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### Tourism, cultural heritage and regional identities in the Isle of Spice

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## Tourism, cultural heritage and regional identities in the Isle of Spice

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Because of distinctive political, economic, and historic circumstances, Grenada has not followed the traditional approach of most Caribbean destinations constructed as generic paradisiacal landscapes and seductive spaces. In this article, I examine Grenada's particular path to tourism, focusing primarily on cultural and historical heritage tourism on Grenada's Carriacou Island and, secondarily, on the resulting regional identities that developed. I argue that Carriacouans use tourism to construct and represent their racial and ethnic identities for tourist consumption; at the same time, through it they create, recreate and invigorate what they perceive as their exclusive cultural heritage, in contrast with Grenada and other islands in the Grenadines. I conclude that three main aspects of Kayak history allow for fluid constructions of identities: the Kayak cosmopolitan experience, the tightly knit community practices and value given to Carriacou's history and culture, and the cultural capital Kayaks possess through maintaining cultural practices long gone in the rest of the Caribbean. As a result, both ambivalence about what tourism can mean for the tranquil lifestyle and strong Afro-Antillean cultural practice, and the firm conviction that Kayak's culture will not 'suffer' or be diminished resulting from tourism development, coexist.

**Keywords:** authenticity; construction (of place); ethnic identity; heritage; tourist attractions; social and cultural change

Carriacou is beautiful and nice  
It belongs to the Isle of Spice  
Come enjoy the sun and have fun  
Drink coke and rum and listen to the  
Big Drum [. . .]  
Please my friend, come again  
You would have a lot to gain. (McLawrence, 1987, p. x)

Among the friendly inhabitants of Carriacou is a strong awareness of insular independence and pride. (David, 1985, p. 5)

The Caribbean is, after all, about indulging the senses: eating, sunbathing, sleeping, and, of course, snorkelling.

You don't exactly go there for the culture. (Pietrasik in Sheller, 2004, p. 18)

### Introduction

Tourism has been a constant in the Caribbean since the seventeenth century. The Caribbean is not only a tourism destination but also a brand in and of itself, and it has been so since the

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first ‘white tourist’ (Christopher Columbus) landed on these shores (Momsen, 2005, p. 209). The Caribbean, it seems, has been hopelessly cast as the ideal playground for westerners (Sheller, 2004, p. 14). Afro-Caribbean culture, specifically, has been for quite some time ‘an object of interest for the new leisure class of the North eager to experience difference and liminality’ (Rosa, 2001, p. 451). However, Grenada, the Isle of Spice (or the Spice of the Caribbean, as Grenadian tourism brochures advertise it), has been a tourism destination only since the 1960s. Due to distinctive political, economic, and historical circumstances, the industry has not followed the conventional approach generally found in the Caribbean: sea, sun-and-sand or leisure tourism and a generic paradisiacal landscape constructed as a seductive place (cf. Baldwin, 2005). In this article, I examine Grenada’s particular path to tourism to counter the image of the Caribbean tourism industry as exclusively offering leisure attractions that evoke edenic scenery and experiences. Drawing from anthropological fieldwork and continuous contact with my collaborators, I focus primarily on studying the cultural and historical heritage tourism of Grenada’s Carriacou Island and, secondarily, on the construction of this heritage in response to the Grenadian nation-state. I argue that Kayaks (as Carriacouans commonly called themselves and are called by Grenadians) use tourism as a vehicle to construct and represent their racial and ethnic identities for tourist consumption; at the same time, they create, recreate and invigorate what they perceive as their exclusive cultural heritage, which is in contrast with the island of Grenada and other islands in the Grenadines.

This article is based on original ethnographic research conducted in the summers of 2004 and 2005 on Carriacou and Grenada. During my research, I applied the ethnographic method and used participant observation techniques and open-ended unstructured interviews with 25 Afro-Antilleans (12 men and 13 women). In addition, I conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with public authorities and resident expatriates. As part of participant observation, I studied the interactions between Afro-Antilleans and visitors at businesses catering to tourists, including restaurants, hotels and hostels, bars, museums, tour agencies, ecological lodges, and diving shops. I also participated in private and public social events and festivities and volunteered at an archaeological project and an ecological foundation. I selected my collaborators using a non-probability stratified non-random sample (Bernard, 2011); I used two main non-probability methods: quota sampling based on age, gender, and relationship to tourism; and chain-referral sampling (2011, pp. 144–147). The main themes in the interviews included views on the tourism industry and tourists in Carriacou; perspectives about the future of Kayaks and tourism; discussion of the cultural cornerstones of Kayak racial and ethnic identity as well as notions of islandness and views on migration patterns.

### **Grenada: the Isle of Spice**

Grenada is a three-island nation consisting of the island of Grenada, and the Grenadine islands of Carriacou and Petite Martinique. The nation of Grenada has an area of 344 km<sup>2</sup> and an estimated population of 108,000; Carriacou, the largest of the Grenadines, is 34 km<sup>2</sup> in area with a population of 6000; Petite Martinique is only 3.7 km<sup>2</sup> in area and has a population of 550.<sup>1</sup>

Island Carib indigenous peoples inhabited Grenada prior to the arrival of the European colonizers (Fitzpatrick, Kaye, & Kappers, 2004) when Christopher Columbus sighted it in 1498, during his third voyage to the Americas. Colonial control changed hands several times between the French and the British between 1609 and 1783 when it was awarded to Britain under the Treaty of Versailles. It achieved its independence on 7 February

1974, although it remains part of the British Commonwealth. After independence, former Premier Eric Gairy came to power as Prime Minister. His government became increasingly authoritarian and undemocratic, resulting in a coup d'état in 1979 led by the New Jewel Movement.<sup>2</sup> This movement established the socialist leadership of Maurice Bishop, who was Grenada's Prime Minister from 1979 till 1983, when, in turn, US forces overthrew him (McDaniel, 1985, p. 180).

Anthropologists, musicologists, folklorists, and other social scientists have studied Grenada and Carriacou intensively since the 1950s (cf. Kephart, 1991). David (2004) notes that the island became a Mecca for anthropologists and sociologists from the 1950s to the 1980s (p. 3). These studies focused on three specific patterns found in the region: family and kinship patterns (Smith, 1961, 1962, 1965), distinctive cultural patterns (Fayer, 2003; Fayer & McMurray, 1999; Hill, 1998; McDaniel, 1985, 1992), and prevalent migration patterns (Hill, 1977; McElroy & de Albuquerque, 1990a; Pool, 1989). In addition, Creole linguistics has been studied in Grenada and Carriacou (Aceto, 2003; Kephart, 2000, 2003). Until now, very little research has focused on current transformations of the islands resulting from the phenomenon of tourism, except for a few essays that discuss some of the outcomes of the Grenadian revolution on Grenada's economic and social life (Searle, 1982; Sharpe, 1993). To remedy this gap, this article examines the tourism industry in Grenada's Carriacou Island, addressing how regional identities – in response to a national identity – are constructed and represented through cultural heritage tourism. These identity constructions are simultaneously muscular and solid as well as flexible and fluid, permitting Kayaks to welcome tourism development while also rejecting rapid and unplanned changes that could affect the local population, as they perceive has occurred throughout the Caribbean.

### **Tourism in Grenada**

State-sponsored tourism development in Grenada began in the 1960s (Sharpe, 1993). It is likely that tourism would have followed the traditional path of other islands in the Antilles: high-end facilities, an elite coastal strip where the resort hotels and estate houses are generally located, accompanied by a local interior, 'which lacks lucrative economic activity but contains the labour reservoir that serves the tourism sector' (Weaver, 1993, p. 135). This path was diverted by the 1979 revolution led by Maurice Bishop. Bishop's government,

promoted a 'new tourism' aimed at non-high-income visitors from other Caribbean countries as well as Canada and the United States. High-rise hotels, the private ownership of beachfront property, and the creation of tourist enclaves were banned. The Tourism [Ministry] specified that tourist trade must stimulate agro-industrial production and indigenous cultural expression. Since Grenada's economy was based on agriculture (its four main exports being bananas, cocoa, nutmeg, and mace) and tourism, the revolutionary government was not opposed to import/export trade or tourism as such. Rather, it opposed the control of Grenada's economy by transnational corporations. (Sharpe, 1993, p. 51)

This approach also involved what Bishop called a new psychology, where the smaller islands, Carriacou and Petite Martinique, were encouraged to develop tourism opportunities for national and international tourists, on the basis of their 'tremendous cultural potential' expressed in their rich cultural traditions and boat building abilities (Searle, 1982). As a consequence of this emphasis on indigenous cultural expression and stimulation of the local economy and enterprise, Grenada is one of the few island microstates in the Caribbean with minimal presence of what Young (1977) calls 'plantation tourism': music, dance and

other characteristics that are related or make reference to ‘traditionally lower caste and segregated black culture’ (p. 664).<sup>3</sup> As a result, Grenadians own about 90% of the tourism facilities on the islands, and the Grenada Board of Tourism encourages the construction of small-scale facilities (Nelson, 2005, p. 132), practice that is followed more closely in Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

The unfinished construction of an international airport with Cuban support in 1983 became a contentious point and an excuse for the USA to accuse Bishop’s government of building Cuban and Soviet military bases. Once his opponents executed Bishop that same year, the road was open for the USA to invade Grenada under the rationale that United Statesian students studying at St. George’s University were in danger (Sharpe, 1993, p. 51). In spite of the invasion, the US government has not heavily influenced Grenada. The three-island nation is not well placed for US investments and is not a good source of inexpensive labour (Sharpe, 1993, p. 52). Sharpe (1993) notes, ‘transnational corporations considered Grenada’s labour force, with its strong tradition of union organizing, to be too militant’ (p. 52). Stiehl (in Searle, 1982) also points to a period where the influence of the US black power movement was deeply felt in Grenada, and it fostered negative attitudes towards tourists and the light-skinned people in authority (Searle, 1982, p. 27). Tourism offered growth possibilities, but it continued to suffer from negative US propaganda, which was partly responsible for a 25% decrease in tourist trade between 1979 and 1982. As this perception gradually changed (especially after the end of the Cold War), Grenada’s tourist industry grew rapidly. As Jerome Cummings, an Afro-Antillean teacher, noted,<sup>4</sup>

During the time of the revolution, tourism declined for a while but soon after 1984 when the revolution came to an end and when we got back some stability ... which I believe we had stability during the revolution but at the time when we had the conflict of government it became very unstable and people became scared. It was not only during the revolution because the soldiers became prominent and sometimes you would feel more in a battlefield if you were a tourist than in paradise, so tourism declined during that period, but soon after 1984, and the election was held, it started to rise again. (J. C., 4 June 2004)

Grenada’s motto, the Original Caribbean, represents the Caribbean before the advent of tourism. As Nelson (2005) notes, the Grenada Board of Tourism’s logo of a ripe nutmeg, picked straight from the tree and unprocessed, denotes both the purity of the three-island nation-state as well as its ‘achieved perfection that is presumably ready for immediate consumption’ (p. 137). Tourists are expected to discover a natural and unspoiled paradise (Sharpe, 1993, p. 54). As a Country Poverty Assessment report published in 2008 declares, in addition to the expected Caribbean attractions of sun, sea, and sand, Grenada offers natural landscapes that render activities connected to nature desirable (Caribbean Development Bank & Kairi Consultants Ltd, 2008, p. 12). A Grenadian government tourism brochure reads: ‘Home to spectacular natural beauty, incomparable beaches, unique history and culture, these unspoilt islands offer guests an unparalleled collection of activities, entertainment and accommodations [ . . . ] Your choices are limited only by your imagination’ (Grenada Board of Tourism, n.d., p. 2). The irony of marketing Grenada as ‘the Original Caribbean’ is that its assumed ‘pristine’ condition is the result of an anti-imperialist revolution. As has happened with other regions of Latin America and the Caribbean where tourism markets have opened only in recent times due to earlier political instability (Babb, 2011), Grenada is undiscovered because until relatively recently, international tourists were either afraid to visit or to invest in the country. Sharpe summarizes this situation: ‘Before it could reinvent itself as paradise [ . . . ] Grenada had to overcome its image of

political instability. In other words, it had to rewrite the text of its revolution' (1993, p. 55). At present, the Grenada Tourism Board draws attention to three types of tourism, namely ecotourism, community tourism, and heritage tourism (Caribbean Development Bank & Kairi Consultants Ltd, 2008, p. 14).<sup>5</sup> McElroy (2003) places tourism development in Grenada at the intermediate level in comparison with other nations in the Caribbean (p. 236) and asserts that between 1993 and 2000 room availability increased by 30–50% (p. 239). After a significant decline in 2004 and 2005 due to devastation produced by Hurricanes Ivan and Emily, the tourism industry has seen a measured increase, slowed down by the world economic crisis of 2008. In 2011, a total of 116,398 stay-over visitors and 319,427 cruise-ship passengers arrived, representing an increase of 5.41%, with the majority of the tourism market coming from the USA and Britain, followed by Caribbean tourists from Trinidad and Tobago (Grenada Board of Tourism, 2013). Currently, tourism is the major industry in Grenada, with 76% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) deriving from services, surpassing agricultural production and the remittances received from Grenadians living abroad (Government of Grenada, 2013a).<sup>6</sup>

Like other tourism destinations in the Caribbean, Grenada advertises itself as a combination of an unspoilt treasure with a location with all the amenities a modern western tourist desires. Thus, tourism brochures promote 'clear, turquoise waters in 45 pristine beaches from which to choose' accompanied by luxury hotels, welcoming cocktails, and state-of-the-art facilities (Grenada Board of Tourism, n.d., p. 3). The Grenadian government focuses on the relatively pristine nature of the islands and emphasizes ecotourism: 'Some of the best diving in the Caribbean, dolphin and whale watching, bird watching, hiking, Grenada is one of the best preserved natural environments in the Caribbean' (Grenada and the Grenadines, 2004/2005, p. 2; cf. Government of Grenada, 2003). This marketing approach is well known and commonly used throughout the Caribbean. What is less common (in addition to the aforementioned hiatus in tourism development) is the emphasis placed on cultural heritage as one of the main attractions of a Caribbean destination. This article focuses on cultural heritage as such an instrument. And here, the forgotten, seemingly inconsequential island of Carriacou takes primacy. The following section discusses Carriacou's pathway to cultural heritage tourism.

### **Cultural heritage and tourism in 'The Gem of the Grenadines'**

Carriacou is located in the southernmost Windward Islands of the eastern Caribbean. Politically, it depends on Grenada, but culturally it has stronger connections with the Grenadines. The population of Carriacou is primarily composed of descendants of slaves from West Africa; there are also descendants of the intermarriage between French, English, and Scottish settlers and their slaves (Kephart, 2003). Sugar production had the highest impact on this small island, demographically and ecologically, even though some scholars have argued that the inauspicious ecological conditions of Carriacou 'contributed to its isolation and neglect and discouraged even the adventurer/slaver's prolonged or massive presence here' (McDaniel, 1985, p. 180). The earliest census of Carriacou dates to 1700, and counted 257 whites, 525 enslaved peoples, and 53 free people of colour (Ashie-Nikoi, 2007, p. 25). Under the French in 1750, there were only about 200 people on Carriacou, approximately half free and half slaves, scattered around the island on small farms. By 1776, the British had introduced a large-scale sugar operation, with some 3000 slaves working for a few hundred Europeans. Unfortunately, according to Kephart (2003), 'Carriacou has never recovered ecologically from this deliberate overdevelopment' (p. 228; cf. Richardson, 1975).

Carriacouans descend from West Africans brought as slaves, first by the French (seventeenth century) and later by the British (late eighteenth century), to work on plantations producing tropical export crops such as cotton, tobacco, indigo, and sugar. Scottish settlers arrived on Carriacou about 1793 (McLawrence, 1987, p. 1). Most Carriacouans are of West African descent, with the exception of the descendants of French, English, and particularly, Scottish and West Africans, who live in the village of Windward in the northern part of the island (McDaniel, 1985, p. 180). In addition to tourism, small-scale agriculture and fishing are the main sources of income for most Kayaks today. They speak a variant of Creole English termed by linguists as Carriacou English Creole (Aceto, 2003, pp. 121–122; cf. Hill, 1977). This language is understood by some scholars as its own variant developed *in situ* (Aceto, 2003) and by others as a language heavily influenced by French Creole (Kephart, 2003, 2006).

As in other parts of the world, Grenada's government emphasizes protecting, managing, and advertising both heritage sites and nature. As Scher reminds us,

The idea of bounded culture groups whose differences are structured based on specific standardized criteria is developed in response to the homogenization of globalization. In this view, cultures are collections of 'products' whose form is consistent even as the content changes [. . .] Examples of these categories include cuisine, costume, music, dance, the plastic arts, folklore, traditional knowledge, mythology, etc. Together they form 'heritage'. Copyright protection of heritage reifies this notion of bounded culture groups recognizable by their expressive and material output and, in effect, defines exactly what the nature of that cultural content will be. (2002, p. 460; cf. Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996)

Cultural heritage, then, becomes part of the marketing strategy selected by Grenada's authorities for Carriacou [the Heritage Island as David (2004) calls it] promoting it as an immovable, drowsy, passive, and docile place, its population submitting eagerly to slavery.<sup>7</sup> In effect, Grenadian authorities have critically neglected Carriacou, as Searle (1982) asserts:

Notwithstanding the fact that this trend has sometimes been a blessing to the people, as with the almost complete withdrawal of the European plantocracy [in the 1870s] and the consequent fragmentation of Carriacou into peasant smallholdings, the governing powers have always been intent to keep their distance from the shores of Carriacou, to take what its earth and people could grow and rip the produce from their grasp, but give nothing in return. (p. 6)

In 1982 when Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was interviewed by Searle about the state of affairs in Carriacou prior to his administration, he noted that the legacy he received from previous governments was 'one of total abandonment [. . .], of economic backwardness and underdevelopment' (in Searle, 1982, p. 16). Thus, Carriacou was a forgotten island for most of its history.

Ironically, these historical circumstances and experiences are given a different twist in tourism brochures. 'Nowhere else has nature or the way of life of the islanders remained as authentic as they have on Grenada's smaller sister island, Carriacou' (Grenada and the Grenadines, 2004/2005, p. 1). Tourists learn that nowhere else in the Caribbean will they experience hospitality as in Carriacou, where hotels are family-run and with a maximum of 29 rooms. 'Our guests get to feel at home in the family-style pensions – and the beach is never very far away!' (Grenada and the Grenadines, 2004/2005, p. 1). In other words, Carriacou is sold as a place where there is not much to do but go fishing or maintain strong boating traditions (Simply Carriacou, 2013).



The Scots bequeathed arts of a more practical nature to the island. In Windward, on the island's north coast, the descendants of kilt-clad sailors are still building their ocean-worthy wooden ships today, using the age-old techniques. But these still vital traditions are only the most conspicuous facet of the untouched Caribbean way of life in Carriacou. (Grenada and the Grenadines, 2004/2005, p. 1)

The cultural heritage of Carriacou as a place trapped in the past becomes the commodity that is sold to tourists. The remnants of a colonial past that left Carriacou almost devastated ecologically along with the neglect of consecutive Grenadian governments have contributed to the development of an island with very few work opportunities for its population with the exception of fishing, government work, very limited agriculture, and tourism. Searle (1982, p. 6) argues that neglect and abandonment have characterized the history of Carriacou. Not surprisingly, Carriacou has experienced dramatic migration patterns.<sup>8</sup> While migration, return migration, and transnational migration have been permanent fixtures in the Caribbean, this phenomenon has been particularly salient in Grenada (Pool, 1989) and more specifically, Carriacou (Mills, 2005, p. 174). Pool argues that the culture of migration developed in the late nineteenth century, after a plantation economy sprang up alongside a small holder society, and the prices and availability of land made it increasingly difficult to find job opportunities in Grenada itself (1989, pp. 240–241). This historical phenomenon produced steady migration patterns in both islands and was recognized as a problem as early as 1906 by the Grenadian government (Newton, 1984). Thus, almost 106,000 Grenadians left the island in the last 120 years and did not return (Pool, 1989, p. 249). Likewise, between 1955 and 1960, Carriacou lost nearly 20% of its population (Conway, 1986, p. 202), first to Trinidad and Aruba and later to Britain, Canada, and the USA. One positive outcome of this constant migration is the guaranteed revenue in the form of remittances that reaches the island.<sup>9</sup>

Colonial and postcolonial exploitation have produced a population relatively wary of foreign influence and presence (cf. Miller, 2005); this, coupled with a revolutionary period, effectively prevented hyper-tourism. Tourism brochures transform the lack of resources, history of colonization and migration, and slavery into quaint and attractive expressions of cultural heritage. Here we have a sanitized view of history, not uncommon in Caribbean tourism, where brochures advertise the pride and independence of Kayaks, while also noting that they can trace 'their ancestry back to the African tribe to which they belong' (Grenada Board of Tourism, n.d., p. 6) completely disregarding issues of slavery, colonialism, or – more recently – imperialism. Under the circumstances discussed above, any attempts to modernize or transform Carriacou's cultural heritage become counter to the copyrighted product sold to tourists.

But how quaint and isolated *is* Carriacou? Long before the advent of tourism as an important source of revenue, Carriacou and Grenada with their plantation economies were a part of the global market system. This tradition has produced a population not only with a strong sense of belonging to an island, but also one with well-developed ties and connections with the pan-Caribbean and pan-African worlds. Both islands were exporters of sugar during the Colonial Period. Although there were no large sugar plantations in the second half of the eighteenth century (common in other Caribbean islands), Grenada was the fourth largest Caribbean exporter of sugar after Jamaica, Antigua, and St. Kitts (Sharpe, 1993, p. 53). The slave rebellion led by Fedon in 1795 stifled the development of large-scale sugar plantations characteristic of other Caribbean islands (Cox, 1982). Carriacou thus 'emerged from an anticolonial rebellion' (Sharpe, 1993, p. 54) with an economy based on small plantations, subsistence agriculture, and the exploitation of marine resources.<sup>10</sup>

For Searle (1982), Carriacou has been forced to develop its own unique cultural resistance to imperialism. This unique cultural resistance is represented in the touristic experience in Carriacou, another prime example of Carriacou's insertion into the global market. Tourism has become a significant source of revenue for Kayaks, particularly in the twenty-first century.<sup>11</sup> While there are no official statistics available regarding numbers of tourists visiting Carriacou, tourist presence is important, as shown by data from the Carriacou Historical Society (CHS). In 2004, CHS had 1552 visitors, 20 of them from Carriacou. In 2005, there was a slight decline in Museum visits, with 1345 visits, 100 of them from Carriacou (Carriacou Historical Society Report, 2006, pp. 4–5).

In line with tourism development in Grenada at large, former emigrants to England and the USA who have returned to retire and/or invest own most small-scale restaurants and hotels, making up the bulk of tourism businesses in Carriacou. Hillary Mitchell, Afro-Antillean born in London (England), returned to Carriacou 13 years ago and opened a hotel, restaurant, and cloth business. She states,

I always knew I would end up in the Caribbean. My father is from Grenada and my mother is from Carriacou and they had decided to come back for a visit. My first visit was in 1981, and I spent 3 days in Carriacou. I went to see my aunt, and there it was, Petit Martinique and the other islands. It was like a picture and I thought: why did my mother left this beautiful place for old boring London? I resented it, I was upset and I thought that I had really missed out. And I knew then that I would come to live in the Caribbean; I did not know how or when. In 1997 I bought the land for my hotel and restaurant, and in August I moved here with my sons. This is a real good blessing; the best of both worlds and in lots of ways I sort of feel for my family, for my parents' dreams when they left in 1955. I have completed the circle, my child went to the same school as his grandmother! Carriacou got someone back; one came back [ . . . ] (Interview H. M., 13 June 2005)

Resident expatriates control only two tourism enterprises: real estate agencies and scuba diving ventures. A US man, a Frenchman, and a German couple own the three scuba diving facilities on the island. Kayaks, however, benefit from these businesses. For example, one of the scuba diving facilities trained 10 Kayak men as dive masters in 2004 (Interview L. D., 13 July 2004). United Statian and English families own the three real estate agencies; they serve mainly US and European customers who purchase vacation homes on the island, which they rent out when they are not personally using them.

Tourism has remained low-impact, small-scale, and mostly managed by Kayaks until the present time. Many of my collaborators stressed the importance of offering outstanding service to locals and visitors alike and suggested that making distinctions between tourists and the local population was a mistake. Sandra Jerome, the Afro-Antillean owner of a bed and breakfast commented,

I think people shouldn't just market for tourism; it should be a high quality service for everybody and if the tourists want to take part of that, fair enough. That is why I offer reasonable prices, so everyone can have the opportunity to experience Carriacou. (Interview S. J., 5 June 2004)

Likewise, they pointed to the responsibility of the Kayak and Grenadian government to tend to the basic needs of its citizens before embarking in large-scale projects that would bring unwanted stress to the natural resources and infrastructure of the island. Claudia Nagel, president of the NGO Carriacou and Petite Martinique Tourism Association in 2005, concurred with this position:

If you look up and down the island, you will not find a lot of infrastructure or social structure, and what you find here is cleanliness [ . . . ] [I think it is important to have] smaller hotels that are

nice and efficient in the old Caribbean way, family style, probably more emphasis on the original West Indian cooking rather than going for French cuisine [. . .] Can you imagine what impact a big tourism project would have on things like garbage, sewage, and things whatsoever if nothing is properly prepared? (Interview C. N., 30 May 2005)

However, it is possible that this pattern may give way to large-scale development typical of the rest of the Caribbean in the near future. There is a large marina under construction in Tyrell Bay, and there have been several residential projects under negotiation since the mid-2000s. Currently, the Grenadian government is discussing the construction of a duty-free zone in the area of Dumfries, which would include free port services, cruise-ship docking facilities, and tourism, resort, and entertainment amenities (Government of Grenada, 2013b).<sup>12</sup> These projects, as well as other construction related to tourism directly or indirectly, have already resulted in some severe environmental problems due to sand mining (Interview D. M., 27 April 2007; see also Guerrón Montero, 2011; cf. Torres, 2005). According to Andrea Smith, an expatriate who moved to Carriacou in 1993 and owns a scuba diving facility, 'I think that there are people here who would be very happy with a big hotel chain like Sandals. If they would start building big, big hotels with 200 rooms and the all-inclusive hotels, they would be happy' (Interview A. S., 30 May 2005). For the majority of my interviewees, however, Carriacou is not in danger of becoming another overexploited Caribbean resort. Several reasons account for this different approach to tourism development in comparison with the rest of the Caribbean. Kayaks tend to have a sense of strong pride in their island, its history and cultures, its independent nature and ability to be self-sufficient without resorting to 'the older sister', Grenada, and its desire to carve their own path and not emulate other Caribbean islands. As Andrea herself asserted,

[resorts and large hotels] would take all the business from there, it would do a lot of damage to the general picture of what Petit Martinique and Carriacou convey. The people who are coming here are in love with this little place, and they would not come back if something like this would happen [. . .] But I don't think this will happen here; in general people are very proud of their islands and even the large projects such as the marina are done step by step, and that could be a push in development for Carriacou; they are creating jobs and small businesses. (Interview A. S., 30 May 2005)

Likewise, Elvin Simmons, Afro-Antillean who has lived in Carriacou for most of his life [with occasional long-term stays in New York (USA)] and who works as administrator of one of the hotels in town, asserts that the independent nature of Kayaks would not permit drastic and uncontrolled changes to occur. He stated,

What we have to offer, the stability and quietness of the island, brings a different kind of traveller, who appreciates Carriacou and life in Carriacou, and they would not like to make it into a mini Miami, or Jamaica or Barbados; they like the uniqueness of it. (Interview E. S., 16 June 2005)

### **Expressions of cultural heritage and ethnic tourism**

Grenada and its sister islands of Carriacou and Petite Martinique are relatively homogenous racially and ethnically. In addition to descendants of European colonizers who mixed with African slaves, most of the population is Afro-Antillean or mulatto, with a small minority of East Indians (particularly in Grenada) and European and North American permanent and semi-permanent resident expatriates. Although there are differences between brown and black populations,<sup>13</sup> Grenada has experienced a greater degree of mobility within the social structure starting in the 1950s. According to Benoit (2007), this produced less rigid class

and status divisions, ‘and skin colour became less significant as a determinant of status and class’ (p. 99). Thus, and without ignoring direct and nuanced inequalities connected with racial and ethnic issues, when discussing the ways in which race and ethnicity shape and are shaped by tourism, emphasis may be placed on cultural, historical, and geographical differences among Afro-Antilleans and mulattos in the three islands that form the state of Grenada.

The stress placed by successive governments and tourism mediators on cultural heritage relates directly to these cultural, historical, and geographical differences. As a result, cultural heritage tourism in Grenada represents – more than any other form of tourism – a repackaging of ethnic tourism. Volkman (1990) has noted that ethnic tourism is the ultimate form of collection, not only of artefacts but also of culture itself (cf. Cohen, 2001). This collecting is not the purview of the West, as indigenous peoples and other ethnic groups, as well as tourism mediators participate in and contribute to the process (Volkman, 1990, p. 91).

As noted earlier, Carriacou belongs politically to Grenada but is more closely associated culturally and geographically with the Grenadines (Interview A. C., 8 July 2005). As an Afro-Antillean woman working on tourism-related activities noted, ‘Many Kayaks don’t associate and don’t want to be associated with Grenadians; they criticize them and say that they come, make a mess of things and leave’ (Interview L. M., 10 June 2005). Moreover, Kayaks believe that they are more sophisticated and better educated than Grenadians, and that tourists who visit the island recognize this quickly. Tension and conflicts resulting from these differences are indeed very present in the State of Grenada, and the state has historically struggled to maintain a sense of internal unity beyond political and juridical connections.<sup>14</sup> In regard to tourism specifically, the cultural heritage approach taken by Grenadian authorities (and supported by Carriacouan authorities and some residents) calls for an emphasis on clearly demonstrable ties between cultural expressions of heritage and citizens’ African ethnic background first and the Afro-Antillean background second. Once again, the exceptionality of Carriacou rests in the fact that Kayaks are able to trace back and represent, however putatively, their African ancestry, unlike most Afro-Caribbeans (cf. Miller, 2005). Ethnic tourism with an emphasis on cultural heritage sold by tourism mediators is closely connected with the Kayaks’ own sense of identity, separate from Grenadians. As Mills notes,

Petite Martinique and Carriacou societies evolved separately from Grenadian society. There is a greater reliance on the sea, boat building, fishing, trading, and migration on the two smaller islands than in Grenada, where agriculture has always been a crucial sector of the economy. Carriacou’s small size and isolation have contributed to the independence and self-reliance of its people. Inhabitants of Carriacou traditionally do not rely on the Grenadian government for help and they express a unique identity, separate from Grenada. (2005, p. 176)

How is this represented in tourism performances? Kayaks bring attention to those cultural expressions that are either particular to Carriacou or no longer exist in the rest of the Caribbean. Thus, the Big Drum Festival or the Shakespeare Mas’ (explained below) become marketable assets for Grenadian and Carriacouan authorities, more so than the calypso or steel band music frequently performed at island events. Bessie Douglas, a waitress at a local restaurant, asserted:

Our culture is unique and different. I don’t think that the culture we have here could be seen in other islands, because from island to island, some of the islands were lost altogether. They have not carried out, for example, the Big Drum, which has gone from generation to generation. Here, someone in the community makes sure that the next generation maintains it. It is particular of this island, not of Grenada. (B. D., 30 June 2005)

Carriacou is ethnically and culturally relatively homogeneous; people 'retain knowledge of their African ancestry and maintain ties with them' through social and cultural expressions (Kephart, 1991, p. 81) such as kinship relations,<sup>15</sup> music, dances and ceremonies, and cuisine. This relative homogeneity, added to the existence of strong family networks and cultural affiliation to African nations, facilitates to some extent communal work, the establishment of concerted efforts, and a common vision for the island. McDaniel (1992) agrees: 'The tiny size of Carriacou, historical isolation and absentee proprietorship have contributed to the perpetuation of traditional practices' (p. 396; cf. Smith, 1962).<sup>16</sup>

Consequently, Carriacou's uniqueness is manifested in its cultural expressions. The tourism that is offered in Carriacou emphasizes both the cultural history of Afro-Antilleans and a direct connection with Africa. Carriacou is distinctive in the fact that many of the cultural traditions (kinship patterns, connections to residents' African nations) and folk performances with a strong West African contribution that have disappeared in other parts of the Anglophone Caribbean still remain vibrant on this island (Kephart, 1991, p. 81). Fayer (2003) argues that this is partly the result of the historically high number of slaves in proportion to the white population (p. 221). For instance, in 1833, just before emancipation, there were 3200 slaves in a population of about 4000 people (Fayer & McMurray, 1999). European landowners were often absent from their estates, thus allowing the slaves to manifest their culture with a higher degree of freedom than in other enslaved regions of the Caribbean (in Searle, 1982, p. 86). After emancipation, European planters left, and ex-slaves were able to develop 'their society and culture in splendid isolation [while] new racial and cultural elements were being introduced to large possessions nearby' (Smith, 1962, p. 2).

Two of the most prominent examples of this distinctive cultural heritage include the Big Drum Dance and the Shakespeare Mas' festival. The Big Drum Dance or African Nation Dance is at the core of ethnic identity among Kayaks, and it represents the relevance of African nations as linguistic/ethnic groups for this identity; it is composed mainly of two genres of songs, the nation dances (Kromantin, Igbo, Manding, Temne, Kongo, Moko, Chamba, Arada, Banda) attributed to West African groups, and Creole dances (Bele Kaewe, Gwa Bele, Hallecord, Kalinda, Bongo, Juba) with origins in Caribbean settings (Hill, 1999, p. 154). The dance also includes frivolous or flirtatious dances (Chiffone, Pike, Cherrup) (David, 2004, p. 80). Ethnomusicologists and musicians have produced systematic studies of the Big Drum Dance since the mid-twentieth century (cf. Pearse, 1955). The Big Drum dance is performed at tombstone feasts and on other special occasions. This dance

is as old as slavery, and we know that in those times our ancestors used their spare time to express their suppressions and feelings of joy, through their drums [ . . . ] The Big Drum helps [Kayaks] understand what Africa is all about because you try to explain to the children what slavery is all about, why the ancestors were oppressed and why they beat their drums, and what brought them to these islands. Because the drum is a symbol of time and timelessness, relating not only to the present day, but going back to the slave era, going through time. (David in Searle, 1982, p. 89; cf. David, 2004)

The dance is divided into different pieces according to the nations they represent and was intended originally to help enslaved Africans survive and maintain unity among the different African nations in Carriacou (Hill, 1998). The songs for the dance are sung in Yoruba or Patois (Fayer, 2003; cf. McDaniel, 1985, 1991, 1992); currently, very few Kayaks understand the meaning of the words in these languages because Patois is rarely spoken and

no longer taught to children (Interview L. M., 20 July 2005). McDaniel (1992) argues that the Big Drum ceremony or Nation Dance ‘celebrates family reorganization and changes in social status’ and its songs ‘stretch and sustain the people’s cultural and personal knowledge of their ethnicity’ (p. 395).

The Shakespeare Mas’ festival, associated with Carnival, is the last surviving performance of its kind in the Anglophone Caribbean (Fayer, 2003, p. 212). The Shakespeare Mas’ is a type of verbal duelling between two players to determine who can recite the most speeches in a competitive exchange. The speeches recited are taken from Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*. According to Fayer and McMurray (1999), ‘although similar folk dramas were common on islands such as Grenada, Trinidad, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Jamaica, it is only on Carriacou that this folk drama continues as part of carnival’ (pp. 58–59). Fayer and McMurray note that, in spite of the European character of some of the traits of this performance, ‘the costumes, the whip fighting, and the rhetoric all seem to have strong African influences’ (1999, pp. 58–59).

Other important celebrations include the Regatta Festival in August, the Tombstone Feast, and the Parang Festival (carried out at different times throughout the year). The Regatta Festival started in 1965. Although tourists attend this festival, it is clearly a celebration intended for Kayaks to take pride in their boat building abilities (considered among the best in the Caribbean) and to reconnect with their relatives living abroad or on the nearby islands. The Tombstone Feast is the community celebration carried out when a tombstone is erected. This feast is regarded as an occasion to celebrate rather than mourn the life of the deceased, and it closes the death ritual (David, 2004, p. 24). According to my collaborators, the feast is open to all, Kayaks and non-Kayaks alike, and it is not uncommon for tourists to have the opportunity to participate in this celebration (Interview C. R., 12 June 2004). The Parang Festival started in 1977 and is held during the weekend before 25 December; it is a three-day festival that culminates in *mele* (held on a Sunday). The *mele* is the highlight of the festival and it involves sharing gossip about people on the island through the use of a calypso-like melody (Interview R. B., 28 June 2005). The festival is held as a competition, with organized string bands from villages throughout Carriacou, Petit Martinique and Grenada competing for cash prizes and a trophy (Miller, 2007).

## Conclusions

I would hate for Carriacou to become a tourist destination. (Hillary Mitchell, 13 June 2005)

As Scher (2002, p. 466) notes, ‘cultural preservation authorities define the contours of “real” versus “fake” culture, marginalize certain expressive practices, and cleanse existing practices or elements considered foreign, undesirable or inauthentic’, effectively defining folklore in its intention to protect it. Heritage is adapted to the demands of tourism and historical narratives are reshaped (Bruner, 2004). This is particularly relevant to Grenada and Carriacou, where the main attractions and features that are highlighted as incomparable indeed have to do not only with the natural beauty of the site (which, in spite of the positive environmental state of the three-island state, can find competition on other areas of the Caribbean), but also with its cultural heritage. Currently, the content and approach of cultural heritage in Carriacou is not monitored by the state. Afro-Antillean youth and adults (both men and women) – and not an external force place notions of ‘authenticity’ upon these festivals. In fact, Claudia Nagel (president of the Carriacou and Petite Martinique Tourism Association) stated that the Grenadian government mostly provides technical and marketing support to the Carriacou Board of Tourism and NGOs working on tourism-related associations, but it does not

determine the way in which Kayak culture is represented in Carriacou. This contrasts with what Cole (2007) argues about authenticity as 'a Western cultural notion associated with the past "primitive Other" articulated in opposition to modernity' (p. 944).

Although I agree with Cole's critical perspective about the notion of authenticity (MacCannell, 1989), I argue that in the case of Carriacou, a careful and authentic representation of any cultural manifestation is important and essential for Kayaks, for the actors themselves, regardless of how this is conveyed to tourists, who in the case of Carriacou, at the current stage of tourism development appear to be accidental rather than crucial for the performance. That is, in line with Getz' (1998) argument, the community's (however conceived) control and acceptance of an event and its degree of authenticity becomes relevant. To Bruner's apt and important question, 'Who has the right or power to define what is authentic in touristic contexts?' (in Cole, 2007) the response, at least at this point in Carriacou, is, Kayaks, both those who are directly or indirectly involved in tourism (whether owning or managing tourism businesses, or running festivals and events attended by tourists) and those whose activities are not related to tourism. Unlike Trinidad (Scher, 2011), the state has not determined – with the aid of national and international cultural heritage 'experts', namely anthropologists, musicologists, or musicians – scripts by which events such as the Big Drum Dance or the Shakespeare Mas' ought to develop.<sup>17</sup> These events have not been copyrighted as of yet.

However, things are starting to change, judging by the creation of events such as the Carriacou Maroon and String Band Festival and the Heritage Village, events and places aimed to satisfy tourists' needs. The Grenadian Tourism Board created the three-day long Maroon and String Band Festival specifically for tourists in 2002 to showcase some of Carriacou's cultural traditions, including the Parang, Big Drum Dance, quadrille dances, and calypso music. The festival takes place every April at the Heritage Village, located at the Belair Historical Park. This park has French and English remains and windmills 'that attest to Carriacou's industrial past' (Grenada Board of Tourism, n.d., p. 6). According to the Grenada Board of Tourism (2013), this is a unique festival that 'showcases traditions, rituals, song, dance and other spiritual aspects like none other', highlights the food, music and culture of Kayaks, and that offers an opportunity to 'experience a pure and culturally untamed experience' (Grenada Board of Tourism, 2013). Glenn Callwood, a Kayak marginally involved with tourism, remarked that before this festival was implemented some tourists visited the island several times and never experienced these traditions. 'Now with this festival, tourists can plan ahead for their vacations and come to see our cultural manifestations.' As to what Kayaks think about the 'authenticity' of these festivals, Glenn stated,

these events are obviously staged and thus less authentic, but this has not prevented Kayaks from continuing their own events in the small villages and parishes around the island. On the contrary, some of these manifestations have been revitalised resulting from the Festival. (Interview G. C., 3 June 2005)

The main concern about these performances relates to their lack of spontaneity and opportunities for reciprocity, both primary characteristics of the actual events themselves. For instance, Hillary Steele, a return migrant with strong ties to the community, stated that tombstone feasts and Big Drum dances always incorporated spontaneous moments of dancing with the singers or distributions of large quantities of food to attendees (Interview H. S., 8 June 2005). These manifestations are not present at the Heritage Village.

Miller (2005) argues that the strong black nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s motivated the appropriation of those cultural expressions deemed closely connected with an

African past and considered fundamental links to the African Diaspora (such as the Big Drum Dance), and the rejection of creolized practices that resulted from an enslaved past and that combine African and European musical traits (such as the quadrille). In the 1980s, the Bishop government encouraged the invigoration of *all* Grenadian cultural forms, regardless of their origin. In post-invasion Grenada, the Carriacou Maroon and String Band Festival showcases both the cultural practices directly linked to Africa and the creolized practices, some of which are otherwise falling into disuse. As a result, the festival has become a venue for the production and reproduction of a cherished past, but also of a contentious remembered past of imperial subjection (Miller, 2005, p. 404, 2007).

Another venue that supports historical and cultural tourism is the potential advent of archaeological tourism. Since 1999, an international team of archaeologists from the USA, England, and The Netherlands have been conducting – with the support of national and local authorities – a comprehensive archaeological project to uncover significant information about Carriacou’s indigenous past (Kaye, Fitzpatrick, & Kappers, 2005). For the CHS, this project is promising not only for the prehistoric and historic information it has uncovered, but also for the possibility of taking tourism in the island to a competitive level (Carriacou Historical Society Report, 2006, p. 6). According to Dexter Lendore, Development Officer for the Board of Tourism of Carriacou and Petit Martinique in 2004 and 2005, Kayaks appreciate the uncovering of the island’s prehistoric roots because they complete the picture of the island’s history.

They see it [the prehistory of Carriacou] as part of their heritage. They are African, European and East Indian, and they do not see an issue, because of the fact that the history of Carriacou is what is important, and not necessarily what tribe or continent [they come from]. Because of the fact that this is part of Kayak history, it is important. (Interview D. L., 2 June 2005)

Island archaeology is advertised both as an educational activity and a touristic attraction in the Society’s publicity (Carriacou Historical Society, 2013), and is also listed as a potential attraction in the plans for the construction of a duty-free zone on the island (Government of Grenada, 2013b). As Patterson (2011) asserts about the team, which includes an archaeology school primarily for United States and British students,

Carriacou is an attractive place to conduct research and foreign archaeologists are increasingly interested to come, not only because of the fruitfulness of the research uncovering many artefacts, revealing more about the way of life of pre-European Amerindians, but because of the delightful surroundings.

In the future, the Society (a partner in this venture) or the owners of the land where the excavations take place might become interested in developing touristic experiences involving archaeology as another form of cultural heritage tourism on the island.<sup>18</sup>

When discussing tourism development in the Caribbean, Sheller asserts that the ‘naturalization’ of the social and economic inequalities of the tourism industry results from three steps:

the objectification of Caribbean people as part of the natural landscape; the equation of that landscape (and hence those who people it) with sexuality and corruption; and finally, the marketing of the Caribbean via imagined geographies of tropical enticement and sexual availability. (2004, p. 18)



At the present time, neither Grenada nor Carriacou or Petit Martinique has fallen into this path. Correspondingly, researchers of tourism have argued that in its many manifestations, tourism links up to national identity in unexpected ways, fostering the production or resurgence of cultural, social, and political symbols that may function as powerful nation-building tools (Bossen, 2000; Merrill, 2009; Mohammed, 2002; Sánchez & Adams, 2007). The Grenadian government supports, advertises, and exploits primarily heritage and ecological tourism in Carriacou, whereas Kayaks have taken charge in presenting Carriacou as a land ideally suited for cultural heritage tourism.

Ambivalence about tourism development by local populations in the Caribbean has been documented thoroughly (see, for example, Daltabuit & Pi-Sunyer, 1990; Freitag, 1996; McElroy & Albuquerque, 1990b). Although this is also true of Carriacou, its situation differs in important ways. The Afro-Antilleans of Carriacou have responded to tourism development by welcoming but not embracing tourism (Guerrón Montero, 2011). My interviewees emphasize the importance of controlling tourism development in regard to numbers of tourists, activities offered to tourists, and management and ownership of facilities. This response has several causes. Partly resulting from the isolation the residents endured, there is a strong emphasis on the maintenance of family networks and traditions, with consequent misgivings about foreign influence. Additionally, due to the cosmopolitan nature of Kayaks and their migration patterns, they have been acquainted with foreigners (particularly white foreigners) for at least a century; thus, they are not prone to mystify tourism or tourists and although optimal business service is desired and expected, they do not feel inclined to tend to tourists' every wish. For Mary Robinson, a hotel administrator who was born in Carriacou and who returned to the island after 10 years of living in Venezuela,

People are very friendly and welcoming here, but strangers are not mystical to them; they are just people away, because so many of *our people are away*. We have a high percentage of Kayaks who have gone abroad and made a living, so they are quite used to people coming and going. So people also come to Carriacou, and seeing a white person is not a big deal. You do not go down chasing them down the road hustling. (Interview M. R., 14 June 2005)

Three main aspects of Kayak history allow for fluid constructions of identities: The Kayak cosmopolitan experience, added to the tightly knit community practices and value given to Carriacou's history and culture, and the cultural capital Kayaks possess through maintaining cultural practices long gone in the rest of the Caribbean. As a result, both ambivalence about what tourism can mean to the tranquil lifestyle and strong Afro-Antillean cultural practices, and the firm conviction that Kayak's culture will not 'suffer' or be diminished resulting from tourism development, coexist. Distrust about foreign influence and what most identify as undesirable transformations are not geared exclusively, or even primarily, to tourism.<sup>19</sup> My collaborators indicated that globalization has brought more transformations than tourism itself. For instance, the presence of a television set in every household has kept people in their homes watching Venezuelan or Brazilian soap operas rather than walking around the streets conversing with one another, playing cards, or sharing cooking techniques. Colin, an Afro-Antillean man who works at a hotel and is also a well-respected calypsonian, stated,

Things are changing rapidly in terms of the popularity of the television and you find that a lot of things that are happening there are happening here, and that is why I say that we are losing our roots. We tend to adapt to what we see on TV. We tend to lose our interest in cricket and we focus on basketball, you know, and things like that. We tend to forget our calypso and we

focus on the American style music. As time has continued to roll on, we see what is happening in the developed countries through television, it has almost become like down there here. That is the way I see it. (Interview C. P., 15 June 2005)

In his article 'Tourism and its discontents: Suri-tourist encounters in Ethiopia', Abbink (2004) studies the responses of the Suri indigenous peoples to tourism growth. He notes that the encounter between tourists and the Suri is a meeting of extremes, a 'confrontation', where neither speaks the others' language and both view the other as unbearably discourteous. Yet in their expressions of apparent discourtesy, the Suri are behaving precisely as the 'authentic primitive Other' advertised in tourism brochures (2004, pp. 269–274). And for the Suri, the tourists offer nothing more than irritation and bafflement for their seeming improprieties (2004, p. 275). Although Kayaks do not express the same sentiments, there is a degree of similarity in their resistance to accommodating tourists' every need. Tourists who travel to Carriacou encounter an island historically connected to the globalized world yet deeply rooted in long-held cultural traditions. The Big Drum Dance, the Parang Festival and the Regatta Festival are maintained and cared for by Kayaks primarily for Kayaks. The entertainment offered to tourists by performing these musical traditions becomes a by-product rather than an end. In fact, while one of the main attractions of Carriacou are its people, Kayaks are generally unconcerned with tourists, and although excellence in service is considered a fundamental aspect of the Kayak hospitality, they do not strive to become the 'ideal host' as so commonly happens elsewhere in the Caribbean.

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### Notes

1. The Grenadines are a chain of over 600 islands, most uninhabited, in the Windward Islands of the Southern Caribbean. They are divided between the island nations of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada.
2. The New Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education, and Liberation, or New JEWEL Movement, was a Marxist–Leninist party that took control of the country after a successful revolution in 1979 and ruled until 1983 when it was deposed by the US military in 1983.
3. Bolles (1992) finds changes in the construction of tourism images in Jamaica in connection with different political agendas of Jamaican governments. Thus, Edward Seaga's conservative government (1980–1989) stressed the 'abundant, trained service workers' available at the tourist's disposal, while the 1970s campaign under democratic socialist Michael Manley emphasized the many offerings – other than beaches – available in the country and the egalitarian nature of Jamaicans and tourists (Bolles, 1992, p. 32).

4. With the exception of the names of public figures, I have used pseudonyms to refer to all my collaborators.
5. It should be noted, however, that Grenada is a well-known tax heaven for unregulated global banking (Sheller, 2004, p. 16).
6. Eighteen per cent of the country's GDP derives from other industries such as construction, food and beverage production, and light assembly operation, and 5.4% from agriculture, primarily for export.
7. For instance, the Grenada Handbook of 1946, after describing the slave Fedon's rebellion in Grenada in 1795, notes that the slaves in Carriacou were 'faithful and well-behaved during the rebellion' (in Searle, 1982, p. 7). Donald R. Hill, a social scientist who conducted research on Carriacou an life and history in the early 1970s, notes the popular Kayak response to the events and aftermath of Fedon's rebellion:

Some old people in Carriacou [. . .] speak about Cromanti Cudjoe, one of Carriacou's founding ancestors. It is said that Cromanti Cudjoe was a confederate of Fedon, and that upon the collapse of the rebellion he escaped to Sauteurs, Grenada. From there he swam north, through the convergent currents around Kick'em Jenny rock to Carriacou. In Carriacou the slaves gave him shelter and food. He is said to have dressed as a woman and hid among the slaves for some time, going from estate to estate, trying to lead resistance against the British. Today, Cromanti Cudjoe is considered one of the three most important ancestor spirits. (1977, p. 7)

8. This migration pattern is found throughout the state of Grenada. With a population of almost 100,000 people, it is estimated that there are roughly the same number of Grenadian-born citizens living in Barbados and Trinidad, and at least the same number in Europe, the USA, and Canada.
9. The Lesser Antilles have experienced extraordinary levels of external migration, especially after the Second World War. Nearly one million British West Indians left first for Great Britain and, after 1962, for the USA and Canada (McElroy & de Albuquerque, 1990a, p. 783). This migration tended to be different, in that mobility took place primarily among young, reproductive (especially female), working-age cohorts (McElroy & de Albuquerque, 1990a, p. 783). In addition, Gmelch (1980) notes that migrants with sizeable savings invest in small businesses on the island and tend to have preference for self-employment, self-supportive family networks, and a distaste or disinterest in both agriculture and wage labour (p. 150).
10. Weaver (1993) notes that after the Second World War attention of Caribbean governments shifted from agriculture to beach-based tourism. 'Labour and capital were increasingly diverted from the chronically depressed agricultural sector to tourism. The resort hotel gradually replaced the plantation as the primary model of production in an economy still organised by the principles of the plantation monoculture' (p. 135). As noted earlier, Grenada underwent a different process.
11. Taking advantage of the opportunity that Hurricane Ivan generated indirectly, a group of concerned Kayaks and resident expatriates created the Carriacou and Petite Martinique Tourism Association to attract tourists to the two islands while also guaranteeing revenues for local residents (Kayaks and non-Kayaks).
12. Cruise ships are a problematic aspect of Caribbean tourism because the earnings that a cruise receives are high, yet much of the profit generated by the cruise-ship industry 'is ploughed back into non-Caribbean-owned companies, while island ports of call struggle to keep their "product" (shops, services, facilities, and friendly people) up to international standards' (Sheller, 2004, p. 17; cf. Pattullo, 2010).
13. David (2004) speaks of rigid racial divisions between blacks and mulattos in Carriacou. This is confirmed by a statement made by Anna Emmons, an Afro-Antillean woman who shared this experience her mother had in Carriacou:

I remember my mother telling me about Dover which is next to Windward, and she remembers that often they would go out to play and the people in Windward would tell them: 'Negro go back to your village,' and they did not mix and it was frowned upon if you married a black person, and this was in the 30s and 40s, not a long time ago. (Interview A. E., 15 June 2004)

14. Thus, the motto of the Grenadian nation is, 'Ever Conscious of God, We Aspire, Build and Advance as One People.'

15. Mintz and Price (1976) distinguish Carriacou's social system as 'the most fully articulated system of [unilineal] descent (other than the Suriname maroons) in all of Afro-America' (p. 37). Kayaks follow a patrilineal descent pattern, uncommon in the British Caribbean.
16. Absentee proprietorship continues to be a common occurrence in Carriacou. It is common for foreign expatriates to purchase land and build vacation homes on the island. These houses are inhabited only a few months out of the year, either by their owners or by other tourists who rent them.
17. There is, however, constant reference to the large number of researchers who have studied the customs and traditions of Carriacou in the last 50 years, starting with the famous anthropologist Smith (1962).
18. However, it should be noted that this team has identified the catastrophic nature of current and future erosion of the most important prehistoric sites in Carriacou, resulting mostly from sand mining for construction and from natural disasters (Fitzpatrick, Kappers, & Kaye, 2006, p. 252).
19. These misgivings are commonly extended to native Kayaks who migrated to Europe or the USA and return to Carriacou to retire or initiate businesses, for whom non-migrant Kayaks use the term, presumably pejoratively, Just Come Back (JCB). JCBs tend to be a modernizing force in Carriacou, a sub-population with a different outlook towards insularity and isolation, and they tend to espouse a more open and welcoming view of tourism development. Migration in Carriacou takes place primarily to the USA (mostly New York), Canada (Toronto), England (London and Huddersfield), Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela (Mills, 2005). Foreign expatriates – regardless of the time spent on the island – are for the most part viewed as transient.

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