bermudians commodify and consume their role in tourism; they come to value themselves in precisely the same terms the government uses to advertise itself; friendly, honest, relaxed, and of superior quality. The language of presentation and the fetishistic attention to detail in appearance, scripts, and controlling the aesthetic is perceived as evidence of the high standard of their 'work'.

This is not to claim that it has always been this way. When Bermuda first entered the mass tourism era, there was a great deal of concern expressed concerning the general deportment of Bermuda's general population, as well as an overall lack of training in being helpful towards visitors (TDBM 12 May 1943; 02 May 1944). Accordingly, the Education Department restructured its curriculum to inculcate the necessary training of Bermuda's youth (08 August 1944).

Ritzer (1998:66) does acknowledge this as a possible outcome of the McDonaldization process, claiming that "the basic ideas associated with

McDonaldization are part of the value system: many workers and customers have internalized them and conform to them of their own accord." When dealing with a McDonaldized society, it becomes far more efficient and predictable to transform the self rather than attempt to control through the suppression of the self. Foucault (1979), through his work on the "governance of the body," has shown that contemporary populations now participate in the control and regulation of their emotions and desires through voluntary actions, at what he terms micro-level relations. As a consequence of the normalizing gaze, the attributes of McDonaldization have become part of how people perceive themselves, and contrary to Ritzer, transform themselves.

One of the inherent difficulties in utilizing Ritzer's four characteristics of McDonaldization is the tendency of interpenetration of each of the elements into the others. Consequently one is forced in many cases to make a judgment call in trying to determine under which heading various factors should be placed, which might also vary depending on who's perspective one is taking. A great deal of efficiency, which is generally measured in quantifiable terms (calculability), has to do with predictable behavior which itself depends upon control. Two obvious examples are package tours and cruises, either of which could logically satisfy any of the four criteria. Another example would be the Board's attempts to control the appearance of both tourists and locals by quantifying the acceptable distance from the bottom of one's shorts to the top of one's knees all in the name of predictability. While this does not necessarily impact the model as a whole, it does raise some questions as to determining the individual power of each of the concepts.

As such rationalized systems can often lead to disenchantment the Board has countered this tendency through the use of theming. Gottdiener (2001: 70) maintains that the development of consumerist values has led to the use of theming to "create space for the realization of consumer fantasies." The theme for Bermuda was to provide a tonic for all of the alienating aspects of modernity. Come, they beckoned, to a more relaxed way of life (liminality), where civility is a given (*communitas*), time is of little concern (escape for the routinization imposed by modernity), and natural beauty is everywhere to be gazed upon (escape to the *other*).The end result is that society is changed into spectacle and the environment into a playground.

There still remains the question of agency, how do members of the community respond to such incredible pressure to conform. Obviously there are times when behavior is inconsistent with the principles of how Bermudians are supposed to interact with tourists. For example, repetition of the term "Good Morning" is often used in a passive aggressive manor to force people to enter into a more scripted interaction. Another form of deviance is tourism in its mimetic form, in which Bermudians step outside of the confines of hosting, by behaving as though they are on vacation. Employers have complained of high rates of absenteeism from the beginning of the mass tourism period (TDBM 01 March 1946) to the present (RG 3 May 2001: 1). Numerous government reports have acknowledged this fact in claiming that tourism has generated a "holiday atmosphere" (Gibbons, Edmund, et al. 1951). "[T]he Bermudian living in Bermuda is encompassed always by the artificialities of holiday enjoyment … it breeds a holiday attitude towards daily living on the part of many" (Wooding et al. 1968: 76). Manning (1979) found that since the

beginning of mass tourism, the lodges, which are devoted to temperance and saving, have all but disappeared, while there has been a corresponding rise in clubs which are devoted to sport, indulgence, and entertainment.

However, to concentrate on these features is to miss the point, there is an extraordinary level of acceptance among Bermudians of the behavioral requirements of being Bermudian. As Ritzer (1998: 67) explains, "if most of one's life is spent in one McDonaldized system or another, then one is less likely to feel dissatisfied with either one's life or one's job". Consequently, "If most of one's life is spent in McDonaldized systems, there is little or no basis for rebellion…since one lacks a standard against which to compare, and to judge…there is…no basis for…seeking out alternative, non McDonaldized systems" (67).

Bermuda may represent an unusual case of being a McDonalidized society. This is a result of two related factors. As stated earlier, the limited land mass meant that there would be no way to cordon off areas of tourist activities from the rest of Bermudian society. All of Bermuda and all Bermudians would have to play a roll in the theming of Bermuda as a tourist destination at all times. This fact directly impacts on the second factor, the interpenetration of work and non-work lives. Bermudians have altered their sense of self to conform to the dictates of the industry.

In the final chapter I raise the question of what the impact of living in a themed tourist environment might be on the local population. I suggest that perhaps the play world of the tourist has supplanted the 'real' world of the local population, that perhaps Bermudians have become tourists in their own land. This is a question

that needs further research and rests outside the scope of this dissertation, but it

merits exploration and testing in "tourist" sites beyond the one I chose.

8: Irrational Consequences: Some Observations

Bermuda's size, the smallness of its native population, and the pervasiveness of an alien hedonistic presence all help give life an artificial, fairyland quality (Ryan 1976: 189).

In this chapter I take a somewhat speculative look at possible irrational consequences with respect to the impact of living in a society which is perpetually themed for the demands of tourism. It is speculative in that my findings remain theoretical, as they have not been empirically tested. However, I remain analytical not rhetorical in my approach.

I would like to pose the question as to whether the reality of the tourist is more substantial than that of host, whether the play world is a somewhat inferior derivative of the real world in which we live and work, or has play now become reality's successor?

Baudrillard (1981) argues that there has been a significant break between the classical form of capitalism, as analyzed by Marx, and the development of capitalism following the Second World War. This rupture is not restricted to the economic and political spheres, but includes the cultural as well (Baudrillard, 1983). While earlier forms of capitalism fostered an ethic of production based on Fordist economies of scale (Harvey 1990), its latter mode reveals itself in a no less rigorous ethic of daily

consumption (Baudrillard, 1975; Featherstone 1990; Jameson 1991; Ritzer 1999).

Thus for Baudrillard, consumption has taken on those traits formally ascribed to

labor, namely creativity and fulfillment, or alternatively, emptiness and alienation.

(Baudrillard 1996). As such, consumption has served to reveal a significant trend of

modernity: the circulation of images as true value (Baudrillard 1996). As a result, we

no longer engage ourselves with the real, but with the hyperreal that has everywhere

supplanted it (Baudrillard 1993).

Such a perspective raises questions regarding the tendency to disengage

images from their reflections in personal experience, and thereby the hyperreal from

the real (Baudrillard, 1983). Tourism offers an opening to questions about the reality

that it decontextualizes, and yet rejuvenates with its imagery of a restless "play" of

images.

Visitors to Bermuda are searching for a chance to get away from their

mundane lives, to return to a less alienating more enchanting way of life. They come

to Bermuda to experience a sense of nature, friendliness and an unhurried, courteous

existence. All of the harsh reality of modern life melts away. Bermudians give the

appearance of having been born civil, genteel. English poet Christopher Isherwood

wrote of his experience in Bermuda that "it is possible, under optimum conditions,

and within a time limit, for human beings to behave like angels" (Bucknell

1996:445)Tourists experience a sense of a return to a more 'natural' state, a chance to

"gaze" upon the stereotypical other who "uses concepts none of us have ever seen

before" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). This notion of an angelic, innocent, and genteel world

that we have forever relinquished stands in stark contrast to the high-tech competitive

environment which the tourists have left behind.

What of the reality of those who tour? After all, they arrive from somewhere,

and are directed towards an interaction, albeit one without the apparent substance of

sustained and committed personal experience, that registers itself in the lives of those

who interact with tourists. Surely, there is truth of a sort in this bourgeois economy of

travel. The reciprocity of exchange between host and guest carries with it at least a

responsibility for the productions of its meanings, a fundamental requirement of any

culture (Goffman 1974).

Yet the tourists are as fleeting as their visits, and whatever actions are taken,

they risk no life chances. Like virtual persons (Baudrillard 1996), tourists depart as

suddenly as they appear, and thus the stakes of the game of travel are for them

transient.[35] Travel to "exotic" destinations lends a passion (the allure of the *other*,

nature) to the cold predictability of tourists' usual everyday lives, but it is a passion

with few, if any, consequences for the tourist. Those who travel survive another day,

despite their immediate triumphs and defeats, to travel again, apparently with

impunity.

Travel to destinations such as Bermuda is associated with sophistication and

decorum and meant to be played by refined individuals in a civilized manner. Thus,

the deliberate heightening of the drama of modernity through the tales of one's travels

blends what is, what ought or what seems to be so, reminiscent of Geertz' (1973: 448)

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[35] Van den Berghe (1980: 388) claims that such fleeting interactions lead to "relationships [which] are particularly open to deceit, exploitation and mistrust, since both tourists and natives can easily escape the consequences of hostility and dishonesty".

notion of "a story [we] tell [our]selves about [our]selves". Travel to Bermuda, is a 'gentleman's game,' and the 'commoner' need not apply.

The telling of such tales of travel is more than just a re-enactment of the journey. "Every time we repeat it we participate again in a process or recognizing and confirming that ideological formation, the logic of its structures and the pleasure that comes from locating oneself within them" (Kuenz 1995:56). Of course we must also recognize the penalties that come about from refusing to do so.

Visitors to Bermuda affirm their identity by locating themselves within an existing social structure, and the power relations such structures express. There is a sense of pleasure in identifying oneself as leisure class. Recall that it was Veblen (1925) who showed that it was the leisure class who moved leisure from the role of renewing the body and mind for more productive work and instead cultivated leisure as an end in itself. As such, the ability to not produce became a marker of status. While this may seem forced, it is not so for the participants; it is not phony to them. They arrive with an existing sense of self, but the nature of the social structure serves to reinforce and validate their sense of identity.

Aside from the sense of being of the leisure class, Bermuda also prompts a sense of the unhurried, a genteel way of life. A society in which each knows his or her place, albeit without a great deal of concern for such things as individual rights and beliefs. As Corbin (2002:189) points out, "The appeal of the themed environment is that which is often missing from daily life: consistency, continuity and coherence." Bermuda encourages social relations based on a sense of proper decorum and consumption. It is not so much that visitors are compelled to become anything, no

specific identity is assigned. Instead, there is recognition of the need to take on one of these identities to find pleasure in Bermuda. The pleasure is produced in ourselves as we recognize the nature of these roles, how to perform them, and how to do so adequately. It is through taking on these identities that we are allowed to participate in Bermuda's aesthetic. Failure to do so means being completely left out of the totalizing picture of the aesthetic, becoming designated as one of Wilson's "reckless tourists". The very process of acquiring these identities - consumer, guest, refined person of leisure – serves to reproduce the dominant relations of power supported by the capitalist ideology that shaped and made them interdependent in the first place.

In conceiving of tourism as a form of consumption, certain factors have to be taken into consideration. On the one hand, the tourists must to some extent be involved in the production of what they consume (Urry 1990a), while on the other, the hosts are most likely collaborating with the tourists in order to produce the experience. To put it another way, the hosts are collaborating with the tourists in the production of an aesthetic that is simultaneously being consumed.

This is not to deny that there are still workers who clearly produce things in a more traditional sense, and there are still cases where people are only consumers. However, in a world of escalating de-differentiation, it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between them. "In the new world of consumption, especially as it is increasingly dominated by entertainment, it will make less sense to distinguish between production and consumption" (Ritzer 1999:190).

Recent research has also begun to question the notion of the host-guest paradigm. Aramberri (2001: 741) maintains that "the host-guest model does not help

to explain the nature of modern mass tourism; obscures the complex interactions between local cultures and their environments and favors a static and exclusionary vision of cultures." Similarly, Chambers (1997:4) has stated that the advent of mass tourism has changed the relationship of traveler and host "to the extent that in many instances of travel the distinction between guests and hosts has become blurred if not irrelevant." He further argues that tourism is "much more of a reciprocal endeavor than we might first imagine. It is one in which people frequently exchange the roles of tourist and toured" (Chambers 2000:58). The distinction between host and guest is even more problematic when dealing with tourism in urban areas as tourists and residents often participate in the same activities at the same sites utilizing the same services. Chambers (2000) cites Baltimore's Inner Harbor as a case in point.

Other authors have raised the question as to the utility of such concepts as 'home' and 'away from home' (cf. Clifford 1997). Urry (2000:50) claims that given the amount of mobility in society, "the distinction of home and away loses its organizational and ideological power. Rojek (1993:200) asserts that "[d]e-differentiation *has* weakened the contrasts between home and abroad. One has only to walk along the shopping and amusement areas of any metropolis to find evidence of this: Korean and Indian restaurants in London; Chinese film theatres and Indian fashion shops in Los Angeles; African music clubs and Latin American galleries in Paris" [emphasis in original].

As tourists have come to look upon and consume the Bermuda aesthetic, so the host population comes to consume this same aesthetic. Urry (1990b: 82) claims that "people are much of the time 'tourists' whether they like it or not. The tourist

gaze is intrinsically part of contemporary experience." However, in Bermuda there is no way to escape the gaze; there is no separation of work space from leisure space. As was so aptly stated in a recent ad campaign: "…*every bit* of Bermuda is ready for visitors to see" (Bermuda Department of Tourism 1994 advertisement italics added). As such, Bermudians are continuously consuming the Bermuda aesthetic; they must endure what Wills (1995:7) cites as one of the dangers of working at Disney World, "[t]he horrifying threat of perpetual carnival".

And yet, can we not take our own personal experience as immediate and real? Don't our senses, our bodies, provide us with the definitive criterion of what we take to be real? But here too we find questions: how can we trust even the sense of our own bodies when we know them to be ridden with self-images that promote anorexia, racism, and the various other "isms" of modernity? (Foucault 1979). After we question our own bodies in a dialectic of self-doubt, what is left to us that we can perceive as unquestionably real?

The constant play of images, the use of simulation to enhance real experiences, have progressed to the point that it is difficult to distinguish between them. As a result, our personal experience becomes entangled with, and then simply becomes, mass-mediated images. Consequently, human subjectivity can no longer be conceived of as a given, our sense of self mingles with desires induced by images, which continually postpones satisfaction by shifting to other images *ad infinitum*.

As such, our subjectivity has become the play of images experienced in virtuality. This virtuality is not limited to the movement of images experienced

during travel, but also the intensification of the free movement of images in everyday life. In essence, virtuality has become our mode of personal experience.

Has the story of the traveler, or host, become the tale of us all. Can one not ask if Bermudians haven't in some sense become tourists in their own island. Has play become the promise and/or fate of modernity, in which the dominant mode of discourse is simulation, the hyperreal. While this lies outside the scope of this research, it is a question that needs to be addressed.

Appendix A
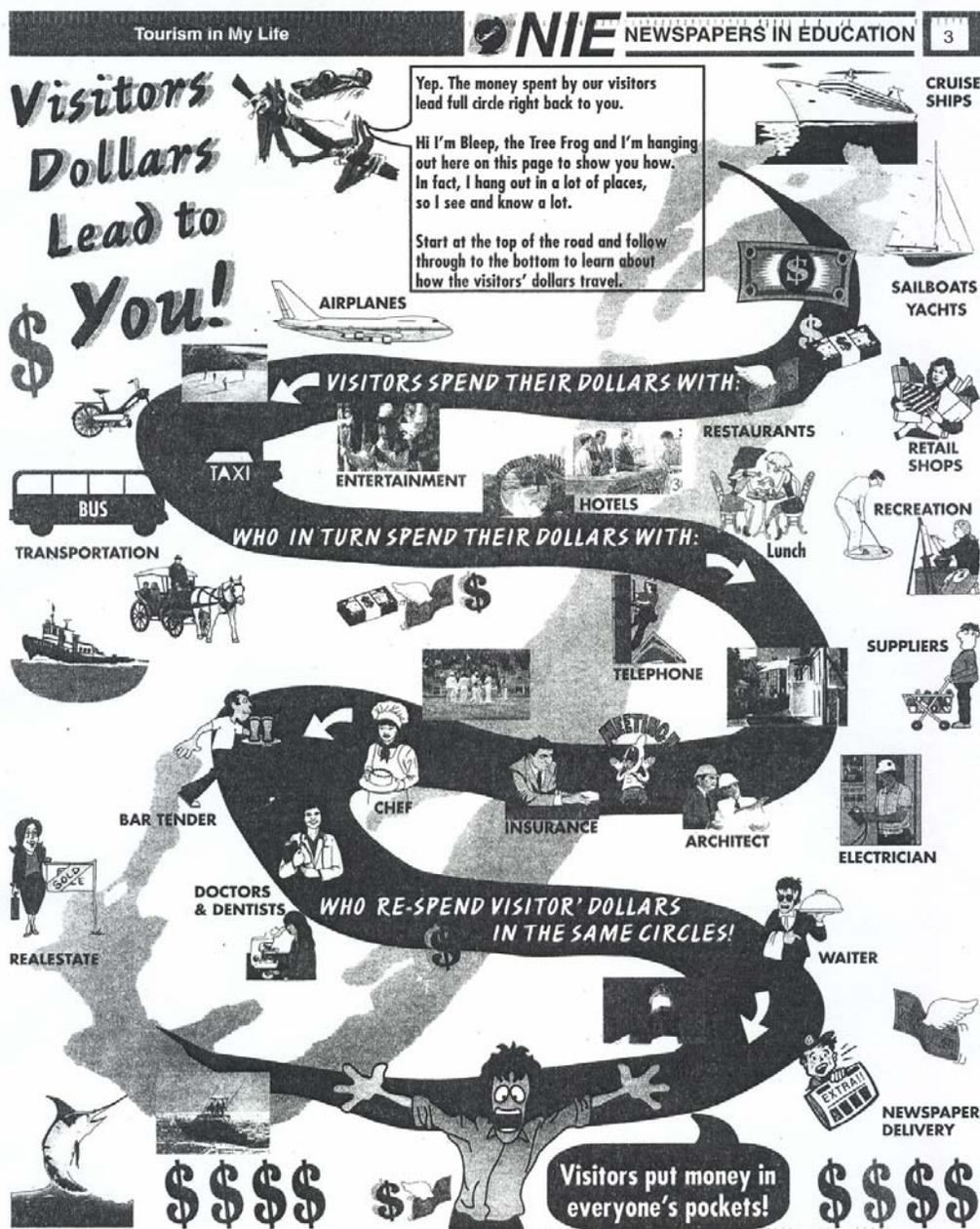
Tourism in my Life (2000)

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VIP KIT CONTENTS

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