The Development of Dark/Cultural Heritage as Attractions

in Falmouth, Jamaica,

West Indies

by

Copeland Stupart

A thesis

presented to the University of Waterloo

in fulfilment of the

thesis requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Planning

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2012

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Copeland A. Stupart

Abstract

The Caribbean, which is one of the most tourism-dependent regions of the world, is rich in cultural heritage, but it lacks developed and attractive cultural heritage sites. In particular, this is true for attractions that make use of the "dark" cultural heritage of the region which is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. This lack is seen as a major weakness in the region's tourism product. This research explores the development of "dark" cultural heritage resources as attractions in the town of Falmouth, Jamaica, an 18th century port town that had a thriving economy during the peak period of British colonialism and the trade in Africans as slaves. Today, the economic importance of Falmouth is only a shadow of what it was during the infamous "glorious" days when sugarcane was "king and money in abundance" and Jamaica a leading sugar exporting colony was seen as a "jewel" in the English crown.

A concurrent mixed method approach was used in the study where both qualitative and quantitative data from primary and secondary sources were collected and analysed. The methods that were used for data collection include questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews, historical research and townscape survey. A systematic sampling technique was used to randomly select 100 households for a face-to-face questionnaire survey which achieved a 94% response rate. On the other hand, the purposive and snowball sampling methods were used to select twelve stakeholders for in-depth semi-structured interviews to ascertain their expectations and perspectives about the cultural heritage of the town. The textual data generated from the interviews were studied using content analysis, where substantive statements were identified from individual transcripts. Also, most appropriately, historical research was conducted to collect and evaluate historical information, such as written testimonies of eyewitnesses to events and also written accounts by person not immediately present at the time, but who obtained their description of events from someone else. In addition, a townscape survey was carried out to map, collect and evaluate data on a number of cultural heritage resources in Falmouth. It involved detailed field observation and the recording of the quality of townscape elements that are evaluated based on established criteria.

Overall, the residents strongly supported tourism and argued for its development and expansion in Falmouth. They believed that the environmental, economic and socio-cultural benefits from tourism outweighed the negative implications of which they are fully aware. The data collection methods unearthed and confirmed that there is an abundance of dark cultural heritage in Falmouth that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. Both tangible and intangible, highly rated cultural heritage resources were identified mainly in the Historic District. In all, twenty-seven cultural heritage resources and features that have the potential to be developed as attractions in support of a dark cultural heritage theme were identified, evaluated and catalogued. The major constraints to heritage development that were cited include: financial, psychological, absentee land owners, heritage designation's restrictions, lack of consensus on developmental issues and some negative social perceptions.

Residents and stakeholders suggested the following strategies to engage locals: sensitizing them to heritage development; providing them with information about opportunities as a

result of the development; giving them practical information on ways to improve structures and restore buildings; providing them with information and education to build awareness about the cultural heritage of the town; and a public education campaign. Also, residents are amenable to: tour guiding, bed and breakfast operators, visitors' service employees and involvement in planning conservation efforts.

Residents attached a very high positive value to the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth even though they are aware that a lot of it is associated with the Transatlantic Trade. Such dark cultural heritage is deemed a significant part of the town's heritage, so it is appropriate to use it for developing attractions for future generations where visitors can learn and be educated about the impact of the Transatlantic Trade. This position that the town should be developed as a destination where visitors can learn about slavery was supported by approximately 94% of the respondents to the questionnaire survey. Thus, the residents of Falmouth are motivated to tell the true story of the place. They unanimously are of the opinion that action should be taken to: promote Falmouth as a tourist destination, clean up and beautify Falmouth and provide job training for residents. Additional agreed and suggested actions include: infrastructure development; the development of educational awareness programmes; the development of heritage resources and related infrastructure; providing loans; grants and subsidies to building owners, building citizens' awareness of cultural heritage and heritage programs; the provision of more entertainment facilities and activities; the development of Falmouth and addressing the cultural heritage of the town; A Master Plan is needed with a systematic way for its implementation along with the requisite funding; the implementation of a legislative framework to protect the town's cultural heritage; the building of consensus among stakeholders; establishing a framework for the funding of restoration; engaging local and international organizations such as the JNHT and UNESCO; the sharing of plans at town-hall meetings; convene a meeting of all training agencies; and the development and implementation of a master plan.

This research explored the development of Falmouth that has a "dark" and contested heritage, for sightseeing, learning and as an exemplary place for authentic experiences of identity for the African Diaspora. It will indeed help in the process to diversify Jamaica's tourism product, contributes to the development of awareness and understanding of heritage at sensitive sites that are linked to humankind's suffering and mass death. Finally, the study complements the UNESCO's Slave Route Project that seeks to put an end to the historical silence on the African slave trade and slavery in general. The research concluded with a proposed planning framework for developing and promoting dark cultural heritage attractions.

Keywords: Tourism, Transatlantic Trade, Africans, Slavery, Dark Cultural Heritage, Attractions, Falmouth, Jamaica

Acknowledgements

To write a good dissertation is a long and difficult journey, a pilgrimage not for the swift. If it were not for the many wonderful people I met along the way my journey would have been more difficult. I was very fortunate to have the most wonderful supervisor and friend, Robert Shipley who deserved full credit for the outcome of the dissertation. He guided and supported me in so many ways in and outside of my academic life at Waterloo. I would also like to thank my other committee members Dr. Geoff Wall and Dr. Rob Feick for their advice, guidance, critical reviews and quick responses to the various sections throughout the research and writing stages of my dissertation. To the other wonderful professors and colleagues at the School of Planning, the experience was great. In addition, I would like to thank Edie Cardwell, who at all times made sure that I was compliant and in good standing in the School of Planning.

A special thanks to ACCELERATE Ontario for their financial support to do research in Canada, research that helped to sharpen my skills. A very special thanks to Shawky Fahel of the JG Group of Companies who gave me the opportunity to experience a number of cities, towns and villages throughout Ontario, your generosity will never be forgotten. Thanks to Marg Rowell of the Heritage Resources Centre, University of Waterloo who facilitated the journey across the many wonderful and unforgettable sites throughout Ontario.

I am very grateful for and I would like to acknowledge the financial support from the University of Technology, Jamaica throughout the course of my studies. This research would have been impossible without their assistance.

I wish also to express thank to all the individuals and organizations in Jamaica who participated in the study and provided valuable information. A special thanks to the people of Falmouth who willingly participated in the survey.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their encouragement and support over the course of my studies. A special thanks to my cousin, Marva who made very important suggestions that helped in refining the final product. I would like to dedicate this work to '*mi mada*', Ruby Ho-Shing and '*mi pickney dem*', Shionna and Jason. Last but not least, I feel indebted to my wife, Veronica for her encouragement over the years and the many, many hours she spent praying.

God is great!

Table of Contents

APPENDICES

List of Figures

List of Tables

Definition of Terms

In order to facilitate a better understanding of the variables in the study certain key terms were defined.

- **Attitudes**: "An enduring predisposition towards a particular aspects of one's environment" (Wang & Pfister, 2008).

- **Commodification or Commoditization**: "The process by which occurrences, artefacts and personalities of the past are deliberately transformed into a product intended for the satisfaction of contemporary consumption demands" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p.6-7).

- **Culture**: the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group" (UNESCO, 1982).

- **Cultural Heritage** of a people: includes the works of its artists, architects, musicians, writers and scientists and also the work of anonymous artists, expressions of the people's spirituality, and the body of values which give meaning to life. It includes both tangible and intangible works through which the creativity of that people finds expression" (UNESCO, 1982). For this study, **cultural heritage** is defined as parts of the past, which have been selected and/or commodified for contemporary enjoyment (Graham, 2002; Ashworth & Larkham, 1994).

- **Cultural heritage tourism**: visits by persons to experience, learn and appreciate the cultural legacy of a people.

- **Dark Cultural Heritage**: cultural heritage that is associated with real and commodified sites of atrocity, death, disaster, human depravity, tragedy, human suffering, and sites of barbarism and genocide.

- **Dark tourism**: traveling to sites associated with atrocities, disaster and human suffering wholly or partially for social and psychological experiences or benefits. [Also see thanatourism].

- **Globalization**: "the intensification of worldwide social relations which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990, p.64).

- **Interpretation:** All planned activities that communicate the importance and significance of what is seen and experienced by visitors (Moscardo, 2007).

- **Legacy Tourism** "travel to engage in genealogical endeavours, to search for information on or to simply feel connected to ancestors and ancestral roots" (McCain & Ray, 2003, p.713).

- **Nostalgia**: "yearning for the past in response to a loss, absence or discontinuity felt in the present" (Grainge, 1999, p.631).

- **Thanatology**: the academic study of death and dying.

- **Thanatopsis**: "all the signifying forms of representation, symbolization and material evidence by which ideas of death are communicated to an individual in time and space within a given society" (Seaton, 1996, p.235).

- **Thanatourism** is the travel dimension of **thanatopsis**, and is defined as "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death" (Seaton, 1996, p.240).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There is a large body of literature that examines cultural heritage as a resource base for tourism. However, very little empirical research has actually been conducted for the same purpose on dark cultural heritage, that is, cultural heritage that is associated with human suffering and death. In other words, in comparison to other forms of cultural heritage attractions' research, there is a deficiency in literature on dark cultural heritage. Studies are also narrowly focused on the displays at these sites and on "which history is presented and which is hidden or even obliterated" (Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011, p.820). This deficit is most noticeable for studies about dark cultural heritage that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in African slave trade which spanned over 400 years of human history. As well as being called dark tourism, tourism at these cultural heritage sites has collectively been referred to as: thanatourism, holiday in hell, morbid tourism, black-spot tourism, and milking the macabre (Blom, 2000; Dann, 1998; Foley & Lennon, 1996a; O'Rourke, 1988; Rojeck, 1993; Seaton, 1996). This research explores the development of dark cultural heritage resources as attractions in the town of Falmouth, Jamaica, an 18th century port town that had a thriving economy during the peak period of British colonialism and the trade in Africans as slaves. This chapter introduces the research. First, it gives an overview and sets the context. Second, it outlines the problem. Third, it states the research question developed to address that problem. Fourth, it clarifies a set of research objectives. Fifth, it articulates the rationale for the study. Sixth, it gives a general overview of the approach to the research. The conclusion summarizes the main issues discussed and outlines the dissertation organization.

1.1 Overview and Context of the Problem

This research explores the development of dark cultural heritage as attractions in the town of Falmouth, Jamaica. Falmouth, the parish capital of Trelawny, has evolved from being one of the most developed centres in the English-speaking Caribbean (Ogilvie, 1954) in the early 1800s to a place of near oblivion (Stupart, 1996). Ogilvie (1954) claims Falmouth's tremendous contributions to the Jamaican economy in this period were second only to Kingston, the capital. Falmouth's economic prosperity was built around the 88 sugar plantations and other farming activities in Trelawny along with the thousands of enslaved Africans who laboured under inhumane conditions (Georgian Society of Jamaica, n.d.;

1

Robinson, 2007). In fact, Ogilvie (1954) contends that the formation of the Parish of Trelawny was as a result of the wealth surrounding the sugar plantations that sprang-up in that region which was originally part of the parish of St. James[1]. The importance of slavery and plantations to the economic welfare of Falmouth and Trelawny is further reinforced by "Estates & Plantations" (n.d.), which lists the names of 107 plantations, estates and pens with great houses in Trelawny on the eve of emancipation. Great Houses were the "main" houses on plantations and served as both homes and social venues for the planters and their friends. They were symbols of opulence, power and control. Political leaders such as Custos Rotulorums[2] owned a number of these plantations and therefore were active participants in slavery. Equally important is the fact that a number of the plantation owners owned more than one plantation ("Estates & Plantations" n.d.; Ogilvie, 1954; Robinson, 2007). In addition, other records also show that "The Parish of Trelawny appears to have possessed more slaves than any other parish in the island [Jamaica]" (Ogilvie, 1954, p.150; "Return of," n.d.; Robinson, 2007). In 1788 when the slave population in Jamaica numbered 226,432, Trelawny had approximately 21,000, which was more than any of the other parishes ("Return of," n.d.). Further, Ogilvie (1954) alleges that the slave population of Trelawny in the year 1811 numbered 27,550.

Falmouth and, by extension, Trelawny were home to some of Jamaica's foremost slave owners such as John Tharpe and Edward Barrett (Conolley & Parrent, 2005; Georgian Society of Jamaica, n.d.; Ogilvie, 1954; Robinson, 2007). Records from the 1820s show that John Tharpe, a former Custos Rotulorum of Trelawny after whom a main street in Falmouth is named, owned nine properties with 2,583 slaves (Ogilvie, 1954; Robinson, 2007; "Return of," n.d.; Trelawny Cultural Foundation, n.d.). Tharpe, who was also a slave trader built a shipping empire and had his own wharf in Falmouth where slave-ships landed and slaves were auctioned after their journey across the Atlantic. The ships in his fleet were also

---

[1] In 1770 the parish of St. James was partitioned to create the new parish of Trelawny.
[2] Custos Rotulorum is the keeper of records and is by virtue of that office the highest civil officer at the Parish level of Jamaica's two-tier system of government. He is the chief magistrate and represents the Governor who is the representative of the Monarch at the parish level.

involved in the dreaded and infamous "triangular trade[3]" (Falmouth Wharves, n.d.). The records show that John Tharpe was responsible for bringing 400 Ibos from West Africa in 1782 and another group in 1804 (Falmouth Wharves, n.d.). Similarly, Edward Barrett, who owned part of the land on which Falmouth developed, had multiple estates in Trelawny and the adjoining parish of St. James (Conolley & Parrent, 2005; Ogilvie, 1954; Trelawny Cultural Foundation, n.d.). Barrett also had his own wharf in Falmouth. It is, therefore, evident that Falmouth was steeped in the institution of slavery which provided the engine of growth for the existence of more than 100 plantations in the Parish of Trelawny.

Today, the economic importance of Falmouth is only a shadow of what it was during the infamous "glorious" days when sugarcane was "king and money in abundance" and Jamaica, a leading sugar exporting colony, was seen as a "jewel" in the English crown (Robinson, 2007). Several of its wharves, once the pride of Jamaica's import/export trade, no longer exist and the others are in total disrepair (Stupart, 1996). Falmouth does, however, possess the potential to be developed as a dark cultural heritage tourist destination for the descendants of both the oppressed and the oppressors. In spite of its tremendous potential, no meaningful proposals have been adopted for the reclamation of not only the past "glory" and "infamy" of Falmouth, but the creation of an important destination for sightseeing, learning, and legacy for the African Diaspora. The town is fascinating to both visitors and locals alike because of the presence of a significant amount of historic Georgian and vernacular architecture in its 1.4 square kilometre historic district. But this is only a fraction of what existed in the 18th century, when Falmouth was a bustling seaport with direct trade links to various parts of the globe (Ogilvie, 1954; Robinson, 2007). Furthermore, a number of the existing cultural heritage structures face destruction due to a lack of maintenance, demolition and inappropriate restoration.

Currently, tourism is a minor activity in the town, but the state and civic leaders of Falmouth, in an attempt to promote economic growth through tourism, have recognized the importance of preserving the character and integrity of Falmouth's image. This has resulted

---

[3] The "Triangular Trade" refers to the circular trade that developed in the 16th Century between Europe, Africa and the Americas and was linked to the trafficking and enslavement of Africans to work on plantations in the Americas. The first leg of the trade was from Europe to Africa, the second from Africa to the Americas and the third from the Americas back to Europe.

in the designation of the town in 1996 as a "heritage district," and the restoration of some "important" historic buildings and monuments through public-private collaborations. In addition, the state in collaboration with the OAS, funded a pre-feasibility study that was carried out by CHRML (Commonwealth Historic Resources Management Limited), ARA Consulting Inc., Roy Stephenson Associates, Geoffrey de Sola Pinto Associates, & Stupart, C. (1998). This was one of the last major, comprehensive development initiatives undertaken in the town. However, these isolated and limited efforts failed to generate any lasting impact that could result in an integrated plan for the overall redevelopment of the town as a popular tourist destination. It is clear that slavery was an integral part of the milieu of the town of Falmouth and the Parish of Trelawny and that plantations, slavery and sugar were the backbone of historic Falmouth's economy. This is congruent with Dann and Potter's (2001, p.63) assertion that "the plantation was the foundation stone of the settlement patterns in the small island states of the Caribbean." However, with the demise of the sugar industry after emancipation, the fortunes of the town of Falmouth started to decline.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Various surveys of international tourist destinations around the world consistently show cultural heritage as an important motivation for people to travel (Stevens, 1995; Richards, 1996). Some researchers posit that an emerging sub-field of heritage tourism is "legacy tourism" where the chief motivation for the visit is to gain personal experiences and relive historical events, even though a number of these sites are associated with death, disaster and human depravation (Bruner, 2005; Bruner, 1996; Lennon & Foley, 1999; McCain & Ray, 2003; Poria et al., 2006a; Wight, 2006). Silberberg (1995) found that there is a motivational shift by a large per cent of American travellers, away from "escapism" to cultural "enrichment." America is the largest market for Caribbean tourism. Kerstetter, Confer and Graefe (2001) support this finding, and state that Americans' interest in travelling to historic sites increased by 16 per cent between 1991 and 1995. Also, Soper (2007, p.96) contends that cultural heritage tourism "has been on the rise for several years and shows no sign of slowing with over 92 million cultural heritage tourists in the United States." This represents about a third of the population of the country.

According to Wilkinson (1997, p.156, 1989), the Caribbean has "tourist economies" since tourism is the largest contributor to the gross domestic product (GDP) of most of the

islands. It is one of the most tourism-dependent regions of the world. According to statistics from the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) in 2008, tourism contributes approximately US$39.9 billion to the Caribbean region which represents 14.8 per cent of the region's GDP (JTB, 2009). Employment in the tourism industry for the region in 2008 was estimated to be 2,148,000, which represents 12.9 per cent of total employment in the Caribbean. However, research has shown that, while the Caribbean region is rich in heritage, it lacks developed and attractive historical and cultural sites for tourists (CHRML et al., 1998). In particular, this is true for attractions that make use of the heritage of the region which is associated with the African slave trade and slavery in general. This lack is seen as a major weakness in the region's tourism product. Jamaica, the largest English-speaking island in the Caribbean region, has a "tourist economy" (Wilkinson (1997, p.156, 1989) or could be described as a "'tourist island' state" (Wilkinson (1999, p.263) because, since 1983, tourism has surpassed bauxite and traditional agricultural crops as the largest contributor to its GDP (Stupart, 1996). In fact, the CHRML et al. (1998) study suggests that the development of a slavery/fight for freedom/emancipation museum in Falmouth potentially could generate an estimated 300,000 visitors annually. In addition, the development of Jamaica's other outstanding heritage assets will help to differentiate it from the vast majority of Caribbean islands (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002).

Although there is evidence that visits to sites associated with death has had a long history, it is only in recent times that academics have been focusing on the phenomenon. Seaton (1996, p.236) argues that the phenomenon of dark tourism dates back to the Middle Ages where "Thanatopis was a major element in pilgrimages made to the sites of the martyrdom or internment of saints where pilgrims viewed shrines to the dead and brought back mementoes, relics and ampullae." Timothy and Boyd (2006, p.7) argue that the phenomenon is much older, since it existed for millennia with pilgrimage "to places associated with the death of Christ and the martyrdoms of [His] apostles." Notwithstanding, others saw it as a product of the postmodern era, for there has been "a measurable growth in tourists' interest in recent death, disaster, and atrocity…in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries" (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p.3). According to Seaton (1996, p.234), the premise that underlies "dark tourism" is that "an act or event which might be deplorable or repugnant from a moral point of view could have considerable attraction as a spectator

experience." An overview of the literature reveals that research into dark tourism started to appear more frequently since 1996 which some claimed to be as a result of the debate stimulated by Foley and Lennon's (1996a, 1996b) research in which they coined the phrase "dark tourism." As such, there is limited theory and practice on the subject. This lack is also noticeable in the limited number of subjects that are studied and cited as dark tourism sites.

Some studies that have addressed the phenomenon have examined a number of variables including: the history and definition of dark tourism; the extrinsic value of visiting dark sites; motivation of visitors to dark sites; the categorization of dark sites; characteristics of visitors to dark sites; degrees or shades of darkness of sites; and moral and ethical dilemmas faced by developers of dark sites (Beech, 2000; Foley & Lennon, 1997; Iles, 2008; Lennon & Foley, 1999; Miles, 2002; Ryan & Kohli, 2006; Seaton, 1999; Seaton, 1996; Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Shuo, Ryan, Liu, 2009; Tarlow, 2005; Wight & Lennon 2007). Other studies have shown that a full categorization of dark sites is extremely complex since dark attractions are very diverse and range from actual sites with "authentic" artefacts, such as holocaust sites, to fully commodified sites with technological wizardry such as the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. (Dann, 1998; Foley & Lennon, 1996b; Sharpley, 2005; Stone, 2006; Wight, 2006). Another focus has been on specific destinations, including sites of armed conflicts, holocaust sites, celebrity death sites, prisons that held famous and notorious prisoners, and sites that are associated with the trade in African slaves (Ashworth & Hartman, 2005; Lennon & Foley, 2000).

Only a relative handful of studies have specifically examined dark cultural heritage as attractions that are associated with the African slave trade (Abotchie, 1996; Beech, 2001; Bruner, 2005; Bruner, 1996; Butler; 2001; Dann & Potter, 2001; Ebron, 2000; Eskew, 2001; Essah, 2001; Goings, 2001; McLernon & Griffiths 2002; Richards, 2005; Roushanzamir & Kreshel, 2001; Seaton, 2001; Sirakaya, Teye & Sönmez, 2002; Tyrrell & Walvin, 2004). In addition to the sparseness of research, a major deficiency identified in the existing studies is that most looked at the same sites in Africa, the USA and the UK. Hence, a survey of fifteen often-cited articles on slavery heritage revealed that only Dann and Potter (2001) looked at sites in the Caribbean although that region was the gateway for slaves into North America. Dann and Potter (2001) studied former sugar plantations that are now tourist attractions in the island of Barbados. Although Barbados was a major sugar producer during the peak period of

slavery and was usually the first stop for slave ships coming from Africa because of its geographic location, Jamaica was a much larger island with more sugar plantations and, consequently, more slaves ("Estates & Plantations," n.d.; "Return of," n.d.). In fact, the Parish of Trelawny had over a hundred plantations ("Estates & Plantations," n.d.). Therefore, Jamaica should have more dark heritage sites that are associated with slavery. However, Dann and Potter (2001, p.75) assert that, "In spite of its growing importance, strangely there is relatively very [*sic*] little written about plantation tourism [associated with African slavery] from an academic standpoint."

Though it has been recognized that there is economic potential in cultural heritage tourism, some researchers point to the "adulterated" presentation of "plantation heritage" in the Caribbean and the United States of America (Butler, 2001; Buzinde & Santos, 2008, 2009; Dann & Potter, 2001). This is so, even though "there is a huge amount of detailed information which could be used by the tourism industry as a cumulative base from which to promote heritage tourism of the plantation variety" (Dann & Potter, 2001, p.63). However, the authorities have ignored most of the valuable resources and choose instead to promote cultural heritage that is both contrite and contrived. For example, Buzinde and Santos (2009, p.439) claim that the narratives at some sites often only "describe the lives of plantation owners and the architectural intricacies of their homes." The omission of the horrors of plantation life is a lost opportunity to educate visitors about the historical specificity of slavery. Some researchers, referred to such actions as the "whitewashing" of plantation heritage for amusement (Butler, 2001; Dann & Potter, 2001). Others called it "denial," "concealment" and "disinheritance" of African slaves who were an integral part of the locale and "state engineered amnesia by trivializing or annihilating the institution of slavery within the heritage metanarratives" (Buzinde, 2007; Buzinde & Santos, 2008, 2009, p.439). Another critical observation is that, although these sites are steeped in slavery, they are not developed or marketed as dark attractions to visitors. It is believed that the "unadulterated" display of the inhumane activities under slavery would evoke guilt in the descendants of the perpetrators which, in turn, would not be good for tourism (Dann & Potter, 2001). Consequently, there has been a selective rendition of the past based on collective amnesia whereby providers supply visitors with what they supposedly want. The tendency is for the local tourism industry to overlook and selectively draw from the rich source of historical

information, preferring instead to provide a sort of entertainment that it believes the tourist enjoys (Dann & Potter, 2001). Such actions could result in the loss of identity of blacks in the Caribbean and the United States of America.

1.3 Research Question

The main research question that the study addresses is:

- How can a community such as Falmouth, Jamaica, whose cultural heritage is "dark" and contested, be developed, not only for sightseeing and learning, but also as an exemplary place for authentic experiences of identity for the African Diaspora?

1.4 Research Objectives

In order to address this question the principal aims or objectives of the research are:

1. to analyse residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Falmouth
2. to identify and highlight the attributes of the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Falmouth that could be used to frame development
3. to identify the opportunities and constraints for heritage tourism development in Falmouth
4. to explore and suggest appropriate mechanisms to facilitate participation of local residents in the heritage development process
5. to determine what value local residents attach to cultural heritage resources that are "symbolic of and are associated with the European trade in Africans as slaves"
6. to develop strategies for the conservation, upgrading, and revitalization of heritage sites in Falmouth that is based on the shared sensitivity of the local people if it is found that local people are motivated to tell the true story of the place.

1.5 Rationale for the Study

Thus, the purpose of this research is to explore the development of Falmouth, Jamaica, that has a "dark" and contested heritage, for sightseeing, learning and as an exemplary place for authentic experiences of identity for the African Diaspora. First, the

researcher analyses residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Falmouth. Second, the researcher identifies and highlights the attributes of the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Falmouth that could be used to frame development. Third, the researcher identifies the opportunities and constraints for heritage tourism development in Falmouth. Fourth, the researcher explores and suggests appropriate mechanisms to facilitate participation of local residents in the heritage development process. Fifth, he determines what value local residents attach to cultural heritage resources that are "symbolic of and are associated with the European trade in Africans as slaves." Bruner (1996; 2005) found that Ghanaians did not attach the same values and level of reverence as blacks from the Diaspora to the forts and castles along the Ghanaian coast that were used as staging areas for Africans who would be taken on the passage across the Atlantic Ocean into slavery. Contrary to the ambivalence of Ghanaians, Africans in the Diaspora often regard these sites to be 'sacred' and visit them as a pilgrimage to reconnect to roots and memory. Finally, since it was found that local people are motivated to tell the true story of the place, the researcher develops an action plan for the conservation, upgrading, and revitalization of heritage sites in Falmouth that is based on the shared sensitivity of the local people. Further analysis informs the appropriate strategies to develop cultural heritage tourism centred on Falmouth's "dark" historic resources so that their uniqueness is maintained for contemporary and future appreciation and enjoyment.

Although much research has been conducted on cultural heritage development for tourism purposes, this research makes specific contributions to fill the knowledge gap with regards to the rich cultural legacy of places like Falmouth, Jamaica. Falmouth is listed on the World Monument Fund's list of 100 most endangered sites since 2000 and as recently as 2008. Furthermore, Falmouth is recognized in the current Tourism Master Plan of Jamaica (2002) as one of four sites of international heritage significance and tourism potential. Developing the African slavery heritage experience as a tourist attraction is one of the strategies to diversify the tourism product in Jamaica that has been predominantly focused on the sun, sea and sand. In addition, it contributes to the development of awareness and understanding of heritage at sensitive sites that are linked to humankind's suffering and mass death such as the African slave trade. Finally, the study fills a gap and complement the on-going efforts of UNWTO (United Nation World Tourism Organization) and UNESCO in the

development of the Slave Route Project that seeks to put an end to the historical silence on the African slave trade and slavery in general (UNESCO, 2000).

1.6 Approach to the Research

Wight (2006, p.121) contends, the "Methodologies commonly adopted in the research into dark tourism have focused chiefly on qualitative inquiry including cumulative case studies, discourse analysis, semiotic and hermeneutic analysis, and questionnaire design and mixed methods." Furthermore, a review of a number of articles on cultural heritage conservation indicates that researchers often use multi-methods to gather information and process data (Chen, Hwang & Lee, 2006; Shipley, Reeve, Walker, Grover & Goodey, 2004; Scarpaci, 2005). Mixed methods, which incorporate both qualitative and quantitative data also go by the following names: multi-modal, multi-criteria, and multi-strategy. As such, Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007, p.123) defined mixed methods research as "the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration." The authors further outlined the qualities of mixed methods research as:

> …an intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative research; it is the third methodological or research paradigm (along with qualitative and quantitative research). It recognizes the importance of traditional quantitative and qualitative research but also offers a powerful third paradigm choice that often will provide the most informative, complete, balanced, and useful research results. (Johnson et al., 2007, p.129)

Likewise, Selby and Morgan (1996) posit that the richest and most useful data are produced by a combination of techniques or "methodological pluralism." Shipley et al., (2004) suggests that multi-criteria allow for triangulation of methods and data and will in turn contribute to the reliability and credibility of the results. Creswell (2009) is also of the opinion that the biases inherent in any single method could neutralize or cancel the biases in

other methods. Researchers are then able to exploit the strengths of the various research methods and negate challenges.

For this study, a mixed method approach is used where both qualitative and quantitative data from primary and secondary sources were collected and analysed. However, the methodology was qualitatively dominated as opposed to having been quantitatively dominated or qualitative and quantitative of equal status (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989). The strategies that were used for data collection include questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews, historical research and townscape survey. The concurrent mixed method strategy is the procedure that was used, where qualitative and quantitative data converge and merge to provide a comprehensive analysis (Creswell, 2009). In this design, the researcher collects both forms of data at the same time and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results.

1.7 Summary and Research Organization

Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical foundation of cultural heritage and tourism concepts on which dark cultural heritage tourism is grounded. It shows that cultural heritage is a very controversial and divisive concept with various definitions. Notwithstanding the controversy, the cultural heritage industry is the foundation on which a very large segment of global tourism relies. It is often used as a tool for economic development in both developed and developing countries. However, not all residents are in agreement with tourism development. The literature shows that resident's perceptions and attitudes to tourism are influenced mainly by personal factors and associated cost and benefit to be derived from tourism.

The development of cultural heritage inevitably involves the following concepts: authenticity, interpretation and commodification. Although these concepts are very fluid, ambiguous and problematic they are genetically linked to the cultural heritage development process and are central to the debates on cultural heritage and their development.

Visits to dark cultural heritage sites have been around for thousands of years, but is only now gaining academic attention. It is an underdeveloped and under-researched phenomenon. Studies have shown that dark sites are diverse and provide various experiences for visitors who have different motives.

A number of researchers stress a bottom-up planning approach to cultural heritage development which involve local citizens since they are the ones who will have to live with

the end result. Conversely, others questioned the philosophy of wide-scale citizens involvement since they are often unmindful of visitors' need. However, it has been shown that residents' involvement positively influenced their attitudes to tourism planning and development. However, planning cultural heritage destinations should be structured and broad-based, involving stakeholders from all levels for the success of the destinations.

Chapter 3 presents a brief history of tourism development in Jamaica, an island microstate. Jamaica's tourism was dominated by foreign-owned multinational corporations (MNCs), was founded on the sun, sea and sand winter getaway image and continues to focus on this single market niche. Modern tourism marketing and promotion focuses on the sun, sea and sand, and though the 'all-inclusive' concept, promoted by the dominant Jamaican and other foreign owned MNCs has broader appeal, it still focuses on the sun, sea and sand. However, the state and the major players in the local tourism industry have recognized that there is scope for cultural heritage tourism development, in particular cultural heritage that is associated with Jamaica's slavery past. As a result, the 2002 Tourism Master Plan dedicate a substantial chapter on Jamaica's heritage. It is also shown that substantial opportunity exists in Jamaica's tourism industry for meaningful and profitable local participation. As such, the study area of Falmouth is presented which shows that, by virtue of its heritage and culture, the town could be developed as a dark tourism attraction. This would add new depth to Jamaica's tourism industry, complementing the sun, sea and sand image, and diversifying Jamaica's tourism image at home and abroad. Dark tourism in Falmouth would help Jamaica become a multiple-attraction destination and could ultimately increase the island's tourist traffic as well as improve economic opportunities in Falmouth and revitalize the town's economy. A dark cultural tourism development path pursued in the town would also create opportunities for local residents.

Chapter 4 focuses on the research paradigms and methods used to collect and analyse data for the study. First, it provides information on the case study research type to justify its use. Second, it gives an overview of the two main and traditional philosophical paradigms of scientific research – positivism and interpretivism. Third, it appraises the rationale and justification for adopting a mixed methods research strategy. Fourth, it outlines the data collection mechanisms used to collect pertinent data for the study.

Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 present the major findings from the research methods, namely questionnaire survey, interviews, historical research and townscape survey. The questionnaire survey data was analysed using Microsoft Excel, SPSS 16 and content analysis. A number of descriptive statistical techniques were used in the process and the results displayed in tables. The sample, which consisted of 94 respondents in total, had a majority of female respondents. Seventy-nine per cent claimed to be black (of pure African descent). Seventy-one per cent of respondents work in Falmouth, but approximately 53 per cent of households depend on tourism-related jobs. However, most residents viewed tourism positively. Residents are very aware of Falmouth's cultural heritage and its association with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. The historic buildings were seen as the most important cultural heritage assets in the town. The conservation of the heritage was important, in particular assets that are associated with enslaved Africans which should be preserved and showcased. However, concerned were raised about who stand to benefit most from cultural heritage development and the likely increase in cost of living that would follow.

Twelve in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with stakeholders of Falmouth and the data analysed using content analysis. It was unanimously agreed that the development of Falmouth's cultural heritage resources as attractions would provide the basis for cultural heritage tourism. Also, the town's cultural heritage resources, which are highly rated, are rooted and associated mainly with the plantation system that existed during the era of the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. While there is obvious financial constraint to the development of the town's cultural heritage, most interviewees felt that public education is critical for removing other constraints, to sensitize and educate residents about development opportunities and for building awareness of the value of heritage. They all agreed that it is appropriate and important to use cultural heritage that is associated with slavery as themes for the development of attractions.

The historical research provided insight into the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves and the organization and the operation of plantations in the British West Indian colonies. The Trade resulted in the forced removal of millions of Africans to work mainly on sugar plantations in the West Indies. Millions perished under the system of slavery as a result of poor working conditions, diseases and poor treatment. The premier destination for captive

Africans in the West Indies was Jamaica which developed as the number one sugar-producing colony in the world, a position it held for many years. Also, at the peak of the plantation era, the island's chief sugar producing parish, Trelawny had more than 100 plantations and the largest number of enslaved Africans in Jamaica. Falmouth, the capital town of the parish of Trelawny, developed as the main port of entry for captive Africans entering into slavery in Jamaica. The most sugar and other plantation produce from Jamaica were shipped through the port of Falmouth. Ironically, the activities of the enslaved Africans and a number of religious groups in Trelawny thrust the parish in the forefront of the struggle to end slavery, the backbone of the economy. Eventually, Britain, one of the main beneficiaries of the Transatlantic Trade, abolished the trade in 1807 and passed the Emancipation Act in 1833 to end slavery in all it colonies after 200 years.

The townscape survey was used to identify, catalogue and evaluate Falmouth's cultural heritage resources that have the potential to be developed as attractions in support of a dark cultural heritage theme. The methods employed to identify the resources included field observation, and content analysis of text and questionnaire and interview data. The method uncovered twenty-seven specific sites and features that have strong association with enslaved Africans and the social organizations that existed that could therefore be developed as attractions.

Chapter 9 analyses and discusses the research findings. The residents of Falmouth have favourable perceptions and attitudes towards tourism and its development because there are environmental, economic and socio-cultural benefits to be gained from the industry. They strongly believed that the development should exploit the dark cultural heritage of the town that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. Falmouth has a substantial number of dark cultural heritage resources it its historic core which is a designated heritage district. Developing Falmouth's cultural heritage would generate employment and job opportunities for residents and open new business opportunities which would in turn increase revenue streams for the town through investment and tax. There was overwhelming support for the residents to participate and benefit from the cultural heritage conservation process in Falmouth which is necessary for the development process to succeed. The residents are aware that a lot of the cultural heritage in Falmouth date back to the 1700s and are associated with the Trade in Africans as Slaves. They argued that they should be

preserved and developed as a reminder and be used as attractions for learning and building self-awareness.

Chapter 10 presents the conclusions. It evaluates and synthesizes a number of planning methods and presented the attributes of a process for addressing the main research question, that is, a conceptual framework for the development of dark cultural heritage as attractions. It also highlights how the research objectives were addressed. Further, it presents some specific observations that stem from the results of the research and affirms their implication for dark cultural heritage development. Also, it outlines some specific contributions that the study has made. The project concludes by presenting several suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2
CULTURAL HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Cultural heritage is big business, but it is a very controversial and divisive concept. However, in spite of its contentious nature, a flourishing industry (referred to as cultural heritage tourism) has developed around it. According to Cheung (2003, p.7), it is widely agreed that "[cultural] heritage is socially constructed and its meanings [are] variously determined by the interests of different groups including local communities, government, developers, academics, tourists and so on." Similarly, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) contend someone for a specific reason always creates cultural heritage. They also argue that cultural heritage is dissonant because of tensions caused by the simultaneous holding of inconsistent beliefs by various stakeholders in the heritage industry. This chapter reviews pertinent literature on cultural heritage and its development. First, it discusses various perspectives on cultural heritage and its implication for tourists and the tourism industry. Second, it analyses residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism. Third, it analyses the problematic concepts of authenticity, interpretation and commodification which permeates a lot of the discussions in the contemporary literature on cultural heritage. Fourth, it discusses the dark cultural heritage phenomenon. Fifth, it analyses several perspectives on residents' participation and involvement in cultural heritage planning. Sixth, it evaluates a number of methodological approaches for planning cultural heritage destinations.

2.2 Cultural Heritage and Tourism

There seems to be a consensus among academics and practitioners that in-spite of its social, economic and environmental importance it is extremely difficult to define cultural heritage and the cultural heritage sector. As a result, there is no agreement on a single specific definition for heritage. Generally, cultural heritage is defined as anything that is inherited from the past, but definitions abound for both cultural heritage and cultural heritage tourism (see Table 2.1 & 2.2; Ashworth, 2000; Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990; Fyall & Garrod, 1998; Jamal & Kim, 2005; Johnson & Thomas, 1995; Kirschenblatt, 1998; Lowenthal, 2005; McCain & Ray, 2003; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Poria et al., 2003;

Table 2.1
Definitions of cultural heritage: varying from economic to social-political

Source	Conceptualization
Ashworth & Tunbridge (1990, p.6)	Cultural heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on.
Ballesteros & Ramírez (2007, p.681)	Heritage is more of a social construction than a discovery made by specialists.
Bowes (1989, p.36)	Cultural heritage must be broadly defined to encompass not only major sites and institutions, but the entire landscape of the region with its geographic base: farms and field patterns, roads harbors, industrial structures, villages and main streets, commercial establishment and of course, the people themselves and their traditions and activities.
Hewison (1987, p.144)	Cultural heritage is bogus history and many of its products are fantasies of a world that never was.
Johnson & Thomas (1995: 170)	Anything by which some kind of link, however tenuous or false may be forged with the past.
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, p.369)	Cultural heritage is the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct. Cultural heritage is a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past.
Lowenthal (2005, pp.81-82)	Cultural heritage denotes everything we suppose has been handed down to us from the past. The buildings and engineering works, arts and crafts, languages, traditions, humans themselves have created out of nature's raw materials.
Prentice (1995, pp.5-6)	Cultural heritage is regarded as an inheritance or legacy, things of value which have passed from one generation to the next.
Schouten (1995, p.21)	Cultural heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity.

Prentice, 1995, 2001; Richards, 2000; Schouten, 1995). Nevertheless, for the purposes of this thesis, heritage is defined as part of the past, which is selected in the present and commodified for contemporary enjoyment (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994; Graham, 2002). Specifically, cultural heritage tourism is defined as visit by a person to experience, learn and appreciate the cultural legacy of a people.

Still, many countries around the world have recognized the economic and development potential of cultural heritage attraction. Stevens (1995, pp.194-195) suggests five reasons why cultural heritage attractions contribute to tourism and regional development. First, they are indigenous, distinct and unique in their reflection of heritage. Secondly, being

Table 2.2.

Definitions of cultural heritage tourism: some diverse examples

Source	Conceptualization
Ashworth (2000, p.190)	The commodified artefacts, buildings, memories and experiences of the past that entails cooperation of between cultural heritage producers, the tourism industry and local place managers.
Fyall & Garrod (1998)	An economic activity that makes use of socio-cultural assets to attract visitors.
Hollinshead (1988)	Asserts that local traditions and community cultural heritage can serve as attractions and that cultural heritage tourism embraces folkloric traditions, arts, and crafts, ethnic history, social customs and cultural celebrations.
Jamal & Kim (2005, p.78)	Cultural heritage tourism brings pasts, peoples, places and cultures into performative contestation and dialogue. It is a social-cultural phenomenon important to personal, local and global social life.
McCain & Ray (2003, p.713)	It includes tourism related to what we have inherited. This may mean interest in our connections to anything from history, art, science, lifestyles, architecture, to scenery found in a community, region, population, or institution that we regard as part of our collective lineage.
Mowforth & Munt (2003)	Cultural heritage tourism is a 'new tourism' in a post-Fordist economy, associated with the emergence of a new middle class
Poria et al. (2003, p.248)	A subgroup of tourism, in which the main motivation for visiting a site in based on the place's cultural heritage characteristics according to the tourists' perception of their own heritage.
Prentice (2001, p.8)	Tourism constructed, proffered and consumed explicitly or implicitly as cultural appreciation, either as experiences or schematic knowledge gaining.
Richards (2000, p.9)	Cultural heritage tourism is largely concerned with the cultural legacy of the past, or the 'hard' cultural resources usually contained in buildings, museums, monuments and landscapes or represented and interpreted in a specialised "cultural heritage centres."
Silberberg (1995, p.361)	Visits by persons from outside the host community motivated wholly or in part by interest in historical, artistic, scientific, lifestyle/cultural heritage offerings of a host community, region, group or institution.
Yale (1991, p.21)	Tourism centered on what we have inherited, which can mean anything from historic buildings to art works, to beautiful scenery.
Zeppel & Hall (1992, p.47)	A broad field of specialty travel based on nostalgia for the past and the desire to experience diverse cultural landscapes and forms.

indigenous, cultural heritage attractions enliven, enhance and animate naturally occurring themes and storylines from which much marketing imagery of tourist destinations is derived.

Thirdly, it is now recognized that cultural heritage attractions provide a stable base for visitor activity and that they suffer less from the vagaries of market demand than other types of attractions. Fourthly, cultural heritage attractions have innate appeal to overseas markets whose relatively high levels of spending contribute significantly to regional economies. Finally, there is growing acceptance that in this context, sustainable development and commensurate sustainable tourism policies based upon cultural heritage attractions can make a positive contribution to a broader environmental strategy.

Cultural heritage is a processed commodity and is not the same as history, and the branding of attractions as cultural heritage destinations enhances their status and appeal in the tourism marketplace (Ashworth, 1995; Johnson & Thomas, 1995; Schouten, 1995). Also, Ashworth (1995) contends that cultural heritage is subject to a commodification process in which selection is central and has a specific meaning which is different from conserved historical resources. He further claims that cultural heritage is the creation and not preservation of what already exists, and that it does not reflect accurate factual records of the past (Ashworth, 1995). Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) claim that it is hard to identify features that make a community special and the appropriate action to retain them. But McKercher, Ho and du Gros (2004) posit that cultural heritage usually contains unique features of a place that reflect its history, lifestyle, or environment and promotes the destination's traditions, ethnic backgrounds and landscapes. Further, they maintain that, for cultural heritage attractions to be successful, they should posses the following features: appeal beyond the local cultural heritage community, valued by the tourist, interesting, unique, and with a compelling reason to visit. Additionally, they must effectively tell a story, make the asset come alive, make the experience participatory, make it relevant to the tourist, focus on quality, and provide a sense of authenticity. Also, Chittenden (2006) posits that a place should meet a number of criteria to qualify as a cultural heritage resource: a space for community gatherings for social, spiritual, economic, or entertainment needs; served multiple generations over time; where an important local historical event or movement occurred and is remembered; a source or repository of local beliefs, customs, or stories; and a place that is a factor in community or regional identity. McKercher et al. (2004) deem that the inherent attributes of cultural heritage assets make them well suited to become attractions. In contrast, other researchers hold the view that a cultural heritage attraction can be created from any

historic or cultural site, event, and artefacts or even as a result of an association with an historic person (Ashworth, 1995; Stevens, 1995; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Ironically, McKercher et al. (2004) found that attributes relating to product, experience and marketing have greater impact on an attraction's popularity than historic significance or meaning to the local community.

Most important, cultural heritage is often enhanced to give it added value, whereby retailers create generic scenes, which tourists expect and have been led to expect (Prentice & Andersen, 2003). Accordingly, Bruner (1994), points out that this authenticity is offered as verisimilitude rather than genuineness. Authenticity as verisimilitude is achieved when tourists' expectations are met through the experiences that are offered at the site. Schouten (1995) draws our attention to the instances where we violate historical reality to make them more real. For instance, in movies, King Arthur is depicted as a knight in magnificently shining armour which was unknown in his days (Schouten, 1995). Johnson and Thomas (1995) and Schouten (1995) posit that in the production process of cultural heritage, the raw material undergoes some form of transformation which often adds value to embellish and enhance the product. Value addition may include the provision of interpretative activities such as dramatic re-enactments, or the moving of buildings and monuments to create greater accessibility or enhance safety. Value could also be added by means of a complete reconstruction, as is the case at Colonial Williamsburg, or the use of replicas as substitutes and/or additions. Regardless, value-additions have sparked criticism from writers, such as Hewison (1989), who laments that history is gradually being bent into something called cultural heritage which is largely focused on the idealized past. It could be argued that cultural heritage is substituting an image of the past for its reality. Thus, another critic, Lowenthal (1985), is concerned with the superficiality of 'contemporary' cultural heritage. Schouten (1995) rightly points out that some of these developments were not based on empirical evidence, but on perceptions of new realities that are both recognizable and understandable to a public who can relate them to daily experiences.

The way cultural heritage is presented has changed in recent times. The sharp distinction between museums and cultural heritage sites on the one hand and theme parks on the other is seen to be evaporating (Schouten, 1995). On cultural heritage sites the re-enactment of historical events is increasingly popular. Many have seen Colonial

Williamsburg as the prototype for "modern" cultural heritage developments. It is difficult to say what the end result will be, but Schouten (1995, pp.28-29) envisions future cultural heritage encounters to include "virtual-reality devices…that will provide visitors with a vivid image of the historical period of their own choice in which they themselves can act as if they were part of that historical environment." Critics have labelled these developments as the vulgarization or 'bowdlerization' of cultural heritage (Schouten, 1995). Martin and Mason (1993) refer to such developments as the 'Disneyfication' of cultural heritage sites and theme parks. However, the success of a number of 'disneyfied' cultural heritage venues may suggest that the visitors do not share such critical views.

Researchers have profiled the heritage "tourists" and have also identified various motives of these tourists for visiting heritage sites. This information is valuable to planners and managers of heritage destinations in developing and managing heritage sites. Research by Kim, Cheng and O'Leary (2007) found cultural tourists to be mature, wealthy, highly educated, and consist of a higher percentage of female. These findings are identical to the earlier findings by Silberberg (1995). They also support conclusions by Kerstetter, Confer and Bricker (1998) and Kerstetter, Confer and Graefe (2001) who found cultural tourists also to be interested in extended family and education-oriented experiences and stays longer at destinations and spend more money. Richards (2000) came to similar conclusions. However, He argues that the cultural tourist is mainly employed in high status positions; has a high degree of cultural capital; regards the pursuit of culture as a form of personal development; thinks culture as a source of novelty; have a desire for learning; and desire authentic experiences. In a different setting, Prideaux and Kininmont (1999) found that 58 per cent of the visitors to three specific Queensland rural heritage museums to be over 50 years old. Weaver, Kaufman and Yoon (2002) support the above characterization of heritage tourists. They state that cultural tourists expect greater depth of experiences than in the past, for the ordinary vacation is no longer acceptable; they are more sophisticated and expects more than the mundane and shoddy; these travellers have a greater wealth of knowledge because of higher education levels and more experiences.

Light (2000, p.153), who refers to heritage tourist as the 'new tourist' and 'the new petit bourgeoisie' among other characterization, found that they seek holiday and travel that enhance their cultural capital; they reject mass tourism and prefer the label 'traveller' as

opposed to tourist; they show a tendency to intellectualize holidays requiring informal education as part of their leisure time; and they place emphasis on authenticity, truthfulness and contact with indigenous people, among other traits. Martin and Mason (1993, p.39), who also label the heritage tourist the 'new tourist' profile them accordingly: older than in the past, more likely to be middle aged with the distinctive priorities of that age group; more affluent than in the past, with considerable potential to spend on those types of leisure that fit his or her needs; more demanding in terms of quality, both of the natural and built environment at places visited, and of the service and experience received; more thoughtful and discriminating about how the available resources of free time and disposable income are used; and more active physically and mentally in free time, seeking destinations and pursuits that offer a chance to participate and to learn, as well as to have fun and be entertained.

Various researchers have established that the reliving of experiences is a growing motive for visiting heritage sites (Bruner, 1996; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2004a, 2004b). The "new" tourist is demanding it and suppliers are providing the opportunities (Jansen-Verbeke & van Rekon, 1996; Josiam, Mattson & Sullivan, 2004; Kaufman & Weaver, 2006; Kerstetter, Confer & Bricker, 1998; Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006a, 2006b). According to Pine and Gilmore (1998, p. 98), "an experience occurs when a company intentionally uses services as the stage, and goods as props, to engage individual customers in a way that creates a memorable event." An "experience" is also referred to as the fourth economic offering in humankind's history (Hayes & MacLeod, 2007; Pine & Gilmore, 1998, 1999). Hayes and MacLeod (2007) submit that, first we extract commodities from the Earth and then secondly, during the industrial period, we produced goods. Thirdly, the industrial economy shifted to the delivery of services and now these services are being repackaged and presented as experiences, the fourth economic offering.

Cultural heritage tourism is one area where the global-local nexus or dialectic is played out (Chang et al., 1996). That is, the dialogic interaction of global and local forces. Chang (1999) posits that globalization is reflective of top-down planning where 'outsiders' plan the landscape with little input from locals. In contrast, localization is reflective of the bottom-up planning approach where local input to the process is paramount. On the one hand, it is argued that, as the processes of globalization continue to evolve, societies and cities begin to embody similar traits resulting in homogeneity, placelessness and

standardization (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990; Harvey, 1989; Hewison, 1987; Scarpaci, 2005). On the contrary, some commentators claim that globalization and localization are processes that are inextricably bound together, and cultural heritage tourism is one vehicle through which localities can harness local culture and traditions to engage in and shape their developmental direction within broader global processes (Chang et al., 1996; Chang & Yeoh, 1999; Dredge, 2004; Erb, 2003; Teo & Yeoh, 1997). Halewood and Hannam (2001, p.568) contend that heritage tourism is "something which is being actively used to develop local culture and strengthen a pride which intensifies the traditional rather than diluting it." Further, Teo and Lim (2003) argue that globalization should not be seen as overbearing but instead as always being mediated by local factors, producing unique outcomes in different locations. Chang (1999, p.101) argues that globalization presents the opportunity for the development of "local uniqueness in the global village." Furthermore, Kahn (cited in Hitchcock & King, 2003) is of the opinion that globalization is as likely to generate difference, uniqueness, and cultural specificity as it is to produce a genuinely universal or homogeneous world culture. However, globalization should be seen as a stage where contending forces display differences, uniqueness, individuality, exceptionality, rareness and distinctiveness.

2.3 Residents' Perceptions of and Attitudes towards Tourism

There is a large body of literature spanning over four decades on residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism (Andereck & Vogt, 2000). Some of the early researchers include Doxey (1975), Pizam (1978), Belisle and Hoy (1980), Brougham and Butler (1981), Murphy (1981) and Mathieson and Wall (1982). According to Kaltenborn, Andersen, Nellemann, Bjerke and Thrane (2008, p.665), it "is an extensive field of research with studies conducted across the globe." Lankford and Howard (1994, p.122) argue, "A systematic analysis of tourism impacts can help government planners, local decision-makers, and tourism promoters identify real concerns and issues in order for appropriate policies and action to take place." Further, they claim "Studies of local populations' perception of tourism impacts are useful in setting up programs to minimize friction between tourists and residents, helping government to understand the social impacts, and in formulating plans to gain residents' support for tourism ventures" (Lankford & Howard, 1994, pp.122-123). Also, Cavus and Tanrisevdi (2003, p.260) assert, "Observing residents' expectations towards

tourism development is essential in tourism planning. Having residents play an active role in the process and developing positive attitudes toward tourism are very important for long-term stabilization of tourism, especially in those areas where environmental problems occur."

Faulkner and Tideswell (1997, p.3) allege that more and more local communities are experiencing both positive and negative impacts as a result of the tremendous growth in tourism. Whereas positive or favourable impacts are referred to as "benefits", the negative or unfavourable impacts are considered "costs." These constructs are relative since a "benefit" to some residents might be a "cost" to others and vice versa. Also, an impact that was initially regarded as a "benefit" or a "cost" may over the long-term come to be regarded as a "cost" or a "benefit" respectively. For example, host communities may welcome Western-style hotels as a step towards modernity, but in the long term it could be detrimental to indigenous style. On the other hand, the economic demand for cultural heritage by tourist may result in the trapping of local culture, whereby hosts are unwilling to give up traditions, which in the end may thwart the modernization of an area (Kreag, 2001). Also, since communities are often regarded as heterogeneous, the effect of an impact might result in "benefit" for some residents and at the same time "cost" others in the same community. Nevertheless, "impacts" need to be monitored on a continuous basis if adverse effects are to be avoided and the benefits maximised for the "purposes of protecting the community's well-being [and] also to ensure that the quality and long term viability of the tourism product at individual destinations are not undermined by adverse reactions of the resident population" (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997, p.4).

Milman and Pizam (1988) argued that residents' perceptions of impacts are not universal or necessarily objective and are affected unequally by some factors and variables more than others. For example, Perdue, Long and Allen (1990) and Johnson, Snepenger and Akis (1994) concluded that demographic characteristics were unrelated to residents' perceptions of tourism impacts which is contrary to Chen's (2000) conclusion that age and gender affect urban residents' views of tourism impacts. However, Chen (2000) found that urban residents' concerns about social and environmental costs appears to be congruent with a previous impact study on rural tourism by Perdue, Long and Allen (1990), who articulated that rural residents were not only sensitive to economic benefits but also cared about environmental and social costs.

This section analyses residents' perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism. First, it reviews some models that have been used to explain residents' perceptions and attitudes. Second, it appraises the context of various studies on residents' perceptions and attitudes. Third, it evaluates a number of factors and variables that influence residents' perspectives and attitudes to tourists and tourism. Fourth, it highlights some gaps in the literature on residents' perceptions and attitudes.

2.3.1 Explanatory Models of Residents' Perceptions and Attitudes

In attempting to understand and explain residents' perceptions of and attitudes toward tourism, researchers have advanced a number of theoretical frameworks. Chief among these are the evolutionary or progressive models which predict that destinations pass through various stages of development which result in corresponding changes in visitors' and hosts' perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism (Butler; 1980; Christaller, 1963; Doxey, 1975; Miossec, 1977; Mitchell, 1998; Plog, 1973; Richie & Inkari, 2006). Wall (1982, p.188) claimed that the concept of the evolutionary model is indigenous since it was developed in tourism "with little reference to cycles in other disciplines." Christaller (1963) is one of the first to have advanced this evolutionary argument, but Doxey's Irridex is one of the first developed models, which suggests that as tourism impacts increase, the community passes through four stages: from euphoria through apathy and irritation to antagonism (Cavus, & Tanrisevdi, 2003; Doxey, 1975; Wall, 1982). Similarly, Plog (1973) suggest that resorts attract visitors in a continuum from allocentrics through mid-centrics to psychocentrics. Likewise, Butler's tourist-area life cycle model (1980) propose six-stages through which tourist destination passes: from exploration through involvement, development, consolidation and stagnation to decline or rejuvenation. In praising Butler's resort cycle model, Wall (1982, p.189) described it as "elegant and useful…[for] it synthesizes a diversity of ideas in a concise framework." Mitchell (1998) also propose the five-stages evolutionary "creative destruction" model, from early commodification through advanced commodification, early destruction to advanced destruction and post-destruction (Fan, Wall & Mitchell, 2008; Huang, Wall & Mitchell, 2007; Mitchell, Atkinson & Clark, 2001). These evolutionary models are conceptualized on the premise that residents' support for tourism development diminished as associated negative impacts become evident. That is, as destinations go

through the development cycle, residents become more aware of the negative impacts and therefore place a higher value on them (Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma & Carter, 2007).

Some researchers argued that the evolutionary models are inherently flawed since they are based on the premise that communities are homogeneous and thus, ignore the complexity of factors that can influence residents' attitudes, either positively or negatively (Allen, Long, Perdue & Kieselbach, 1988; Dogan, 1989; Gilbert & Clark, 1997; Johnson, Snepenger & Akis, 1994; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Madrigal, 1993; Ritchie & Inkari, 2006; Yoon, Chen & Gursoy, 1999). As a result, research on the social impacts of tourism has moved from the evolutionary theories towards the views that "communities are heterogeneous, and may perceive the impacts of tourism, and their support for tourism in different ways" (Lankford & Howard, 1994; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Ritchie & Inkari, 2006, p.40). Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010) and Lankford and Howard (1994) argued that residents in communities are not homogenous in their perceptions of tourism development. Residents' responses are diversified and driven largely by perceptions of how tourism can or personally impacted their lives and their community and those who depend on tourism were likely to feel more positive toward tourism development and its impacts. This is in line with the economic dependency or self-interest hypothesis which indicates that the more dependent residents are on tourists for their economic wellbeing, the more supportive they are of its growth and development (Lankford & Howard, 1994).

Also, studies have shown that those who receive direct benefits from tourism are less likely to attribute negative social and environmental consequences to it and hold more positive attitudes toward its development and expansion (Husband, 1989; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Pizam, 1978). Conversely, residents who were not dependent on tourism or had to compete with tourists for access to local resources displayed a more negative perception. The argument supports the social exchange theory which has also been used to explain residents' attitudes towards tourism and its development (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Ap, 1990; Gursoy, Jurowski & Uysal, 2000; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004). Thus, the extent to which local residents accept or reject changes attributable to tourism depends in large measure on residents' perceptions of how it affects or will affect their own personal welfare and lifestyle.

Notwithstanding, Ap (1992) maintained that the lack of an explicit linkage to a theory is a major limitation in advancing the understanding of residents' perception of tourism

impacts. As a result, he advanced the social exchange paradigm as a useful theoretical framework, which can account for both the positive and negative impacts of tourism as perceived by hosts. He argued that, the social exchange theory is logically and intuitively appealing in that it may be used to explain why residents develop positive and negative perceptions of tourism impacts. The theory suggests that:

> …when exchange of resources…between residents and tourism is high and balanced, or high for the host actor in an unbalanced relation, tourism impacts are viewed positively by residents. [On the other hand, w]hen exchange of resources is low in either the balanced or unbalanced exchange relation, the impacts are viewed negatively. (Ap, 1992, p.685)

Kaltenborn et al. (2008, p.667) claim that the social exchange theory has been a dominant theoretical framework in many studies of tourism impacts; the "theory implies that individuals participate in exchanges if the exchanges produce valued benefits, and if the costs do not exceed the benefits." Similarly, Teye, Sönmez and Sirakaya (2002) posit that the social exchange theory has become more acceptable as appropriate for developing an understanding of residents' perceptions and attitudes. They claim, the theory "stipulates that [hosts] seeks benefits in exchange for something estimated as equal to the benefits they offer in return, such as resources provided to tourism developers, tour operators and tourists" (Teye, Sönmez & Sirakaya, 2002, p.670). Jurowski and Gursoy (2004, p.297) argued that:

> …individuals will engage in exchanges if the resulting rewards, and perceived costs do not exceed perceived rewards. Theoretically, residents who view tourism as potentially or actually valuable and believe that the costs do not exceed the benefits will favor the exchange and will consequently be supportive of development efforts.

Other proposed theories include the extrinsic/intrinsic framework (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997) and the social representation theory (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003). The extrinsic dimension:

> …refers to variables that affect resident reactions at the macro level in the sense that they have a common impact on the community as a whole. The intrinsic dimension

recognizes that the host community is heterogeneous and perceptions of impacts may vary according to variations in the characteristics and circumstances of individuals. (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000, p.765)

Extrinsic factors include stage of development, seasonality in patterns of activity and cultural differences between hosts and guests. While intrinsic factors include geographical proximity to activity, host involvement in tourism and demographic attributes.

According to Andriotis and Vaughan (2003, p.173) "social representations can be defined as myths, knowledge, images, ideas, and thoughts about a social object or, in other words, a matter of social interest such as tourism." It is a means of constructing and understanding social reality. The social elements "are shared by groups within a society and help to facilitate communication" (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000, p.767). The challenge is to identify these groups or clusters in communities and their shared interests and commonality through techniques, such as, cluster analysis, as was done by Madrigal (1995), Ryan and Montgomery (1994), Davis, Allen and Cosenza (1988), Williams and Lawson (2001) and Iroegbu and Chen (2002). Williams and Lawson (2001) refer to such studies as "segmentation studies" which isolate distinct groupings where the variation within the group is low and variation between the groups is high.

2.3.2 Context of Studies of Residents' Perceptions and Attitudes

Further, the literature on residents' perceptions of and attitudes to tourism revealed that the majority of the studies have focussed on rural communities in developed countries in North America and Europe, because tourism is seen as the logical choice to replace traditional industries such as mining, fishing and logging that have disappeared from such communities (Allen, Long, Perdue & Kieselbach, 1988; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Bachleltner & Zins, 1999; Burns, 1996; Cooke, 1982; Davis, Allen & Cosenza, 1988; Husbands, 1989; Johnson, Snepenger, & Akis, 1994; Jurowski, Uysal, Williams, 1997; Lankford, 1994; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; Liu & Var, 1986; Madrigal, 1993, 1995; McCool & Martin, 1994; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Perdue, Long & Allen, 1987, 1990; Petrzelka, Krannich, Brehm & Trentelman, 2005; Schluter & Var, 1988; Smith & Krannich, 1998). Chen (2000, p.6) posits, "Past research on perceived tourism impact has primarily examined rural settings, where tourism often has a dominant position in the local economy."

Iroegbu and Chen (2002) also concurred that the literature is dominated with impact studies that focus on the perception of rural residents. The bias may be due to the fact that urban communities have diversified economies and the residents on a whole do not rely as much on tourism.

Some researchers assert that tourism is widely viewed as having the potential to provide rural communities with local employment opportunities, tax revenues, and economic diversity and is perceived to be a clean industry with few serious environmental impacts, especially in comparison to resource extractive activities that many rural communities have traditionally relied upon (Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; McCool, 1992; Milman & Pizam, 1988). In this regard, Bachleltner and Zins (1999) claimed:

> Tourism is often referred to as a means of development for economically weak regions. Compared with other industries tourism appears to be attractive for regional economic improvement as it incorporates none or at least very few negative environmental consequences. However, [they conceded that,] there is increasing evidence that tourism entails negative effects on social and cultural areas. (Bachleltner & Zins, 1999, p.201)

Madrigal (1995) asserted that the overwhelming and continued focus on rural communities could be attributed to the perception that tourism seems to have far more visible effects on rural residents.

Most of the studies over the years have focused on the positive and negative aspects of tourism impacts which have been broadly categorised as cultural, social, environmental and economic (Gursoy, Jurowski & Uysal, 2002; Lankford, 1994; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010). Concerns centred mainly on the economic viability of tourism development and its costs and benefits in particular to rural and urban communities that have been struggling with economic restructuring due to the loss of their primary industries. The evidence shows that residents of these communities that attract tourists are not homogeneous, but heterogeneous, resulting in diverse views, for example, tourism is generally viewed positively in particular in the early stages of development, there is usually a desire to receive more tourists, tourism is seen to provide much needed economic benefits and a lack of appreciation of the negative side-effects of tourism development (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Wall, 1996).

Another characteristic of previous studies is that a majority were done in communities where tourism is in an advanced stage of development and is considered an important economic activity. Only a few studies were done prior to any development in communities or when tourism is not yet seen as a major activity (Mason & Cheyne, 2000). Hernandez, Cohen and Garcia (1996) studied a rural community on the island of Puerto Rico that was in pre-tourism stage of development and they found that the residents' attitudes were ambivalent towards tourism development. Vargas-Sánchez, Plaza-Mejía and Porras-Bueno (2009) studied Minas de Riotinto, a former mining community that was in a very early stage of development where the industry is not yet economically important. They claim that the residents were in the stage of euphoria as classified by Doxey (1975). It was concluded that the local population is of the opinion that tourism will bring to the community more advantages than disadvantages. Similarly, Belisle and Hoy (1980, p.96) posit, "The positive attitudes of Santa Marta residents towards tourism may be a function of the incipient stage of tourism development in the area…. Santa Marta residents appear to be best characterized by the first stage" of Doxeys' (1975) Irridex model, euphoria. However, as tourism expands and becomes pervasive, residents' attitudes may become negative.

2.3.3 Factors Influencing Residents' Perceptions and Attitudes

Researchers have identified a number of factors that tend to influence, predict and explain residents' perceptions and attitudes to tourism and towards its development. They include: demographic factors, personal factors, social factors, tourism related factors, economic factors and spatial factors (Harrill, 2004; Jackson & Inbakaran, 2006). Some of the principal variables relating to these factors include gender, age, language, occupational situation, educational level, level of income, native-born status in the community, extent of individuals' reliance on the industry, length of residency in the community, the distance of residence from the central tourism zone, residents' involvement in tourism decision making, level of knowledge about tourism and the region's economy, rate of community growth, importance of the industry to the community, the overall level of tourism development in the community, the extent of tourism concentration in the community, perceived impacts on local outdoor recreation opportunities and the type and extent of host-guest interaction (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Cavus & Tanrisevdi, 2003; Liu & Var, 1986; Madrigal, 1993; Murphy, 1985; Pizam, 1978; Um & Crompton, 1987; Vargas-

Sánchez, Plaza-Mejía & Porras-Bueno, 2009). These factors and variables were found to have varying degrees of influence on residents' perceptions and attitudes to tourism and its development.

A review of the literature shows that gender, ethnicity and age are useful concepts in explaining some of the variability in residents' attitudes towards tourism and its development and community change and development. For example, Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010) found that gender and age were determinants of attitudes, which is consistent with findings of a number of other researchers (Brougham & Butler, 1981; Chen, 2000; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Haralambopoulous & Pizam, 1996; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Murdock & Shriner, 1979; Pizam & Pokela, 1985; Ritchie, 1988). Also, Var, Kendal and Tarakcioglu (1985) found a relationship between ethnicity and residents' attitudes. In contrast, studies by Pizam (1978), Liu and Var (1986), Davis, Allen and Cosenza (1988) and Madrigal (1995) reported no relationship between socio-demographic variables and attitude toward tourism. More recently, Nepal (2008) found that gender and age did not have statistically significant correlations with tourism attitude.

Another factor that has been used by researchers to explain attitudes towards tourism and its development is residents' 'level of attachment' to a community. Some of the variables that have been used as indicators for 'level of attachment' include place of birth, length of residency in the community, home ownership, business ownership and place of employment (McCool & Martin, 1994; Nepal, 2008). Lankford and Howard (1994) found that respondents' 'level of attachment' to an area did not have much of a bearing on residents' attitudes toward tourism. However, they argued that 'levels of attachment' should not be discounted totally, since it was given prominence in studies by Rothman (1978), Brougham and Butler (1981) and Um and Crompton (1987). Further, they conclude that the impact of 'level of attachment' was "moderated by the presence of other more important variables such as residents' economic reliance on tourism and their ability to exercise some degrees of influence over the scope and nature of its planning and development" (Lankford & Howard, 1994, p.134). On the contrary, Harrill (2004) found that the more attached residents are to their community, the more negative they are about tourism development, given that tourism has the potential to undermine the quality of life in their community. Likewise, Nepal (2008)

found that residents with a high 'level of attachment' are less supportive of future tourism development since it can cause deterioration in the quality of life.

The length of residency in community and place of birth have also been found to influence residents' attitudes toward tourism (Brougham & Butler, 1981; Davis, Allen & Consenza, 1988; Pizam, 1978; Um & Crompton, 1987). Goudy (1977) found that birthplace influenced residents' attitude towards community change and development. The tourism impact literature indicates that the longer respondents lived in a community, the more negative they were towards tourists and tourism (Allen, Long, Perdue & Kieselbach, 1988; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Liu & Var, 1986; Lankford, 1994; Madrigal, 1995; Pizam, 1978; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Um & Crompton, 1987). Also, Lankford and Howard (1994) found that long-term residents and those who were born in an area tend to hold less favourable attitudes towards tourism. Similarly, the community development literature found that both long-time and newer residents were found to be negative toward increased community development that focussed on tourism (Ayer & Potter, 1989; Goudy, 1977; Patton & Stabler, 1979).

The single most consistent finding in the area of residents' perception and attitude towards tourism and its development is that residents who derive financial benefit from tourism are more in favour of it. That is, residents who depend upon tourism-based employment have been found to be more favourable toward tourism and tourists (Akis, Peristianis, & Warner, 1996; Lankford, 1994; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Liu & Var, 1986; Madrigal, 1995; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Murphy, 1980; 1983; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2007; Pizam 1978; Pizam & Milman, 1986; Tyrell & Spaulding, 1984). Lankford and Howard (1994) found that the residents with the most favourable attitudes to tourism were most likely to be employed in a job that catered to tourists. Pizam (1978), in one of the earliest studies of residents' perception, found that respondents with an economic reliance on tourism agreed more with positive statements about it than those without an economic benefit. Likewise, Williams and Lawson (2001, p.285) claim "one of the few relatively consistent findings in the area of resident perception of tourism is that people who derive financial benefit from the industry tend to hold more positive opinions of it." More recently, Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010) found that dependence on tourism was a determinant of

attitudes. On the contrary, Nepal (2008) found that family members' employment in tourism did not have statistically significant correlations with tourism attitude.

In addition, some researchers have acknowledged that an economic dependency on tourism often leads to its support, even at the expense of other factors (Pizam, 1978; Wall, 1982). This is particularly so in Third World countries, for tourism is often regarded as a magnet to help boost local economy. For example, King, Pizam, and Milman (1993) found some host communities in Fiji to be more inclined to support tourism business due to the resulting economic contribution, even though the social and environmental impacts were seriously presented. That is, while residents were able to recognize the detrimental impact of tourism on morality, work attitudes, quality of life, legal and environmental factors, they still favoured tourism. Residents' support was attributed to their dependence on tourism related jobs, which is considered as a rewarding economic benefit. In other words, although residents of communities who depend on tourism can clearly differentiate between its economic benefits and social costs, the awareness of certain negative consequences does not automatically lead to opposition towards expansion in tourism development (King, Pizam & Milman, 1993). These conclusions by King, Pizam and Milman (1993) are similar to Wall's (1982) findings in a study on the island of Bali. Also, Liu and Var (1986) found a strong perception of the positive economic and cultural benefits of tourism, but residents were reluctant to attribute social and environmental costs to tourism, such as tourism causing crime and congestion.

2.3.4 Gaps in Residents' Perceptions and Attitudes

Although a large volume of research has been done examining and analyzing residents' perceptions and attitudes of tourism and its development there are noticeable gaps in the literature. Surprisingly, studies at dark cultural heritage sites are lacking, even though there has been increased recognition and acceptance of such sites over the past two decades. Also, not many studies have assessed communities where the pull factors are the historic cultural resources, such as, buildings and monuments (Bachleltner & Zins, 1999; Fan, Wall & Mitchell, 2008; Harrill & Potts, 2003; Snaith & Haley, 1999; Uriely, Israeli & Reichel, 2002; Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2008). Similarly, not enough studies have been done in communities on Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Ironically, little attention has been paid to residents' perceptions in the English Speaking Caribbean region (Akis, Peristianis &

Warner, 1996; Andriotis, & Vaughan, 2003; Nicholas, Thapa & Ko, 2009; Nunkoo, & Ramkissoon, 2010). Indeed, this is strange given that the Caribbean is one of the most tourism dependent regions in the world and "The political, economic, cultural, and environmental problems that characterize Third World tourism are the most spatially concentrated in the Caribbean" (Kingsbury, 2005, p.113). Also, as stated previously, most Caribbean countries have tourists' economies. In addition, an evaluation of tourism statistics revealed that the trends in the Caribbean often mirror world trends (UNWTO, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010).

2.4 The Concepts of Authenticity, Interpretation and Commodification

Three important sociological concepts that have dominated the cultural heritage tourism literature are "authenticity," "interpretation" and "commodification." MacCannell (1973) introduced the term authenticity into the tourism discourse. He claimed authenticity is a quest that modern tourists have embarked on but it is doomed to failure since they are faced along every step of the way with "staged" authenticity created by tourism enterprises. Since then, a number of post-structuralist writers argue that authenticity is a negotiable concept that is emerging and constructed by the various stakeholders in tourism (Baudrilliard, 1988; Bruner, 1994; Cohen, 1998, 2007; Eco, 1986; Gable & Handler, 1996; Handler, 1986; Olsen, 2002, 2007; Wall & Xie, 2005; Xie & Wall, 2002). In fact, authenticity has become "less relevant to the study of post-modern tourism" (Cohen, 2007, p.75). Though not as contentious as authenticity, interpretation has had its share of controversy. The concept is generally used to describe activities related to the presentation of heritage to visitors. That is, it describes the basic art of telling the story of a place. Selected cultural heritage resources are converted into attractions for tourists' enjoyment through interpretation (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). However, the problem with cultural heritage interpretation lies in the fact that cultural heritage sites are highly contested and have multiple meanings, each shaped by different stakeholders for different reasons for the requirements of specific consumer groups.

On the other hand, commodification is regarded as the deliberate transformation of past events and artefacts for tourist to experience and consume (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Also, commodification is seen as negative when the focus is on the value derived from the product in the context of trade. Notwithstanding, it has been shown that communities have gained tremendous benefits from commodified resources (Cole, 2007). It

is apparent from the discussion that the concepts of authenticity, interpretation and commodification are alive and relevant in tourism, and may be a source of problems in the development, management and promotion of dark cultural heritage attractions.

2.4.1 Authenticity

The concept of authenticity has become a central orienting principle in cultural heritage conservation since it was introduced into tourism by MacCannell (1973) and has set the agenda for lively and diverse debates and analysis (Taylor, 2001). However, it is a very difficult principle to define since people hold divergent conceptions and perspectives (Olsen, 2002; Reisinger & Steiner 1996; Wall & Xie, 2005). The ambiguous and problematic concepts of authenticity are routed in the ideologies of modernism/realism, constructivism and postmodernism (Wang, 2000). Notwithstanding, it is a very important theme in cultural heritage development for tourist consumption.

Taylor (2001) argues that since the 1980s the issue of authenticity has become a central orienting principle in tourism studies and has set the agenda for lively and diverse debates and analysis. In this regard, Golomb (in Wang, 1999, p.350) alleges that "authenticity is a term grown ambiguous from varied usages and contexts." Thus, Herbert (1995a) argues that authenticity is a problematic dimension of heritage. Equally, Scarpaci (2005, p.129) claims "authenticity – unlike beauty – is not in the eyes of the beholder, but is shaped by international investors who have the economic [and political] muscle to alter the built environment as they wish." Further, Schouten (1995, p.30) affirms that "authenticity is like perfection: you can only strive for it, without ever having the illusion of reaching it." However, Martin and Mason (1993) posit that new 'thoughtful consumers' will emerge in the near future for whom authenticity will be more important. A number of cultural heritage management specialists and others argued that authenticity is essential for the success of cultural heritage attractions (Mckercher et al., 2004). However, some dismissed this claim, citing instead that the desire to consume the product and the experience is more important, and that authenticity may be detrimental to the commercial viability of an attraction because it might kill the fun (Bruner, 1994; Gable & Handler, 1996; Jones & Robinett, 1998; Xie & Wall, 2002).

Resulting from these debates and analyses are the many and varied definitions of authenticity, at least as many as those who write about it (Taylor, 2001). Also, Reisinger and Steiner (2006) reveal that there are numerous, contradictory, and irreconcilable differences about the concepts, values, and perspectives on the authenticity of objects and activities. The original usage of the term is linked to museums where experts wanted to determine "whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and therefore worth the price that is asked for them or…worth the admiration they are given" (Trilling, 1972, p.93). It is this museum-linked usage (objective authenticity) that is often associated to tourism (Wang, 2000; 1999). For example, whether products of tourism such as works of art, festivals, rituals, cuisine, dress, housing, and so on that are described as "authentic" or "inauthentic" is in terms of the criterion of whether they are made or enacted "by local people according to custom or tradition" (Wang, 1999, p.350). Others argue that authenticity implies traditional and original culture, genuineness, real or unique (Cohen, 2007; Pearce, 2007; Olsen, 2007; Sharpley, 1995). However, the rise of the theories of relativism, postmodernism, post-structuralism and constructivism has convinced many that there is no actual, true, genuine, objective reality that can be the standard against which to assess authenticity, or at least "no one has reliable access to it, unmediated by their subjective perspective" (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006, p. 69). Against this background, Larkham (1995) posits that there is no place in tourism for the originality debate and the consequences for heritage. Thus, the term "original" can be regarded as redundant in the tourism literature.

The ambiguous and problematic concepts of authenticity stem from the ideologies of modernism/realism, constructivism and postmodernism (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). The modernists/realists argue that there is a discernable objective basis for the authenticity of artefacts, events, cuisine, practices, dress, and culture, generally underpinned by a fixed and knowable reality (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1973). On the other hand, the constructivists claim that the basis is social or personal and hence unfixed, subjective and variable (Bruner, 1994; Cohen, 1998, 2007; Gable & Handler, 1996; Handler, 1986). They point out that authenticity can be negotiated and deny any fixed objective reality to which people can appeal. The most radical postmodernists assert that authenticity is irrelevant to many tourists, who either do not value it, are suspicious of it, are complicit in its cynical construction for commercial purposes, or are aware that it is merely a marketing device (Baudrilliard, 1998;

Eco, 1986). As such, the postmodernists are doubtful any discernible, objective reality underpins perceptions of authenticity. As Reisinger and Steiner (2006, p.66) point out, the postmodernists "emphasize that no one really cares enough about authenticity to bother constructing its myth or that the line between the real and manufactured is so blurred that argument about it is pointless." Because of the difficulty associated with authenticity, Reisinger and Steiner (2006) claim, it is not yet a 'basic concept' as defined by Kuhn (1996) since the idea is not yet accepted once and for all. Kuhn (1996, p.17) claims that a basic concept allows research to progress, partly because it ends "the constant reiteration of fundamentals and partly because the confidence that they were on the right track encourages [researchers] to undertake more precise, esoteric and consuming sorts of work" (1996, p. 17). Further, Reisinger and Steiner (2006) maintain that the use of a single term without a stable definition leads to confusion and renders research built on such a contentious term unreliable and disputable, because object authenticity can mean objectively real, socially constructed, or cynically manufactured. Thus, the conflicting and irreconcilable differences in usage of authenticity are grounds on which to disqualify it from claiming the paradigmatic status of a concept (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). They conclude that the term and concept of 'authenticity' should be abandoned in any research that discusses the genuineness of objects and activities and replaced by more explicit, less pretentious terms. Terms like genuine, actual, accurate, real, and true should be used "when referring to judgments that tourists and scholars make about the nature and origins of artefacts and tourism activities" (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006, p.66).

Nevertheless, the importance of authenticity in tourism is evident. According to Wang (1999) the subject has become an agenda for tourism studies since it was first introduced in MacCannell's (1973) sociological study of tourist motivations and experiences. Belhassen and Caton (2006) reject the call for the abandonment of the term (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) even though they agree that the past conceptualizations of object authenticity are ontologically problematic and pose practical limitations on tourism experiences. They argue that such conceptualizations are alive and well in the minds of many tourists, tourism brokers, and members of host communities. Consequently, scholars should not simply abandon a concept that continues to play such a significant role and function in reality (Belhassen & Caton, 2006).

2.4.2 Interpretation

According to Schouten (1995, p. 30), cultural heritage can only exist as a result of interpretation and is "subject to fashion, taste, ideology and…personal preferences." However, the various definitions for interpretation often imply the notion of communication and creating better understanding of a place, thing or event. Interpretation started as an activity during in the Grand Tour of Europe (Brodsky-Porges, 1981; Towner, 1985; Light, 1995). However, the professionalization of the activity was consequent to the publication of a book in 1957 that sets out the interpretation process in a coordinated way (Light, 1995; Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979; Tilden, 1977). Furthermore, the 1980s witnessed the rapid emergence of the 'cultural heritage industry' as a potent force, largely in response to the rapid growth in the leisure industry and a corresponding public demand (Hewison, 1989). Thus, cultural heritage sites are adopting more dynamic, exciting multimedia presentations that border on entertainment. But, this emerging trend has been harshly criticized by a number of commentators, but there are those who are defending the new movement.

An examination of the theory of interpretation reveals that it is a concept and activity that give meaning and make a place, thing or event understandable to visitors. Article 1.17 of the Burra Charter defines interpretation as "all the ways of presenting the cultural significance of a place" (ICOMOS, 1999). On the other hand, Schouten (1995, p.31) argues "interpretation is the art that makes history 'real'." Wight and Lennon (2007, p.522) state that "interpretation is the primary means by which museums communicate with visitors and it is through interpretation that memory and audience engagement becomes selective and syncretic." Further, Chen, Hwang and Lee (2006, p. 1168) claim "interpretation is how people communicate the significance of cultural and natural resources…. Interpretation is both a program and an activity." It is evident therefore that, as a program, it establishes a set of objectives for things a visitor should understand and as an activity it requires skills and techniques to create understanding. In this regard Stewart et al. (1998) contend that interpretation is the process of making places accessible to public audiences. For the purpose of this research, interpretation is defined as all planned activities that communicate the importance and significance of what is seen and experienced by visitors (Moscardo, 2007).

The origin and development of cultural heritage interpretation is linked to the travel to historic places referred to as the Grand Tour by the English aristocracy (Brodsky-Porges,

1981; Light, 1995; Towner, 1985). It was through the tour guiding of the "grand tourists" that resulted in the birth of interpretation, for the tour guides would act as interpreters for the visitors. However, up to the 1950s interpretation remained as an "uncoordinated and unprofessionalized activity, which lacked a coherent philosophical basis" (Light, 1995, p. 120). However, this changed in 1957 with the publication of the book, *Interpreting Our Cultural heritage* by Tilden (1977). What Tilden (1977) was able to do was to systematize and formalize an activity which was already being practiced. He defined interpretation as "an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information" (Tilden, 1977, p. 8). This definition by Tilden (1977) is very robust because it takes into consideration the various communicative channels used in interpretation. Further, Tilden (1977) develops six principles that good interpretation should possess. First, interpretation should relate to the visitor's life experience to be meaningful. Second, interpretation is more than relaying information which is important. Third, interpretation is an art that is the combination of a number of teachable disciplines, such as, history and science. Fourth, interpretation should primarily be aimed at provocation as opposed to instructing. Fifth, interpretation should be holistic in nature and should address the whole person. Finally, interpretative programs for children should contain the same information as for adults, but with a different approach; ideally the program should be separate. Although knowledge is central to interpretation, as principle four states, it is not knowledge as in a formal educational system, since most visitors to cultural heritage sites are engaged in leisure activities (Light, 1995). Thus, interpretation is a service to cater for the growing numbers of people who wish to visit, understand and appreciate their past, and the publication of Tilden's book provided its philosophical foundation in the tourism literature (Light, 1995).

The 1980s witnessed the rapid emergence of the "cultural heritage industry" (Hewison, 1989) as a potent force, largely in response to the rapid growth in the leisure industry and corresponding public demand. In particular, there was a rise in what was called "cultural heritage centre." Cultural heritage centres marked a departure from the traditional concept of a museum. These centres avoided the intimidating image and static displays traditionally associated with museums and aimed instead at dynamic, exciting, multi-media

39

presentations that are visually appealing and user-friendly (Light, 1995; Martin & Mason, 1993). According to Light (1995) this development had three significant implications for cultural heritage interpretation. First, there was an explosive growth in built cultural heritage attractions and a corresponding increase in the use of interpretation methods. Secondly, the range and types of cultural heritage being presented were more eclectic than ever before. Thirdly, the cultural heritage boom acted to rejuvenate the informal educational role of interpretation stressed by Tilden (1977). Furthermore, Lumley (1988) identifies two distinct trends being developed at cultural heritage sites. The first is the move towards creating ostensibly authentic cultural heritage places, as exemplified by the new generation of open-air museums. One of the leading cultural heritage sites in this category is Colonial Williamsburg. The second trend is seen as the converse of the first; it involves the use of elaborate, state of the art technology to create novel historic 'experience.' Walsh (1992) identified the Jorvik Viking Centre as the leading example in this category employing display media such as sound, smell and heat to create this experience.

However, the modern developments in interpretation have not gone unnoticed by critics who denounced the trend for focusing too much on entertainment at the expense of education. Critics contend that the trend has usurped the education which they claimed was the original role of interpretation (Lowenthal, 1985; Stevens, 1989). It is alleged that such an emphasis results in subordination of education to entertainment and visitor expectations (Fleming, 1986). It is argued that whenever the two are combined entertainment usually prevails (Ames, 1988, 1989). Similarly, Binks (in Light, 1995) believes we are in danger of losing sight of the educational objectives. Moreover, Fleming (1986) is of the view that some sites may be so focused on making money that they may not even attempt to educate visitors. Light (1995) also, claims that entertainment is dominating the resources being interpreted; while Stevens (1989) believes the media is becoming the message. Another criticism posited is that visitors might only remember the method and not the message, since the "media spectacle" may drown out the educational message (Stevens, 1989; Walsh, 1992). Underpinning these critiques are the assumptions that the legitimate role of interpretation is education; that this role has been subsumed beneath an emphasis on entertainment, or drowned by overpowering display techniques; and that education and entertainment are dichotomous and incompatible (Greenhalgh, 1989).

Not everyone is in agreement that entertainment has taken over the role of interpretation. Light (1995) thinks it provides fun and enjoyment as part of the tourism encounter. Likewise, Sharpe (1982) sees entertainment not as an objective, but as a necessary ingredient in good interpretation in order to maintain audience interest. Others also argue that pleasure and learning are not mutually exclusive (Walsh, 1992), since it is impossible to define where education stops and entertainment begins. Instead of being dichotomous it is more likely that education and entertainment can be linked into Urry's (1991) notion of "Edu-tainment," which is the combination of education and popular entertainment, a characteristic of modern cultural heritage sites. In fact it has been shown that presentation can enhance educational impact (Ames, 1989; Fleming, 1986; Screven, 1986). Furthermore, it is claimed that the high priority on entertainment is necessary to maintain commercial viability of cultural heritage sites (Martin & Mason, 1993). It is therefore unwise to say that entertainment has eclipsed education since research has not supported this allegation (Light, 1995).

2.4.3 Commodification

Cultural commodification or commoditization is "The process by which occurrences, artefacts and personalities of the past are deliberately transformed into a product intended for the satisfaction of contemporary consumption demands" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p.6-7). Likewise, Cohen (1988, p.380) and Goulding (2000, p.837) affirm that commoditization "is a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade." The latter definition carries a negative connotation and as such, cultural commodification is often regarded as a negative process. Halewood and Hannam (2001, p.576) suggest that it is unrestraint cultural commodification that results in what MacCannell (1973, 1976, 1999) referred to as "staged authenticity" which is the staging of local culture to create an impression of authenticity for a tourist audience and which "is generally perceived as negative and something that devalues an experience or cultural activity."

Notwithstanding, there is evidence that communities have benefitted and have been empowered as a result of tourism developments that are based on commodified resources (Cole, 2007). Cohen (1988) argued that commoditization usually occur when a culture is in decline and as such the emergence of a tourist market frequently facilitates the preservation

of traditions which would otherwise perish. As a result, commodification enables the bearers to maintain a meaningful local or ethnic identity which they might otherwise have lost. Cohen (1988) and Cole (2007) contend that cultural commodification can be positive by reviving art forms as a consequence of the demand from tourists.

Albeit, a review of the literature revealed that debates and analyses of 'commodification' usually include 'authenticity,' for the two concepts are closely related (Cohen, 1988; Cole, 2007; Goulding, 2000; Greenwood, 1982; Halewood & Hannam, 2001). Two points of contention that are often raised in these debates are, 1) tourism leads to commodification which eventually destroys the authenticity of local cultural product, and 2) commodification destroys the meaning of cultural products for both the locals and the tourists (Cohen, 1988; Medina, 2003). On the other hand, some scholars assert that cultural heritage is dynamic and emergent and the new cultural configurations that are generated as a result of commodification are both authentic and meaningful to participants (Gable, & Handler, 1996; Handler, 1986; Handler & Linnekin, 1984). Also, Greenwood (1982) argued:

> All societies create traditions, accept elements from outside, invent ceremonies, and reinvent themselves for both sacred and secular purposes. All viable cultures are in the process of "making themselves up" all the time. In a general sense, all culture is "staged authenticity." If this is so, it is useless to argue that because tourism often involves the staging of cultural authenticity, it is necessarily a destructive force. (1982, p.1)

Also, it is apparent from the debates that culture-brokers such as foreign and local elites and governments are often complicit in cultural commodification for tourist consumption (Cole, 2007; Goulding, 2000; Greenwood, 1982; Halewood & Hannam, 2001). Philp and Mercer (1999, p.48) posit, "places and people are made and remade as tourism objects – a process which is often manipulated by the state." They also alleged, "The commodification of the tourists' product is manipulated by specific, influential groups [including foreign and local elites] in society in such a way that the signs and images used to sell a particular destination, are also inscribed ideologically by such groups" (Philp & Mercer, 1999, p.48). Cole (2001) contends "The commodification of the past by the state for tourism purposes is also readily apparent in the production and sale of souvenirs which

incorporate ancient symbols." In this regard, Cole (2007) established that some state officials in Indonesia are of the view that villagers are happy for tourists who are interested in ceremonies, customs and everyday activities that have been passed down for generation, however, the villagers need to maintain their traditions.

Cole (2007) submits that residents of an Indonesian community were not overly concerned about any of the negative consequences of commodification. They were prepared to put on displays of music and dance for tourists, but were against the staging of rituals for them. Cultural heritage of communities were regarded as assets to be preserved because tourists travel far distances to consume it and in the process also validates it, hence strengthening the cultural values and pride of the community. As a result, tourism has changed locals' perceptions of themselves and is proving to be important in giving them confidence. Cultural commodification of locals' identity also brings "pride and self-conscious awareness of their traditional culture, which has become a resource that they manipulate to economic and political ends" (Cole, 2007, p.955). Therefore, it follows that cultural commoditization may actually preserve traditions by generating demand for or attributing value to them.

It is argued that local costumes and customs, rituals and feasts, folk and ethnic arts become commodities and are seen in a negative light, as they come to be performed and produced for tourists (Cohen, 1988). However, it is not just goods and services which are bought and sold, but primarily experiences and symbols that are consumed. Goulding (2000) claims that in the commodification process heritage undergoes a process of industrialization and is seen as just another commodity that can be bought and sold. As a result, where "cultural assets are refined as consumables for tourists, culture becomes commoditized. The destination appears less authentic and so the value of the product is reduced" (Cole, 2007, p.945). Taylor (2001, p.15) contends, "When culture is defined as an object of tourism its authenticity is reduced." Cole (2007, p.945) stressed, "tourism turns culture into a commodity, packaged and sold to tourists, resulting in a loss of authenticity."

Commodification may include the variation and miniaturization of objects and the shortening of performances to appeal to tourists. Philp and Mercer (1999, p.50) assert, "Historical sites are increasingly sanitized landscapes which have been reinvented for the tourist gaze as well as the achievement of nationalist ambitions." According to Cohen (1988,

p.372), "As cultural products lose their meaning for the locals, and as the need to present the tourist with ever more spectacular, exotic and titillating attractions grows, contrived cultural products are increasingly "staged" for tourists and decorated so as to look authentic." Often faked cultural products are sold to tourists as if it was a genuine cultural product. Also, performances are "staged" for tourists' consumption in "supposedly" remote regions in order to give the impression and to appear "authentic." Although the power exercised by tourists produces negative consequences such as the commodification of culture, this does not necessarily lead to the loss of authenticity (Cole, 2007).

Commodification may lead to empowerment which is the ability of individuals or groups to determine their own affairs and a process to help them exert control over factors that affects their lives. While it is argued that cultural commodification dis-empowers some communities, others have used tourism as a political instrument in the construction of their identity. In this regard, Cole (2007, p.946) identified four dimensions of empowerment: 1) economic, 2) psychological, 3) social, and 4) political. Economic empowerment is the economic gains such as employment and increased revenue to communities that result from tourism. Psychological empowerment comes from high self-esteem and pride in cultural tradition. Social empowerment comes from increased community cohesion when its members are brought together through tourism initiatives. Political empowerment results when community members are able to exert control over factors that affects their lives. Further, Cole (2007) posits that empowerment provides a shift in the balance between the powerful and the powerless, between the dominant and the dependent. With this come self-conscious awareness, knowledge and pride, which is important in empowering marginalized communities. On the other hand, commodification could lead to disempowerment, for as Greenwood (1982) argued, local culture can be commodified by anyone, without the consent of the participants and as such, it can be expropriated and the local people exploited.

One of the prevailing arguments in the tourism literature is that commodification renders cultural heritage meaningless to tourists and locals (Cohen, 1988; Gable & Handler, 1996). Cohen (1988, p.372) asserts that the performance and production of cultural heritage for tourist consumption "often changes the meaning of cultural products and of human relations, making them eventually meaningless to the ones who believed in them." An

example is the Alarde,[4] a public ritual that lost its intrinsic meaning and significance for local people when they were ordered by the government to perform it twice per day for the sake of tourists (Greenwood, 1977, 1982). As a result of the lost in interest, the government induced locals by paying them to participate in the ritual which became a staged event for money, a cultural commodity. According to Greenwood (1982), the expropriation by the state of the Alarde resulted in a redefinition of the event as a spectacle for outsiders which effectively killed and destroyed the ritual.

The lost of meaning, significance and enthusiasm for producing commodified cultural heritage is not always the case (Cohen, 1988). Sometimes, cultural products acquire new meanings for the locals in their portrayal to external audience and the old meaning does not necessarily disappear, but may remain relevant for the internal audience in spite of commodification. The fact that culture is dynamic and new cultural products resulting from the process of commodification can become with time widely accepted as authentic and has new meaning to the producers. Also, tourists are frequently prepared to accept such products, even if transformed through commoditization since often they were party to their creation. Cohen (1988) posits the new meaning may coexist simultaneously with the old meaning and oriented to different audience. Also, Cohen (1988, p.382) alleged, "In many situations of commoditization, the performers themselves do not necessarily perceive that such a transformation had in fact occurred." Thus, commoditization does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals nor for the tourists, although it may do so under certain conditions. Therefore, it would be inconsistent to say that the commercialization of all cultural products renders them meaningless.

2.5 Dark Cultural Heritage

Visits to historical sites that portray events associated with human suffering and mass death have become a significant aspect of tourist visitation in recent times (Waitt, 2000). Foley and Lennon (1996b, 1997, 1999a) assert that there has been a significant growth in tourism at these sites. Stone (2012) alleges that the demand for these sites has grown since the mid-twentieth century simultaneously with the growth in tourism. Kang, Scott, Lee and Ballantyne (2012) posit that many of the studies on these sites highlight that they can provide

---

[4] An annual staged ritual of a victory in a siege in 1638 by local people in the Spanish-Basque town of Fuenterrabia.

significant tourism experience. In addition, others claim that sites associated with natural or man-made disasters or atrocities have become places of remembrance, for spiritual journey and also "tourism attractions themselves" (Kang et al., 2012, p.257; Stone 2006). The large number of visitors to sites such as, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC, the Sixth Floor Museum, Dallas where Lee Harvey Oswald allegedly was positioned when he assassinated JFK, the Holocaust site of Auschwitz-Birkenau and more recently Ground Zero, New York bear testimony to this assertion (Foley and Lennon, 1996b, 1997, 1999a; Kang et al., 2012). In 2007, Auschwitz-Birkenau received 1.2 million visitors while Ground Zero attracted 3.5 million (Kang et al., 2012). Also, since opening in 1993, the Holocaust Memorial Museum has been receiving record numbers of visitors, well in excess of original projection (Foley & Lennon, 1996b; Lennon & Foley, 1999).

The phenomenon of visiting sites of tragedy is most widely referred to as "dark tourism", which was coined by Foley and Lennon (1996b). Others labelled it atrocity tourism (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005), thanatourism (Seaton, 1996b), tragic tourism (Foley & Lennon, 1996b), black spot tourism (Rojeck, 1993) and morbid tourism (Blom, 2000). On the other hand, the cultural heritage that is associated with these sites is referred to as dark heritage, dissonant heritage, atrocity heritage or undesirable heritage among other labels (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1996; Beech, 2000; Foley & Lennon, 1996; MacDonald, 2006; Seaton, 1996).

Dark tourism sites often embody attractions that are considered and classified as cultural heritage sites. Dann and Seaton (2001) and Seaton (1999) assert that dark sites have considerable cultural and historical significance. As a result, studies of dark sites should benefit from established theories of heritage tourism. For example, like cultural heritage sites, dark sites involve ideological and political issues (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). Biran, Poria and Oren (2011, p.823) contend that "literature centering on visits to heritage sites may allow a more meaningful understanding of tourist experiences at dark sites. Specifically, such literature recognizes the multifunctional nature of sites presenting death, rising from the various symbolic meanings of death on display." For example, studies have shown that dark sites are spaces for remembrance, mourning, spiritual experience, demonstration of national identity, or educational experiences (Austin, 2002; Logan & Reeves, 2009; Slade, 2003).

Although the activity existed for millennia as pilgrimage and as a "minor" form of tourism, some researchers claimed that it is an under-researched and an underdeveloped area of the cultural heritage sensation (Seaton, 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). However, research by Foley and Lennon (1996a) has stimulated debate on this important and neglected form of tourism. Notwithstanding, Biran, Poria and Oren (2011) are of the opinion that Seaton and Lennon's (2004, p.81) assertion that visitor-oriented research of visits to sites of death, disaster and atrocities "has hardly even begun" is still valid. They claimed that the understanding of dark tourism remains limited because of the lack of research exploring dark tourists' experiences. Others claimed that there is inadequate theory and practice surrounding some aspects of this phenomenon (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005; Austin, 2002; Bruner, 1996; Foley & Lennon, 1996a; McCain & Ray, 2003; Seaton, 1996). For example, while many studies surrounding dark cultural heritage looked at the Holocaust and a number of other conflicts in Europe, the same cannot be said about the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves which is regarded by many as one of the greatest and most brutal atrocities in mankind history (Patterson, 1982; Rodney, 1972; Williams, 1944, 1994).

This section reviews the literature on dark cultural heritage which highlights some common themes. These include the history and definition of dark tourism, dark tourism destinations and sites, the categorization of dark sites, motive for visits to dark sites, characteristics of visitors to dark sites and sought benefits and experiences from visits to dark sites.

2.5.1 The History and Definition of Dark Tourism

Dark tourism or visits to sites associated with natural or man-made disasters or atrocities is not a new phenomenon. Stone (2012, p.1567) contends, "Pilgrimages to places associated with death have occurred as long as people have been able to travel." Also, Stone and Sharpley (2008) branded the Roman gladiatorial games and attendance at medieval public executions has early forms of death related tourism. Similarly, Seaton (1996) argued that dark tourism or thanatourism emerged from a thanatoptic tradition (the contemplation of death) that dates back to the Middle Ages. Boorstin (1964) alleges that the first guided tour in Cornwall, England was a train trip to witness the hanging of two murderers in 1838.

In spite of the long history and increasing contemporary evidence of travel to sites associated with death and disaster, it is only recently that academic attention has been

focused on the phenomenon. Thanatourism or dark tourism only "entered academic discourse in 1996 as a generic term for travel associated with death, atrocity or disaster" (Foley & Lennon, 1996a, 1996b; Seaton, 1996; Seaton & Lennon, 2004, p.63). According to Stone (2011, p.2) "prior to the mid-1990s, dark tourism, as *generic* term for travel associated with death, atrocity or disaster, had not previously featured in the academic literature as a specific element of consumption in periodic typologies of tourism." However, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, significant academic attention was drawn to the activity which resulted in "an encyclopaedia entry in which thanatourism/ dark tourism was elaborated to comprise visits to battlefields, murder and atrocity locations, places where the famous died, graveyards and internment sites, memorials, and events and exhibitions featuring relics and reconstructions of death." There also has been noticeable and increased coverage and prominence given to the phenomenon by travel guides and the mass media "seeking to depict it, not just as a genre of travel motivation and attraction, but as a social pathology sufficiently new and threatening to create moral panic" (Seaton & Lennon, 2004, p.63). Also of note was the establishment of the Institute of Dark Tourism Research in 2005 at the University of Central Lancashire, England. According to the Institute's website, its aim is "to advance knowledge about the act of visitation to tourist sites of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre." These occurrences among others support Lennon and Foley (2000, p.11) thesis that dark tourism is "an intimation of post-modernity." They claimed the following: interest in and the interpretation of events associated with death is largely dependent on the ability of global communication technology to instantly and continuously report them; most dark tourism sites challenge the inherent order, rationality and progress of modernity (as does the concept of postmodernity); and, at most sites, the boundaries between the message (educational, political) and their commercialization as tourist products has become increasingly blurred.

According to Stone (2012), there is no universal typology of dark tourism, neither is there a universally accepted definition of the phenomenon. Notwithstanding, some scholars claimed that dark cultural heritage is cultural heritage that is associated with real and commodified sites of atrocity, death, disaster, human depravity, tragedy, human suffering, and sites of barbarism and genocide (Austin, 2002; Beech, 2000; Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011; Bruner, 1996). On the other hand, dark tourism is said to be the presentation and

experiencing of dark cultural heritage for healing, collective sense of identity, sense of empathy, quest for roots, spiritual reunion and reconnection with ancestors or ancestral roots, re-living event, self-realization, pilgrimage and homage, sense of belonging, self discovery, remembrance, education or entertainment, demonstration of national identity, mourning (Austin, 2002; Beech, 2000; Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011; Bruner, 1996; Buzinde & Santos, 2008, 2009; Foley & Lennon, 1996a, 1996b; Kang et al., 2011; Lennon & Foley, 1999; Logan & Reeves, 2009; Miles, 2002; Preece & Price, 2005; Slade, 2003; Stone, 2012; Stone, 2011; Stone, 2006; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Waitt, 2000).

Foley and Lennon (1996b, p.198) also affirmed that dark tourism relates to "the presentation and consumption of real and commodified death and disaster sites." Further, they defined dark tourism as "visitation to sites associated with death, disaster, and depravity" (Lennon & Foley, 2000). On the other hand, Seaton (1996, p.240) defines dark tourism or thanatourism as "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death." Stone (2006, p.146) defines dark tourism as "the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre." Tallow's (2005, p.48) defines dark tourism as "visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives." Stone (2006, p.146) rightly suggests that the term "dark" "alludes to a sense of apparent disturbing practices and morbid product and experiences." With this in mind, it is suggested that dark tourism may be referred to as traveling to sites associated with atrocities, disaster and human suffering wholly or partially for social and psychological experiences or benefits.

2.5.2 Dark Tourism Destinations or Sites

Dark sites are diverse in nature "multifaceted, complex in design and purpose" (Stone, 2006, p.150). They include site of armed conflicts or battlefields, death sites of celebrities, holocaust sites or sites of genocide, prisons or other sites of notorious incarceration, sites of extraordinary disaster and sites that are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves (Ashworth & Hartman, 2005; Blom, 2000; Henderson, 2000; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Foley & Lennon, 1996; Seaton, 1999). Some specific destinations that have been highlighted include: Waterloo (the site where Napoleon's army was defeated), Cholame (the site of James Dean's fatal car crash), Dallas (the site of

JFK's death), Auschwitz-Birkenau (one of the most notorious Holocaust sites of WWII), the Killing Fields of Cambodia, genocide sites in Kosovo and Rwanda, Alcatraz (a maximum high security Federal island prison that held some of the most ruthless criminals in the USA), Robben Island (an island prison on which Nelson Mandela, Jacob Zuma and other political prisoners were held during the Apartheid era in South Africa), 9/11 World Trade Centre site, New Orleans after hurricane Katrina and Elmina and other castles along the West Coast of Africa. Apart from the actual sites of tragedies, there are dark sites such as the US Holocaust Museum in Washington DC that memorialize events off-site away from the actual site of the tragedy. It is evident that each type of dark tourism attraction or site possesses distinctive characteristics. The diverse nature of dark sites is what may have prompted Stone's (2006, p.150) comment that "the universal term 'dark' as applied to tourism is too broad and does not readily expose the multilayers of dark tourism supply."

Accordingly, several themes have been developed from dark sites based on characteristics of the sites. Themes that have been proposed for dark tourism experiences include: battlefield tourism (Balwin & Sharpley, 2009), prison tourism (Strange & Kempa, 2003), atrocity heritage tourism (Ashworth & Hartman, 2005), slavery tourism (Dann & Seaton, 2001), and genocide tourism (Beech, 2009). However, sites that are associated with armed conflicts are said to constitute the largest category of tourist attractions in the world (Stone, 2012). Some of these war sites include: Gallipoli, the battlefield where Australia and New Zealand suffered massive casualties during World War one, was where both countries, respectively, have their "de facto psychological and cultural origins" (Slade, 2003, p.782); similarly, the Battle of Vimy Ridge, France in 1917 in which all four Canadian Corps were involved and came out victorious unlike the Australians and New Zealanders at Gallipoli, Turkey symbolizes the birth of Canada as a nation (Berton, 2001); and Gettysburg, the site of one of the bloodiest battles during the American Civil War (Chronis, 2005).

A significant growth of tourism to at dark sites has resulted in some sites been labelled as been successful (Foley & Lennon, 1999a). On the one hand, the number of visitors to the site may be used to measure success as in the case of the U.S. Holocaust Museum in Washington DC, the Sixth Floor Museum in Dallas, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Ground Zero in New York. These sites consistently attract large number of visitors, beyond most expectations. For example, since opening, the US Holocaust Museum has been

receiving record numbers of visitors, well in excess of original projection (Foley & Lennon, 1996b). Also, according to Kang et al (2012) in 2007, Auschwitz-Birkenau received 1.2 million visitors while Ground Zero attracted 3.5 million. Similarly, for three years in succession, from 1992 to 1994 the Sixth Floor Museum, which opened in 1989, was Dallas' number-one paid tourist attraction (Foley & Lennon, 1996b). On the other hand, success may only be based on whether sites fulfill visitors' expectation, sought benefit and experience. In such cases, the castles along the West Coast of Africa, which have association with the Transatlantic Trade, would be regarded as been successful since they offer experiences that are sought by many Africans in the diaspora. There are also sites such as Masada and Vimy Ridge, which are regarded as significant mainly by Israelis and Canadians respectively.

2.5.3 The Categorization of Dark Sites

A full categorization of dark sites is extremely complex since dark attractions are very diverse and range from actual sites with "authentic" artefacts, such as holocaust sites, to fully commodified sites away from the site of the events being presented (Dann, 1998; Foley & Lennon, 1996b; Sharpley, 2005; Stone, 2006; Wight, 2006). A commonly used classification is based on the notion that there are fundamental differences between sites that associated with death and suffering and sites that are of death and suffering. Accordingly, scholars have classified some sites as 'primary sites' or 'secondary sites' while others are classified by degrees or shades of darkness (Miles, 2002; Sharpley, 2009; Stone, 2006; Wight & Lennon, 2007). For example, Wight and Lennon (2007) referred to sites of actual tragedy, death and disaster as 'primary sites', while Miles (2002) refers to them as 'darker' sites. Such sites include among others, holocaust camps and sites of celebrity deaths. On the other hand, sites that are only associated and commemorate tragedy and death are classified as 'secondary sites' or 'dark sites' which include museums and other commodified sites away from the actual site of the tragedies (Wight & Lennon, 2007; Miles, 2002). For example, the Holocaust site of Auschwitz-Birkenau is darker than the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC even though they are presenting the same tragic event.

Seaton (1999), Sharpley (2009) and Stone (2006) support the concept of degrees of darkness at dark sites. However, Seaton (1999) holds the view that the shade of darkness of a site can change as a result of consumer tastes, media influence, marketing strategy and new development in the form of interpretation and presentation. Likewise, it is possible that the

uncovering of new information could change the shade of darkness or even result in an attraction that was labelled as a 'primary site' changing to a 'secondary site' or vice versa. Consequently, Sharpley (2009, p.20) proposes four shades of dark tourism: 1) pale tourism, representing tourists with a minimal or limited interest in death visiting sites unintended to be tourist attractions; 2) grey tourism demand, representing tourists with a fascination with death visiting unintended dark sites; 3) grey tourism supply, representing sites intentionally established to exploit death but attracting visitors with little interest in death, and 4) black tourism, representing pure dark tourism experience in which the fascination with death is purposely supplied.

On the other hand, Stone (2006) proposed a dark tourism spectrum with six shades of darkness ranging from "darkest sites" at one end to "lightest sites" at the other (Stone, 2006, pp.152-157). Locating an attraction along the spectrum would be based on its dominant features, such as whether it has an educational or commercial ideology, or its' spatial affinity with a site, or the level of political influence and ideology that is apparent within the product's purpose and interpretation, and so on. For example, 'darkest sites' are regarded as sites of death and suffering and having higher political influence and ideology, while 'lightest sites' are those that are associated with death and suffering and have lower political influence and ideology.

In keeping with the proposed spectrum, Stone (2006) propositioned seven products along the spectrum: 1) dark fun factories, attractions and tours which present sanitized real, fictional death and macabre events that predominantly have an entertainment focus; 2) dark exhibitions, sites which blend death, suffering or the macabre event to reflect education and potential learning opportunities; 3) dark dungeons, combine entertainment and educational products that revolve around former prisons, courthouses and justice systems; 4) dark resting places, focuses upon cemeteries or grave markers as potential products for dark tourism; 5) dark shrines, are sites of remembrance and respect that are constructed very close to or at the site of death and within a very short time period of the death occurring. Often, a mass of floral tributes signify and provides a marker for other 'mourners,' which very often have no direct relationship with the victim; 6) dark conflict sites, history-centric presentation of commodified war and battlefields sites that have educational and commemorative focus; and 7) dark camps of genocide, focus on sites of genocide, atrocity and catastrophe with a high

degree of political ideology attached to them as the main thantological theme, and thus occupy the darkest edges of the 'dark tourism spectrum'.

2.5.4 Motive for Visits to Dark Sites

Dark tourism literature often emphasizes the fascination with death as the main or sole motive for visiting sites in which death is presented, however, a number of studies suggest otherwise (Stone, 2012, 2011; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Walter, 2009). Some scholars suggest that it is the perception of the site as dark rather than the site attributes which determines whether tourists are motivated to visit by dark motives (Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011; Smith & Croy, 2005). Others found that the perception of sites as personal heritage or having personal meaning impact motivation to visit and level of satisfaction (Muzaini, Teo & Yeoh, 2007; Poria, Butler & Airey, 2003). Seaton (1996, p.240-242) advanced the following death related motives and behaviour for visiting dark sites: travel to witness public enactments of death, travel to see sites of mass or individual deaths after they have occurred, travel to interment sites of, and memorials to death, travel to view material evidence/symbolic representations of particular death at unconnected sites such as museums, and travel for re-enactments or simulation of death. Dann (1998) also submits a number of death related motives for visiting dark sites: overcoming childlike fear, the search for novelty, nostalgia, the celebration of crime and deviance, basic bloodlust and undertaking journeys that heightened their sense of mortality. Seaton and Lennon (2004) also suggest the pleasure in viewing others' misfortune and the contemplation of death (thanatopis) as possible motives. Ashworth (2004) also suggests an interest and indulgence in violence and suffering as possible motive for visits to dark sites. Most recently, Stone (2012, 2011, pp.13-14) posits that dark tourism acts as a mediating institution in contemporary secular societies which sequestered the dead: it provides a physical place to link the living and the dead, it presents and communicate death, it provides the visitors with opportunities to accumulate "death capital" upon which they may draw upon to reflect and contemplate death of self through gazing upon the Significant Other Death, it mediates the complexity of death whereby contemporary mortality is reconfigured and revitalised through dark tourism spaces, and it symbolically displays the Significant Other Death.

On the contrary, studies have shown that many visitors to dark sites are engaged in non-dark activities and experiences. In fact, a study by Biran, Poria and Oren (2011, p.830)

found that interest in death was the least important reason for visiting Auschwitz, while "educational motives were the foremost". In addition to learning and understanding the history presented at Auschwitz, it was found that some visitors were interested in having an emotional heritage experience. The findings by Biran, Poria and Oren (2011) support the findings of other scholars who identified educational motive and emotional experience as key motives in engaging in dark tourism (Miles, 2002; Shackley, 2001; Sharpley & Stone, 2009). Kang et al. (2012, p.258) assert "dark tourism offers both an educational and emotional tourism experience, conveying important messages related to gaining knowledge of past events, while serving an emotional or potentially therapeutic function as well". Similarly, Bruner (1996) identified learning as a key motive for White American tourists visiting Elmina Castle in Ghana, whereas for African-Americans it is a profound emotional experience of "coming home". Also, Austin (2002), Poria, Butler and Airey (2004) and Teye and Timothy (2004) acknowledged educational experiences and enjoying the scenery as key motives for visits to sites that are regarded as having dark attributes. Motives suggested by Ashworth (2002, 2004) include: satisfying curiosity about the unusual, being entertained by the horrific occurrences and the suffering of others, emphatic identification, search for identity, self–understanding, pilgrimage, quest for knowledge and a sense of social responsibility ("Lest we forget," "Never again").

Interestingly, Kang et al. (2012, p.261) identified a group of visitors whose motive for visiting a dark site was "obligation". They pointed out that "obligation" has not been identified as a reason for visiting heritage or other tourism sites. In light of this revelation, experiences at dark tourism sites may differ when compared to other forms of tourism. They concluded, "a previous tragic event can engender moral obligations in later generation, compelling them to become familiar with the event and commemorate its victims" (Kang et al. (2012, p.261). These findings support Slade's (2003) argument that visitors at dark sites are not necessarily thanatourists. The findings are also in-line with motives identified at heritage sites with dark attributes, such as slavery sites and sites of natural disaster (Austin, 2002; Ryan & Kohli, 2006).

2.5.5 Characteristics of Visitors to Dark Sites

Visitors to dark sites have been characterized according to their motives for visiting and the sought benefits and experiences from visits. Beech (2000), Wight (2006), Wight and

Lennon (2004) and Muzaini, Teo and Yeoh (2007) identified two distinct groups of visitors, at dark cultural heritage sites, whom they claim are visiting for distinctly different experiences. One group, "visitors with personal connection" to the site, consists of victims and relatives of victims with direct connections to the site, while the second group, "incidental" or "ordinary" visitors, consists of general visitors with no direct or indirect connections (Muzaini, Teo & Yeoh, 2007, p.27). One group that Beech (2000) identified at the Buchenwald concentration camp site with no personal attachment often perceived their visit as leisure, while victims and families of victims often do not regard their visit as leisure activity. Beech (2002) categorized the latter as Diaspora tourist in-search of one's roots or to reconnect to an event, the product lifecycle for them will come to a natural end as raw emotion and memory become diluted over time. However, for the former group, that is more or less indulging in general leisure, their product lifecycle is less predictable and more of a function of marketing effort. This group, the 'incidental visitor', may not be dark tourists but are visiting dark sites as part of a larger itinerary. Likewise, Kang et al. (2012) identified a group with no personal connection to a dark cultural heritage site in Korea who were visiting 'out of curiosity just to have a meaningful day-out with friends and family.' These visitors have little interest in learning about the incident outside of having a good leisurely experience (Kang et al., 2012). Another group they identified that had personal connection to the site were visiting for personal learning and obligation (Kang et al., 2012). This latter group is similar to the one's that Beech (2002) referred to as diaspora tourists.

2.5.6 Sought Benefits and Experiences From Visits to Dark Sites

Dark sites provide multiple sought after benefits and experiences. They provide the opportunity for legacy, spiritual and emotional fulfilment, sentimental experience and understanding among humankind (Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011; Kang et al., 2012). It was found that, the stronger visitors perceived a site as personal heritage, the higher the desire is for emotional experiences (Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011). Also, they can act as sites for legacy or roots tourism, where tourists travel to engage in genealogical endeavours and to feel connected to ancestral roots (Austin, 2002). Apart from the monetary values for conservation purposes, these sites provide the opportunity for visitors to re-live the events that the sites represent. Austin (2002) thinks that cultural heritage sites that are associated with the African Diaspora such as the slave forts and castles along the West Coast of Africa have the potential

to offer experiences for spiritual fulfilment. For instance, Bruner (1996) reported of a case where an African American fasted in the dungeon of one of the castle for three weeks, after which time she stated that she achieved a "spiritual reunion" with her African ancestors. Likewise, Biran, Poria and Oren (2011) found that visitors to Auschwitz expectation that the interpretation will enrich their knowledge of one's own heritage and allow them to feel connected to it.

Dark heritage attractions and sites possess the capability to conjure up deep emotional expressions anger, anguish, fear, horror, sadness, depression, empathy, sympathy, feelings of vengeance and sorrow in visitors (Austin, 2002; Bruner 1996; Krakover, 2005, Miles, 2002). This was illustrated when a former Governor General of Canada Michëlle Jean a descendant of an African slave visited Elmina Slave Castle in Ghana in 2006. It was reported that she "wept softly for several minutes" while gazing out of a door that (it is alleged) millions of captive Africans passed through before being loaded on ships for the journey across the Atlantic into slavery (Toronto Star, 2006; The Record, 2006; National Post, 2006). Further, it is reported that she uttered the following line "my life will never be the same again." There are accounts of other people having similar experiences while visiting Elmina and other forts in Ghana that are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves (Bruner, 1996; Austin, 2002). Biran, Poria and Oren (2011) maintained that visitors to Auschwitz sought emotional involvement and understanding, empathy towards the victims and the expectation that the interpretation will extend their knowledge of the Holocaust and World War II.

Furthermore, the development of dark sites also has the potential to increase understanding and exchange between Black people of African descent and others. Thus depending on the marketing that is adopted, it could become a trail of human rediscovery for all, and most certainly for all the oppressed peoples of the world (Austin, 2002).

2.6 Residents Participation and Involvement in Cultural Heritage Planning

This section evaluates several findings relating to residents' participation and involvement in cultural heritage planning and development process. Some researchers argued that residents should be involved in the process, in particular, those who are directly affected, while, others questioned the merits of residents' involvement. Also, it was found that the involvement of residents in the planning and development process positively impacts their

attitudes towards tourism. Researchers also proposed several strategies to build and encourage residents' support for tourism and its development.

Cultural heritage planning processes should include roles for local citizen participation; for it is the "residents [who] must put up with congestion at [destinations], put on the 'smile,' and live with the physical development" (Murphy, 1985, p.163). Others are of the opinion that a destination can only retain its popularity in the long term if the local residents are friendly, hospitable and welcome the visitors (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010). Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010) also argued that detailed planning and tourism development strategies needs to be highly focused at the local level since this is where tourism takes place. Residents are also in a better position to identify the resources that make their place special and unique (Chittenden, 2006; Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979). This resource identification process should be guided as much as possible by those whose cultural heritage is affected (Chittenden, 2006), because planners and outsiders tend to homogenize places and rob them of their uniqueness through standardization (Scarpaci, 2005; Teo & Yeoh, 1997). Also, Hall (2000) adds that for tourism planning to be successful, the involvement and the participation of residents in the area is essential. In addition, Cooke (1982) posits that residents view tourism more favourably when they perceive themselves as being able to influence decisions and outcomes related to its development. Timothy (1999) recommends that urban inhabitants should be encouraged to participate in decisions relating to tourism development through government motivations and incentives.

In contrast, McKercher et al., (2004) questioned the philosophy of wide-scale citizen involvement, since local residents at times can be unmindful of visitors' needs during the selection of resources for attraction development. Specifically, the resources that they select may not necessarily appeal to the 'outsiders' whom the product may depend on for financial viability. Also, Li (2006, p.133), researching in China, claims that community participation, a Western paradigm "was only one of many ways to ensure that local people received benefits from tourism, and not a final goal itself." He found that, "despite weak participation in decision-making processes, the local community can benefit sufficiently from tourism" (2006, p.132). Zamani-Farahani and Musa (2008) claim residents' attitudes to tourism development are subject to conditions.

Findings from a number of studies affirmed that attitudes towards tourism were favourably influenced by the extent to which local residents felt they maintained some level of control over its planning and development. Cooke (1982) and Lankford (1994) posit that residents' involvement with local development decision-making influenced the level of support and attitude toward tourism and tourists. Allen and Gibson (1987) and Ayer and Potter (1989) found that when residents are involved with various community activities, they appear to be more favourable toward community change and development. Lankford and Howard (1994) findings suggest that residents' concerns regarding tourism development may be reduced if they can exercise some control over the development process, which is consistent with Napier's and Wright's (1976) finding that attitudes toward tourism were favourably influenced by the extent to which local residents felt they maintained some level of control over its planning and development process. Napier's and Wright's (1976) findings corroborate findings from the community development literature that has established a clear link between favourable attitudes toward community change and development and the perceived degree of participation in the change process. Contrarily, Uriely, Israel and Reichel (2002) did not find any significant relationships as a result of residents' level of involvement; however, they agreed that the involvement of local residents in the management of heritage sites could foster respect and understanding of the need for protection of the environment and the integration of tourism into the local community.

Researchers also suggest strategies which local government, city planners and tourism authorities should employ to building residents support for tourism. Extensive efforts should be made to identify ways to involve the local resident in the planning and design of their community. Ayers and Potter (1989) noted that the more attentive leaders are to residents' concerns, the more support they are likely to receive for community development efforts. Educational programs, public meetings and workshops can be undertaken at the local level to help residents understand the tourism industry and its impacts. Tourism promoters and public officials must recognize its impacts and establish comprehensive efforts to maintain public services, preserve the environment, and establish opportunities for public involvement where citizen control can be maintained, even in light of increasing tourism activity (Allen, Long, Perdue & Kieselbach, 1988). In particular, the local government and tourism authorities should pay particular attention to the findings that if people feel they have

access to the planning/public review process and that their concerns are being considered, they will support tourism. If it is merited, surveys, town hall meetings, design charrettes, public forums and lectures by government and industry officials will help to alleviate concern and create an acceptable level of tourism development.

2.7 Planning Cultural Heritage Destinations

Planners are increasingly turning to tourism as a viable economic development strategy because of industrial restructuring in communities (Harrill, 2004). Consequently, this is resulting in unprecedented developments in the tourism industry with the emerging number of destinations around the world prompting fierce competitions. Tourism planning is singled out as being critical for the success of a destination (Costa, 2001). However, there is widespread evidence that tourism contains its own seeds of destruction; instead of a powerful and profitable tool for development, it may drive destinations to chaos (Costa, 2001, Mitchell, 1998; Mitchell, Atkinson, & Clarke, 2001). The chaos and destruction result when destinations are allowed to become over-commercialized and forsake the unique appeals that made them popular. Thus, successful and profitable destinations will be those capable of keeping their distinctiveness and uniqueness and being built and expanded with clear links to their grassroots (Costa, 2001). This section, first, reflects on the impacts and process of planning in tourism. Second, it evaluates some methodological approaches in planning. Third, it assesses the principal characteristics of several models that have being proposed for cultural heritage tourism development.

There is broad consensus as to the role of urban planning in tourism development. Murphy (1985, p.156) states that planning "is concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system, to promote orderly development so as to increase the social, economic and environmental benefits of the development process." Further, Getz (1992) argues that the primary purpose of tourism planning includes: community development; heritage and environmental conservation; enhancement of cultural identity; and the provision of leisure opportunities. Millar (1989) also identified these as purposes of cultural heritage sites. Also, Gunn (2002) advocates that the design of cultural heritage attractions involve the utilization of the diverse resource base through appropriate planning, development, management and marketing, thus creating settings which stimulate and satisfy the desires of a multi-segmented

market. This involves an analysis of the future and the setting of basic goals and objectives for the destination (Collier, 1991). Structured tourism plans recognize the long-term

Figure 2.1 Seven Step Approach to Establishing a Rural Attraction
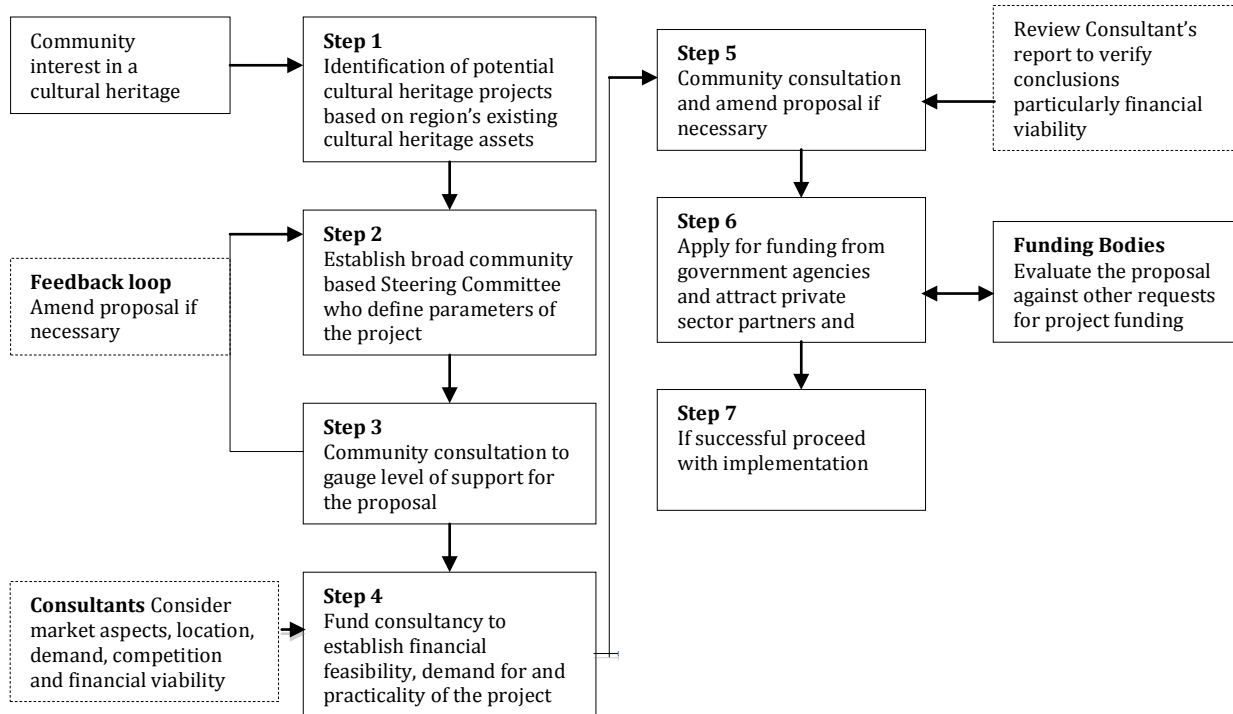
Source: Prideaux (2002: 319)

implications of tourism activities and attempt to minimize the negative impacts, while at the same time extracting maximum benefits. Thus, planning is necessary to avoid deterioration of the very resources upon which service businesses are based. To develop a satisfactory tourist product and acceptable image require the cooperation of many sectors, so the wider the support for its goals the more successful will be the industry. In fact when effectively implemented, planning can reduce overcrowding and provide a more equitable spread of visitors for the benefit of all tourist services.

Planning provides a structured methodological approach for the practitioners and developers of cultural heritage tourism. Rosenow and Pulsipher's (1979, p.63) "Personality Planning Process" consists of the following four steps: (1) delineate distinctive features; (2) plot critical zones; (3) establish use objectives; and (4) formulate specific action programs. But, Stupart (1996, p.39) argued for another step – "the coordination of organizations" –

which should precede the four steps outlined. Another methodological approach proposed by Heritage Canada for its heritage regions are: (1) establishing a coordinating organization; (2) developing a logo to give a distinct image of the region; (3) undertaking fund-raising activities; and (4) creating linkages with existing cultural heritage regions. In addition, Prideaux (2002, p.319) seven-step approach to establish a cultural heritage attraction (Figure 2.1) also shows a structured methodological approach to cultural heritage development.

Figure 2.2 Heritage Production Model
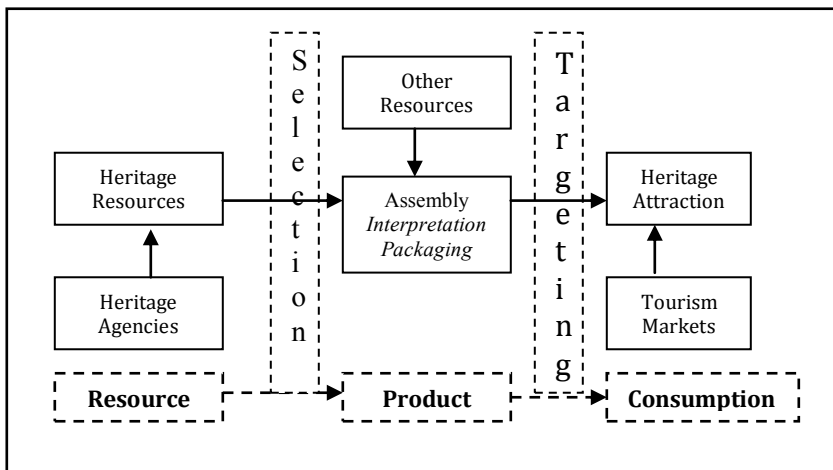
Source: Ashworth, 2000, p.21; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p.7.

Shipley (1999, p.32) also proposed a four-step process for cultural heritage tourism development, which includes: (1) an inventory of physical resources; (2) a blueprint of what to do; (3) the creation of an agency with the authority to undertake and coordinate the work; and (4) genuine support of government at all levels. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1995, p.6-9) also modelled the development of attraction from cultural heritage resources (Figure 2.2). Their 3-step model which includes: (1) selection of resources; (2) packaging or conservation of resources through interpretation; and (3) targeting of specific market, outlines a "process by which occurrences, artefacts and personalities of the past are deliberately transformed into a product intended for the satisfaction of contemporary consumption demand" (p.6.9).

A review of a number of the models and the approaches for the planning, development and promotion of cultural heritage tourism revealed that they share some principal characteristics. The characteristics that were identified include an interested

community; broad citizen involvement; government involvement; cooperation between different communities or regions; and a coordinating body such as a steering committee to coordinate the fragmented efforts of stakeholders. Rosenow and Pulsipher's (1979) personality planning process emphasizes lead roles for citizens' organizations throughout the process. They see the state as the logical developer of attractions of a historic nature, thus ensuring the public right of access and preservation of these resources. Also, where competing businesses cannot agree on beneficial joint action, the state can help to provide overall direction aimed at achieving the public good. Shipley (1999) contends also that citizen participation and government leadership is important to transform former industrial landscapes into successful tourist attractions. He also sees a mass of interested citizens as a key component in the cultural heritage planning process.

The key principles of Heritage Canada's model for the development of heritage regions include broad public involvement, a community-driven agenda, a self-help orientation, and a continuous presence in the community (Bowes, 1993). Prideaux's (2002, pp.319-320) approach to establishing cultural heritage attractions (see Figure 2.1) also emphasizes a "strong community based consultative process designed to build local support and community ownership of the proposal prior to testing its merits through a feasibility study." Moreover, the model underscores the value of a steering committee as a coordinating body. Steps four and five illustrate the steering committee assessing the consultant's report and balancing it against local knowledge and the collective experience of the members of the steering committee. Other issues that were incorporated include the mobilization of political support at different levels to ensure that the steering committee remained engaged with the community throughout the process (Prideaux, 2002). The value of a broad-base community involvement in planning usually ensures a high level of community ownership in the final product. Failure of any part of the process to perform will make planning efforts more difficult and frustrating and may even lead to the failure of objectives and goals (Shipley, 1999).

2.8 Summary

The social, economic and environmental importance of cultural heritage can never be overstated. However, definitions abound, for it is, regarded by some as a socially constructed concept. Studies have shown that cultural heritage often undergoes a process of

commodification whereby it is enhanced to fulfil the expectations of visitors. These visitors who are more knowledgeable than in the past, are demanding greater depth of experiences through entertainment and education at heritage destinations. Also, cultural heritage is regarded as an avenue through which local communities can showcase their uniqueness on the global stage, but there is an ever-present danger of homogeneity from the effects of globalization.

A review of the literature revealed that a number of theoretical frameworks have been advanced to explain residents' attitudes towards tourism. The ones that have gained much traction include the evolutionary or progressive models, the extrinsic/intrinsic model and the social exchange theory. Research findings suggest that resident attitudes towards tourism depend on a variety of circumstances and characteristics, such as socio-demographic attributes (Belisle & Hoy, 1980); heritage proximity (Uriely, Israeli & Reichel, 2002), economic dependency (Allen, Persia & Hafer, 1990; Liu, Sheldon & Var, 1987); spatial proximity to attractions (Belsile & Hoy, 1980) and attachment to the traditional culture of the area (King, Pizam & Milman, 1993; Milman & Pizam, 1988). However, further analysis of the literature shows that there is a lack of studies on residents' attitudes at cultural heritage sites and in particular dark sites. There is also a scarcity of studies in Small Island Developing States, more so, in the Caribbean, which is one of the World's most heavily dependent tourists' regions. Also, researchers have expended a lot of time and energy debating and analyzing authenticity, interpretation and commodification with no resolution insight because of the dynamic nature of these socially constructed concepts.

Visits to dark cultural heritage sites or destinations associated with human suffering and mass death have been in existence for ages. However, research into this phenomenon has been neglected over the years until recently. Unfortunately, there is a lack of research that focus on the Caribbean's dark cultural heritage that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. Studies that exist on the Transatlantic Trade often disinherit the Africans by trivializing their existence in the narratives that are presented at attractions.

There is broad consensus as to the role of urban planning in tourism development. Studies have shown that destination planning is important to maintain distinctiveness and uniqueness and to avoid chaos and destruction. A number of the proposed approaches contain similarities which include: interested communities, broad citizen and government

involvements among other traits. It is argued that the breakdown of any part of the planning process may lead to failure to meet objectives and goals of planning proposals.

CHAPTER 3
THE STUDY AREA

3.1 Introduction

It is important to understand the research setting in the country and region under investigation. This chapter accomplishes this by contextualizing Jamaica and providing a brief history of tourism development in the country. It also gives an overview of the historical development of the study site, Falmouth.

Section 3.2 contextualizes Jamaica historically, geographically, socially and economically. On his second voyage to the West Indies in 1494, Christopher Columbus landed in Jamaica and claimed the island for Spain. Though the island possesses natural beauty, it was of little interest to the Spanish because they did not find gold and silver in abundance. After the annihilation of the indigenous population of Tainos, the Spanish started importing Africans who were enslaved to work on plantations. Eventually, the Spanish lost the island to the English who developed it with hundreds of thousands of additional enslaved Africans. Jamaica became the number one sugar-producing colony in the West Indies. Finally, a gloom was cast over the island's economy as a result of the decline in the traditional agricultural industry and the eventual emancipation of the enslaved Africans in 1838.

Section 3.3 examines early efforts to start a tourism industry in Jamaica in the late 1800s, in response to the need to diversify Jamaica's economy. Traditionally, Jamaica has been seen, marketed and promoted as a sun, sea and sand winter get-away destination with foreign-owned, multinational corporations (MNCs) having controlling interest. Coupled with this, the policies adopted by the state to encourage tourism infrastructural development protected the interests of the foreign multinational investors and were seen by many as not being in the best interest of the country as a whole. The literature shows that high levels of resentment existed that developed, at times, into open conflicts between tourists and the Jamaican 'working class' who viewed tourists as 'confused white' people. While efforts were made to promote Jamaica's tourism internationally, little was done to promote it locally. This type of marketing continued up to the 1970s. The idea that "Jamaica is more than a beach for foreigners, it's a country" and its potential as a heritage and cultural destination remained unexplored. In light of this, the 1970s saw the beginning of deliberate emphasis in promoting

Jamaica's heritage and culture and the building of a domestic tourism industry. Local attitudes changed favourably towards tourism as a result, and local participation increased in all spheres of the industry.

Section 3.3.1 explores other major developments that characterized Jamaica's tourism industry since the 1970s: initially dominated by foreign-owned MNCs, packaged tours focusing on the sun, sea and sand; dramatic increase in visitor arrival and tourism revenue; the consolidation of tourism development along Jamaica's North Coast; and the pioneering of the 'all-inclusive' concept by a Jamaican-owned MNC resulting in a shift in the ownership structure within the industry. Early in the 1970s, the state also recognized a number of shortfalls in the tourism industry and, as a result, implemented policies aimed at diversifying and integrating tourism with other sectors of the economy and encouraging the participation of local and small investors in the industry. Also, throughout the 1970s, the state actively participated in the ownership of hotels, but then the decision was taken during the 1980s to make an about-face and return state-owned hotels to private ownership. The move was made because the state came to the conclusion that the private sector would operate the properties more efficiently. A dramatic increase in local ownership of tourism facilities and the formation of a number of Jamaican-owned MNCs then occurred. SuperClubs, a Jamaican-owned MNC, revolutionized vacation packages worldwide through the innovative 'all-inclusive' concept it started at the Couples Hotel in Ocho Rios. Though the novel 'all-inclusive' concept has been hailed as the saviour of Caribbean tourism, others have criticized the concept for creating tourism enclaves that deprives visitors of authentic Jamaican experiences. Until recently, Jamaican companies owned the majority of tourist accommodation – over 60 per cent – on the island; this has changed since a number of Spanish-owned hotel chains entered the local market starting in about 2000 (Rose, 2009, October 25). The phenomenal growth in tourism revenue, coupled with failure in traditional export industries, has established tourism as the number one foreign exchange earner for Jamaica.

Section 3.3.2 discusses recent trends and developments impacting Jamaica's tourism industry. In 2002, Jamaica's first Tourism Master Plan was published with an objective to move the tourism industry from its current unsustainable mode onto a path of sustainability. The plan recognized the need to diversify Jamaica's tourism image through the development

of its cultural heritage, and the town of Falmouth was identified as having the greatest scope to develop its distinctive built cultural heritage into an internationally attractive cultural heritage destination. Also, since 2000, the island has experienced steady growth in cruise ship arrivals and is now regarded as the number one cruise destination in the Caribbean. Equally important, the island had experienced tremendous growth in the accommodation sector as a result of the entry of a number of foreign-owned MNCs, mostly from Spain. The growth has pushed the number of rooms from 23,630 in 2000 to 29,794 in 2008.

Section 3.4 introduces the study site, Falmouth. The town of Falmouth, the parish capital of Trelawny, is located along the north coast of Jamaica. According to the 2001 census, the population of Trelawny was 73,066, while its capital has a population of 8,188. It is primarily a dormitory community with a large tourism-related workforce. The physical and social infrastructure of Falmouth is in fairly good condition. Although Trelawny hosts several thousands of visitors annually at various hotels and attractions throughout the parish, the town of Falmouth has a high unemployment rate.

Section 3.4.1 outlines the history and development of Falmouth. The town of Falmouth was named after the birthplace of the governor who signed into law in 1770 the Act that established the parish of Trelawny. The site of Falmouth was chosen as the capital of Trelawny after it was realized that the first parish capital, Martha Brae, could not accommodate the ocean-going vessels that traded with the numerous plantations in the area. While most sources cite Edward Barrett as the founder of Falmouth, historical research by Conolley and Parrent (2005) established that Thomas Reid laid-out and started selling lots in 1769 which was five years before Barrett subdivided the land he owned. The town developed rapidly as a result of the boom created by the massive trade in plantation produce and enslaved Africans that were shipped through its busy seaport. The boom resulted in the large number of impressive Georgian style public buildings and townhouses that were built by the competing planter and merchant classes throughout the town. The decline in the fortunes of Falmouth was linked to natural disasters (eg. hurricanes and fires), new developments in shipping (eg. steam powered and larger ships) and the introduction of railway service in Jamaica.

Section 3.4.2 outlines recent trends and developments that are impacting Falmouth. The town was designated a heritage district and the seventh resort area in Jamaica. The

designations give legislative protection to its built cultural heritage and access to special funding for tourism-related developments. Also, the Historic Falmouth development is currently being implemented. It is a joint project between the cruise ship company Royal Caribbean International (RCI) and the Government of Jamaica. The project involves the construction of a cruise ship pier and supporting infrastructure, as well as the improvement and rehabilitation of several Georgian-style buildings that are features of the town. Beginning in December 2010, RCI is expected to bring approximately 400,000 passengers annually through the port of Falmouth. In addition, there are a number of other tourism-related developments including hotels and attractions that are in various stages of development and are expected to impact the town socially and economically.

As stated, the purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the research and the study area. It gives an historical overview of the island from the time Columbus landed, the change from an agricultural economy to one that depends more on tourism and the various strategies used to build and encourage this new industry and other major development in tourism. Recent trends that have taken place in the tourism industry since 2000 are also discussed. The chapter gives an historical overview of the study site, Falmouth and then highlight recent trends and development that has impacted the town.

3.2 Jamaica – An Historical Overview

Jamaica is the largest of the English-speaking islands in the Caribbean with a total land area of 11,100 sq. km. When Christopher Columbus, the first recorded visitor, came to the island in 1494, he found that the indigenous population, the Tainos, had named the island Xaymaca, meaning the 'land of wood and water' (Martin, 1994; Kingsbury, 2005). According to the most recent census, in 2001, Jamaica's population was estimated to be 2.6 million. The data showed that 91.2 per cent of Jamaicans are of African descent (blacks) while the other 8.8% are broken down into East Indian, Chinese, White, Mixed and Others.

The country has a two-tier system of central and local government based on the Westminster Parliamentary system which was adapted from its former colonial master, England. Local government is organized along geographic units called parishes, of which there are twelve in the country, in addition to the metropolitan authority for the capital city known as the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation. While central government election is

constitutionally due every five years, local governments are elected every four years except in extraordinary circumstances when Parliament extends the life of the councils. Local governments are not entrenched in the constitution, but rather operate within the powers assigned to them under national legislation. Mayors, who are elected from within and by council, act as council chairpersons. Council business is conducted through a committee system, of which there are six permanent standing committees plus additional committees formed at council discretion. The council itself is required to meet monthly to discuss parish business, make decisions and pass necessary regulations and bylaws. Under current legislation, Parish Councils have the following responsibilities: i) minor water supplies, ii) parochial roads, traffic management and parking, iii) regulating public markets and abattoirs, iv) regulating certain retail establishments (e.g., hotels, restaurants, food stores, barbers and hairdressers, etc.), v) social welfare (poor relief and infirmaries), vi) parks and cemeteries, vii) drainage and gullies, viii) and development and building approval. Given that the Jamaican government system is not significantly decentralized, it is important to note that a number of central government agencies or enterprises provide many local services.

In 1494, when the Spanish first landed in Jamaica, Columbus found the natural scenery to be very appealing and enchanting. According to the Spanish historian Andres Bernaldez,

> *It is the fairest island eyes have beheld; mountainous and the land seems to touch the sky,* very large, bigger than Sicily, has a circumference of 800 leagues, and all full of valleys and fields and plains; it is very strong and extraordinarily populous; even on the edge of the sea as well as inland it is full of very big villages, very near together, about four leagues apart. (Columbus' thoughts as he first set eyes on Jamaica, as noted by Spanish historian Andres Bernaldez, cited by the Gleaner 1993, p.2) [*emphasis added*]

However, the natural beauty was not enough to hold the interest of the Spanish for long. Although the Spanish established Sevilla la Nueva as their administrative centre near where Columbus landed, this was soon abandoned in 1523 for St. Jago de la Vega in the South of the island. Also, Jamaica did not possess what the Spanish wanted, namely natural minerals (gold and silver), so they showed little interest and neglected the island (Watts, 1987;

Salmon, 2008, September 13). In addition to small-scale agricultural cultivation for domestic consumption, the few Spanish inhabitants also reared pigs and cattle.

The indigenous Tainos population of Jamaica were eventually annihilated by the middle of the 17th century as a result of diseases they contracted from the Spanish colonists and the inhumane treatment that they were subjected to (Watts, 1987). However, before the demise of the Tainos, the Spanish had started to import Africans to work as slaves throughout Spain's colonies in the Caribbean, including Jamaica (Watts, 1987; Salmon, 2008, September 13). By 1611, the slave population in Jamaica numbered 558. Even then, Spain continued to show little interest in Jamaica which was easily captured by the English in 1655. However, the Spanish colonists did not give up easily for they joined with the slaves that they had freed at the time of the British invasion and waged guerrilla warfare (Salmon, 2008, September 13; Robinson, 2007). The resistance did not last very long because the ex-slaves soon switched sides and joined the English who finally defeated the Spanish in 1660. Spain officially ceded the island to England under the Treaty of Madrid in 1670, thus officially ending the Spanish rule of Jamaica.

With the introduction of sugarcane cultivation in the Caribbean, Jamaica developed as the leading sugar producing colony in the British West Indies. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Africans were imported and enslaved to work on the hundreds of plantations throughout the island (Watts, 1987; Salmon, 2008, September 13; "Negroes imported from Africa," n.d.). The free labour supplied by the enslaved Africans was the driving force behind this agricultural economy throughout Jamaica, resulting in the plantation owners and the other beneficiaries of slavery – British aristocrats, industrialists and bankers – amassing great wealth both in Jamaica and Britain (Buddan, 2009, August 2; Robinson, 2007). Proprietors who lived in England owned most of the sugar plantations that made Jamaica wealthy and 'famous' in the 18th century. The planters had direct links with mercantile houses in London, Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow who provided advances, mortgages and brokerage for the produce from the plantations. Hence, Jamaica was seen as a 'jewel' in the British crown. The planters lived an extravagant lifestyle when they visited their mansions or 'great-houses' on their plantations. However, the dawn of the 19th century witnessed the start of the decline in the fortunes of the Jamaican plantation system and the final nail in its coffin was the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the enslaved Africans.

Slavery officially ended in Jamaica in 1838 after the abandonment of the apprenticeship period. On the eve of the passing of the British Slave Emancipation Act of 1833 there were 653 sugar estates in cultivation and 311,692 registered slaves on the island (Bigelow, 1851)[5]. The fight for emancipation in Britain was led by "moralists who insist that freedom is an inalienable human right" (Buddan, 2009, August 2; Robinson, 2007). According to Buddan (2009, August 2), the other factors that helped the cause of the emancipationists included: the ending of the trade in Africans as slaves; the inefficiencies of slavery; poor absentee management of plantations; the disruption of trade by the American War of Independence[6] (1775-1782) and slave rebellion and sabotage. However, the Eurocentric account attributed the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the enslaved Africans to the moralists led by William Wilberforce, a British Member of Parliament, and a number of Christians in Britain. Dr. Eric Williams who from 1961 to his death in 1981 was the Prime Minister for Trinidad and Tobago – a former British colony in the West Indies – was one of the first academics to challenge this Eurocentric explanation. He argued that the abolition of the slave trade and slavery was in the interests of manufacturers and merchants who no longer saw plantation slavery as the most productive way of making profits (Williams, 1944, 1994). Williams thesis was also supported by Rodney (1972) in his book *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*.

It is not difficult to reach Williams' conclusion after reading the grim account of the economic conditions in Jamaica not long after emancipation (Bigelow, 1851). Bigelow's account shows:

- that most of the plantation owners had little interest in their plantations because they were heavily indebted
- the abandonment and breaking-up of a large number of plantations led to depreciation in the value of real estate

---

[5] John Bigelow (1817-1911) was an editor at the New York Evening Post. On a recreational excursion to Jamaica in 1851, he wrote an account of his observation in the colony.
[6] There was a lucrative trade between the British's West Indies and North American colonies. The Caribbean colonies traded products such as, coconuts, pimento, coffee, bananas and other agricultural products; on the other hand, the North American colonies supplied dried codfish, cured meats, flour and other staples that were part of the enslaved Africans' diet; they also supplied textiles and clothing for the enslaved population.

- there had been a dramatic decline in the export of sugar, rum, ginger, coffee, molasses, pimento and other produce.

In addition to the reasons cited by Bigelow (1851), others cite labour unrest on various plantations in Jamaica and, in particular, the Sam Sharpe Rebellion of 1831 as the most significant event that convinced many that slavery was in its last days (Hall, 2009, August 2; Buddan, 2009, August 2; Robinson, 2007; Ogilvie, 1954).

The Jamaican economy was in serious trouble by the middle of the 19th century, and sixteen years after emancipation, some claimed that the economy had collapsed (Bigelow, 1851; Curtin, 1990; Lumsden, 1991). At this time, the island was experiencing a significant downturn in economic activities due mainly to a dramatic falls in revenue from its traditional agricultural crops. The planters blamed the economic problems on the emancipation of the enslaved Africans. On the contrary, Bigelow (1851) asserted that the economic problem was not as a result of the ex-slaves moving away from the plantations, but because of the incompetence of absentee white planters operating within an obsolete colonial system. Further, Lumsden (1991, p.17) claimed that by the 1880s the island economy was far from flourishing and sugar production was "about a quarter of what it had been in the first quarter of the century." Notwithstanding, the Jamaican planters got £6,161,927 as compensation for the 311,692 enslaved Africans that were freed as a result of the Emancipation Act, this represented about one-third of the £20,000,000 that was allocated by the British Parliament to its colonies (see Table 3.1). Also, Table 3.1 showed that the average price for enslaved Africans varied throughout the different colonies.

With the near collapse of the Jamaican agricultural sector in the latter half of the 19th century, the need to develop new industries to generate economic growth was recognized (Lumsden, 1991). Consequently, the Colonial leaders in Jamaica recognized the need to diversify the island's economy to make it less dependent on any single economic sector. To this end, it was decided to host an international exhibition in Kingston, Jamaica, modelled after the Great Exhibition of 1851 at London's Crystal Palace. It was hoped that the exhibition would expose the opportunities on the island to potential investors and visitors. A central plank of the exhibition, which was held from January to May 1891, was the showcasing of Jamaica as a tourist destination and, as a result, five new hotels were constructed for the event. Hence, tourism was identified as a viable source of additional

Table 3.1
Distribution of Slave Compensation

Colony	Average Value of Slave (£)	Number of Slaves Regd	Relative Value (£)	Proportion Colony £
Bermuda	27	4,203	115,527	50,584
Bahamas	30	9,705	290,574	128,340
Jamaica	**44**	**311,692**	**13,951,139**	**6,161,927**
Honduras	120	1,920	230,844	101,958
Virgin Islands	31	5,129	165,143	72,940
Antigua	32	29,537	964,198	425,866
Montserrat	36	6,366	234,166	103,558
Nevis	39	8,722	341,893	151,007
St. Christopher	36	20,660	750,840	331,630
Dominica	43	14,384	624,715	275,923
Barbados	47	82,807	3,897,277	1,721,345
Grenada	59	23,536	1,395,685	616,444
St. Vincent's	58	22,997	1,341,492	592,508
Tobago	46	11,621	629,942	234,064
St. Lucia	57	13,348	759,891	335,628
Trinidad	105	22,359	2,352,656	1,089,119
British Guiana	114	84,915	9,729,047	4,297,117
Cape Good Hope	74	38,427	2,824,224	1,247,401
Mauritius	69	68,613	4,783,184	2,112,633
Total		**780,993**	**45,281,739**	**20,000,000**

Source: Bigelow's (1851, p.93)

income for the country. However, it was some time before tourism became a viable industry that made a significant contribution to the Jamaican economy.

3.3 The Jamaican Tourism Industry

The development of the tourism industry in Jamaica is characterized by a number of stages and the implementation of some major strategies. Starting in the late 17th century, a few wealthy plantation owners with their families and individual travellers vacationed in the island. However, a concerted effort to position Jamaica as a tourist destination only started in 1891. This was after the island had experienced dramatic declines in its main economic sector, agriculture, and it was recognised that there was a need to diversify the country's economy. The Jamaica International Exhibition in 1891 was seen as a vehicle through which to launch profitable industries, including tourism. However, it was some time, long after the exhibition, before the expected boom in the tourism industry materialized, and particularly

after the implementation of a number of incentives and other strategies. One of the incentives that had lasting impact on the industry was the enactment of the Jamaica Hotel Law of 1890 which gave lucrative incentives for the development of hotels.

It was also recognized that marketing and promotion were essential to sustain a tourism industry. Consequently, efforts were made to form a tourist bureau which resulted in the formation of the Jamaica Tourist Authority (JTA) in 1910, the forerunner to the 1922 Tourist Trade Development Board (TTDB) and the 1954 Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB). The mandate of the Authority was to compile and disseminate information on Jamaica as a tourist resort. To this end, it employed various methods to promote Jamaica, primarily as a sun, sea and sand winter-get-away destination. While the JTA had limited success in selling Jamaica to foreigners, it also had great difficulty in selling the tourism concept to the Jamaican 'working class' for they did not perceive the benefits from tourism. As a result, it led to a lack of public acceptance of tourism among some Jamaicans and the development of prejudice. The replacement organization for the JTA and its successor the TTDB, the JTB, continued the marketing of Jamaica as a sun, sea and sand destination.

Starting in the late 17th century, some of the first visitors to visit Jamaica were the wealthy planters and their families who vacationed to escape from the harsh winters in England and to get an overview of their sugar plantations (Booth, 1985; Lumsden, 1991; Martin, 1994; Nelson, 2007; Taylor, 1993, 1987-88). Soon to follow in the planters' footsteps were individual health-seekers from England and North America. Nelson (2007, pp.1-2) asserts that, during the 19th century "the West Indies became less important to their European colonisers as slavery came to an end, the sugar economy entered a long period of decline," but European interests in the islands as a destination for tourism persisted. Kingsbury (2005, p.121) argued that "Jamaican tourism began in the late nineteenth century when the island was used and enjoyed as an exotic 'Garden of Eden' health resort by rich American tourists who were transported on steamships owned by banana traders from Boston." According to Martin (1994) and Taylor (1993, 1987-88), the close proximity of Jamaica to North America made it an accessible destination for travellers seeking a warm climate and health spas which were being developed. Furthermore, the improvements in transatlantic transportation created opportunities to travel to the region, in particular, the development of steamships which first arrived in the West Indies in 1826. The banana boats coupled with the mail ships provided

regular transportation for people who wanted to travel to the West Indies. Although these 'first' visitors were very wealthy, their numbers were few (Booth, 1985).

While the planters lived lavishly when they visited, life was less hospitable for the individual travellers since few facilities existed that catered to their needs (Bigelow, 1851; Lumdsen, 1991; Martin, 1994). The conditions at local taverns, inns and lodging houses were deplorable and inadequate. Nelson (2007) claimed that early tourists to the region often stayed with family or friends, but the increased arrivals associated with the advent of steamships, led to the establishment of guesthouses and hotels. It is obvious from these accounts that low number of visitors, and travel and accommodation facilities that were ad hoc in nature and lacking of standards characterized this period. Jamaica's tourism industry then, was in the first two stages of the destination cycle proposed by Butler (1980) or Gee, Choy and Makens' (1984) first stage of the five sociological stages that tourist destinations pass through.

According to Butler (1980), destination areas pass through five stages: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline or rejuvenation. At the exploration stage, there are few visitors and, thus, minimal effect on locals; visitors made their own arrangements; there was an absence of purpose-built tourist facilities; and limited contacts between tourists and locals. At the involvement stage, there is an increase in visitor numbers; the local population becomes involved by providing purposed-built facilities; there is advertising of the destination by a tourism organization; and the infrastructure is improved to satisfy tourists' demands. Similarly, Gee et al. (1984) argued that destinations pass through five sociological stages: discovery, developmental, conflict, confrontation and destruction. A low level of visitors and impacts marks the discovery stage.

Although it was usual for tourists or travellers from Europe and North America to visit Jamaica from as early as the 17th century, many regard the hosting of the 1891 international trade exhibition in Kingston, as the first state-sponsored effort to develop tourism as a viable source of income for Jamaica (Booth, 1985; Lumdsen, 1991; Martin, 1994). The exhibition was held on the Quebec Lodge (site) in Kingston and ran from January 27th to May 2nd (Booth, 1985; Lumdsen, 1991; Martin, 1994). The event was promoted locally and internationally by committees that were set up in a number of cities in Europe and North America (Booth, 1985; Martin, 1994). Exhibits came from North America, Europe and

other West Indian islands, but the most magnificent exhibit came from Canada, which was the only country with its own separate exhibition building (Booth, 1985; Lumdsen, 1991; Martin, 1994). The European countries that were represented included Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Germany, Russia, Holland, Switzerland, Greece, and France. Reports also showed that displays came from as far away as India and Sri Lanka (Booth, 1985). Financing for the event, which was estimated at over £40,000, was procured from local guarantors. To rally the support of the public, the Governor of Jamaica, Sir Henry Blake, wrote an open letter urging citizens to exhibit anything of interest, whether grown, made or collected, even if there was no apparent value in the items (Lumsden, 1991; Martin, 1994). In the end, over 304,000 people attended the exhibition over the 14-week period (Lumsden, 1991; Martin, 1994). It had been hoped that, for first-time, visitors to Jamaica attending the exhibition "would make known the advantages of Jamaica as a winter resort to others and thus lay the foundation for a steady and increasing flow of tourists to the island" (Handbook of Jamaica cited in Booth 1985, p.47; Martin, 1994).

The emphasis of the Jamaica Exhibition was on the development of new and profitable industries, and one focus was to showcase Jamaica as a 'sunny' resort destination (Booth, 1985; Lumdsen, 1991; Martin, 1994). "There was a great need to develop new industries and money earning schemes if the island was to pull itself out of the economic straits in which it found itself" (Lumsden, 1991, p.17). At the same time, many people did not want to see the economy tied exclusively to any other agricultural product fearing a repeat of what had happened to the sugar industry. Thus, the promotion of Jamaica as a tourist destination was seen as an important strategic move. The exhibition encouraged the development of tourism infrastructure, such as hotels, mainly in Kingston and along the North Coast region of Jamaica (Lumsdan, 1991; Martin, 1994).

It would, however, take more than one exhibition for the Jamaican tourism industry to materialize. The exhibition had no startling impact on Jamaica's economy as a whole, nor was there any "immediate tourist boom and the new hotels slid into bankruptcy" (Lumsden, 1991, p.21). The reasons why a tourism boom did not occur following the exhibition were three-fold (Booth, 1985; Lumsden, 1991). First, guests who visited hotels often discouraged others from following suit because no set standard or regulation existed in these hotels, resulting in overcharging of guests for very poor facilities and service. Second, there was a

lack of promotion and marketing of Jamaica in the tourist-generating regions. Third, there were criticisms of the filthy environment in Kingston and the lack of attractions. This situation arose in spite of the Jamaica Hotel Law of 1890 which was enacted with the principal aims of assuring adequate and decent lodging for visitors to the exhibition and creating a hotel industry. The Hotel Law cost the country greatly through lucrative incentives for the development of hotels that would be completed in time for visitors to the exhibition (Booth, 1985; Martin, 1994). "This law authorized the government to guarantee the principal plus three per cent interest on all debentures issued by the hotel companies. These new companies would also be permitted to import all their materials duty free" (Booth, 1985, p.43). The Law was not without its critics at the time for it "pledged the island's resources [even] if the hotel went bankrupt" (Booth 1985, p.43). The foreign investors in the hotels had no compelling reason to make the ventures successful since they were guaranteed a profit on their investment even in the event they went bankrupt (Booth, 1985; Martin, 1994). The Jamaica Hotels Law was, therefore, not in the interest of the country, but catered to a limited number of foreign investors.

Five hotels were built as a result of the 1890 Hotel Law, three in Kingston and two in rural parishes on the North Coast. Of the three in Kingston, two catered to foreign visitors, while the other targeted locals (Booth, 1985; Lumdsen, 1991; Martin, 1994). The justification of the two hotels outside of Kingston lay in the hope that visitors to the exhibition would travel out of Kingston and take advantage of the extensive improvements to roads and railway that were made to make the countryside accessible to foreign visitors attending the exhibition. However, by 1895, the terms of the Hotel Law forced the government to acquire the foreign-owned hotels in Kingston, the Myrtle Bank and Constant Spring (Martin, 1994). This became necessary because 'mismanagement' and lack of business plagued the hotels for, "the hotels with all the American management energy and influence [were] disastrous failures" (Booth, 1985, p.49). Ironically, it was foreign managers and staff that were responsible for 'mismanaging' the hotels. This dominance by foreigners in Jamaica's tourism system continued throughout the development of the industry.

The state had been the main motivator behind the 1891 exhibition as a medium for promoting Jamaica abroad as a 'winter-getaway' tourist destination (Martin, 1994). However, after the exhibition, there was no immediate organized follow-up in promoting

Jamaica. The need for a tourist bureau did not appear to be significant in Jamaica given the 'smallness' of the island. Interest and concerns were for the development of 'better' tourist products (attractions, accommodations and attitudes) and in distributing brochures abroad as the sole means of advertising. Though the railway system and rural roads were expanded at the time of the exhibition to facilitate visitors travelling to the interior of Jamaica, finding a way to the beach on the North Coast region was probably the only exploration that visitors engaged in (Lumsden, 1991). While efforts were initially spent on informing visitors locally and abroad, nothing was done to promote the benefits of tourism among the Jamaican 'working class' (Martin, 1994).

The need for a marketing and promotion organization was eventually recognized and in 1903 an attempt was made to form a tourist bureau (Martin 1994; Taylor 1987-88). This first attempt produced nothing, but by 1910 the Jamaica Tourist Authority (JTA) a private initiative materialized, the forerunner of the Tourist Trade Development Board (TTDB) and the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) (Martin, 1994). The main functions of the JTA were to publicize Jamaica and provide information to visitors and prospective visitors to the island. The mostly 'white' Kingston-based business people who had tourism interests and derived benefits continued to focus the promotion of Jamaica as a sun, sea and sand winter get-away destination. Martin (1994, p.29) contended that the JTA's "primary purpose was to enhance the claims of Jamaica as a health and pleasure resort." The JTA initially operated from Kingston, Mandeville, Montego Bay and Port Antonio in Jamaica and by 1914 it had representation in Canada and the United Kingdom (Martin, 1994; Taylor, 1987-88). The JTA advertised on billboards located in railway stations, stores and other public places, while steamship offices and tourist agencies distributed its brochures on Jamaica (Martin, 1994). One of the materials it published was an illustrated guidebook on Jamaica with data on recommended places to visit and other important information. The JTA also focused its attention on the regulation and licensing of taxis, signs along roadways and the preservation of natural scenic areas. Not satisfied with the seasonality of the industry, the JTA targeted teachers and students abroad, urging them to spend their summer vacation in Jamaica.

Selling the tourism concept to local people was one of the challenges faced by the JTA in the early days of tourism promotion. It was seen as an insurmountable task since the Jamaican 'working class' did not see themselves deriving any benefits from tourism. It

therefore led to a lack of public acceptance of tourism and the development of prejudice (Martin, 1994; Taylor 1987-88). The locals saw tourists as 'prying' into their affairs, yet being too busy to learn about them. As a result, open conflicts and hostility developed between 'unwilling hosts' and 'guests' (Taylor 1987-88). The feeling of the Jamaican 'working class' towards tourism is summed up in the following excerpt:

> Tourist! Cou yah sah! Dem is a confusion set of people. *What we want dem for? – – – An what good dem going to do*? All them idle buckra drive and ride over de mountains in dem buggy and harse wit all dem 'surance, and look down upon we poor naygurs. *True dem say dey brings we money, but when time we eber see it? All de storekeepers dem in Kingston and the big tabern-keeper, dem is the one dat get the money out of dem....* An when de tourists come up to de country and see we working in de ground, dem is not goin' to do anything fa we, but take pitcha and laugh at we. *Chu! Me bredder, only de buckra dem will profit.* (The Leader February 5, 1904 cited in Taylor 1987-88, p.44)[7]

Although these words were uttered over 100 years ago, a large number of the Jamaican 'working class' still feel the same way about the tourism industry. This excerpt illustrates the high level of resentment that existed.

Undaunted by the poor response to the JTA initiatives, the Government of Jamaica established the TTDB in 1922. This board was charged with the mandate "to make inquiries and to collect such information of Jamaica as a tourist resort, and for such other purposes as in the judgment of the Board will materially facilitate and increase the tourist traffic to and from Jamaica" (Martin 1994:30). While the former JTA obtained its operating fund from membership subscriptions (Taylor 1987-88), the TTDB received grants from public funds for its programmes. The TTDB continued with an aggressive advertising and publicity campaign through various methods in Jamaica and overseas.

In 1954, the Government of Jamaica abolished the TTDB and established the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB), a statutory organization with more powers than its predecessors, to

---

[7] The following are ascribed meanings to some of the words in the excerpt: Cou yah sah (look here sir); dem (them); buckra (white people); de (the); harse (horse); wit (with); naygur (*n-word*); dey (they); eber (ever); tabern (tavern); dat (that); fa (for); pitcha (picture); bredder (brother).

promote tourism for the island (Martin, 1994). The JTB operated out of the Ministry of Trade and Industry initially. Presently, it is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) which provides an annual budget for its operation. Offices are maintained in Jamaica and in some major tourist generating regions in Europe and North America. While membership in the JTA was by individual subscription, the JTB consists of personnel from different segments of the tourism system including hotels, airlines, travel agents and ground transportation. Throughout the 1960s, marketing continued to focus on the sun, sea and sand winter get-away image because few attractions had been developed that provided an alternative experience. This placed Jamaica in direct competition with a number of other Caribbean destinations that were marketing the same packages. Tourists were still seen as foreign 'white' people. The Jamaican 'working class' did not see themselves as tourists vacationing at local hotels because marketing efforts did not target them.

3.3.1 Other Major Developments in Jamaica's Tourism Industry

Foreign-owned MNCs continued to dominate Jamaica's tourism industry even after the island gained independence from Britain in 1962. Opportunities for small local investors in the industry continued to be limited. There also continued to be limited access for locals to the various properties since hotels did not target Jamaicans as guests. The world continued to see Jamaica primarily as a winter get-away destination (Henry, 1987, July 31; Martin, 1994). Few attractions that did not focus on the sun, sea and sand were available for visitors. As a result, Jamaica's tourism industry suffered from a large variation between the tourist season and the off-season with numerous properties closed during part of the year. However, the industry continued to grow in terms of the number of visitors, the amount of accommodation available and revenue. Tourist arrivals moved from 191,303 in 1954 to 396,347 in 1968, while tourists' expenditure moved from US$28 million to US$87.8 million during the same period (Martin, 1994). Taylor (1993) claimed that accommodation had a hard time catching up with demand, although the number of beds increased from 5,800 in 1959 to 8,413 in 1969. According to Martin (1994) and Henry (1987, July 31), the factors that contributed to the growth and development of Jamaica's tourism industry in the 1960s were:

- the introduction of air travel to the island which resulted in improved methods of transportation and reduced cost

- the close proximity of Jamaica to the large North American tourists' market
- the rapid growth in disposable income in North America
- the Cuban revolution of 1959 and the subsequent US embargo that included the suspension of travel by US citizens to the island
- the inauguration in 1969 of a national airline, Air Jamaica
- tax incentives and duty-free imports of building materials and equipment for hotels.

The image of Jamaica as a sun, sea and sand tourism destination continued and is evident in its spatial development. The main tourist centres or resort areas (Negril, Montego Bay, Ocho Rios and Port Antonio) were developed along the North Coast because of the white-sand beaches and pleasant weather. Apart from the North Coast centres, Kingston, the capital of Jamaica and a major commercial and cultural centre, also attracted a substantial number of tourists. However, the ability for Kingston to attract international tourists has decreased over the years due to serious social problems in the city. The decline in tourists' activities in Kingston is illustrated by statistics from the JTB and the Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ). The statistics show that even cruise ships ceased making regular calls at the port of Kingston since 1992 (JTB, 1993). The unattractiveness of Kingston to large numbers of tourists has therefore dealt a blow to the diversification of Jamaica's tourism product.

To encourage accommodation development, which was in short supply in the 1960s, the state offered loans, loan guarantees and lands to developers through the 1968 Hotel (Incentives) Act. The Act was intended to increase the island's accommodation capacity and use tourism as a means of rural development. Under the Act, approved hotels received a 'tax holiday' of 10-15 years, depending on location. Duty was also lifted on all imported materials and equipment. An analysis of the industry shows the number of beds in the accommodation subsector increasing from 8,413 beds in 1969 to 17,000 in 1979; today it is over 60,871 (JTB, 2009). Thus, it could be concluded that the Act worked in stimulating the growth in the accommodation sector.

A significant aspect of the Act is that new hotels built in undeveloped areas enjoyed a 15-year income tax break, while those in already established tourist centres were given a 10-year break. Henry (1987, July 31) argued that the profoundness of this lies in its discriminatory aspect. The Act discriminates in favour of developers who venture into

81

"area[s] which have tourist potential but are presently undeveloped" (Henry, 1987, July 31).
It was intended to promote government development strategies by using tourism as a means
for rural development, thus increasing local participation and spreading the benefits of
tourism. However, the same could not be said about stimulating growth in new regions of the
country. The success of the Act in that regard is doubtful. A case in point is the New
Falmouth development on the periphery of Falmouth which started in the late 1960s. It did
not go beyond the building of one hotel, the 350-room Trelawny Beach Hotel, now Breezes
Trelawny. It was not until 2000 that another hotel, the 96-room FDR Pebbles, opened and by
2001 several other developments were in different stages of development (JTB, 2001).

A study of the tourism sector carried out by the state in the early 1970s revealed the
following major concerns (Henry, 1987, July 31):

- hotels were underutilized because the supply of accommodation exceeded
  demand
- the level of foreign ownership of hotels was very high
- import content in the hotel sub-sector was high
- the level of hostility by Jamaicans against tourism and tourists posed a threat to
  the survival of the industry.

These concerns revealed that all was not well in the local tourism industry.

To address the issues highlighted by the study, the state developed a policy of
'Growth Through Integration' aimed at better integrating the tourism sector with the social
and economic life of the country (Henry, 1987, July 31). This policy hoped to achieve the
following objectives: increased linkages between the tourist sector and other sectors,
government participation in the ownership of hotels, encourage domestic tourism, and foster
greater Jamaican participation in the industry.

Strategies that were implemented to achieve the above objectives included (Henry,
1987, July 31; Martin, 1994):

- establishing training schemes to provide an adequate number of skilled workers
  for the industry
- the establishment of the Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCo) with a
  mandate to improve product quality

- the establishment of the National Hotel Supplies to buy and distribute foodstuff to the hotels and to encourage them to use local goods
- the banning of certain imported items readily available locally in order to strengthen linkages between the tourist sector and other sectors
- the establishment of a domestic tourism programme to encourage Jamaicans to holiday in their own country.

The 1970s also saw a drastic shift in the JTB marketing and promotional campaigns. The aims were to diversify Jamaica's image in the marketplace and to "secure a greater appreciation, at home, for tourism as a legitimate activity for Jamaicans" (Martin 1994, p.45). A number of programmes were developed to facilitate these aims. Jamaica was now being marketed as a year-round tourist destination with a variety of experiences. The marketing theme 'We're more than a beach, we're a country' was implemented to lead the campaign. This new theme set Jamaica's marketing image apart from most of the other Caribbean islands that were marketed only as beach resorts. It "gave [Jamaica] an additional quality and forced the market to look at Jamaica's other inherent qualities" (Martin 1994, p.45). Tourists were encouraged to explore 'more' of Jamaica through the 'discover Jamaica program' and the Jippa Jappa festival that took cultural performances into the hotels to enrich visitors' experiences.

In addition, a number of strategies were implemented that created opportunities and encouraged the 'working class' to participate in tourism. Jamaican residents received special reduced rates when they vacationed locally, while companies received tax credits if they gave employees incentives to vacation locally. The Resort Cottages (Incentives) Act of 1972, which gave generous tax and duty relief to developers of accommodations, also helped to induce 'small' local investors. These strategies helped to change local attitudes toward tourism because the 'working class' could now enjoy the destinations as well as opportunities to invest in the industry. The marketing strategies at this time placed increased emphasis on product improvement, advertising, promotion and public relations.

Another strategy implemented by the state was the restructuring of a number of tourism agencies and the creation of others. One of the new agencies that was to have a

Table 3.2

Jamaica's Major Foreign Exchange Earners (US$ Millions) 1980 – 2008

Years	Tourism	%	Mining	%	Manufacturing	%	Agriculture	%	Jamaica
1980	241.7		N/A		N/A		169.4		**411.1**
1981	284.3		319.0		N/A		83.2		**686.5**
1982	337.8	**36.0**	345.2	36.8	169.4	18.0	86.6	9.2	**939.0**
1983	399.2	**43.0**	223.9	24.1	203.7	22.0	100.5	10.8	**927.3**
1984	406.6	**44.3**	220.2	24.0	189.5	20.7	101.2	11.0	**917.5**
1985	406.8	**48.6**	138.7	16.6	201.8	24.1	89.3	10.7	**836.6**
1986	516.0	**44.6**	309.0	26.7	224.1	19.4	108.7	9.4	**1,157.8**
1987	595.0	**43.6**	337.3	24.7	299.4	22.0	132.1	9.7	**1,363.8**
1988	525.0	**38.3**	358.9	26.2	340.9	24.9	146.3	10.7	**1,371.1**
1989	593.0	**37.3**	557.7	35.1	318.1	20.0	120.0	7.6	**1,588.8**
1990	740.0	**37.9**	728.3	37.3	321.0	16.4	164.0	8.4	**1,953.3**
1991	764.0	**40.4**	662.0	35.0	290.1	15.3	177.0	9.3	**1,893.1**
1992	858.0	**43.6**	559.9	28.4	375.8	19.1	176.1	8.9	**1,969.8**
1993	950.0	**46.0**	527.9	25.6	393.1	19.0	195.1	9.4	**2,066.1**
1994	973.0	**52.6**	227.0	12.3	480.5	26.0	169.8	9.2	**1,850.3**
1995	1,068.5	**50.0**	294.6	13.8	553.4	25.9	218.5	10.2	**2,135.0**
1996	1,092.2	**50.2**	332.8	15.3	522.6	24.0	229.0	10.5	**2,176.6**
1997	1,131.4	**51.3**	335.6	15.2	522.0	23.7	214.7	9.7	**2,203.7**
1998	1,197.1	**54.3**	337.1	15.3	475.6	21.6	195.7	8.9	**2,205.5**
1999	1,279.5	**62.5**	316.4	15.5	304.7	14.9	145.9	7.1	**2,046.5**
2000	1,332.6	**61.4**	325.4	15.0	372.6	17.2	140.8	6.5	**2,171.4**
2001	1,233.0	**58.0**	398.9	18.8	341.5	16.1	151.8	7.1	**2,125.2**
2002	1,209.5	**58.4**	378.5	18.3	345.6	16.7	138.0	6.7	**2,071.6**
2003	1,351.1	**61.3**	363.0	16.5	339.8	15.4	150.4	6.8	**2,204.3**
2004	1,436.6	**59.9**	372.9	15.6	440.7	18.4	147.0	6.1	**2,397.2**
2005	1,545.1	**61.3**	378.7	15.0	483.4	19.2	114.2	4.5	**2,521.4**
2006	1,870.6	**56.6**	634.2	19.2	658.0	19.9	140.8	4.3	**3,303.6**
2007	1,910.1	**54.1**	583.3	16.5	905.4	25.6	134.4	3.8	**3,533.2**
2008	1,975.5	**50.4**	546.6	13.9	1,244.8	31.7	154.5	3.9	**3,921.4**

Source: Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ), 1999-2009

profound impact on the tourism industry was the National Hotel and Properties Limited. The mandate of this agency was to buy, lease, construct and manage government-owned hotels (Henry, 1987, July 31; Martin, 1994). This radical policy shift by the government in the 1970s towards direct ownership and operation of hotels was brought on by the closure of several hotels and concern that many more were vulnerable. The closures were due to a sharp decline in stay-over visitors that resulted in low room occupancy in hotels (Stupart, 1996). The decline in tourist arrivals was attributed to a world recession that affected Jamaica's principal tourists' market, the United States, and because of domestic problems in Jamaica. The state was not legally bound to buy the financially troubled properties, as was the case earlier after the Jamaica Exhibition in 1891. Common sense dictated however, that the state keep the hotels open in order to preserve jobs and maintain accommodation capacity in the event of a recovery in the tourism industry (Martin, 1994).

The establishment of the Ministry of Tourism at the beginning of the 1980s illustrated the seriousness of the commitment of the Jamaican government to tourism. Tourism was seen as being "vital to the economic well-being of [Jamaica]" (Henry, 1987, July 31). The government expected tourism to contribute up to 40 per cent of the island's foreign exchange earnings, a figure that was realized in 1983 (Table 3.2). Table 3.2 also shows that in 2008 tourism contributed approximately US$1,975,519,000 to the Jamaican economy. Since 1980, tourism has shown tremendous growth in comparison to Jamaica's other major foreign currency earners (Figure 3.1). Tourism has remained the number one foreign exchange earner for Jamaica since 1983 and, as such, is very important to Jamaica's economy.

Various statistics have established the importance of tourism to the Jamaican economy. One of the first comprehensive studies on the impact of tourism on the Jamaican economy estimated that in 1992 Jamaica's tourism industry employed 71,710 persons directly and 34,966 indirectly with an additional 110,663 induced jobs (OAS, 1995). Other statistics showed that in 1992 the accommodation sector accounted for 25,842 of the direct employment (JTB, 1993). For 2007, the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN, 2009) estimated that the average employment in the tourism industry was 130,543. A breakdown of the numbers shows that hotels and restaurants employed 81,597 persons, passenger transport services employed 34,595 persons, while recreational, cultural and sporting activities

employed 14,352 persons. The JTB (2009) estimates of employment in the accommodation sector for 2007 and 2008 are 34,834 and 35,257 respectively.

At the beginning of the 1980s, a change in political administration witnessed a move by the Jamaican government out of the hotel operations business by leasing or selling the ones it owned to the private sector (Martin, 1994). The shift resulted in increased local participation in hotel ownership and the development and consolidation of a number of indigenous Jamaican-owned multinational corporations (MNCs) such as Sandals and

Figure 3.1

Jamaica's Major Foreign Exchange Earners (US$Millions) 1980 – 2008
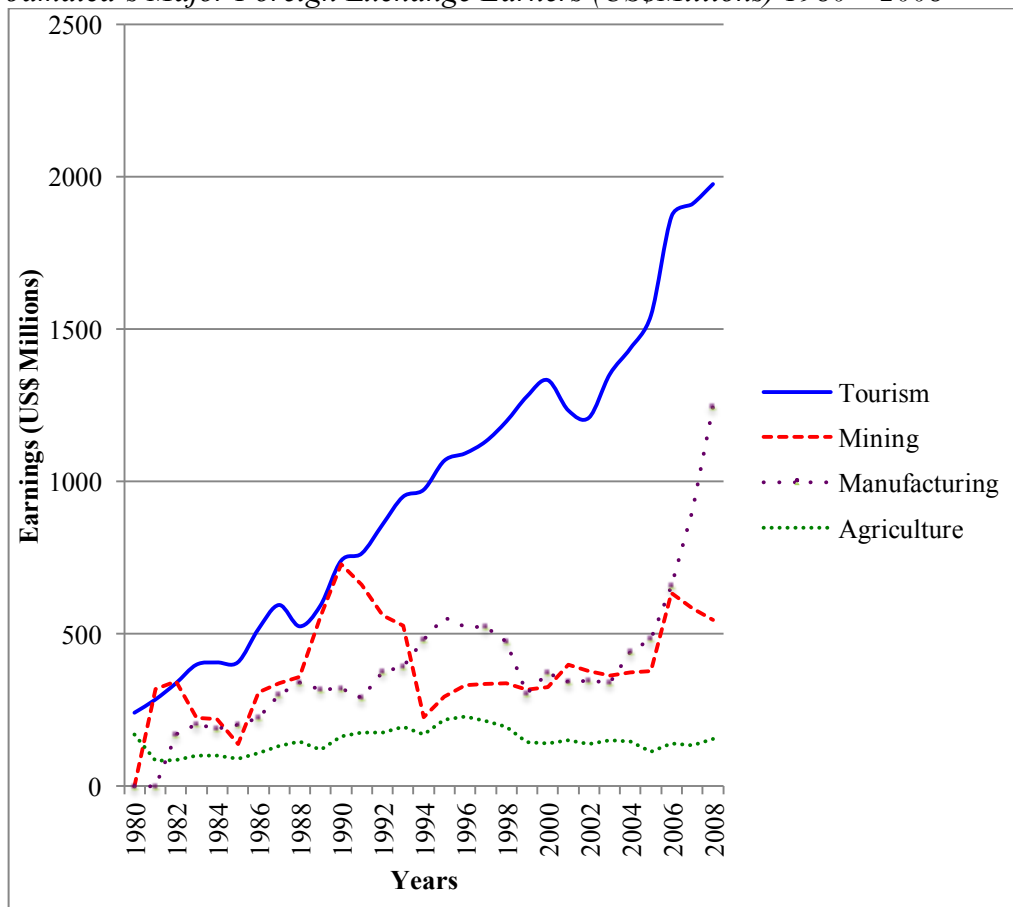
Source: Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ), 1999-2009

SuperClubs, the largest and second largest hotel chains in Jamaica and the Caribbean respectively (Brown, 2008, December 14). As a result, throughout the 1980s, 1990s and up to about 2005, Jamaican-owned companies accounted for the majority of all accommodation on the island. These home-grown MNCs can now be found throughout the Caribbean, and

Central and South America. Presently, Sandals International employs over 10,000 persons and operates nineteen properties, twelve in Jamaica and seven in some other Caribbean islands (Edwards, 2009, September 4). On the other hand, SuperClubs operates nine properties in Jamaica, three in Brazil, one in Panama and two in other Caribbean islands. Their success hinged on the novel 'all-inclusive' concept pioneered by SuperClubs.

In 1978, SuperClubs, a Jamaican-controlled multinational hotel chain, initiated the novel 'all-inclusive' concept at the Couples Hotel in Ocho Rios. This innovative concept has been praised for a number of reasons. 'All-inclusive' has increased the share of tourism for the Caribbean and maintained a strong image in the marketplace (Gill, 1994). Poon (1988) argued that it gave the Caribbean hotel sector the competitive advantage by carving out a part of the international tourism market. Although the concept is indigenous and was monopolized by Jamaican-owned MNCs, no radical shift in Jamaica's tourism image occurred. The data shows that the number of beds in Jamaica's main coastal resorts (Montego Bay, Ocho Rios and Negril) increased dramatically over the years while, for the other centres, increase is marginal (JTB, 2009). The sun, sea and sand image still prevailed, even though scope exists for cultural heritage as discussed in a number of studies including the Tourism Master Plan (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002).

The 'all-inclusive' concept is seen as a cash-less and class-less experience since guests pay one cost that is inclusive of round-trip airport/hotel transfers and accommodations with unlimited food, drinks and entertainment (Gill, 1994). The consumer does not have to worry about cash during or after the vacation since the package is prepaid, and the 'all-inclusive' environment is perceived as safe from crime and harassment. It is also popular among travel agents since the commission on transactions is larger. 'All-inclusives' are 'social equalizers', "there are no big-spenders and little-spenders at an 'all-inclusive'.... Whether you're president of General Motors and I'm a baggage-handler... I can order my Johnnie Walker Black the same way you can" (Frank Rance, president FDR Holidays LTD, cited in Gill, 1994, p.37). Since its inception in 1978, the all-inclusive concept has been copied and modified to some extent all over the world and it has become the most dominant form of vacation experience in Jamaica (JTB, 2009).

'All-inclusive' is, however, not without its detractors. They see it in the same light as when foreign-owned MNCs had a controlling interest in the tourism industry. It promotes

'enclave' tourism development that is not 'sustainable.' There is limited integration between all-inclusive properties and other businesses and the local communities. Other criticisms levelled against all-inclusive include (Poon, 1988): it results in greater economic leakage; it prevents the tourist dollars from being filtered into the wider community, therefore lessening the multiplier effect; and it prevents guests from experiencing the cultural experience at the destination since they seldom interact with the community.

An overview of the accommodation subsector in Jamaica indicates that all-inclusive properties have consistently out-performed their European Plan (EP) counterparts in room numbers, occupancy and employment. The Jamaica Tourist Board data showed that for 2007, all-inclusive hotels had 12,694 rooms while non all-inclusive hotels had only 5,646. For 2008, while the number of rooms in all-inclusive hotels increased to 14,807, other rooms decreased to 5,165. While the main resort areas of Montego Bay, Ocho Rios and Negril contain 14,447 (97.6%) of the all-inclusive rooms, these areas only have 2,851 (55.1%) of the other rooms. For 2008, the all-inclusive hotel room occupancy rate was 67.9 per cent compared to 71.0 per cent recorded for 2007. On the other hand, the non all-inclusive room occupancy rate decreased from 46.6 per cent in 2007 to 43.1 per cent in 2008. In regards to employment in the accommodation sub-sector, this increased from 34,834 in 2007 to 35,257 in 2008. The main resort areas of Montego Bay, Ocho Rios and Negril combined employed approximately 30,510 persons. Poon (1988) asserted that while EP resorts employ one person per guest, the all-inclusives employ twice the number. The above data demonstrate the dominance of all-inclusive properties in Jamaica's tourism industry.

3.3.2 Recent Trends and Developments Impacting Jamaica's Tourism

The turn of the century witnessed a number of significant trends and developments that impacted Jamaica's tourism industry. These include: the publication of Jamaica's first Tourism Master Plan (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002); the significant growth, importance and impact of the cruise shipping sector on Jamaica; and the entry of a number of major international hotel brands. Also, the Ministry of Tourism, Jamaica set itself the ambitious task of increasing tourist arrivals from 1,767,271 in 2008 to five million by 2020 which is expected to generate earnings of over US$50 million ("Bartlett has five-year plan", 2008, May 15). To accommodate these tourists, it is projected that a total of 50,000 rooms would

be required by the end of 2020 which is an approximately 81 per cent increase over the 27,514 rooms available at the end of 2008 (JTB, 2009).

A significant development that has the potential for a huge impact on Jamaica's tourism industry was the publication in 2002 of the island's first Tourism Master Plan. The plan has three main aims: 1) to provide a comprehensive planning framework; 2) to elaborate a vision of the future direction, shape and composition of the industry; and 3) to detail the timing and sequencing of the major programmes, roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002). The stated objective of the Master Plan is to move the tourism industry from its current unsustainable mode on to a path of sustainability. Moreover, the plan seeks to guide the industry's development by creating a strategic vision for its growth and development and establishing an enabling environment. The five main objectives that were identified to achieve sustainable development in the industry are: 1) the development of a sustainable market position based on Jamaica's natural, cultural, historic and built heritage; 2) enhancing the visitor experience through increasing the types and quality of attractions; 3) fostering a bottom-up planning approach to tourism development where communities play major roles in defining, developing and managing the tourism experience; 4) building an inclusive industry that not only benefits a few but one that benefits the Jamaican people and the country as a whole; and, 5) improving the contribution of the industry to the preservation of the natural environment (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002, p.vi).

In addition, the development of Jamaica's outstanding heritage assets is seen as a central plank in the master plan for it "will help to differentiate Jamaica from the vast majority of Caribbean islands" (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002, p.96). It is perceived as the key to sustainable development as it should contribute to the product reflecting the culture and aspirations of the Jamaican people. However, at this point it is not known how much cultural heritage will help move tourism towards a path of sustainability. The four major priority areas for the development of the built heritage, based on the criteria of heritage significance, tourism potential, scale and accessibility, are Port Royal, Spanish Town, Falmouth and Seville. According to the plan, these priority sites are of international heritage significance and primary tourism potential. The plan also identified possible heritage themes

which include: natural wonders, slavery and emancipation, the Maroons[8], forts and fortifications, churches, great houses, and industrial heritage among others. Of all the historic towns in Jamaica, Falmouth has the greatest scope to develop its distinctive built heritage into an internationally attractive heritage destination (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002). The Tourism Master Plan pointed to the fact that parallels have been drawn between Falmouth and Williamsburg[9] in Virginia, which was developed into a very successful tourism attraction. "The strategic significance of Falmouth for tourism is that it would be an internationally recognized heritage asset easily accessible to the majority of sun, sand and sea tourists who visit the north coast" given its strategic location between two major tourists' resorts, Ocho Rios and Montego Bay (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002, p.106).

A sub-sector in the tourism industry that has shown tremendous promise and growth in recent times is cruise shipping. It is estimated that 13.2 million passengers took a cruise in 2008. Most important, 10.2 million of these passengers originated in North America, Jamaica's main tourist market (JTB, 2009). The data also show that the Caribbean continues to rank as the dominant cruise destination accounting for 38.2 per cent of all itineraries. For the foreseeable future, this trend is expected to continue with the commissioning of new ships yearly. At the World Travel Awards in 2008, Jamaica won for the third straight year the award as the most popular cruise destination in Caribbean (JTB, 2009). They also won the award again in 2009 and the port of Ocho Rios was named the world's top cruise port (Associated Press, November, 15, 2009). The World Travel Awards are seen as the "'Oscars' of the global travel and tourism industry" (Associated Press, November, 15, 2009).

The island's cruise passenger arrivals moved from approximately 907,611 in 2000 to over 1,092,263 in 2008 (JTB, 2009). The JTB (2009) estimated that for the year 2007 cruise passengers spent approximately US$114 million, while for 2008 the amount was down by US$10 million to US$104 million. The drop experienced should be seen as a glitch attributed to the worldwide recession in the main cruise markets, more so the USA. The port of Ocho

---

[8] Maroons were runaway slaves who banded together and subsisted independently in the mountainous regions of Jamaica. The Jamaican Maroons and the British colonists fought for many years and eventually signed treaties in the 18th century that effectively freed them and gave them political autonomy. To a significant extent they remained separate from the Jamaican society.
[9] The idea of making up history just for tourist consumption as was done at Williamsburg is not the intention for Falmouth since it is a living town.

Rios continues to be the lead port of call accounting for 62.2 per cent of the cruise arrivals in Jamaica while Montego Bay accounted for 37.2 per cent. Approximately 35 vessels made a total of 385 calls at these two ports in 2008.

Another significant development that has impacted Jamaica's tourism industry is the growth in the accommodation sector. Jamaica Tourist Board (2001) statistics showed that, in 2000, the sector had 23,630 rooms. Today it has over 29,794 rooms and continues to grow. The growth is attributed to the expansion of a number of Jamaican MNCs, including Sandals Resort International and SuperClubs and the entry of a number of other major international brands such as Ritz Carlton, Iberostar, Bahia Principe, Secrets, Fiesta and Riu. With the exception of the Ritz Carlton, the other new entrants are Spanish-owned MNCs based in Mallorca, Spain. Since 2000, these hotel chains have invested approximately US$1.8 billion in projects in Jamaica, adding approximately 10,000 rooms and creating about 40,000 jobs directly (Edwards, 2008, April 18; Rose, October 25, 2009). The Iberostar and Riu groups are said to be among the world's top hotel groups, while the family-owned Fiesta Group operates 44 hotels across the world (Edwards, 2008, April 18). The investment of the Spanish hotel chains resulted in a shift in the ownership structure in tourism assets in Jamaica. According to Rose (October 25, 2009) quoting Jamaica's Minister of Tourism, "Foreign investors now own 60 per cent of tourism assets… just a few years [before] it was Jamaicans who held that share."

The entry of the Spanish hotel chains has been heavily criticized in some quarters. Salmon (2008, September) referred to it as "the second Spanish conquest of Jamaica," having "little regard for local laws, customs and mores" similar to what happened in 1494 when Columbus landed and caused the annihilation of the Tainos. Salmon (2008, September) claimed that they ignore and violate environmental regulations, building codes and permits, bribe public officials and seem to cast a spell on the politicians. Also, they are said to have damaged Jamaica's coastline irreparably. They have been criticized for doing more harm than good to Jamaica's tourism product because they are seen to cater to the "down-market" visitors whereas Jamaica is repositioning itself as a mid to high-end destination ("Spanish hotels do" April 25, 2008). As a result, their operations are said to be dragging down hotel rates. On the other hand, some of the Spanish hoteliers are accusing the National

Environment and Planning Agency[10] (NEPA) for being a stumbling block to their developments (Silvera, 2008, April 19; Edwards, 2008, April 18). They claimed NEPA takes an extra-ordinarily long time to issue the relevant development permits.

3.4 Falmouth, Jamaica

Falmouth, the parish capital of Trelawny, is located in the North Coast region of Jamaica approximately midway between Montego Bay and Ocho Rios (Figure 3.2). According to the 2001 census, the population of Falmouth was 8,188. This is a slight increase over the 1991 population of 8,039 (STATIN, 2003). The two other designated urban centres in Trelawny, Duncans and Clarks Town have a combined population of approximately 6,085. Trelawny's population of 73,066 ranks it 13th of the 14 parishes. Only Hanover, with a population of 67,037, is smaller than Trelawny.

Falmouth is a dormitory community for a large tourism-related workforce that works

Figure 3.2

Jamaica

Source: http://www.caribbeanislands.us/jamaica-map.htm

---

[10] The National Environment and Planning Agency is the regulatory agency that issues environment and planning permits for developments such as hotels.

in Negril, Montego Bay and Ocho Rios (Campbell, 2005, March 20). The physical infrastructure of roads, telephone, electricity and domestic water in Falmouth are in fairly good condition. The exception is that sewage and other wastewater disposal systems which are in need of urgent re-development. The town has a number of social, civic and commercial facilities, including churches, an infirmary, a courthouse, a fire station, a revenue office, a police station, a hospital, a number of schools, a farmers' market and numerous shops and stores.

On a year-round basis, Trelawny hosts several thousand visitors who enjoy attractions such as rafting on the Martha Brae river, Outameni Experience[11], FDR Pebbles Resort, Breezes Rio Bueno Resort and Breezes Trelawny Resort. A number of these destinations/activities/events are on the periphery of Falmouth (Figure 3.3). These destinations throughout the parish provide direct employment for a number of local residents. Other commercial activities that are linked to the tourism industry include souvenir making, entertainment, vending and transportation. Direct earning from the tourism industry is estimated to be in the millions of Jamaicans dollars; however, only a small portion remains in the area as salaries with the rest going out as profits to investors (Stupart, 1996). Next to tourism, agro-industries and light manufacturing employ the greatest number of people in the area. Overall, the local economy of Falmouth is not doing well in terms of job creation and supplying other needs of the residents, for unemployment is said to be amongst the highest in the country running at about 15 per cent ("Falmouth Cruise terminal" April 16, 2008).

Studies have shown that Falmouth has dark cultural heritage that could be developed as a tourist attractions (CHRML et al., 1998; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002). Developing Falmouth in this way would diversify and add a new segment to Jamaica's tourism product that would complements the sun, sea and sand image and create opportunities for the participation of local residents (Stupart, 1996). It would help Jamaica become a multiple attraction destination that could ultimately increase the island's tourist traffic in addition to increasing economic opportunities in Falmouth and revitalizing the town's flagging economy

---

[11] Outameni Experience is a cultural heritage site that takes the visitor along an interactive journey of the Jamaican people – the Tainos, Spanish, Africans, English, Indians, Chinese – through music, art, dance, film, drama and food.

(CHRML et al., 1998; Binney, Harris, Martin, & Curtin, 1991; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002).

3.4.1 The History of Falmouth

Relative to other local destinations, the historic town of Falmouth is practically ignored by tourists, yet its rich and vibrant history ranks it as one of Jamaica's primary cultural heritage sites (Binney et al., 1991; CHRML, 1998; Roy Stephenson and Associates, 1989; Stupart, 1996). In fact, Jamaica's Tourism Master Plan ranks Falmouth as one of four major priority sites for the development of built heritage (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002). It lists Falmouth as a site of international heritage significance and primary tourist potential. At present, Falmouth is one of the 'least developed' parish capitals in Jamaica. Yet in the early 19th century, Falmouth was one of the most developed towns in Jamaica, second only to Kingston in certain aspects and first in others (Robinson, 2007; TCF, n.d.). According to Ogilvie (1954) and Robinson (2007), Falmouth had the facilities of a 'modern' town and a number of its grandiose buildings that still exist are evidence of this past. The prosperity of the town was linked to the large number of sugar plantations in Trelawny and its busy port that was a terminus for oceanic trade (Ogilvie, 1954; Robinson, 2007). Taverns and lodging houses that catered to many visitors to the town were a part of the landscape of Falmouth (GSOJ, n.d.). Thus, it is obvious that tourism was an important business in the town and it was in the exploratory stage of development as argued by Butler (1980) in a seminal paper on the resort area cycle of evolution. However, new methods of transportation and the demise of the sugarcane industry are cited as causes for the deterioration of Falmouth, both physically and socially (Ogilvie, 1954; Robinson, 2007; GSOJ, n.d.; TCF, n.d.).

We know much of the early history from the writing of Ogilvie (1954) and other. Trelawny was created in 1770 when the House of Assembly in Jamaica passed a bill to partition the parish of Saint James (Robinson, 2007). The new parish was named in honour of the Governor of Jamaica at the time, William Trelawny. The interior of the new parish extended into the wild Cockpit Country, which was inhabited by Maroons who waged guerrilla warfare against the British in pursuit of freedom. There were several reasons for the division, of which ease and convenience of doing business for its inhabitants was foremost.

Figure 3.3
Regional Map, Falmouth

Source: Commonwealth Historic Resources Management Limited, 1998

The Trelawny coastline was already well settled by 1770 and the volume of trade through its seaport rivalled that at Montego Bay, the capital of Saint James. The area's residents, however, had to undertake the 'difficult' journey to Montego Bay to conduct all public business. The authorities in Montego Bay also had problems in exercising control over external trade along the distant Trelawny coastline. At the time of division, the parish of Saint James covered 233 square miles (604 square km), while Trelawny covered 333 square miles (863 square km). According to Ogilvie, when the House of Assembly in Jamaica passed the Bill to create the new parish on November 5, 1770, celebration broke-out all over Trelawny:

> *It was a manifestation of extraordinary public rejoicing….* Places of business were closed and *even the slaves* who had but a vague appreciation of the import of the enactment *were allowed to enter… into the patriotic celebrations.* The then chief town Martha Brae, was a scene of revelry.
>
> For two nights the bonfire on "Gun Hill" and at other places nearby, reflected for miles around…. Drunkenness and debauchery were taken for granted. In fact, *were you not in the group, you would be considered a foreigner.* (Ogilvie 1954:3-4) [*emphasis added*].

The first capital of Trelawny was founded at Martha Brae, a town situated on a hill approximately 2.4 kilometres upstream from the mouth of the Martha Brae River. This town was about 20 hectares in size and had about thirty houses at the time it was made the capital of the new parish (Ogilvie, 1954; TCF, n.d.). At this time, Falmouth was a "little seaside village" and did not become the capital until around 1790 (Robinson, 2007, p.3). The need for a seaport was critical, as the importance of Trelawny was based on its oceanic trading links with foreign countries. Therefore, the suitability of Martha Brae as the permanent capital was challenged as navigation up the river was limited to small ships (TCF, n.d.). Another town, 'Rock,' on the sea coast, had established wharves but was ruled out as the new capital because of the shallowness of the water. Thus, it was established that neither Martha Brae nor Rock had the necessary attributes to serve the parish well as its administrative and

shipping centre. Eventually, the Vestry[12] looked towards setting up a capital at Palmetto Point, also called Martha Brae Point, which is the present location of Falmouth.

Generally the records indicated that Edward Barrett started the town of Falmouth in 1774 when he subdivided Martha Brae Point which became the town of Falmouth (TCF, n.d.; GSOJ, nd; Robinson, 2007; Ogilvie, 1954). The creation of the town provided the opportunity to put a model Georgian plan into practice in a colonial setting. It was laid out in a formal rectangular grid which expressed the power of the imperial government and the obsession for symmetry and regularity characteristic of the Georgian era. "The land was surveyed and planned with all the amenities for an up-to-date township – for this reason it is considered the best laid-out town in (Jamaica)" (Ogilvie, 1954, p.32). After subdividing, all the land was readily sold to merchants and planters. Nearly every estate owner purchased a residential site for a townhouse.

Contrary to the above claims, Conolley and Parrent (2005) assert that Falmouth was actually founded by Thomas Reid, a planter who laid-out and started selling lots in 1769[13] and the name Falmouth was given in 1770, when the parish of Saint James was divided to create the parish of Trelawny. Using content analysis of historical land deeds, they found that Thomas Reid and Edward Barrett both owned parts of Martha Brae Point, also called Palmetto Point (Conolley & Parrent, 2005). They argued that even though Barrett was a "moving force behind the prominence of [Falmouth], it had already been in existence when he started to sell his lots in 1774" (Conolley & Parrent, 2005, p.383). Furthermore, Conolley and Parrent (2005) asserted that people of colour[14] were some of the early purchasers of land from Barrett when he started selling his lots.

Sugar, rum and slavery were the key elements of the Trelawny's economy. Wealth generated mainly from the sugar plantations dependent on enslaved labourers was used to build Falmouth. The community that developed was comprised in part of plantation owners and merchants, who built wharves, warehouses and shops. There were also craft people,

---

[12] The Local Government body for a parish was referred to as the Vestry, after the vestry of the Anglican (Parish) church which was the usual venue for their meetings.
[13] At this time the parish was still St. James and the area had not yet been given the name Falmouth.
[14] Since slaves could not own property, these persons were 'freedmen' who acquired their status by: purchasing it directly from their masters, or were given it by their masters, or they were children born of freedwomen.

tavern keepers, government and church officials and various other service providers, who depended on the trade generated in Falmouth and the surrounding area. The town had its own military unit, the Trelawny Regiment, stationed at a small fort that was first located in the centre of the town and later relocated to Fort Balcarres at Palmetto Point. According to the records, in 1804, 13,295 hogshead[15] and 1,229 tierces[16] of sugar, 6,400 puncheons[17] of rum and other produce were shipped through the port of Falmouth (GSOJ, n.d.; TCF, n.d.). At that time, Trelawny had 100 sugar estates and 128 pens in operation with an enslaved population of 27,636. Further, the records show that Falmouth had the port facilities to attract vessels with important cargoes. "It was no unusual sight to see twenty-seven ships in port, landing cargo and taking in Sugar, Rum and other Island produce" (Ogilvie, 1954, p.34; Robinson, 2007). In 1805, when a French fleet from the Mediterranean arrived in the Caribbean and there were rumours of an invasion of Jamaica, Robinson (2007) claimed that the crews of the more than 40 ships that were in port volunteered their service for the defence of Falmouth's harbour.

The stones and bricks used as ballast on ships[18] coming into the port found their way into impressive architecture throughout the town and parish. Within three years after the founding of Falmouth, more than 150 houses were built, mainly of stones, bricks and timber (TCF, n.d.). These were, for the most part, townhouses for the rich merchant class and planter class, who shipped and traded through the busy and prosperous port. The planters built imposing works for sugar production as well as 'Great Houses' that were country retreats for vacationing away from the harsh winters in England. Great Houses also served as places where extravagant parties and other social events would be given for dignitaries (Ogilvie, 1954; Robinson, 2007). Another important group who built lavish townhouses in Falmouth was the predominantly Jewish merchant class (GSOJ, n.d). Great enthusiasm and competition developed between the merchant class and the planter class to see who could build the finest house. This competition reached its peak during the Georgian period, when patterns of original work were introduced from England (GSOJ, n.d.). This explained why

---

[15] Large barrels with capacities ranging from 238 – 530 litres.
[16] Containers with capacities of 159 litres.
[17] Casks with capacities ranging from 273 – 454 litres.
[18] Some of the ships that traded with the colonies came directly from Europe and were loaded with ballast to keep them stable if they come upon rough seas during the voyage.

Falmouth has such large numbers and fine specimens of Georgian architecture that were built during the prosperous period of British colonialism, sugar and slavery.

The magnificence of its public buildings depicts a community with civic pride and an abundance of skilled artisans. In many cases, they spared no expense. The existing Parish church was built from 1794-1796, at a cost of approximately £9,000 and was one of the largest in the island at the time (GSOJ, n.d.; Ogilvie, 1954). The church is strategically located in the centre of the town on land donated by Edward Barrett. Falmouth had the best-equipped marine hospital in the island. The first Masonic temple in Jamaica was built in Falmouth in 1798 – the building still stands today (Robinson, 2007; TCF, n,d.). Some of the late-eighteenth century town houses and other civic buildings remain, including the residences of planter and slave-trader John Tharpe and Edward Barrett, who is remembered as one of the founders of Falmouth and the great-grandfather of the English Poetess Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

Although Falmouth had a thriving port second only to Kingston in volume of trade, all entry and clearances were made 34 kilometres away in Montego Bay (GSOJ, n.d.). As a result, the House of Assembly was petitioned in 1793 to grant these roles to Falmouth and alleviate the need to travel to Montego Bay. Falmouth harbour was considered as one of the most secure in the island, sustaining no loss of vessels, while loading approximately fifty ships annually (GSOJ, n.d.). Opposition from Montego Bay defeated the petition initially, but after persisting for twelve years, finally Falmouth became a port of entry and clearance. A further resolution in 1809 granted it the status of a Free Port. Two events of international significance aided in the rapid development of Falmouth's trading activities (GSOJ, n.d.). First, at the turn of the 19th century due to the invasion by Napoleon, Spain was in no position to prevent Jamaica from trading with its American colonies and Britain penetrated the Spanish empire through trade from Falmouth. Second, the blockading of the breakaway colonies in North America by Britain in the war of 1812 caused the price of sugar to increase. Falmouth, Jamaica's premier sugar port, benefited from windfall profits.

Falmouth's prosperity continued into the first half of the 19th century despite the abolition of the slave trade in 1808 and the emancipation of enslaved Africans in 1838. During this time, the rest of Jamaica had seen a dramatic decline in economic activities due to declining production and prices for sugar and other agricultural produce. It was claimed,

though the abolition of the slave trade caused a general decline in the planter-class and the sugar industry in Jamaica by the1850s, the Falmouth "harbour during crop-season [was] sometimes thronged with vessels. At that time Jamaica's production of sugar had fallen to less than a quarter of what it was at the beginning of the century," but Trelawny remained the chief sugar producing parish and Falmouth perhaps the second-largest town in the country (GSOJ, n.d.; Ogilvie, 1954; TCF, n.d., p.17). Trelawny's sugar plantations flourished because of their direct external trade links. Its port access and trading ties helped boost the overall development of Western Trelawny through the availability and lower prices of supplies for the estates (Ogilvie, 1954).

In the words of Dan Ogilvie (1954, p.34), Falmouth became "the emporium of the north-side." Its social organization and entertainment facilities were superior to those of Kingston. Its amenities included running water for residents and ships which Falmouthians boasted was the first piped water supply system in the Western Hemisphere when it began in 1799. According to the Trelawny Cultural Foundation (n.d., p.17), some visitors to Falmouth in 1837 described it as "a town of increasing size and importance... one of the most beautiful in the island" (TCF, n.d., p.17). They found William Knibb[19] 'the emancipator' finishing his new chapel and a hundred children in a Baptist school. In 1860, Falmouth had a population of between 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants and was claimed look "more modern than Kingston" and clearly less dirty (TCF, n.d., p.17). Hotel keeping had developed as an important occupation in Falmouth with the owners aggressively seeking clients (GSOJ, n.d.). The 20 or more sailors that came on each ship often remained in port for a month or more and were some of the first tourists to visit. According to Ogilvie (1954, p.37) "The sailors ashore were never without avenues to rid themselves of their hard cash earned...every class in society benefited by their lavish expenditure." The town, however, had to bear the social consequences such as drunken sailors and lewd behaviour.

Although Falmouth's most intensive period of growth and prosperity ended by the 1830s, sugar remained an important part of the parish's economy. The trading activities this brought Falmouth continued, but at a reduced intensity. The economic and social prosperity of Falmouth continued to decline in the later half the 19th century as a result of several

---

[19] Falmouth was the headquarters of the Baptist church led by William Knibb and, as such, was in the forefront of the emancipation movement.

factors. Disasters in the form of hurricanes and fires destroyed many of its better buildings. Falmouth harbour had difficulty in accommodating the larger steamships that started to come into use in the 1820s. The final blow, however, came in 1894 when the extension of the railway from Kingston bypassed Falmouth to Montego Bay and gave that town a critical edge as a distribution centre. Although the harbour was improved in 1903 with the dredging of the channel and the removal of hazardous rocks, Falmouth did not recover its place as an international port with busy import and export trades. The commercial role was increasingly absorbed by Montego Bay and Kingston. Also, the rebuilding of Kingston after the 1907 earthquake left it with improved infrastructure and increasingly more of the island's imports.

Falmouth's economy has not recovered through the twentieth century. Although the sugar industry declined over the years, sugar continued to play an important role in the economy of Falmouth up to the 1960s. The consequent lack of development pressures has meant that a good deal of Falmouth's early building stock has survived, although it has not always been well maintained. Also, the gradual destruction and 'inappropriate' remodelling of many buildings have impacted negatively on the character of Falmouth. However, vestiges of its past still remain. Hurricanes have taken their toll, particularly the hurricane of 1944 and the devastating Hurricane Gilbert of 1988. The slow economy has provided an opportunity for Jamaicans to begin appreciating Falmouth's unique architectural qualities and to call for the revitalization and restoration of the town.

3.4.2 Recent Trends and Developments Impacting Falmouth

Within the last fifteen years, a number of developments have taken place that are expected to impact significantly the direction and growth of the town of Falmouth. In 1996, the town was designated as a heritage district under the Jamaica National Heritage Trust[20] Act, 1985. The designation gives protection to the physical elements in the town and puts in place a framework for the control of future developments. Also, in 2005, Falmouth was designated as the seventh resort area in Jamaica. Jamaica's other resort areas are Ocho Rios, Montego Bay, Negril, Portland, the South Coast and the Kingston Metropolitan Area. The Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCo), the designating state agency that is responsible for transforming and enhancing Jamaica's tourism product, gave the following as

---

[20] The state agency that is mandated to protect the cultural heritage of the country.

reasons for Falmouth's resort area designation: the town's rich history, culture and architectural legacy which date back to the 18th century. Furthermore, the TPDCo claimed that the heritage, history and culture, such as what is found in Falmouth are what visitors to the island are seeking (Falmouth designated a resort area, September 17, 2005). As a resort area, Falmouth will be able to access special funding from the state for tourism-related developments.

However, the development that is envisaged to have the greatest impact on the town is the Historic Falmouth development project which will include a cruise ship pier, marina, duty-free shopping, slave museum and a theatre/concert hall. Construction work started in February 2009 and although not completed, the pier received the first cruise vessel in 2010. Historic Falmouth is a joint project between the Port Authority of Jamaica and Royal Caribbean International (RCI). The US$224 million contract for the development was signed in 2008, with RCI contributing US$102 million and the Government of Jamaica (GOJ) US$122 million. Apart from the port facilities that will be constructed, the project will also involve the improvement and rehabilitation of several of the Georgian-style buildings that are features of the town. The pier is expected to accommodate two Genesis-Class RCI ships simultaneously, including one that will be the world's largest vessel, the Oasis of the Seas. The Oasis, which is about 20-stories high, was built at a cost of US$1.5 billion and will be able to accommodate 6,300 passengers and 2,100 crewmembers (Olsen, 2009). On October 30, 2009, the ship left the shipyard in Finland where it was built for its homeport, Port Everglades in Florida, and is expected to dock in Falmouth in December 2010 (Olsen, 2009). The cruise company, RCI had committed to bring in a minimum of 400,000 passengers annually for the next 20 years. According to the JTB (2009), an average cruise ship passengers spends US$105 per person per port. This development is expected to impact the town's economy and employment positively over the long run.

Since the opening of the Pier in 2011 more than 200 cruise ships with approximately one million visitors docked at the port. These numbers are expected to increase in 2013 with the addition of the Port of Falmouth to the itinerary of the Disney Cruise Line. The Falmouth Pier is now ranked as the favoured cruise destination in Jamaica, ahead of the Montego Bay and the Ocho Rios' Pier that previously held that position. In addition to attracting new businesses that cater to visitors, Falmouth has seen the refurbishing and development of

several attractions to include the popular Swamp Safari, the Outameni Experience, rafting on the Martha Brae, and the pirate-themed Captain Hook pleasure vessel. Other noticeable changes that as taken place include improved physical appearance of the town with the refurbishing of a number of buildings, roads and sidewalks. There as also been a steady revival of several visual and performing art forms and the staging of events for visitors.

There are a number of other tourism-related developments that are expected to impact Falmouth. These include the proposed Harmony Cove development which is a 971.25 hectares beachfront five-star resort development. The Harmony Cove proposed development, which is expected to be completed in 2016, is a joint venture partnership between the Government of Jamaica and an international company, the Tavistock Group. The development is to include 5,000 hotel rooms, luxury residences, multiple championship golf courses, marina, private international airport, shops, restaurants, nightclubs and other attractions (Gordon, 2008, October 31; Thame, 2007, May 6; Edwards, 2007, May 18). In addition, there are plans by the Spanish hotel chain, 'Secrets', to develop a 1,700-room resort at Oyster Bay on the periphery of Falmouth (What's in the pipeline for Falmouth? 2005 March 20). As well as these developments that are slated to commence, the FDR Pebbles and Breezes Rio Bueno hotels (96 and 232 rooms respectively) were completed in Trelawny within the last ten years. In addition to accommodation, a number of experiential attractions have been developed, including Outameni Experience, rafting on the Martha Brae River, Windsor Caves eco-tour and Horse Back riding at Braco and Good Hope Plantations.

3.5 Conclusion

Jamaica, the largest English-speaking island in the Caribbean, had an indigenous population of Tainos when Christopher Columbus first landed in 1494. The island was not attractive to the Spanish and they neglected it, because it did not possess the precious minerals that they were after. In 1655, the English seized the island and developed it with thousands of enslaved Africans into the most successful sugar-producing colony. After more than 300 years, the trade in Africans as slaves and slavery came to an end. By then, slave-based plantation system had become uneconomical and there was a dramatic decline in the economic fortunes of the planter-class in the island. As a result, the leaders of the country turned towards tourism as a viable alternative to diversify the economy.

The Jamaican Exhibition of 1891 that was used to launch the local tourism industry portrayed Jamaica as a winter get-away destination with a sun, sea and sand image. This 'new' industry served the interests of mostly foreign-owned businesses at the expense of local entrepreneurs. The initial image and foreign-owned, 'big' business, bias continued for the most part, even though the industry has grown tremendously. Even the innovative, indigenous and successful 'all-inclusive' concept has failed to market Jamaica effectively other than as a sun, sea and sand destination. Now, Jamaica's tourism industry is at a watershed with the entry of a number of foreign-owned and controlled MNCs resulting in a change in the overall ownership structure within the accommodation sector. Whereas in the 1990s, Jamaican companies owned over 80 per cent of all accommodations, now they only own approximately 40 per cent (Stupart, 1996; Rose, 2009, October 25). If Jamaica is to participate actively in global tourism and continue to make its presence felt in the tourism marketplace of the 21st century, indigenous and 'authentic' cultural heritage has to become a part of the tourism product. Also, the tourism industry has to continue to develop avenues through which the Jamaican 'working class' can derive 'meaningful' benefits by active participation.

The rich and vibrant heritage and culture in Falmouth are practically ignored by present-day tourists. Yet tourism-related businesses were regarded as important sources of income for the town, when Falmouth was the "Emporium of the [North Coast]" (Ogilvie, 1954, p.34). Falmouth was one of the most prosperous and developed towns in Jamaica. Its prosperity was linked to the large number of enslaved Africans who worked on the 88 sugar plantations and at the busy seaport. The slaves were the engines of growth for the town's economy. The transfer of ideas from England led to the adaptation of Georgian architecture throughout Falmouth. The magnificence of these building depicts a community rich with civic pride and an abundance of skilled artisans. However, Falmouth declined socially and economically as a result of fires, hurricanes and new methods of transportation. The heritage and cultural features in Falmouth are still, however, in abundance, intriguing, unique, rich, diverse and significant.

According to the Commonwealth Secretariat (2002, p.106), "Of all the historic towns in Jamaica, Falmouth has greater scope to develop its distinctive built heritage into an internationally attractive heritage site." It is an active market town that retained much of its

character from its past as Jamaica's foremost port for molasses, rum and sugar. It was also an important slave port and, as such, as been included in the United Nations Slave Route Project. Falmouth is ideally located on the north coast between the two major resorts and cruise ship piers of Montego Bay and Ocho Rios and is about 30 kilometres from the international airport at Montego Bay. The strategic significance of Falmouth for tourism is that it would be an internationally recognized heritage asset easily accessible to the majority of sun, sand and sea tourists who visit the north coast (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODS

The current study involved a descriptive exploration of the development of dark cultural heritage as attractions in Falmouth, Jamaica. This chapter focuses on the research paradigms and methods used to collect and analyse data for the study. First, it appraises the case study method of research and, in so doing, justifies its use in the current study. Second, the chapter gives an overview of the two main traditional philosophical paradigms of scientific research – positivism and interpretivism. Third, it evaluates the rationale and justification for the adoption of a mixed methods research strategy. Fourth, it outlines the data collection mechanisms used for the study. Finally, it ends with a summary of the issues discussed.

4.1 Introduction

A number of researchers provide justifications for the use of case study design to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. Case studies typically combine data collection methods such as archival searches, interviews, questionnaires, fieldwork and observations so as to reconstitute and analyse the situation being studied (Eisenhardt, 1989; Hamel, 1992; Patton & Appelbaum, 2003; Rahim & Baksh, 2003). It is well suited to enquire into meanings and expressions of the human experience (al Rubae, 2002) and other complex and unique phenomena where previous literature to guide the research is lacking (Fisher & Ziviani, 2004). Finally, it has a number of characteristics that add strength to research carried out under its tradition (al Rubae, 2002; Cutler, 2004; Eisenhardt, 1989; Gerring, 2004; Hamel, 1992; Langhout, 2003; Patton & Appelbaum, 2003; Rahim & Baksh, 2003; Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). First, the depth of analysis is seen as a primary virtue of the research. Second, the ability to use both quantitative and qualitative data to complement each other in the research is a major asset to the research. Third, the use of triangulation techniques gives strength to the conclusions and increases the reliability and credibility of data. Finally, it has effective theory building and testing capabilities.

Beveridge (1957, p.105) underscores the value and nature of cases and points out that, "more discoveries have arisen from intense observation of very limited material than from statistics applied to large groups." Gerring (2004) also argues that most of what we know

about the empirical world is drawn from case studies. In relation to 'scientific observation,' the observer has to discriminate and deliberately select specific things that are significant since one cannot observe everything closely (Beveridge, 1957) but, at the same time, they should look out for the unexpected or odd phenomena. Flyvbjerg (2001, p.66) defined a case study as "the detailed examination of a single example of a class of phenomena." Parks-Savage (2005) contends that case studies are used in developing an in-depth analysis of a single case or multiple cases. Case study is the preferred strategy (Yin; 2003), and is superior to survey methods (Rahim & Baksh, 2003) for answering questions that begin with "how" and "why" (Parks-Savage, 2005) because the case analysis can delve more deeply into motivations and actions than structured surveys (Rahim & Baksh, 2003). Furthermore, Yin (2003) defines a case study as an empirical investigation operating in a real life situation. It is a valuable tool when the phenomena being studied are outside a laboratory or other controlled environments. Although, the limited nature of case studies make them unreliable for statistical generalization, they are very important in the preliminary stages of research since they provide hypotheses that may be tested systematically with larger numbers (Flyvbjerg, 2001). In general, the case study is the preferred strategy when the investigator has little control over events (Yin, 2003). For a specific study of dark cultural heritage in Lithuania, Wight and Lennon (2007) posit six important types of data to be collected in order to present a robust case study. They are documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations, and artefacts.

Based on the arguments above, case study research is deemed an appropriate methodology to study the development of the dark cultural heritage as attractions in Falmouth, Jamaica. One of the most defining characteristics of case study research lies in delimiting the object of the study. In this regard, the clear delineation of boundaries and delimitations assists the researcher in determining the focus and parameters of the case study (Yin, 2003). Factors used to narrow the study and establish boundaries of this case include: the study was confined to the town of Falmouth; key participants were limited to the town of Falmouth; instruments were designed to solicit information on Falmouth; and interview items and questions focused on Falmouth. As a result, the methods used for this study collected the types of data suggested by Wight and Lennon (2007) for case studies that look at dark cultural heritage. In addition, a field survey was deemed necessary as an appropriate source

for quantitative data to converge and merge with the qualitative data to provide a comprehensive analysis of findings. Consequently, the study used the following data types: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, artefacts and field survey.

4.2 Philosophical Paradigms

This section analyses the two main and traditional philosophical paradigms of scientific research – positivism and interpretivism (Newman, 2004; Palys, 2003; Wildemuth, 1993). It also sets out a number of fundamental assumptions on which they are established. A research paradigm is "an integrated set of assumptions, beliefs, models of doing good research and techniques for gathering and analyzing data" (Newman, 2004, p.39). That is, it organizes core ideas, theoretical frameworks, and research methods. There are several research approaches that are based on these two main philosophical paradigms of scientific research. Positivism is linked to the quantitative approaches so much so that positivism and the quantitative approach are often used synonymously, while interpretivism is linked to the qualitative approaches. While quantitative and qualitative research represent two distinctly different approaches to understanding the world, the "quantitative approaches have traditionally been the dominant of the two traditions" (Palys, 2003, p.5).

Quantitative researchers espouse the realist perspectives and see themselves as seekers of "numerical precision" (Palys, 2003, p.4). The emphasis is on describing a population in terms of a few significant variables. As such, quantitative studies are designed to maximize the generalizability of the findings to a larger population. This approach is strongly associated with the natural science methods of research or quantitative confirmatory studies (Wildemuth, 1993). The realist or positivist believes that there is reality out there to be discovered (Palys, 2003). As such, the positivist aims to uncover the facts and to understand the laws or principles that account for those facts. It is therefore possible to uncover the theoretical concepts and develop the appropriate techniques to measure and test them. Wildemuth (1993, p.450) argues that the primary epistemological assumption that separates the paradigms is the positivist's assumption that "reality is objective, transcending an individual's perspective, and that it is expressed in observable statistical regularities of behavior." Table 4.1 compares various assumptions of quantitative and qualitative research (Babbie, 2004; Cresswell, 2009; Newman 2004; Palys, 2003; Patton, 2002).

Table 4.1

Comparing Qualitative and Quantitative Assumptions

Quantitative Assumptions	*Qualitative Assumptions*
Follows a linear research path, and speaks a language of "variables and hypotheses" and emphasize precisely measuring variables and testing hypotheses that are linked to general causal explanation	Follows a non-linear research path, and speaks a language of "cases and context." Emphasizes conducting detailed examinations of cases that arise in the natural flow of social life
Natural science model: humans are just another organism	Human centred approach: people's ability to think and abstract requires special consideration
Positivist: only external, observable forces are worth considering in the science of human behaviour	Phenomenological: takes peoples' perspectives into account
Realist: knowledge and truth are out there to be discovered	Constructionist: knowledge and truth are created not discovered
Emphasis on observable variables that are external to the individual; social facts	No variable ruled out; internal, perceptual variables expressly considered
Quantitative measures are preferred for their precision and amenability to mathematical analysis	Direct, qualitative verbal reports are preferred; quantifying responses is a step removed from people's words and perceptions
Emphasis on causes and effects: what goes in and how it comes out; inputs, outcomes	Emphasis on processes: perceptions and their meanings and how these emerge and change
Objectivity is achieved through social distance and a detached, analytical stance	Valid data come from closeness and extended contact with research participants
The criteria for understanding are the ability to predict and make statistically significant associations between variables	The criterion for understanding is *Verstehen*: understanding behaviour in context in terms meaningful to the actor
Preference for nomothetic aggregated over many cases	Preference for ideographic, case study analysis
Preference for a deductive approach: starting with theory and creating situations in which to test hypothesis	Preference for an inductive approach: starting with observation and allowing grounded theory to emerge
Test hypothesis that the researcher begins with	Capture and discover meaning once the researcher becomes immersed in the data
Concepts are in the form of distinct variables	Concepts are in the form of themes, motifs, generalizations, and taxonomies
Measures are systematically created before data collection and are standardized	Measures are created in an ad hoc manner and are often specific to the individual setting or researcher
Data are in the form of numbers from precise measurement	Data are in the form of words and images from documents, observations, and transcripts
Procedures are standard, and replication is assumed	Research procedures are particular, and replication is very rare

Source: Babbie, 2004; Cresswell, 2009; Newman 2004; Palys, 2003; Patton, 2002

In contrast, qualitative approaches have traditionally been seen as the opposite to quantitative approaches by researchers who refer to their data as rich in detail (Newman, 2004; Palys, 2003; Wildemuth, 1993). They originate in descriptive analysis and are essentially inductive processes. They are human-centred methodologies used by social scientists in trying to understand human behaviour. Their emphasis is on examining a phenomenon from the perspectives of participants in the social context of the phenomenon. The sample of subjects and tasks is designed to maximize the range of responses rather than to represent the distribution of behaviours in a larger population (Wildemuth, 1993). One of their major assumptions is that reality is subjective and socially constructed and the way to understand this reality is to know what the actors know, see what they see, and understand what they understand (Wildemuth, 1993). According to Creswell (2009), one of the chief purposes for conducting qualitative research is that the study is exploratory. That is, not much has been written about the subject – such as, the development of the "dark" cultural heritage of African slaves in the Caribbean for enjoyment, identity creation and learning – and the researcher seeks to listen to the participants and build an understanding based on what is heard. Further, Wildemuth (1993, p.465) argues, "interpretive methods are appropriate for more than simply exploratory studies." While Patton (2002) contends that interpretive approaches could be applied appropriately at any stage of a research programme. It should be noted that qualitative generalization is limited to the generalization of findings only to the case study area and not to sites, places and individuals outside. Hence, it is argued here that "The value of qualitative research lies in the particular description and themes developed in the context of a specific site" (Creswell, 2009, p.193). Table 4.1 also illustrate a number of fundamental assumptions of qualitative research (Babbie, 2004; Cresswell, 2009; Newman 2004; Palys, 2003; Patton, 2002).

The apparent conflicts between the two paradigms are resolved by what Patton (2002) refers to as a paradigm of choices which advocates methodological pluralism. In this view, there is no such thing as the one correct scientific method. A review of the literature reveals that both the positivist and the interpretive paradigms are appropriate and legitimate for the study of dark cultural heritage development. Most of the previous studies use one or the other, instead of mixing both. A methodological review of eight studies on dark cultural heritage by Dan and Seaton (2001, p.24) shows a lack of the use of the constructivist

perspectives as espoused by interpretivists "that treat culture, not as simply given, but emergent." In this regard, there is the need for multiple voices in favour of methodological pluralism (Patton, 2002; Selby & Morgan, 1996). Further, Creswell (2009), claims that the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative mixed methods can provide the best understanding. In this regard, Patton (2002, p.558) argues, "Qualitative and quantitative data can be fruitfully combined to elucidate complementary aspects of the same phenomena." Thus, a quantitative survey of a large number of individuals intended to capture their perspectives can be followed by qualitative interviews with a few participants to obtain their specific language and voices about the phenomenon. On the other hand, both the quantitative and qualitative data could be collected concurrently and then the two databases compared to determine if there is convergence, differences, or some combination (Creswell, 2009).

4.3 Mixed Method Research

This section outlines the characteristics and features of the mixed method research strategy used in this study. It also gives justifications and some caveats for its use.

Several of the leading methodologists are in agreement with Johnson's and Onwuegbusie's (2004, p.17) definition of mixed method research, as "research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language in a *single* study" [emphasis added] (Bryman, 2007; Creswell, 2009; Greene, 2006; Johnson, Onwuegbusie, & Turner, 2007; Kelle, 2006; Mason, 2006; Morgan, 2007; O'Cathain, Murphy & Nicholl, 2007; Woolley, 2009; Yin, 2006). The authors argue that philosophically, mixed research methods may be considered the "third wave" or third research movement that offers a logical and practical alternative beyond the qualitative-quantitative paradigm wars. As such, they refer to mixed methods research as the third research paradigm after the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Further, Johnson, Onwuegbusie and Turner (2007, p.117) argue that "We currently are in a three methodological or research paradigm world, with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research all thriving and coexisting."

As well as being called mixed method, this third paradigm has also been referred to as: integrating, synthesis, quantitative and qualitative methods, blended research, integrative research, multi-method research, multiple methods, triangulated studies, ethnographic residual analysis, mixed research, and multi-trait matrix (Creswell, 2009; Shipley et al. 2004;

Bryman, 2007). However, Bryman (2007, p.8) argues, "The key issue is whether in a mixed methods project, the end product is more than the sum of the individual quantitative and qualitative parts." In this regard, a mixed method approach is utilized in the study where the researcher combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches including the use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, and analysis techniques aimed at breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson, Onwuegbusie & Turner, 2007).

However, Bryman (2007) raises a concern regarding the possibility of mixed method research being hindered by qualitative and quantitative findings being integrated to a limited way or not being integrated at all. The author's findings suggest that mixed method research should ask this question: "Has my understanding of my quantitative/qualitative findings been substantially enhanced by virtue of the fact that I have quantitative/qualitative findings and have I demonstrated that enrichment?" (Bryman, 2007, p. 20). Yin (2006, p.41) also raised the concern of whether there is genuine integration of the quantitative and qualitative approaches or they are "merely parallel." He argued that integrated mixes across the following procedures support the principles of mixed method research (Yin, 2006, p.42): research questions, units of analysis, samples for study, instrumentation and data collection methods, and analytic strategies.

Wildemuth (1993, p.466) contends "that interpretive research can be combined effectively with positivist research, in spite of the fact that the two approaches take very different views of the nature of reality and how one comes to know or understand reality." Creswell (2009) proposed the following reasons for the increase use of mixed methods: the problems addressed by social science researchers are complex, and the use of either quantitative or qualitative approaches by themselves is inadequate to address this complexity. There are more insights to be gained from the combination of both quantitative and qualitative research than either form by itself.

Challenges of mixed method processes include (Creswell, 2009):
- the need for extensive data collection
- the time-intensive nature of analyzing both text and numeric data
- the requirement for the researcher to be familiar with both quantitative and qualitative forms of research.

Mixing methods can result in the triangulation of data, that is, the convergence across qualitative and quantitative methods; the integrating or connecting of qualitative and quantitative data; the qualitative and quantitative data merged into one data set; or the qualitative and quantitative data used side-by-side to reinforce each other (Creswell, 2009). Patton (2002) points out that triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data involves a form of comparative analysis, with the important question: "What does each analysis contribute to our understanding?" (p. 559). In this regard, he argues that areas of agreement enhance confidence in findings while areas of disagreement open avenues to better understanding of the complex nature of the phenomena. However, Morgan (1998), using a Priority-Sequence Model, describes a series of research designs that emphasizes the principle of complementarity with the goal of using the "strengths of one method to enhance the performance of the other method" (p.365).

One of such designs consists of a follow-up qualitative method that complements the quantitative method and provides "interpretive resources for understanding the results from the quantitative research" (pp.269-370). In this regard, the qualitative method serves as a means to deepen what was learnt through the quantitative method. However, Cresswell (2009, p.206) points out that "there have been several typologies for classifying and identifying types of mixed methods strategies." He identifies and discusses the following six classification systems (Cresswell, 2009, pp.209-216): sequential explanatory strategy, sequential exploratory strategy, sequential transformative strategy, concurrent triangulation strategy, concurrent embedded strategy, and concurrent transformative strategy. The concurrent mixed method strategy is the procedure that is used where qualitative and quantitative data converge and merge to provide a comprehensive analysis (Creswell, 2009). In this regard, the current study employed the concurrent embedded strategy in which both quantitative and qualitative data were collected at the same time and then the information integrated in the interpretation of the overall result. Important features of this approach include (Cresswell, 2009, pp.214-215):

- a primary method that guides the research with a secondary data collection that provides support
- the secondary method which is given less priority (quantitative or qualitative) is embedded within the principal method (qualitative or quantitative)

- the secondary method may address different questions from the primary method or seeks information at another level of analysis
- the mixing of the information from the two methods integrates information and compares one data source to another usually in the discussion section of the study
- in other cases the data are not compared but are placed side-by-side which gives an overall perspective of the problem.

The five purposes of mixed methods articulated by Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989, p.259) were taken into consideration in formulating the design for the current study. The five purposes include:

- triangulation – seeks confirmation, convergence, corroboration, and correspondence of results from the different methods
- complementarity – seeks elaboration, enhancement, illustration, and clarification of the results from one method with the results from the other method or methods
- development – seeks to use the results from one method to help develop or inform the other method, where development is broadly construed to include sampling and implementation, as well as measurement decisions
- initiation – seeks the discovery of paradox and contradiction, new perspectives or frameworks, the recasting of questions or results from one method with questions or results from the other method or methods
- expansion – seeks to extend the scope, breath and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components.

In particular, the mixed method design used in the current study seeks triangulation, complementarity, initiation and expansion in studying the phenomenon of the development of dark cultural heritage as attractions.

Against this background, the study utilized the concurrent embedded strategy where the use of qualitative sources (interviews, townscape survey and historic research) was the primary method and the quantitative survey the secondary with the goal of gaining "broader perspectives as a result of using different methods as opposed to using the predominant method alone" (Cresswell, 2009, 214-215). Thus, a concurrent strategy was employed where the primarily qualitative design embeds quantitative data to enhance the description of the participants and their experiences. The mixed approach taken in this research is what

Creswell (2009) refers to as the embedding technique, where both the quantitative and qualitative data support each other, instead of integrating or connecting across phases.

4.4 Data Collection Mechanisms

The data-gathering techniques used in the study included questionnaire survey, interviews, historical research and townscape survey; each has its strengths and challenges. In the following sections each method is explained, and the basic purpose and rationale for their use and the way it is being used is outlined while some of the caveats about each are examined.

4.4.1 Questionnaire Survey

The questionnaire survey is one of the most effective and popular methods used by social researchers to collect data because of its valuable characteristics. It is very versatile for collecting data about people's behaviour, attitudes/beliefs/opinion, characteristics, expectations, self-classification and knowledge (Newman, 2004). According to Creswell (2009, p.145), "survey design provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population. From [the] sample results, the researcher… makes claims about the population." According to Hedges (2004, p.64) "A sample is a small-scale representation… [but not] an exact replica of [the] population" being studied. Babbie (2004, p.243) states:

> Surveys may be used for descriptive, explanatory and exploratory purposes. They are chiefly used in studies that have individual people as the units of analysis. Although this method can be used for other units of analysis, such as groups… some individual persons must serve as respondents…. Survey research is probably the best method available to the social researcher who is interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly.

Newman (2004, p.162) argues, "The survey is the most widely used data-gathering technique in sociology, and it is used in many other fields, as well."

According to Newman (2004), researchers usually ask about many things at one time in surveys, measure many variables and test several hypotheses in a single survey. The rationale for choosing the survey method for this study is based on its strengths (Babbie,

2004; Newman, 2004): they are particularly useful in describing the characteristics of a population; they are flexible for many questions can be asked on a given topic; they are excellent means for measuring attitudes and orientations in a large population; and the use of standardized questionnaires has an important strength in regard to measurement since the researcher has to ask exactly the same questions and ascribe the same intent to all respondents giving a particular response.

There are three main methods of administering survey questionnaires to a sample of respondents (Babbie, 2004; Bordens & Abbott, 2005; Newman, 2004; Palys, 2003): self-administered questionnaires, in which the respondents are asked to complete the questionnaire themselves; surveys administered by interviewers in a face-to-face encounter; and surveys conducted by telephone. For this study, it was decided to use the face-to-face method because of its advantages.

According to Newman (2004), face-to-face surveys have the highest response rates and permit the longest questionnaires. Achieving a response rate of over 90% is not an unusual experience. Waller and Lea (1998) achieved a 98% response rate from a sample of 100 individuals who were approached in public and asked to rate the authenticity of four holiday scenarios in Spain. Babbie (2004, p.263) contends that, "A properly designed and executed interview survey ought to achieve a completion rate of at least 80-85 per cent." Also, Palys (2003, p.151) asserts, "it's not uncommon that 80 per cent to 90 per cent of the people you approach will agree to participate." Writing in 1986, DiGrino said that the face-to-face survey method can yield a response rate of over 90%, which was confirmed by the current study in Falmouth. Call-backs at times that are convenient to respondents are a recommended strategy that was used effectively in Falmouth to reduce non-response rates (Babbie, 2004; Newman, 2004; Patton, 2002). Babbie (2004, p.263) is also of the opinion that respondents are more reluctant to turn down interviewers "standing on their doorstep." Also, the number of respondents saying, "don't know" and "no answer," is also decreased. Apart from the higher response rate of the method, the interviewer can clarify matters if a respondent indicates that an item is confusing and monitor the conditions of completion. On the other hand, the high cost for training, travel, supervision and administration is seen as the biggest disadvantage of the face-to-face survey (Babbie, 2004; Newman, 2004; Patton, 2002).

The survey utilized in this research is cross-sectional, that is, the data were collected at one point in time as opposed to a longitudinal study that collects data at more than one interval in time. According to the 2001 census – the most current – the population of Falmouth is 8,188. As such, a target number of completed questionnaires or sample size was developed on the basis of this population. Creswell (2009, pp.148-149) recommends "that one use a sample size formula available in many survey texts" to compute sample size. Accordingly, the required number of responses to achieve a representative sample from the population of 8,188 was found to be approximately 100, which was calculated using a sample-size formula from Valid International Ltd. (2006) and verified on an Internet based sample-size calculator at http://sampsize.sourceforge.net/iface/index.html. This figure of 100 allows for 90% confidence level within a ±5% margin of error. The confidence level is an indicator of how likely it is that the actual population's response lies in the confidence interval or precision that is selected. This means that 90% of the time the population's response would lie within the defined confidence interval of plus or minus 5%.

Prior to beginning the research in Falmouth, the researcher participated in a one-day training programme with five experienced research assistants. The training was devoted to the procedures for the administration of the questionnaire survey in the community. The sampling frame consists of all residential addresses in Falmouth. In order to ensure that each household within Falmouth possessed an equal chance of being selected to participate in the study, a systematic sampling methodology was used to select participants as suggested by a number of researchers (Hedges, 2004; Ritchie & Inkari, 2006). Also, Ritchie and Inkari (2006) are of the view that the probability sampling method is the most common sampling method associated with survey-based research. The nature of the local community demanded that a cluster sample be undertaken, since the town consists of a historic district and adjoining communities that form part of the town of Falmouth.

Figure 4.1
Town of Falmouth (Study Site)

Figure 4.1
Town of Falmouth (Study Site)
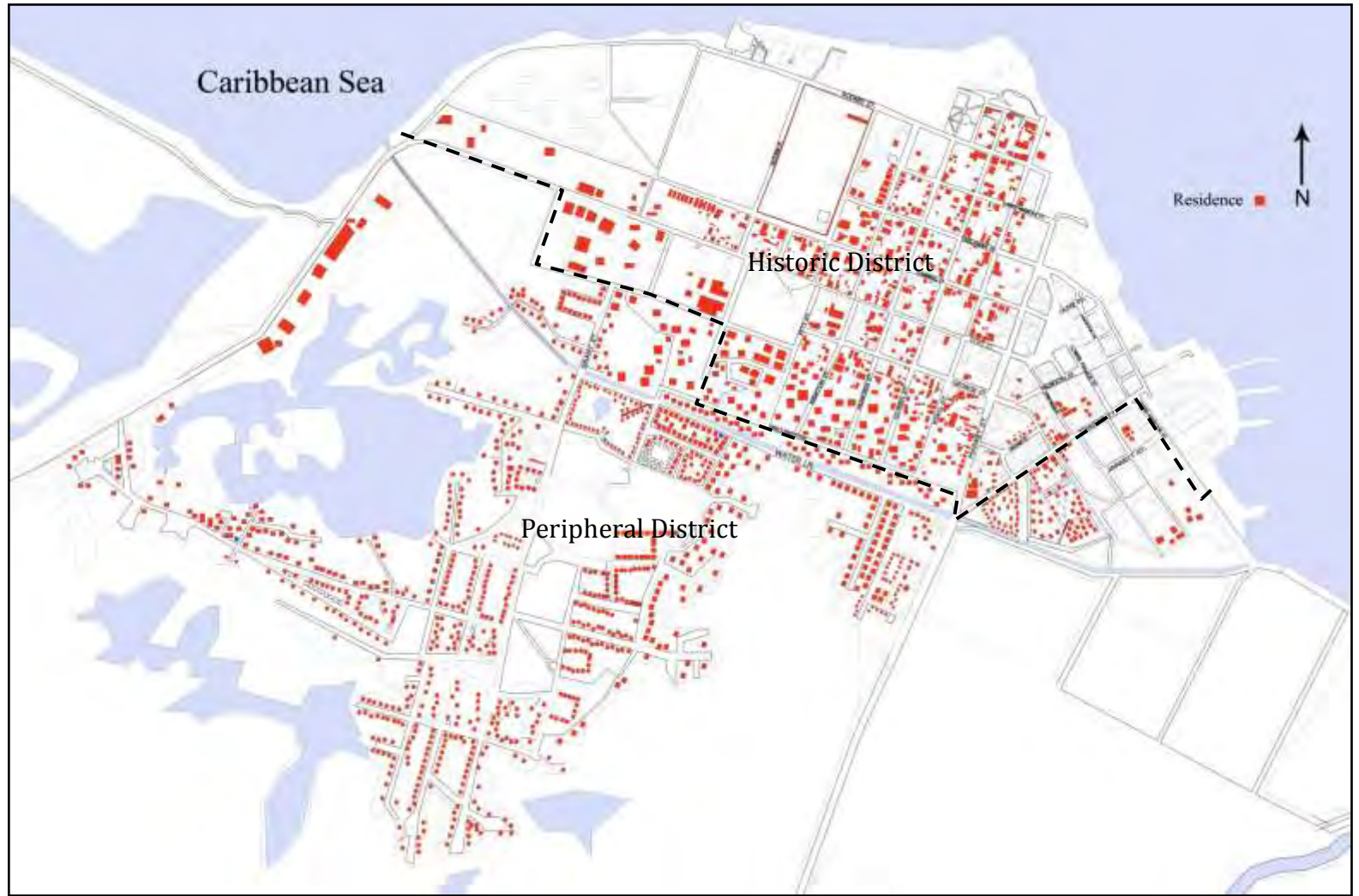
Source: Social Development Commission

4.4.1.1 Sampling Frame

The sampling plan was operationalized as follows. First, each residential address in Falmouth was numbered on a map (see Figure 4.1), which yielded a total of 1,819 households. Second, a fixed sampling interval was selected. According to Hedges (2004), with systematic sampling the first sample member is selected from the list by a random number and subsequent members are selected according to a fixed sampling interval. This interval is calculated by dividing the total number of households on the list by the required sample size, 100 and the first sample member or random starting number must lie within the sampling interval. In the case of Falmouth, the selection of 100 households from 1,819 yields a sampling interval of 18, and the random starting number 7 was chosen. Therefore, every eighteenth household from the list was chosen after the first starting number 7 to start the systematic sampling procedure. It was observed that of the total number of household addresses in Falmouth, approximately 40% are located in the Historic District while the other 60% is located in the Peripheral District (Figure 4.1). Third, with the aid of five experienced assistants who were trained by the researcher, information letters explaining the purpose of the study and why this study is important were distributed to the 100 selected households (Appendix A). Fourth, approximately two weeks after the distribution of the information letter, the assistants returned to the addresses and conducted a face-to-face survey of residents who were willing to participate. The interviewers asked to speak with an adult male or female in each household (see Appendix B). Where such a person was not available at the time, appointments were made to return later. The sample was comprised of adults over the age of 18 since at this age, cognitive abilities are considered to be stable (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003, 2004; Poria, Reichel, & Biran, 2006). In all, the interviews were conducted with household heads or in the absence of a household head, with an adult representative whose responses were treated as representative of the household included in the survey.

All participants in the survey were offered a keychain valued at Canadian $1.00 as a token for their time, which is an established tradition in the research community. The gifts depict various aspects of Canadian culture and symbols including First Nation's heritage such as flora, fauna and art. In a mail survey carried out by Vogt, Kah, Huh and Leonard (2004) on Kodiak Island, Alaska, they offered a $100 incentive to the first respondent who returned the questionnaire; in addition, a randomly selected respondent from those who

returned the questionnaire by the deadline received $50.00. Likewise, Poria, Butler, and Airey (2004a) offered discount coupons for duty-free shopping to participants in a study carried out in 2000 at the Ben-Gurion airport in Israel. Also, Poria, Reichel, and Biran (2006a) gave a chocolate bar as a token gift to participants in a questionnaire survey study carried out in Amsterdam in 2003. Although it is a common practice, the value of the token should not be seen to influence prospective respondents' answers or decisions to participate. In this regard, the Office of Research Ethics (2000-2003), University of Waterloo policy on remuneration of participants states:

> The total amount of remuneration should not be so high as to unduly influence or induce a person to volunteer, or to continue in a study past the point at which s/he otherwise would discontinue participation. Other types of remuneration are acceptable such as gift certificates, certificates/cards, theatre tickets, T-shirt with decals related to the study. (Office of Research Ethics, 2000-2003, C4)

4.4.1.2 Survey Instruments

The survey instrument contains 61 items in total (Appendix C). It contains a mix of open-ended, close-ended, and Likert scale items. It was felt that some questions required no more than a "yes" or "no" response. For example, one question asked, "Do you think all the old buildings in Falmouth should be torn down and replaced with newer ones?" Correspondingly, some parts of the instrument required providing the opportunity for open responses, such as questions about their likes and dislikes about Falmouth. The open-ended questions do not give the respondents any pre-determined options in order to achieve the answers that will reflect their own thinking and beliefs. According to Selby and Morgan (1996, p.289), "There is often a degree of trade-off between the application of structured and unstructured survey techniques. Despite their flexibility, suitability for coding and ease of use, structured techniques use constructs that are not necessarily salient to the respondent. However, unstructured techniques provide rich data but are time consuming to administer, and often challenging to analyse."

The questionnaire was designed in six parts to address the objectives of the research study. Some of the items on the questionnaire were extracted from the review of previous studies published by various authors. The items concerning tourism perceptions and attitudes

were derived from the existing related literature, particularly the works of Andriotis and Vaughan (2003), Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010), Snaith and Haley (1999), Haley, Snaith and Miller (2005) Perdue, Long and Allen (1990), Lankford and Howard (1994), Ap (1990), Wall (1996), Harrill and Potts (2003), Richie and Inkari (2006), Williams and Lawson (2001), and Vargas-Sánchez, Plaza-Mejía and Porras-Bueno (2009). Other items were created specifically to address the objectives of this research. Overall, the questions asked in the survey were designed to accomplish the following:

- analyse residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Falmouth
- identify and highlight the attributes of the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Falmouth that will be used to frame development
- identify the opportunities and constraints for heritage tourism development in Falmouth
- explore and suggest appropriate mechanisms to facilitate participation of local residents in the heritage development process
- determine whether local residents attach a high positive value to cultural heritage that are "symbolic of and are associated with the European trade in African as slaves"
- develop strategies for the conservation, upgrading, and revitalization of heritage sites in Falmouth for the purpose of developing cultural heritage tourism centered on Falmouth's "dark" historic resources so that their uniqueness is maintained for contemporary and future appreciation and enjoyment.

Part 1 collected data about participants' characteristics and socio-economic information. Questions were asked about personal attributes, including gender, ethnicity, age, place of birth, length of residency in Falmouth, home and business ownership and place of employment. In addition, respondents were asked in open-ended questions regarding their likes and dislikes about Falmouth.

Part 2 solicited respondents' perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism. One question sought to find out whether anyone from the household sampled worked in the tourism industry. The other ten items in this section gathered data with 5-point Likert scales to assess the respondents' perceptions of tourism's impacts.

Part 3 collected information about the heritage resources that are in Falmouth. It asked respondents to list the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. The section also asked respondents to list the most important cultural heritage resource.

Part 4 collected opinions on the opportunities and the constraints to heritage conservation. It also solicited personal views on local participation in the conservation of Falmouth's cultural heritage. Other variables that were scrutinized in this section include: ways through which residents can participate in heritage development; the willingness of residents to participate in heritage development; the effects of developing Falmouth as a cultural heritage destination; and the level of importance attached to developing the cultural heritage of Falmouth.

Part 5 sought information and examined a number of variables including the following: the level of value respondents attached to the dark cultural heritage of Falmouth; the level of awareness of the historic resources of Falmouth; the level of awareness of the association of slavery to the town; the value attached to the heritage of the town; whether residents are proud of the cultural heritage of the town; and whether the heritage should be preserved for future generation and as a place to learn about slavery.

Finally, Part 6 sought information and identified relevant and specific actions that are appropriate for the development of cultural heritage in Falmouth.

The survey was conducted in the town of Falmouth, Jamaica in March and April 2009 and achieved a response rate of 94% ($n = 94$). The interviews were conducted by five experienced interviewers who had done similar exercises before on behalf of the Social Development Commission[21]. With such a high response rate, it is possible to confidently generalize to the entire population of Falmouth (Seale, 2004). Participant responses were anonymous and confidential. The data were coded to be entered into SPSS. For example, numbers were assigned to the range of responses obtained for each closed-ended item. Open-ended items were considered by the variability shown in the respondents' answers and, accordingly, a coding frame of numerical assignments for each open-ended item was designed for analysis. The qualitative data gained were subsequently analysed according to Gillham's (2000) transcription and content analysis guide and the quantitative data using

---

[21] The Social Development Commission is a state agency that is mandated to do community development and is often involved in various data gathering exercises.

Microsoft Excel 2008 and SPSS 16 for Mac. The responses to the open-ended items were first categorised then clustered. The categories that were assigned are:

- likes about Falmouth
- dislikes about Falmouth
- cultural heritage resources of Falmouth
- most important cultural heritage resources of Falmouth
- general views about Falmouth

The categories were further clustered accordingly: Cluster 1 – Historic district and Cluster 2 – Peripheral District. The summary of the material can be found in Chapter 5. For example, some of the responses to different items are summed to show the frequency of occurrence of values within the data set in Microsoft Excel while others are analysed using SPSS 16 for Mac. They are then transformed and presented in the form of tables and figures.

4.4.2 Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted to ascertain the expectations and perspectives of stakeholders, such as professionals, and leaders from the business and political sectors, about Falmouth's cultural heritage. The data generated were integrated with the other data sets from the questionnaires, townscape survey and historical research in the interpretation of the overall results. The questions were open-ended and the interviews informal and semi-structured. The main advantage of the methodology used is that it gives a better understanding of respondents' thinking and attitudes on some issues than if structured interviews were conducted (Hernandez, Cohen, & Garcia, 1996). It sought primarily to explore, in the actors' own words, their perspectives on the development of the cultural heritage of Falmouth as tourist attractions. In this regard, in-depth interviews help to gain insights into attitudes towards tourism, the identification of the heritage resources of Falmouth, perspectives on residents' participation and involvement, opportunities and constraints to heritage development, and the appropriate actions to be taken for the development of cultural heritage in the town. Shipley et al., (2004) posit that the interview format is much more open-ended and allows for the expression of detailed opinion. Similarly, Gillham (2000, p.10) asserts "The overpoweringly positive feature of the interview is the richness and vividness of the material it turns up…it enables you to *see* and to understand what is reflected." However, the usual problem of interviewing stakeholders is

that their views tend to be conditioned by their particular interests which might not be shared generally.

For the interviews, the research paradigm adopted was constructivism, which is broadly known in current research jargon as "naturalistic inquiry" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This paradigm competes with positivism, which tends to emphasize quantification in its methods (Hernandez, Cohen & Garcia, 1996; Kayat, 2002). The methods used by constructivists are typically qualitative and aim at providing a rich portrait and a better understanding of the phenomenon under study than the more traditional quantitative methods (Kayat, 2002). In this methodology, a theory may be generated initially from the data, or, if an existing theory seems appropriate to the area of investigation, then it may be elaborated and modified as incoming data are meticulously played against it (Hernandez, Cohen, & Garcia, 1996). Given that the interviews were looking for patterns and commonality in perspectives, an in-depth probe would be more valuable than surface understanding. Also, the data from the interviews were critical for a comparative analysis of the expressed views and perspectives of the leaders and other influential stakeholder with those expressed by the residents through the questionnaire survey.

Naturalistic inquiry employs emergent sampling designs with serial selection of sample units such as judgmental and snowball sampling methods. That is, each sample is selected on the basis of the researcher's knowledge or experience with previously sampled units. It is not based on the premise, observed in quantitative research, that the larger sample size is always better (Hernandez, Cohen, & Garcia, 1996). Sample size is determined by the adequacy of the data. Adequacy is attained when sufficient data have been collected such that saturation occurs and variation is accounted for and understood. The investigator samples until repetition from multiple sources is obtained. According to Newman (2004, p.138), in purposive sampling, the judgment of an expert – the researcher – is used to select cases "with a specific purpose in mind." Further, he states that it is used to select unique cases that are especially informative and when a researcher wants to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation. From a positivist research perspective, it could be argued that the main weakness of purposive sampling, as opposed to probability sampling, is that the researcher's subjectivity can introduce bias in the selection of the sample units (Hernandez, Cohen, & Garcia, 1996).

According to Palys (2003) and Newman (2004), purposive sampling is also referred to as judgmental or reputational sampling, whereas snowball sampling is called referral, network or chain referral sampling. They are appropriate for exploratory research or when researchers are interested in interconnected network of people or organizations, as was the case in Falmouth. Patton (2002, p.231) contends "The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting *information-rich cases* for study in depth. [That is, cases] from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry." The study of information-rich cases "illuminate the questions under study" and yield insight and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalization or statistical representativeness (Patton, 2002, p.230). Palys (2003, p.144) asserts that "informants who are unrepresentative of the group as a whole, statistically speaking, may still provide useful information and provocative insights that help researchers understand…a situation." This method of sampling is appropriate for: 1) the selection of unique cases "that are especially informative"; 2) the selection of a "difficult-to-reach, specialized population" or a small subset of a larger population such as prostitutes; and 3) the identification of "particular types of cases for in-depth investigation" (Babbie, 2004; Newman, 2004, p.139). The purpose is less to generalize to a larger population than it is to gain a deeper understanding of the issue being studied.

In the case of Falmouth, the researcher used purposive sampling for the selection of the initial interviewees and snowball sampling for recruiting subsequent respondents. It was decided that saturation had occurred after 12 persons were interviewed, for no new patterns of responses were emerging from the data. Therefore, a larger sample size was not needed. The interview process was operationalized as follows:

- First, the researcher created a target list of approximately eighteen stakeholders for in-depth interviews. The list, which represents potential interviewees was compiled based on a premise of purposive sampling, which is, the researcher's knowledge and experience (Hernandez et al., 1996). It included central and local government organizations, national and local based organizations and individuals who directly interface with Falmouth or whose actions directly impact Falmouth.

- Second, telephone contacts were made to some of the organizations and individuals on the target list to solicit interviewees (see telephone recruitment

protocol, Appendix D). A brief outline of the study was usually given and if an individual was identified and agreed to be interviewed a formal letter outlining the study and a consent form was sent by email prior to the agreed date and time of the interview (Appendix A & Appendix E). In some cases, where first contacts were made in person, printed copies of the letter outlining the study and the consent forms were given to the prospective interviewees prior to the actual interview.

- Third, the researcher meets with interviewees and conducts interviews which were guided by a schedule (Appendix F) as described in Section 4.4.2.1. Before the commencement of an interview the researcher would remind the interviewee of the purpose of the study as outlined in Appendix A and proceed to ask the first question. In all cases the interviewees consented to be audio recorded and to be quoted in any subsequent publications emanating from the interviews. At the end of each interviews the researcher thanked the interviewee for their insight and time. The interviewees would also be asked to suggest other stakeholders – persons or organizations – that they thinks would be able to contribute to the study. In a number of cases the forthcoming recommendations were of organizations and individuals already on the original target list.

In the end, there was no need to pursue all the stakeholders recommended by the interviewees nor all the ones on the original target list. Appendix G outlines the list of interviewees whom in the opinion of the researcher represented varying interests and perspectives. The interview process stopped after a total of twelve interviews were conducted. In the opinion of the researcher, data saturation had been reached. This was in keeping with one of the sampling principles in qualitative research which is to stop interviewing at the point of "saturation" (Babbie, 2004; Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006; Hedges, 2004; Newman, 2004). At this point, repetition and corroboration in statements from multiple sources is obtained and the researcher felt that no new information would be uncovered from others to answer the research question or address the objectives. Finally, a letter of appreciation (Appendix H) was sent to all the interviewees thanking them for participating in the study.

4.4.2.1 The Interviewees

The interview sample consisted of stakeholders who were selected using purposive and snowball sampling methods (see Section 4.4.2 above and Appendix G). They have firsthand knowledge and experiences with the people and the town of Falmouth and can speak authoritatively on issues relating to the development of the town. As such, their inclusion lends credibility to the research process. Furthermore, they have the ability to influence the development of the town economically, politically, socially and culturally, so their expectations and perspectives are important in discussions about the town. For instance, the political representatives at both the local and national levels have considerable influence over the scope and direction of any proposed development in the town. The Member of Parliament has the ability to get development proposals on the national agenda through the Legislative and Executive arms of the government, while the granting of permits for all developments rest with the Local Authority. Their inclusion in the process is in line with Shipley's (1999) assertions that genuine support from government at all levels is a prerequisite for the cultural heritage tourism development process. Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) see the State as integral in providing direction for the development of heritage attractions for the public good. Similarly, Wojno (1991) supports the views that governments are in the position to: give financial incentives such as tax rebates and grants; enact legislations to incorporate heritage preservation; and use the power of eminent domain to acquire properties for public use. Also, the perspectives of scholars and personnel from the Georgian Society of Jamaica, a premier cultural heritage organization were seen as critical towards the understanding of professional views on issues relating to the cultural heritage of Falmouth. Equally important, were the views from the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, the agency that is mandated by Law to monitor and protect the cultural heritage of the country. Likewise, are the views and perspectives of the Social Development Commission and the Falmouth Heritage Renewal, which are two locally based organizations that have first-hand knowledge working with residents in Falmouth.

4.4.2.2 The Interview Schedule

An interview schedule was designed which was an outline of the set of issues and questions that were explored with each participant (see Appendix F). In this semi-structured interview, the schedule served to ensure that the relevant issues were covered during the interviews, but the interviews were guided by the schedule rather than dictated by it (Patton, 2002). The items were developed based on the review of literature that covers cultural heritage, tourism and qualitative research.

The interviews explored five main themes:

- attitude towards tourism
- heritage resources of Falmouth
- residents' participation and involvement
- opportunities and constraints
- action plan.

Twelve in-depth interviews were conducted between March and May 2009. As indicated above, the in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with various stakeholders to elicit their perspectives about Falmouth's cultural heritage. The interviews took between 30 and 45 minutes and were audio-recorded with the permission of the interviewee and transcribed verbatim and summarized for qualitative content analysis (see Appendix E for Interviewee Consent Form).

4.4.2.3 Content Analysis

In the current study, the textual data generated from the audio-recorded interviews were analysed according to Gillham's (2000) transcription and qualitative content analysis guide, where substantive statements were identified from individual transcripts. Kondracki, Wellman and Amundson (2002) contend that content analysis provides a scientific method for the evaluation of data collected using a variety of qualitative research approaches, including focus groups, interviews, videography and ethnographic observations. It is one of numerous methods used to analyse textual data. Gillham (2000, p.59) asserts "Content analysis is about organizing the *substantive* content of the interview: the content that is of substance." Schamber (2000, p.737) claims that it "serves both as a secondary observation tool for identifying variables in interview texts, and as an analytic tool for assigning variables to categories in coding" (Schamber, 2000, p.737). Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p.1278) define

content analysis as "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns." Patton (2002, p.453) defines it as "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings." Kondracki, Wellman and Amundson's (2002, p. 225) comprehensive definition of content analysis states that it "is a process for systematically analyzing messages in any type of communication."

Although qualitative content analysis can produce counts and statistical significance, its main purpose is to uncover meanings, patterns, themes and categories that may be manifest or latent in a particular text and are important to a social reality (Gillham, 2000; Hsieh & Shanon, 2005; Zang & Wildemuth, n.d.). It allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner. Content analysis deals with both manifest content – what the text says, that is the visible, obvious component – or the latent content – what the text talks about, which is the underlying meaning of the text (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Hsieh & Shanon, 2005).

In order to increase credibility, the literature on qualitative content analysis often suggests peer review of categories and substantive statements because of the subjective nature of their formulation and selection (Gillham, 2000; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Zhang & Wildemuth, n.d.; Schamber, 2000). However, Gillham (2000) argues that there is usually high level of concurrence between researchers and peers. He claims that what is most important is where there is a lack of congruence, that is, where peers did not highlight statements that were highlighted by the researcher or where statements were highlighted that the researchers did not highlight.

The qualitative content analysis steps that are followed in this research were suggested by Gillham (2000) and Zhang and Wildemuth (n.d.) and supported by a number of other researchers (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Hsieh & Shanon, 2005; Schamber, 2000):

1. Prepare data: generally the data need to be transformed into written text before analysis can start. When transcribing interviews, the following questions arise: should responses to all questions of the interviewer or only the main questions from the interview guide be transcribed; should the verbalizations be transcribed literally or only in summary; and should observations during the interviews be

transcribed or not? For this research, the responses to all questions of the interviewer were transcribed literally as suggested by Gillham (2000).

2. Go through each transcript and highlight the substantive statements (those that really make a point). Ignore repetitions, digressions and other clearly irrelevant material.

3. After completing all the transcripts go back to the first one and read them through again checking for 'substantive' statements that were not highlighted and highlighted statements that are not really substantive and make changes accordingly.

4. Define the unit of analysis: the unit of analysis refers to the basic unit of text to be classified during analysis. Individual themes throughout the text are usually the units of analysis. A theme is the underlying meaning of the text (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

5. Develop categories and a coding scheme for the responses to each question by going through the highlighted statements: these are groups of words or statements that relate to the same central meaning. Graneheim and Lundman (2004, p.106) refer to these as meaning units, which they define as "words, sentences or paragraphs containing aspects related to each other through their content and context."

6. Test the coding scheme on a sample of text: to test for clarity and consistency of categories, a sample of data is coded. This involves labelling categories or meaning units with codes, thus allowing the data to be thought about in new and different ways. Doubts and problems concerning the definitions of categories, coding rules, or categorization of specific cases are resolved. This step also involves checking the list of categories to see whether some of them could be combined or, alternatively, split up.

7. Enter the categories on an analysis grid: the category headings go along the top, the name or codes of the respondents down the side and what the respondents actually said or part of it in the cells.

8. Code all the text: when sufficient consistency has been achieved, the coding rules can be applied to the entire body of text.

9. Assess coding consistency: after coding the entire data set it is checked for consistency.

10. Draw conclusion from the coded data: this involves making sense of the themes or categories identified and their properties. At this stage, inferences are made. Activities may involve exploring the properties and dimensions of categories, identifying relationships between categories, uncovering patterns, and testing categories against a full range of data.

11. Report methods and findings: for the purpose of replicability, this involves reporting the decisions and practices concerning the coding process as well as the methods used to established trustworthiness of the study.

4.4.3 Historical Research

Most appropriately, historical research was conducted to collect and evaluate historical information on Falmouth to assist in creating various narratives for the interpretation process. It is an appropriate research type to study the phenomenon of the development of dark cultural heritage as attractions in Falmouth, Jamaica. Wilson (2007, p.27) contends, that in historical research "We gather and analyse data to reveal meaning and make sense of our past experiences in the context of our present situation." Berg (2004) argues that it involves far more than the mere retelling of facts from the past. He defines historical research as "a method for discovering, from records and accounts, what happened during some past period" (Berg, 2004, p.233). Equally important, Fraenkel and Wallen (1990) contend that historical source materials can be grouped into four basic categories: documents, numerical records, oral statements and records, and relics. Consequently, Berg (2004: 235) advanced five reasons for conducting historical research: 1) to uncover the unknown; 2) to answer questions; 3) to seek implications or relationships of events from the past and their connections with the present; 4) to assess past activities and accomplishments; 5) and to aid in the understanding of human culture. In this regard, historical research is the systematic collection and evaluation of data to describe, explain and thereby understand actions or events that occurred sometime in the past. It is also the study of relationships among issues that have influenced the past, continue to influence the present, and will certainly affect the future.

In the qualitative design of historical research, the researcher is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data (Wilson, 2007). Sources of historical data are classified as either primary or secondary sources (Berg, 2004; Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990; Newman, 2000). Primary sources are the oral or written testimony of eyewitnesses to an event whereas secondary sources are written accounts by person not immediately present at the time of a given event, but who obtained his or her description of the event from someone else. Secondary sources are used extensively in historical research because primary sources are more difficult to acquire, especially the further back in time a researcher searches. The determination of the authenticity and accuracy of source material is part of the analysis process. Source materials are subjected to two kinds of evaluation or criticism – external and internal criticism. External criticism or validity refers to whether the document in question is authentic or genuine, while internal criticism or reliability relates to the accuracy of the content of the document (Berg, 2004; Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990).

This research was conducted at libraries, including the Jamaica National Library, the University of the West Indies library and other libraries, archives, and on the Internet. The search uncovered census and statistical data and personal accounts of events and activities. The information was in the form of journals and newspaper articles, personal accounts, letters, books, maps and photographs.

A review of documentation specific to Falmouth, as well as local and global tourism literature, was undertaken. The documentation on Falmouth includes historical facts, studies, plans and census data. Several studies pertaining to Falmouth exist that highlight the attributes, including the image and the evolution of the town. However, the contents of the studies hardly ever vary. For example, the ones that attempt to highlight the heritage of Falmouth rarely look beyond the built environment; they typically only refer to Falmouth as having the largest collection of Georgian architecture in Jamaica and perhaps the Caribbean (Binney, Harris, Martin, & Curtin, 1991; Georgian Society of Falmouth, n.d.; Ogilvie, 1954; Robinson, 2007; Trelawny Cultural Foundation, n.d.). Not much is said about the town's dark cultural heritage and how it could be developed as a place for the creation of personal identity and linkage to Africans in the Diaspora. Also, the available plans and studies are lacking in strategies to make the features of Falmouth palatable for tourist enjoyment. The data on local tourism include historical facts and statistics and were used to establish the

importance of tourism to Jamaica and show the state and profile of the industry over the years. The international literature on cultural heritage and tourism are vast. However, the literature on local resident participation in the planning process for tourism development is far from adequate.

In this regard, the procedure posited for conducting historical research by researchers and adapted for the study include (Berg, 2004; Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990; Newman, 2000):

- defining the problem or questions to be investigated
- conducting a background literature review
- locating relevant sources of historical information
- confirming the authenticity and accuracy of source material
- summarizing and evaluating the information obtained, and
- interpreting and presenting the information as it relates to the problem.

4.4.4 Townscape Survey

According to Shipley et al. (2004) and Reeve, Goodey, and Shipley (2007), the townscape concept is often associated with Gordon Cullen, author of the popular text, *Townscape* (1961). It encompasses a range of activities directed at identification, evaluation and cataloguing heritage resources. A townscape survey usually involves "detailed field observation and [the] recording of the quality of townscape elements using a pro forma" (Shipley et al., 2004, p.531; CHRML et al., 1998). Although the townscape survey process is not standardized, it remains a key consideration in urban analysis and "is central to the processes of conservation, development, and urban design, although interpretations differ considerably" (Reeve, Goodey & Shipley, 2007, p.26; Shipley et al. 2004, p.530). The approach is often used to audit and create inventories of both the tangible and intangible urban resources (CHRML et al., 1998; Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979; Shipley et al., 2004). After the creation of the inventory, it can then be evaluated based on established criteria (Stupart & Shipley, 2008). It involves extensive subjectivity on the part of the data collector in choosing and evaluating townscape elements. Notwithstanding the subjectivity, the process is not idiosyncratic for it is systematic and replicable (Shipley et al., 2004). Moreover, Reeves, Goodey and Shipley (2007) claimed that the use of one surveyor in the process can aid consistency in observation and interpretation. Shipley et al. (2004) used a townscape survey to measure changes brought about by regeneration programmes in the field

of urban conservation. Reeve, Goodey and Shipley (2007, p.26) claim that "The search has been for a field technique which records and/or assesses an urban or street view, and translates this into a manageable set of data which can be mapped and compared with other, similarly achieved, data." Townscape survey was used to map, collect and evaluate data on a number of cultural heritage resources in Falmouth.

The method used in the current study is based on a number of sources. First, the overall framework was an adaptation from a study by Stupart and Shipley (2008) for the JG Group of Companies. The aim of that study was to identify potential development sites for adaptive re-use in Southwestern Ontario, Canada. Second, it drew heavily from the Personality Planning Process by Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) – a four-step planning model proposed to preserve community's uniqueness. Third, it adapted strategies from the Pre-Feasibility Study for the Restoration of Greater Falmouth – Final Report and Heritage Inventory (CHRML et al., 1998). The main objective of that study was "to facilitate the diversification of the Jamaican tourism product to include historical, cultural, and natural sites" CHRML et al., 1998, p.i). Fourth, the *Heritage Property Evaluation: a guide to listing, researching and evaluating cultural heritage property in Ontario communities* was consulted for ideas and strategies (Ministry of Culture, 2006). Finally, it derived insight from the recommendations for the application of townscape survey by Reeve, Goodey and Shipley (2007). The researchers explained and used the townscape method for "detailed field observation and the recording of the quality of townscape elements using a pro-forma" (Reeve, Goodey & Shipley, 2007, p.33). Then, the various elements were evaluated based on the scores that were allocated.

The townscape characteristic survey involved auditing and cataloguing historic features, land uses and activities in Falmouth. Photographs and sketches were used as aids in the exercise to document the context and character of features. The features that were considered include cultural and heritage sites, built environment and artefacts. Also, spatial locations of present and past activities, events and uses were considered. An analysis of the information generated shows significant characteristics and relationships of features from which an evolutionary profile of the town can be determined and gives indication of issues to be addressed. The information proved useful for determining and identifying the dark cultural heritage resources of Falmouth with development potential. It was also useful for

establishing critical zones and in the formulation of strategies for developing objectives and action programmes.

4.4.4.1 Evaluation Criteria

The researcher, after conducting content analysis of a number of documents and key sources on Falmouth, established a list of variables to identify important sites that will form part of the inventory of the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. The list was compiled mainly from the Property Survey Recording Form (Ministry of Culture, 2006, p.11), CHRML et al. (1998) and Stupart and Shipley (2008). The documents that were analysed include: Trelawny Cultural Foundation (n.d.). *Trelawny and its history: souvenir handbook*; The Georgian Society of Falmouth (n.d.). *Falmouth 1791-1970*; Roy Stephenson Associates (1989). *Falmouth Restoration Plan*; Besson, J. (2002). *Martha Brae's two histories: European expansion and Caribbean culture-building in Jamaica;* Robinson, C. (2007). *The rise and fall of Falmouth, Jamaica: urban life in 19th Century Jamaica*; Binney, M., Harris, J., Martin, K., & Curtin, M. (1991). *Jamaica's heritage: an untapped resource*; de Sola Pinto, G. & Phillips, A. (1982). *Jamaican houses: a vanishing legacy*; CHRML et al. (1998). *Pre-feasibility study for the restoration of greater Falmouth (Final Report & Heritage Inventory)*; Stupart, C. (1996). *Sustainable heritage tourism model for Falmouth, Jamaica: towards community economic development*; and Ogilvie, D. (1954). *History of the parish of Trelawny*. The variables that were collected and used to identify sites include (CHRML et al., 1998; Ministry of Culture, 2006; Stupart & Shipley, 2008):

- Image (photograph)
- address
- date of construction
- status
- design or physical value
- historical or associative value
- contextual value
- designated sites
- identified sites (by survey and interview participants)

A two-page data form was developed to display these variables (see Appendix I). Data were not necessarily available for all categories. A decision was made on the variables that would

need to be evaluated to assist in determining the intrinsic value of cultural heritage resources that is associated with enslaved Africans to be included for development. The most important variables were:

- identified resources – these are sites that were identified as cultural heritage resources of Falmouth by the survey and interview participants

- heritage value/significance – these are sites that have direct associations with a theme, event, belief, person, activity, organization or institution that is significant to Falmouth

- design value/physical value – these are sites that possess rare, unique, representative style, expression, material or construction method, artistic merit and craftsmanship

- contextual value – these are sites that are important in defining, maintaining or supporting the character of an area; is physically, functionally, visually or historically linked to its surroundings.

4.4.4.2 Identification of Sites

The researcher employed the following techniques to identify cultural heritage resources and features: field observation, content analysis of text and sites identified by interviewees and survey respondents. The researcher then undertook a number of site visits to verify and document – through photography and notes – potential cultural heritage resources and features that formed part of the inventory of Falmouth.

4.4.4.3 Collating and Categorizing of Data

The information collected on the site visits was collated and analysed. First, the photographs were downloaded, sorted and labelled on the computer. Next the standard forms that were developed for each site were filled out with the information including the photographs. Further, the documentation on Falmouth was consulted to verify the information from the various sites visited. Even though this last step was taken, data was not always available for all of the variables on the standard data form.

In the end, 27 cultural heritage resources were identified has having the potential to be developed as attractions in support of the dark cultural heritage theme were analysed. The potential sites were categorized accordingly:

- public buildings
- former-slave's houses
- public spaces
- military sites
- town houses
- industrial sites
- streetscapes
- religious sites

4.4.4.4 Ranking of Sites

One of the suggestions of the Ministry of Culture (2006) is for municipalities to develop a system of comparative ratings for properties. Rating allows for the ranking of sites and the determination of the overall intrinsic value of each site and for the setting of priorities for further research and development. There are several models for rating cultural heritage sites: some evaluation criteria use a numeric rating system, others uses an alphabetical rating system while some uses a check-list of questions to determine the value that should be attached to a site (Ministry of Culture, 2006). The methodology and criteria used to generate the scores were adapted from Stupart's and Shipley's (2008) study mentioned in Section 2.4.3 above. Although the method has some subjectivity, it is reliable because of the consistency in the process for, as Newman (2004, p.113) argued, reliability means consistency, that is, "the numerical results produced by an indicator do not vary [extensively] because of the characteristics of the measurement process." The following are the variables and criteria that were used to rate the sites.

- heritage value/significance – high = 40, medium = 20, and low = 10
- identified resources (by survey and interview participants) – high = 20, medium = 10, and low = 5
- design value/physical value site – high = 20, medium =10, and low = 5
- contextual value – high = 20, medium = 10, and low = 5

Based on the scores that are attached to the selection criteria, a site can get a maximum of 100 or a minimum of 25 points. The higher a site scores, the more valuable it is potentially as a dark cultural heritage resource. Although this is not an entirely objective approach, it is a systematic and replicable technique that allows the scoring of observations.

137

4.5 Summary

A case study design was deemed the most appropriate research strategy for it delves deeply into and answers questions that begins with "how" and "why" and typically combines data collection methods. It uses a mixed method research strategy that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods and integrates the findings. The data collection techniques which complement each other included questionnaire survey, interviews, historical research and townscape survey. The questionnaire survey utilizes a systematic sampling method to select the population sample. The survey instrument contained 61 items and divided in six parts with a mix of open-ended, close-ended and Likert scale items. The data was analysed using SPSS and content analysis. Also, 12 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted to ascertain the expectations and perspectives of some of the key stakeholders in the town. The sample was selected using a purposive and snowball sampling method. The interview data was analysed using content analysis as proposed by Gillham (2000). In addition, historical research was conducted to collect, analyse and evaluate historical information. The data was collected from various sources including journals, newspaper, personal accounts, letters, books, maps and photographs. While most of the literature on Falmouth rarely looks beyond the built environment, a few highlight the town's dark cultural heritage that are associated with the trade in Africans as slaves and slavery. Finally, a townscape survey was conducted to analyse and evaluate the built environment in order to identify and catalogue the town's cultural heritage resources that were associated with the enslaved Africans and slavery and have the potential to be developed as attractions. In the end, 25 cultural heritage features and sites were identified and ranked according to their importance.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS: QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

5.1 Introduction

The data presented in this chapter represent the findings from the questionnaire survey, one of the four data collection methods used in the research (see Section 4.4 Data Collection Mechanisms). The survey, which was conducted in March and April 2009, achieved a response rate of 94 per cent (see Appendix C for the survey instrument). The data from the questionnaire survey were analysed in two ways: statistical analysis of quantitative data and content analysis of qualitative data. First, the quantitative data were coded and entered into Microsoft Excel 2008 and SPSS 16 for Mac. Further, they were analysed using a number of descriptive statistical techniques including classification, frequencies, percentage, mean, median, summation and crosstabulations. In contrast, the qualitative data were analysed according to Gillham's (2000) content analysis guide as described in Chapter 4. Tables and texts were used to display and explain the results. Tuckman (1999, p.344) argued that sufficient detail should be provided "so that the reader can comprehend the results by reading the text without consulting the tables or figures. Similarly, tables and figures should be prepared so that they can stand alone as descriptions of the outcomes of the study."

As explained in Section 4.4.1, the survey sample was selected using a systematic sampling method. First, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics are outlined which is followed by resident's likes and dislikes about Falmouth. Then, the other responses are grouped according to the objectives of the research. That is, analysis of perception and attitudes towards tourism (Objective 1), determination of cultural heritage resources of Falmouth (Objective 2), identification of opportunities, constraints and local participation (Objectives 3 and 4), determination of attached value to dark cultural heritage (Objective 5) and actions to be taken (Objective 6). Out of 100 distributed questionnaires, a total of 94 usable returns were obtained. First, descriptive univariate statistics were calculated for a number of study variables.

5.2 Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 5.1 presents some demographic characteristics of the sample: gender, ethnicity, age and place of birth. The table also gives a breakdown between the two regions that make up Falmouth, the Historic District and the Peripheral District. The majority of the

Table 5.1
Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Participants' Characteristics		Historic District	Peripheral District	Falmouth	*M*	*S*
Gender						
Male	*n*	12	27	39		
	%	34.3	45.8	41.5		
Female	*n*	23	32	55		
	%	65.7	54.2	58.5		
Ethnicity						
Blacks	*n*	24	44	68		
	%	70.6	84.6	79.1		
East Indian	*n*	2	1	3		
	%	5.9	1.9	3.5		
White	*n*		1	1		
	%		1.9	1.2		
Mixed	*n*	8	6	14		
	%	23.5	11.5	16.3		
Age Group					37.463	14.305
Under 30	*n*	8	29	37		
	%	22.9	49.2	39.4		
31 – 40	*n*	12	14	26		
	%	34.3	23.7	27.7		
41 – 50	*n*	3	10	13		
	%	8.6	16.9	13.8		
51 – 60	*n*	2	4	6		
	%	5.7	6.8	6.4		
Over 60	*n*	10	2	12		
	%	28.6	3.4	12.8		
Falmouth born						
Yes	*n*	20	30	50		
	%	57.1	50.8	53.2		
No	*n*	15	29	44		
	%	42.9	49.2	46.8		

M=Mean, *S*=Standard deviation

respondents were female (58.5%). In the Historic District the female dominance was even more pronounced at 65.7 per cent. With regards to ethnicity, the vast majority, 79.1 per cent claimed to be Black (pure African descent), while those claiming to be Mixed and are of East Indian descent were 16.3 per cent and 3.5 per cent respectively. In the 2001 Census, 91.61 per cent of the Jamaican population claimed that they are Black in comparison to 6.21 per cent who said they are Mixed (STATIN, 2003). The ethnic revelations revealed that most Jamaicans are proud and quick to lay claim to their Black or African ancestry without acknowledging their European, Middle Eastern or Oriental ancestral background. The mean age of the respondents was 37.5 years with a standard deviation of 14.305. The majority of the residents (39.4%) belonged to the 30 and under age group, while 27 per cent belonged to the 31-40, 13.8 per cent belonged to the 41-50 age group, 6.4 per cent belonged to the 51-60 age group and 11 per cent belonged to the over 60 age group. In brief, over 67 per cent of the population is below 40 years, which is reflective of an active working age population that will need job, training, education and entertainment. When asked if they were born in Falmouth, 53.2 per cent of the respondents answered in the affirmative. Further, the results show that over 57 per cent of the respondents from the Historic District were born in the town while only 50.8 per cent of those from the Peripheral District. Although not conclusive, it has been argued that residents who were born in an area tend to hold less favourable attitudes towards tourism in their community.

Table 5.2 presents some socio economic characteristics of the sample: length of residency, home ownership, business ownership, place of employment and dependency on tourism. As to the number of years of residency in Falmouth, the mean was 25.5 with a standard deviation of 19.121. The distribution of years of residence in Falmouth was: 16 per cent lived there under 10 years, 25.5 per cent lived there between 10 – 20 years, 23.4 per cent lived there between 21 – 30 years, 23.4 per cent lived there between 31 – 40 years and 11.7 per cent lived there for over 40 years. In short, over 84 per cent of the respondents have been living in Falmouth for over 20 years. While 52.7 per cent of the respondents owned homes in Falmouth, only 24.7 per cent owned businesses there. In terms of employment, 71.2 per cent worked in Falmouth, 26.9 per cent worked in Montego Bay and 1.9 per cent worked in Ocho Rios. However, 53.3 per cent of the respondents stated that someone in their household had jobs related to tourism.

Table 5.2
Socio-economic Characteristics of Respondents

Participants' Information		Historic District	Peripheral District	Falmouth	*M*	*S*
Length of residency					25.468	19.121
Under 10 years	*n*	2	13	15		
	%	5.7	22.0	16.0		
11 – 20	*n*	6	18	24		
	%	17.1	30.5	25.5		
21 – 30	*n*	5	17	22		
	%	14.3	28.8	23.4		
31 – 40	*n*	14	8	22		
	%	40.0	13.6	23.4		
Over 40 years	*n*	8	3	11		
	%	22.9	5.1	11.7		
Home ownership						
Yes	*n*	23	26	49		
	%	65.7	44.8	52.7		
No	*n*	12	32	44		
	%	34.3	55.2	47.3		
Business ownership						
Yes	*n*	9	14	23		
	%	25.7	24.1	24.7		
No	*n*	26	44	70		
	%	74.3	75.9	75.3		
Place of employment						
Falmouth	*n*	13	24	37		
	%	68.4	72.7	71.2		
Montego Bay	*n*	5	9	14		
	%	26.3	27.3	26.9		
Ocho Rios	*n*	1	0	1		
	%	5.3	0.0	1.9		
Unemployed		13	11	24		
Others		1	11	12		
Dependence on Tourism						
Yes	*n*	16	32	48		
	%	45.7	58.2	53.3		
No	*n*	19	23	42		
	%	54.3	41.8	46.7		

M=Mean, *S*=Standard deviation

Length of residency, home and business ownership and place of employment are some of the variables that have been used to establish residents' 'level of attachment' to communities. The more attached residents are to their community, the more negative they are about tourism development, given that tourism has the potential to undermine the quality of life in their community. For example, the longer residents live in a community, the more negative they are towards tourists and tourism. At the same time, the influence of 'level of attachment' on residents' attitudes towards tourism and its development has been mixed and inconsistent. On the other hand, economic dependency is the single most consistent finding in the area of residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism and its development. A high level of dependence on tourism usually translates into a high level support for tourism. That is, the level of support is usually proportional to the level of dependence. In the case of Falmouth, only 53.3 per cent of household directly depend on tourism income. In the Peripheral District the level of dependency on tourism is much higher, at about 58 per cent. This means, there should be a greater level of support for tourism coming from the residents in the Peripheral District.

In concluding, most of the indicators suggest that there is a high 'level of attachment' of majority of the residents to Falmouth. Overall, the level of economic dependency on tourism is moderate. For the most part, their effect on residents' perceptions and attitudes are inconsistent.

5.3 Respondents' Likes and Dislikes about Falmouth

In addressing the question, "Is there anything in particular that you like about Falmouth," Table 5.3 summarizes and lists the frequencies of the responses for the clusters, the historic district and the peripheral district. Twenty-five persons cited the "layout of the town;" it is said to be excellent and Falmouth is the best laid out town (in Jamaica). Seventeen persons mentioned the "cultural heritage of town and the (Georgian) buildings." Thirteen persons voiced "entertainment" and "the people;" the people are said to be "friendly and vibrant." Eight persons referred to the "quietness (peacefulness)." Similarly, eight persons said "nothing," while three persons expressed "don't know." Surprisingly, five persons said "the town," and the "Falmouth market," while one specifically named "Water Square." Two persons referred to a "low crime rate."

It should be noted that the historical physical features are the most liked attributes of Falmouth. You will recall that Falmouth was laid out along the principles of Georgian town planning and the town boast the largest collection of Georgian architecture in Jamaica and perhaps the Caribbean. The fact that respondents highlighted these features as the most liked demonstrates that residents are psychologically connected to the cultural heritage of the town

Table 5.3
Is There Anything in Particular That You Like About Falmouth?

Responses:	Historic District (34)	Peripheral District (54)	Total (89)
Layout of the town (best, excellent)	15	10	25
Cultural heritage & buildings	7	10	17
The entertainment	9	4	13
People (Friendly, Vibrant)	4	9	13
Quietness (peacefulness)	5	3	8
The businesses		6	6
The town/town area	1	4	5
Falmouth market	2	3	5
The beach/sea/water	1	3	4
Ease of movement about town	1	2	3
Pending/proposed development	2		2
Low crime rate		2	2
Nice place	2		2
Proximity to the airport	1		1
Water square	1		1
Climate	1		1
Not too crowded		1	1
Population is growing		1	1
Nothing		8	8
Don't know		3	3
Everything	2	1	3

that is linked to British colonialism and by extension to the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. This augurs well for Falmouth since most of these features can form the resource base for attraction to be developed that will showcase the cultural heritage of the town. It is instructive to note that eight respondents from the Peripheral District liked "nothing" about the town in comparison to three that liked "everything."

Table 5.4 summarized the responses to the question, "Is there anything in particular that you dislike about Falmouth?" Twenty-five persons cited "crime and violence or gang war." Eleven said "nothing." Eleven persons also referred to "high unemployment." Ten persons mentioned, "dirty drains, town and garbage." Seven responses were ambiguous, such as "the behaviour of some of the people." Six persons said the "dilapidated buildings." Four persons alluded to the "underdevelopment of the town." Three respondents stated "everything" about the town. Two persons cited the "lack of appreciation of heritage and the town." Surprisingly, one person referred to the "layout of the town."

Table 5.4
Is There Anything in Particular That You Dislike About Falmouth?

Responses:	Historic District (35)	Peripheral District (54)	Total (89)
Crime and violence (gang war)	9	16	25
High unemployment	4	7	11
Dirty drains, town & garbage	3	7	10
The behaviour of some of the people	3	4	7
Dilapidated buildings	5	1	6
Lack of recreational facilities		5	5
Under Development of Town		4	4
Too many street people		2	2
Lack of appreciation of heritage and town	2		2
Poor performance of Member of Parliament	2		2
Squatting	1		1
Swamp cutters	1		1
Layout of the town	1		1
The state of the cemetery	1		1
Not enough beaches		1	1
Environment		1	1
Noise pollution		1	1
Too many supermarkets		1	1
Nothing	6	5	11
Everything		3	3

On the contrary, current social issues dominated what respondents disliked most about the town. Most of what is disliked about Falmouth is unrelated to the historical cultural

heritage of the town. Only one respondent disliked the "layout of the town," the most liked feature of Falmouth. Also, six respondents disliked "the dilapidated buildings" which could be linked to "the lack of appreciation of the heritage and the town" which was disliked by two persons. In addition, eleven respondents disliked "nothing" about the town in comparison to three that disliked "everything."

5.4 Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Tourism

Table 5.5 depict the results of the descriptive analysis of the 10 tourism impact attributes which summarize Falmouth residents' attitudes towards tourism development. They show the frequency distributions of responses to the attitude statements and their means, medians and standard deviations. As can be seen from the table, the 10 factors are rated using a 5-point Likert scale ("(SA) Strongly agree = 5" to "(SD) Strongly disagree = 1"). Respondents who have "no opinion" on a factor being rated could register this position by selecting DK ("Don't know"). A majority of respondents agreed that there are environmental, economic and socio-cultural benefits to be gained from tourism. The factors with the highest mean scores also have the lowest standard deviations among the ten factors in the study. These factors with the highest mean scores, namely "I believe that tourism should be actively encouraged in Falmouth," "Tourism development will lead to improvements in the appearance of Falmouth," and, "It is important to develop plans to manage the growth of tourism in Falmouth" have standard deviations of 0.468, 0.469, and 0.544, respectively, showing a uniformity of opinion on these matters among the residents. It is noteworthy that all the positive statements have mean scores of over 4.00, except for the statement, "The overall benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts," with a mean of 3.77 and a standard deviation of 1.303.

In general, respondents expressed a very positive attitude towards tourism. A large majority of the respondents are of the view that the overall benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts: 32.3 per cent strongly agreed, and 39.8 per cent agreed. The overwhelmingly majority of respondents believe that tourism should be actively encouraged in Falmouth, 74.5 per cent strongly agreed, and 24.5 per cent agreed. The results also revealed that respondents reject the factor, "I am against the development of facilities that will attract more tourists to Falmouth": 60.6 per cent strongly disagreed and 26.6 per cent

Table 5.5
Residents' Perceptions and Opinions of Tourism Impacts

Tourism Statements		SA	A	N	D	SD	DK	Total	*M*	Mdn	*S*
Environmental											
Tourism development will lead to improvements	N	64	30	0	0	0	0	94	4.68	5.00	0.469
in the appearance of Falmouth.	%	68.1	31.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0				
It is important to develop plans to manage	N	48	44	2	0	0	0	94	4.49	5.00	0.544
the growth of tourism in Falmouth.	%	51.1	46.8	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0				
Economic											
The tourism sector provides many desirable	N	48	36	7	2	1	0	94	4.36	5.00	0.801
employment opportunities for residents.	%	51.1	38.3	7.4	2.1	1.1	0.0				
One of the most important benefits of tourism is	N	35	48	4	5	2	0	94	4.16	4.00	0.896
how it can improve the local standards of living.	%	37.2	51.1	4.3	5.3	2.1	0.0				
Socio-cultural											
Tourism will help to preserve the	N	37	47	4	3	0	3	94	4.16	4.00	1.030
cultural identity of Falmouth.	%	39.4	50.0	4.3	3.2	0.0	3.2				
Tourism will encourage a wide variety	N	38	43	8	2	0	3	94	4.15	4.00	1.037
of cultural activities in Falmouth.	%	40.4	45.7	8.5	2.1	0.0	3.2				
Tourism promotes cultural exchange.	N	37	42	7	1	0	7	94	4.00	4.00	1.312
	%	39.4	44.7	7.4	1.1	0.0	7.4				
Overall											
I believe that tourism should be actively	N	70	23	1	0	0	0	94	4.73	5.00	0.468
encouraged in Falmouth.	%	74.5	24.5	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0				
The overall benefits of tourism outweigh the	N	30	37	11	10	0	5	93	3.77	4.00	1.303
negative impacts.	%	32.3	39.8	11.8	10.8	0.0	5.4				
I am against the development of facilities that	N	6	3	3	25	57	0	94	1.68	1.00	1.119
will attract more tourists to Falmouth.	%	6.4	3.2	3.2	26.6	60.6	0				

(SA) Strongly agree = 5, (A) Agree = 4, (N) Neutral = 3, (D) Disagree = 2, (SD) Strongly disagree = 1, (DK) Don't know = 0, *M*=Mean, Mdn=Median, *S*=Standard deviation

disagreed with a mean score of 1.68 and standard deviation of 1.119. However, they did feel that tourism should be planned and managed.

With respect to environmental factors, the majority of the respondents believed that tourism development will lead to improvements in the appearance of Falmouth: 68.1 per cent strongly agreed while 31.9 per cent agreed with a mean score of 4.68 and standard deviation of 0.469. Also, respondents overwhelmingly support the notion that it is important to develop plans to manage the growth of tourism in Falmouth, 51.1 per cent strongly agreed while 46.8 per cent agreed with a mean score of 4.49 and standard deviation of 0.544. No respondents disagreed with any of the environmental statements.

Regarding economic factors, the majority of respondents believed that the tourism sector provides many desirable employment opportunities for residents: 51.1% strongly agreed and 38.3 per cent agreed with a mean score of 4.36 and a standard deviation of 0.801. One of the most important benefits of tourism is how it can improve the local standards of living: 37.2 per cent strongly agreed and 51.1 per cent agreed with a mean score of 4.16 and a standard deviation of 0.896.

From a socio-cultural perspective, the majority of respondents agreed that tourism would help to preserve the cultural identity of Falmouth: 39.4 per cent strongly agreed while 50.0 per cent agreed with a mean score of 4.16 and a standard deviation of 1.030. Most respondents felt that tourism will encourage a wide variety of cultural activities in Falmouth: 40.4 per cent strongly agreed and 45.7 per cent agreed with a mean score of 4.15 and a standard deviation of 1.037; and that it promotes cultural exchange: 39.4 per cent strongly agreed and 44.7 per cent agreed with a mean score of 4.00 and a standard deviation of 1.312. There was not one respondent who strongly disagreed with any of the socio-cultural statements.

5.5 Cultural Heritage Resources of Falmouth

Table 5.6 summarizes responses to the question, "What do you regard as the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth?" The vast majority of the resources that were selected may be categorized as tangible and only a few of the selections are intangible. Forty-seven persons were not specific, but made reference to the "historic/Georgian/old buildings." Thirty-four persons identified the "Court House." Thirty persons named the "Anglican

Table 5.6
What do you Regard as the Cultural Heritage Resources of Falmouth?

Responses:	Historic District	Peripheral District	Total
Tangible Resources			
Historic (Georgian, Old) Buildings	12	35	47
Court House	12	22	34
Anglican Church	16	14	30
Falmouth all Age School	15	12	27
Albert George Market (Arcade)	9	10	19
Hampden Wharf	7	7	14
The Dome (Phoenix Foundry)	8		8
Baptist Manse	5	3	8
Churches		8	8
Falmouth (Water) Square	2	4	6
Water Wheel	4		4
Clock on Market	2		2
Methodist Manse	2		2
Baptist Church	1	1	2
Craft Shop	1	1	2
Library		2	2
Glistening Water		2	2
Martha Brae		2	2
Roman Catholic Rectory	1		1
Slave Hospital at Good Hope	1		1
Swamp Safari	1		1
Memorial Garden (Cenotaph)	1		1
Monument		1	1
Post Office		1	1
Police Station		1	1
Old Police Post (Market Street)		1	1
Outameni Experience		1	1
Intangible Resources			
Martha Brae River Rafting	5	3	8
History of Falmouth		4	4
Bend Down Market	1		1
Elders who teach about history		1	1
Layout of town		1	1
Slavery		1	1
Traditional Dance Group		1	1

Church." Twenty-three persons referred to the "Falmouth All Age School," the former Fort Balcarres which was grouped with the four who mentioned the "cannons at Falmouth All Age School," thus totalling twenty-seven. Nineteen persons cited the "Albert George Market." Fourteen persons mentioned the "Hampden Wharf." While eight persons referred to the "Dome," the "Baptist Manse," "Martha Brae river rafting" and the "churches." Four persons mentioned "Water Square" which was grouped with the two who mentioned the "Fountain" which is a main feature in Water Square, totalling six.

There were a number of surprises in regard to the features that were selected as cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. For example, some persons referred to features that were located outside of the town, such as "Martha Brae river rafting," "slave hospital at Good Hope," "Water Wheel [at Martha Brae]" and "Outameni Experience." Others cited the "Falmouth Parish Library," a very modern structure of the 1960s or 1970s. Surprisingly, only one person selected the "Post Office," a designated heritage site which was earmarked by the State in 2003 to house Jamaica's first Postal Museum ("Postal museum for Falmouth," 2003, October 04). In addition, Table 5.6 showed all the other responses to the question.

Table 5.7 summarized the responses of residents when asked to select from their list the most important cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. Again, twenty-six persons were not specific, but made reference to the "historic/Georgian/old buildings." Sixteen persons named the "Anglican Church." Eleven respondents mentioned the "Court House." Five persons cited the "Falmouth All Age School." Four persons referred to the "Albert George Market." Three persons cited the "Hampden Wharf." Two persons said the "history of Falmouth" and the "Falmouth library." One person mentioned the "water wheel," even though it is located at Martha Brae and is not in Falmouth. Again, only a few intangible resources were selected. In addition, Table 5.7 shows all the other responses to the question.

Table 5.7
Of the Items Listed Above (Table 5.6) Which One is The Most Important?

Responses:	Historic District	Peripheral District	Total
Tangible Resources			
Historic (Georgian, Old) Buildings	10	16	26
Anglican Church	11	5	16
Court House	3	8	11
Falmouth All Age School		5	5
Albert George Market (Arcade)		4	4
Hampden Wharf	1	2	3
Library		2	2
Clock on Market	1		1
The Dome (Phoenix Foundry)	1		1
Water Wheel	1		1
Craft Shop		1	1
Monuments		1	1
Beaches		1	1
Intangible Resources			
Martha Brae River Rafting	1	1	2
History of Falmouth		2	2
Bend Down Market	1		1

5.6 Opportunities, Constraints and Local Participation

Overall, the respondents favoured cultural heritage conservation in Falmouth. Table 5.8 depicts the frequency distributions, means and standard deviations of responses to some factors regarding cultural heritage conservation in town. The factors are rated using a 5-point Likert scale ("(HI) Highly important = 5" to "(NI) Not important = 1"). Overwhelmingly, the respondents indicated that it is important to conserve the cultural heritage of Falmouth: 81.9 per cent regarded this as being highly important and 13.8 per cent somewhat important (with a mean score of 4.74 and a standard deviation of 0.638). No-one indicated that it is not important. Similarly, respondents were highly supportive of local residents participating in the conservation of the cultural heritage in Falmouth with 75.5 per cent indicating this is highly important and 19.1 per cent somewhat important (with a mean score of 4.67 and a standard deviation of 0.694). When asked, if they would be willing to participate in the conservation of cultural heritage in Falmouth, 81.3 per cent of the respondents said "yes".

Table 5.8
Cultural Heritage Conservation in Falmouth

Factors Rated		HI	SI	N	SU	NI	Total	*M*	*S*
How important is it to conserve the	*N*	77	13	1	3	0	94	4.74	0.638
cultural heritage of Falmouth?	*%*	81.9	13.8	1.1	3.2	0.0			
How important is it for local residents	*N*	71	18	3	1	1	94	4.67	0.694
to participate in the conservation of	*%*	75.5	19.1	3.2	1.1	1.1			
cultural heritage of Falmouth?									

HI=Highly important (5), SI=Somewhat important (4), N=Neutral (3), SU=Somewhat unimportant (2), NI=Not important (1), *M*=Mean, *S*=Standard deviation

The residents' opinions on the effects of developing Falmouth as a cultural heritage destination are also revealed by the questionnaire survey, the results of which are summarized in Table 5.9. It depicts the frequency distributions of the ratings of each factor and their means, medians and standard deviations. The table indicates the effects of developing Falmouth as a cultural heritage destination on a 5-point Likert scale ("(SA) Strongly agree = 5" to "(SD) Strongly disagree = 1"). Respondents who have "no opinion" on a factor being rated could register this position by selecting DK ("Don't know"). The statement on which there was the highest degree of agreement amongst respondents, was, cost of living will increase, where 42.6 per cent strongly agreed and 35.1 per cent agreed with a mean score of 3.85 and standard deviation of 1.473. Other statements on which a large number of the respondents were in agreement were: only a few people will benefit with 19.1 per cent strongly agreeing and 33.0 per cent agreeing; and most jobs will go to outsiders 14.9 per cent strongly agreed and 38.3 per cent agreed; the mean score and standard deviations are 3.28 (1.307) and 3.28 (1.273) respectively. However, the last two statements also elicited a substantial number of dissenting opinions.

In regards to the statement, traditional culture will change negatively, the majority of the respondents were in disagreement for only 17.0 per cent strongly disagreed and 46.8 per cent disagreed, with a mean score of 2.07 and standard deviation of 1.166. Responses to the statement, local people will be left out of the process, respondents were approximately evenly split in their responses; 17.0 per cent strongly agreed and 27.7 per cent agreed, in comparison to 17.0 per cent who strongly disagreed and 28 (29.8%) who disagreed. In regards to the statement, too many people will visit Falmouth and cause it to be crowded, 26.6 per cent strongly disagreed and 33.0 per cent disagreed although a substantial number, 31,

Table 5.9

Effects of Developing Falmouth as a Cultural Heritage Destination

Factors Rated		SA	A	N	D	SD	DK	Total	*M*	Mdn	*S*
Local people will be left	*N*	16	26	6	28	16	2	94	2.91	3.00	1.464
out of the process	*%*	17.0	27.7	6.4	29.8	17.0	2.1				
Only a few people will	*N*	18	31	15	19	11	0	94	3.28	4.00	1.307
benefit	*%*	19.1	33.0	16.0	20.2	11.7	0				
Most jobs will go to	*N*	14	36	17	19	5	3	94	3.28	4.00	1.273
outsiders	*%*	14.9	38.3	18.1	20.2	5.3	3.2				
The traditional culture	*N*	1	14	10	44	16	9	94	2.07	2.00	1.166
will change negatively	*%*	1.1	14.9	10.6	46.8	17.0	9.6				
Too many people will visit	*N*	3	28	5	31	25	2	94	2.44	2.00	1.308
Falmouth and cause it to be crowded	*%*	3.2	29.8	5.3	33.0	26.6	2.1				
Crime will increase	*N*	4	25	13	29	12	11	94	2.44	2.00	1.418
	%	4.3	26.6	13.8	30.9	12.8	11.7				
Cost of living will increase	*N*	40	33	3	10	1	7	94	3.85	4.00	1.473
	%	42.6	35.1	3.2	10.6	1.1	7.4				

(SA) Strongly agree = 5, (A) Agree = 4, (N) Neutral = 3, (D) Disagree = 2, (SD) Strongly disagree = 1,
(DK) Don't know = 0, *M*=Mean, Mdn=Median, *S*=Standard deviation

either strongly agreed (3.2%) or agreed (29.8%) (mean score of 2.44 and standard deviation of 1.1418). Similarly, most respondents were not in support of the statement, crime will increase; 12.8 per cent strongly disagreed and 30.9 per cent disagreed. Nevertheless, a substantial minority, 29, either strongly agreed (4.3%) or agreed (26.6%) (mean score of 2.44 and standard deviation of 1.418).

Overwhelmingly, respondents were in agreement with all the statements concerning the ways through which residents can participate in the cultural heritage conservation process in Falmouth (Table 5.10). As can be seen from the Table 5.10, the factors are rated using a 5-point Likert scale ("(SA) Strongly agree = 5" to "(SD) Strongly disagree = 1"). The table depicts the frequency distributions of the responses to each of the factors that were rated as well as their mean score, medians and standard deviations. Respondents who had no opinion on a factor being rated could register this position by selecting DK ("Don't know"). The lowest rated factors were, planning how conservation takes place 20.2 per cent strongly agreed, 62.8 per cent agreed, with a mean score of 3.84 and standard deviation of 1.120; and direct employment in conservation efforts 21.3 per cent strongly agreed, 61.7 per cent agreed; with a mean score of 3.82 and standard deviation of 1.218. Although these factors were rated the lowest there were high degrees of agreement among respondents. Responses to the statements, employed as tour guides and operating Bed and Breakfast businesses were supported strongly with 93.7 per cent and 92.5 per cent in agreement respectively with small standard deviations. Employment in visitor services (food, souvenirs, transportation, etc.) was strongly expected 38.3 per cent strongly agreed while 52.1 per cent agreed and, even more telling, no one disagreed with this statement. Of note, no respondent strongly disagreed with any of the statements. Also, no one disagreed with the statements concerning employment in conservation efforts or employment in visitor services.

Table 5.10
Ways Through Which Residents can Participate in the Cultural Heritage Conservation Process in Falmouth

Factors Rated		SA	A	N	D	SD	DK	Total	*M*	Mdn	*S*
Planning how conservation	*N*	19	59	8	3	0	5	94	3.84	4.00	1.120
takes place	*%*	20.2	62.8	8.5	3.2	0.0	5.3				
Direct employment in	*N*	20	58	9	0	0	7	94	3.82	4.00	1.218
conservation efforts	*%*	21.3	61.7	9.6	0.0	0.0	7.4				
Employed as tour guide	*N*	40	48	3	1	0	2	94	4.29	4.00	0.875
	%	42.6	51.1	3.2	1.1	0.0	2.1				
Employment in visitors' services	*N*	36	49	7	0	0	2	94	4.22	4.00	0.869
(food, souvenirs, transportation, etc.)	*%*	38.3	52.1	7.4	0.0	0.0	2.1				
Operating Bed and Breakfast	*N*	44	43	5	1	0	1	94	4.35	4.00	0.786
businesses	*%*	46.8	45.7	5.3	1.1	0.0	1.1				

(SA) Strongly agree = 5, (A) Agree = 4, (N) Neutral = 3, (D) Disagree = 2, (SD) Strongly disagree = 1,
(DK) Don't know = 0, *M*=Mean, Mdn=Median, *S*=Standard deviation

5.7 Dark Cultural Heritage Value

Residents were very aware, proud and in favour of showcasing the cultural heritage of Falmouth that is associated with slavery. Table 5.11 depicts on a 5-point scale in which "5 = very aware" to "1 = not aware," the frequency distributions, means scores and standard deviations of factor concerning respondents' awareness of Falmouth's cultural heritage. Residents are very aware of the large number of historic buildings that date back to the 1700s; the mean score is 3.43 and the standard deviation is 1.410. Residents are also very aware of the association of Falmouth with slavery, sugar and colonialism, with a mean score of 3.55 and a standard deviation of 1.379.

Table 5.11
Awareness of Falmouth's Cultural Heritage

Factors Rated		5	4	3	2	1	Total	*M*	*S*
How aware are you of the large number of historic buildings in Falmouth, some dating back to the late 1700s?	*N*	30	19	18	15	12	94	3.43	1.410
	%	31.9	20.2	19.1	16.0	12.8			
How aware are you of the association of Falmouth with slavery, sugar and colonialism?	*N*	30	25	16	10	12	93	3.55	1.379
	%	32.3	26.9	17.2	10.8	12.9			

5 = Very aware, 1 = Not aware, *M*=Mean, *S*=Standard deviation

Table 5.12 shows residents' responses about the old buildings in Falmouth and on slavery issues. When asked whether the old buildings in Falmouth should be torn down and replaced with newer ones, 72.2 per cent of the residents said "no", while the remainder said "yes". Next, they were asked if they would change their answer if told that some of the old buildings were associated with slavery: a small number 9.9 per cent said "yes" while the majority 90.1 per cent said "no". Further analysis of the nine respondents who answered "yes" revealed that eight had previously indicated that all the old buildings in Falmouth should be torn down and replaced with newer ones. Next, when asked, "Do you think we should preserve the relics of slavery in Falmouth for future generations," 85.9 per cent said "yes". Finally, 93.5 per cent answered, "yes" when asked whether Falmouth should be developed as a destination where visitors can learn about slavery.

Table 5.12
Falmouth's Buildings and Slavery Association

Questions		Yes	No	Total
Do you think all the old buildings in Falmouth should	N	25	65	90
be torn down and replaced with newer ones?	%	27.8	72.2	
If I told you that some of the old buildings are associated	N	9	82	91
with slavery, would you change your answer to the above?	%	9.9	90.1	
Do you think we should preserve the relics of slavery	N	79	13	92
in Falmouth for future generations?	%	85.9	14.1	
Do you think that Falmouth should be developed as	N	87	6	93
a destination where visitors can learn about slavery?	%	93.5	6.5	

Table 5.13 seeks to determine the emotional levels of residents when they see buildings and other structures that reminded them of slavery. Accordingly, the residents were asked to rate their level of "anger," "disgust," "sadness," "shame," "nothing (don't care)" and "Joy" on a 5-point scale that was used where "5 = strongest" to "1 = weakest." More than 50% of the respondents selected the "weakest" emotional response, "one" (1) for the following factors: "anger (enraged)" (58.7%), "disgust (shocked)" (55.3%), "sadness" (52.4%), "shame (embarrassed)" (59.5%) and "joy (happiness)" (65.4%). An analysis of the results revealed that, upon seeing buildings and other structures that reminded them of slavery, most respondents' emotional reaction level is at the lowest, "one" (1) for anger,

Table 5.13
Emotional levels of residents when they see buildings or other structures that remind them of slavery

Factors Rated		5	4	3	2	1	Total	M	S
Anger (enraged)	N	2	5	17	7	44	75	1.85	1.147
	%	2.7	6.7	22.7	9.3	58.7			
Disgust (shocked)	N	5	6	12	11	42	76	1.96	1.280
	%	6.6	7.9	15.8	14.5	55.3			
Sadness	N	3	5	18	13	43	82	1.93	1.152
	%	3.7	6.1	22.0	15.9	52.4			
Shame (embarrassed)	N	3	10	11	6	44	74	1.95	1.292
	%	4.1	13.5	14.9	8.1	59.5			
Nothing (don't care)	N	11	6	9	8	38	72	2.22	1.531
	%	11.7	6.4	9.6	8.5	40.4			
Joy (happiness)	N	11	5	8	3	51	78	2.00	1.520
	%	11.7	6.4	10.3	3.8	65.4			

1 = Weakest, 5 = Strongest, *M*=Mean, *S*=Standard deviation

disgust, sadness, shame and joy. Only the factor "Nothing (don't care)" (40.4%) solicited

levels of responses where less than 50 per cent selected "one," the weakest. These responses

are very ambiguous, as such; it is argued that the factors did not receive good responses.

Table 5.14 displays the value residents attached to the relics of slavery that are in

Falmouth. Again, a 5-point scale in which "5 = high value" to "1 = low value," was used. It

resulted in a mean score of 3.47 and a standard deviation of 1.478. This shows that the

majority of respondents place a relatively high value on the relics of slavery. Generally, the

Table 5.14
Value on Relics of Slavery

Factor Rated		5	4	3	2	1	Total	*M*	*S*
How much value do you place on the	*N*	33	15	23	4	17	92	3.47	1.478
relics of slavery that are in Falmouth?	*%*	35.9	16.3	25.0	4.3	18.5			

5 = High value, 1 = Low value, *M*=Mean, *S*=Standard deviation

residents of Falmouth are proud of their cultural heritage and they believed that its

development will increase pride (Tables 5.15 and 5.16). This information was ascertained by

two questions. First, residents were asked, "How proud are you of the cultural heritage of

Falmouth?" A 5-point scale in which "5 = very proud" to "1 = not proud" gave a mean score

of 3.90 and a standard deviation of 1.183. Next, responses to the statement, "Heritage

development will increase pride of local residents," were measured using a 5-point Likert

scale ("(SA) Strongly agree = 5" to "Strongly disagree = 1"): 39 (41.5%) strongly agreed

while 34 (36.2%) agreed with a mean score of 3.98 and a standard deviation of 1.295. Again,

respondents who had no opinion on a factor being rated could register this position by

selecting DK ("Don't know").

Table 5.15
Pride in Falmouth's Cultural Heritage

Factor Rated		5	4	3	2	1	Total	*M*	*S*
How proud are you of the cultural	*N*	40	20	25	3	6	94	3.90	1.183
heritage of Falmouth?	*%*	42.6	21.3	26.6	3.2	6.4			

5 = Very proud, 1 = Not proud, *M*=Mean, *S*=Standard deviation

Table 5.16
Self-Pride of Local Residents

Factor Rated		SA	A	N	D	SD	DK	Total	*M*	*S*
Heritage development will	*N*	39	34	13	2	0	6	94	3.98	1.295
increase pride of local residents.	*%*	41.5	36.2	13.8	2.1	0.0	6.4			

(SA) Strongly agree = 5, (A) Agree = 4, (N) Neutral = 3, (D) Disagree = 2, (SD) Strongly disagree = 1, (DK) Don't know = 0, *M*=Mean, *S*=Standard deviation

5.8 Actions to be Taken

Residents were overwhelmingly in their support for the suggested actions to develop the cultural heritage resources in Falmouth (Table 5.17). The seven suggested actions were assessed using a 5-point Likert scale: "(SA) Strongly agree = 5" to "(SD) Strongly disagree = 1." Respondents who had no opinion on a factor being rated could register this position by selecting DK ("Don't know"). The factor that was rated the highest by residents, promoting Falmouth as a tourist destination, showed that 83.0 per cent strongly agreed and 17.0 per cent agreed, with a mean of 4.83, median of 5.00 and standard deviation of 0.378. Two other highly rated factors were job training for residents 76.6 per cent strongly agreed and 23.4 per cent agreed, with a mean of 4.77, median of 5.00 and standard deviation of 0.426, and clean-up programs to beautify Falmouth 68.1 per cent strongly agreed and 31.9 per cent agreed, with a mean of 4.68, median of 5.00 and standard deviation of 0.469. The factor, heritage programs (designation, project development), though rated the lowest still had an absolute high rating: 34.4 per cent strongly agreed and 47.3 per cent agreed, with a mean of 3.97, median of 4.00 and standard deviation of 1.229.

Table 5.17
Actions that should be taken in Falmouth to develop its Cultural Heritage Resources

Factors Rated		SA	A	N	D	SD	DK	Total	*M*	Mdn	*S*
Infrastructure development	N	60	32	2	0	0	0	94	4.62	5.00	0.531
	%	63.8	34.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0				
Job training for residents	N	72	22	0	0	0	0	94	4.77	5.00	0.426
	%	76.6	23.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0				
Clean-up programs to	N	64	30	0	0	0	0	94	4.68	5.00	0.469
beautify Falmouth	%	68.1	31.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0				
Building citizens awareness	N	45	36	10	0	0	2	93	4.29	4.00	0.928
of cultural heritage	%	48.4	38.7	10.8	0.0	0.0	2.2				
Providing loans, grants and	N	54	31	8	0	0	1	94	4.45	5.00	0.798
subsidies for building owners	%	57.4	33.0	8.5	0.0	0.0	1.1				
Heritage programs (design-	N	32	44	11	0	0	6	93	3.97	4.00	1.229
ation, project development)	%	34.4	47.3	11.8	0.0	0.0	6.5				
Promoting Falmouth as a	N	78	16	0	0	0	0	94	4.83	5.00	0.378
tourist destination	%	83.0	17.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0				

(SA) Strongly agree = 5, (A) Agree = 4, (N) Neutral = 3, (D) Disagree = 2, (SD) Strongly disagree = 1, (DK) Don't know = 0, *M*=Mean, Mdn=Median, *S*=Standard deviation

Table 5.18 summarizes the responses to the question, "Is there anything else that you would like to add concerning Falmouth in general or its cultural heritage resources?" Fifteen persons highlighted the need for the "provision of more entertainment facilities and activities." Fourteen persons were concerned about "the development of Falmouth." Thirteen persons voiced the concern to "address the cultural heritage of Falmouth." Ten persons referred to "the creation of job opportunities" and a need for "the setting up of training facilities to target the youth." In addition, Table 5.17 shows all the other responses to the question.

Table 5.18
Is There Anything else That You Would Like to Add Concerning Falmouth in General or Its Cultural Heritage Resources?

Responses:	Historic District	Peripheral District	Total
Provision of more entertainment facilities and activities		15	15
The development of Falmouth	9	5	14
Address the cultural heritage of Falmouth	6	7	13
The creation of job opportunities	3	7	10
The setting up of training facilities to target the youth	5	5	10
Beautification projects	4	1	5
The development of strategies by police to curtail gang activities	3	1	4
Address the problem of squatting	1		1

5.9 Summary

Data from the questionnaire survey were analysed using Microsoft Excel, SPSS 16 and content analysis as espoused by Gillham (2000). For the quantitative data, descriptive univariate statistics, such as, mean, median, standard deviations and frequencies were calculated for various factors and displayed using tables and charts. On the other hand, the qualitative data were categorized and summarized to emphasize the perspectives of the respondents on the issues discussed. An analysis of the data shows that female accounted for 58 per cent of the sample, while in terms of ethnicity, 79 per cent claimed to be black. Only

16 per cent of the respondents had lived in Falmouth for less than 10 years. The largest age group in the sample were those below 30 years. Most respondents worked in Falmouth (71%). Households with some level of dependency on tourism amount to 53.3 per cent. The layout of the town is cited most often, as that which is liked about Falmouth, whereas crime and violence is what is disliked most. Overall, residents have a positive view towards tourism and were in support of tourism development in the town. Generally, respondents asserted that the historic buildings are the most important cultural heritage resource in Falmouth; specifically, the 200 years old St. Peter Anglican Church is seen as the most important. Residents were in support of cultural heritage conservation in Falmouth with a view to highlight the cultural heritage that is associated with enslaved Africans. However, there are some concerns as to the beneficiaries and the increase in the cost of living if Falmouth is developed as a heritage destination. Operating a Bed and Breakfast is seen as a popular way through which residents can participate in the cultural heritage conservation process in Falmouth. There was a high level of awareness of Falmouth's cultural heritage and its association with slavery and the need to preserve and showcase this heritage. Promoting Falmouth as a tourist destination is seen as the number one action that should be taken to develop its cultural heritage resources.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH FINDINGS: INTERVIEWS

6.1 Introduction

The data presented in this chapter constitute the findings from the semi-structured interviews, one of the four data collection methods used in the research (see Section 4.4 Data Collection Mechanisms). Twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted between March 18, 2009 and June 17, 2009 to ascertain key actors' expectations and perspectives about the cultural heritage of Falmouth. All interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The transcribed information was then analysed using content analysis as proposed by Gillham (2000), where substantive statements from the transcripts were highlighted and used to create narratives in the interviewees' own words. Gillham (2000, p.74) states, "The essential character of writing up interview data is to weave a narrative which is interpolated with illustrative quotes." Thus, the analyses will allow the interviewees to speak for themselves in their own words with linking material to ensure continuity and point up the import of what the interviewees are saying. In this regard, balanced representation is strived for as to the selected and the number of quotations which are representative of the total range so as to impact the quality of the narrative.

The interviewees were persons in leadership positions in a number of organizations and occupations that directly interfaced with and impacted Falmouth in various ways (Appendix G – List of Interviewees). As explained in Section 4.4.2, the interviewees were selected using the purposive and snowball sampling methods. They included: a) a manager from the Trelawny office of the Social Development Commission, a state agency that does social research and development in Jamaica; b) two political representatives from the national level, a former Member of Parliament and the present Member of Parliament for the political constituency into which Falmouth falls; c) three persons affiliated with the Local Government which included the Mayor of Falmouth and chair of the Trelawny Parish Council, the Councillor of the Falmouth Local Government Division and the Director of Planning for Trelawny; d) the Executive Director of Falmouth Heritage Renewal, a not-for-profit organization that has been training persons in conservation skills and has done conservation work on a number of buildings in Falmouth; e) two members from the Georgian

Society of Jamaica – a non-profit heritage organization, one is a co-founder of the organization and the other is a university scholar who has done research on the town of Falmouth; f) a researcher and historian who published a book on Falmouth in 2007; g) a private business person who is a member of the Trelawny Chamber of Commerce; and h) a manager at the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT), the state agency that is charged with the protection and development of Jamaica's cultural heritage. As intended, the composition was highly biased to stakeholders who had first-hand knowledge and experience on Falmouth and could therefore speak authoritatively about the town.

Responses were grouped according to the themes of the objectives of the research (see Appendix F – Interview Schedule), namely: a) Perceptions and attitudes towards tourism (objective 1); b) cultural heritage resources of Falmouth (objective 2); c) opportunities and constraints (objective 3); d) residents' participation and involvement (objective 4); e) African diaspora and cultural heritage of slavery (objective 5); and f) actions to be taken for cultural heritage development (objective 6). They were further grouped under 'lead questions' and 'supplementary questions.'

6.2 Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Tourism
Are there cultural heritage tourism opportunities in Falmouth?

The interviewees unanimously agreed, were adamant, emphatic and confident in their responses that cultural heritage tourism opportunities exist in Falmouth. The range of responses included: "Significant;" "Of course;" "Very much so;" "Definitely yes;" "There is quite a few;" "Yes, I would say there are;" "Without a doubt;" "Oh, yes, a lot;" "There is, it is there;" "Yes, we have always thought that Trelawny has the basis for cultural heritage;" and "Yes, I would think so…. The opportunity is there." Thus, beyond a shadow of doubt, cultural heritage tourism opportunities exist in Falmouth as asserted by all the interviewees; as such it would be practical to pursue such opportunities.

Why do you hold such views?

The interviewees posited a number of reasons in support of their views on the cultural heritage tourism opportunities exist in Falmouth. The reasons given were: the age of the town, the history of Falmouth, the architecture of Falmouth, the layout of Falmouth, the economic importance of Falmouth during the era of British colonialism and the Transatlantic

Trade, and the association of slavery with Falmouth and its linkages to other cultural heritage resources in the rest of Trelawny. Interviewee 1 argued that the story of Falmouth and Trelawny is intact and irrefutable. Also, other interviewees alleged that Trelawny has more great houses than any other parish in the island. Moreover at one time, Trelawny had more sugar plantations and enslaved Africans than any other parish in Jamaica. In addition, interviewees also noted that a large number of Falmouth's historical structures are intact. Furthermore, Falmouth and Trelawny played a pivotal role in the fight for the emancipation of enslaved Africans through the activities of the Baptist preacher, William Knibb, the 'Emancipator' who operated out of Falmouth.

Interviewees posit other reasons to justify their claim that cultural heritage tourism opportunities exist in Falmouth. Falmouth is recognized nationally and internationally as a cultural heritage tourism site. Jamaica's Tourism Master Plan (2002) highlighted the town as one of the sites to be developed for cultural heritage tourism. The Town Plan outlined that it should be developed as a cultural heritage site. The OAS recognized the value of the town's cultural heritage and, as a result, funded a pre-feasibility study in 1998. The RCI cruise ship pier is being developed in Falmouth because the town is perceived as an international heritage tourism site. Finally, Interviewee 6 claimed that Falmouth has quite a lot of history, it is the best-kept Georgian town in Jamaica.

Other claims made by interviewees in support of their positions in regards to cultural heritage tourism opportunities in Falmouth include the following. Interviewee 3 posits that Falmouth is one of the few towns in the Caribbean that has such a large percentage of Georgian structures that are fairly intact. As a result, there is much to show of the past 400 years of life in Jamaica. The town has a long history. Interviewee 8 is of the opinion that Falmouth is one of the most interesting towns in Jamaica and it has a great history. The JNHT declared Falmouth a Heritage District based on a number of cultural heritage resources that make the town significant. According to Interviewee 12,

> The smaller vernacular buildings versus the market place, the square, history of Water Square, the court house, the Baptist Manse and all the other buildings that comprise Falmouth…makes Falmouth significant to us for us having to declare it. (Interviewee 12: Interviews, 2009)

The views expressed by the interviewees in support of their positions that cultural heritage tourism opportunities exist in Falmouth are varied. Notwithstanding, most are related to enslaved Africans that were a part of the milieu and other remnant of the era of British colonialism. It strongly supports the notion that Falmouth contains cultural heritage resources that are associated with slavery that can be developed for tourism activities.

How would Falmouth gain from the development of cultural heritage for tourists and other visitors?

The interviewees advanced a number of ways in which they see Falmouth benefiting from developing its cultural heritage for tourists and other visitors. The principal benefits from the development can be classified as economic, social and physical. Economically, it is expected that the development would generate jobs and employment for residents and, as a result, employment would be the number one benefit. Other economic gains cited include the opening up of business opportunities and an increased revenue stream for the parish. It is expected also that cultural heritage development would bring in new investments and foreign currency into the town. They also argued that the money spent by visitors would remain in the local economy.

Falmouth is also expected to benefit socially. It would gain increased exposure from tourists who would walk around the town and intermingle with the local people. High school students would also benefit by being made aware of their cultural heritage, which should instil pride and national identity.

The physical benefits that will accrue to Falmouth are many. The town is expected to put on a new appearance and would come alive because of the various activities that would be taking place. Once visitors start to come in, owners of enterprises will start to have the desire to actually fix the buildings along specific guidelines to enhance the product being developed. It would also lead to improvements in physical infrastructure such as drains, roads and the buildings.

6.3 Cultural Heritage Resources of Falmouth

What are the cultural heritage resources in Falmouth that could be developed as attractions? and *Why do you regard them as cultural heritage resources?*

The interviewees pointed to various elements and features that could be developed as attractions. Interviewee 4 argued that there is tremendous number of physical infrastructure that can be developed. Another opined, the "whole historic district" should be considered as a cultural heritage resource. Others identified specific sites, such as the Anglican Church, the Barrett's House, John Tharpe's House, the Phoenix Foundry, the Court House, the Post Office, the Water Wheel, the Baptist Manse, the William Knibb Baptist Church, the Albert George Market and the Police Station. Some interviewees boasted that individual residences in the town were supplied with potable water through pipes long before the residents of New York City had such a luxury.

The interviewees articulated a number of reasons for their choice of cultural heritage resources in Falmouth. The reasons include: the richness in history of several locations in the town, many of the identified structures played critical roles in the story of Falmouth, and the age and number of Georgian structures in the town. Falmouth was a major, thriving and bustling town that traded in sugar and enslaved Africans. A lot of the buildings that were used as part of the trade still exist, so there is tremendous amount of physical infrastructure that can be developed.

Interviewee 1 claimed that the town has maintained the same appearance and layout as it did several hundred years ago. Interviewees pointed to Water Square, which had a community tank that supplied the town and ships in port with potable water. Some referred to the cluster of buildings as a whole, which bring back an old-time feeling. Interviewee 2 is of the opinion that Falmouth is a unique place in the Caribbean because its historic district contains a very large cluster of historic buildings, more than any other place in Jamaica. Similarly, interviewee 7 went further and claimed that the architecture in Falmouth is world renowned, and also boasted that the town has the largest concentration of Georgian architecture anywhere in the Western Hemisphere.

A number of the interviewees mentioned resources along the waterfront of the town. These include some early wharves which accommodated commercial activities that were linked to the plantation, such as ships carrying sugar, enslaved Africans and other

commercial products. The former townhouse of John Tharpe is also situated along the waterfront. It formed part of the Tharpe Wharf Complex, where newly arrived captives from Africa landed, washed, were showcased and auctioned into slavery. Some interviewees said that, at the height of the sugar industry, that is, from the middle of the 18th century right up to the abolition of the slave trade and emancipation of the enslaved Africans, when Jamaica was the number one sugar-producing colony in the world, Falmouth was the main shipping port for sugar in the West Indies. The whole waterfront is said to be important and could be developed as an historical area. The Phoenix foundry adjacent to the waterfront is said to have repaired parts for ships and many sugar estates in the surrounding areas.

Other specific resources that were identified included: the Baptist Manse, which was the first Masonic Lodge in Jamaica, a comparatively large Jewish community, and the police station, which was once a district prison and had one of the earliest gallows in Jamaica. There is also the Baptist church, a powerful symbol in the fight for freedom of the enslaved Africans and, also a number of sugar cane factories in the periphery that can be used to help in explaining the history of the town.

Who do you think would be interested in these resources if they were developed?

Several entities, both local and international, have expressed interest in developing the town and capitalizing on its historical wealth. While one interviewee doubted that Jamaicans would be attracted to cultural heritage that is associated with enslaved Africans, others believed that there is a market out there. Royal Caribbean International is partnering with the Government of Jamaica to build a multimillion-dollar pier to simultaneously accommodate two of the world's largest cruise ships. It is expected that more than 13,000 visitors per week could pass through the port facilities. According to Interviewee 1, the economic spinoff from the cruise venture is expected to impact local businesses that will now have to be modernized to become more competitive. In addition, the cruise ship development will create significant opportunities for residents of the town who could be host to the over 13,000 visitors weekly.

There are several other small-scale tourism interests that are actually being developed to interface with the development being spearheaded by Royal Caribbean International. These interests include developers of both accommodation and attractions. Some already are up and running, while others are rebranding to gain a competitive edge. While some of the

developments are not in the town, it is the historic wealth and the story of Falmouth that is driving the speculation. Interviewee 2 argued that it is important to have products developed for tourists that shows that there is intrinsic values in the buildings for it will help to save them. He believed that the structures tell the story better than books.

Most of the interviewees asserted that both tourists and locals would support cultural heritage that is associated with slavery. According to Interviewee 5, cultural heritage that is associated with slavery would not attract a lot of Jamaicans; however, it is important to remember the past and make sure we do not repeat the same mistakes. On the other hand, Interviewee 6 expressed that both tourists and some local people would visit. Similarly, Interviewee 11 argued,

> There is definitely a type of tourist today that is interested in the heritage of the countries that they are visiting…once people understand the rich heritage of Falmouth that lies outside the obvious things, they would be interested. (Interviewee 11: Interviews, 2009)

Do you think tourists and other visitors would be interested in visiting Falmouth to enjoy these resources?

Some of the interviewees are of the opinion that there is growing interest in cultural heritage tourism and that Falmouth has the resources that can be developed. As such, it is important that opportunities are made for visitors and local people to enjoy them. Interviewee 1 claimed, "globally, definitely." He further argued,

> The largest component of tourism is actually heritage tourism… the tourists that go to Venice, Paris and the pyramids of Egypt amongst other heritage destinations. Tourists go there to hear the story, to be part of the story of destinations, to visit an area where historical wealth is still present. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

He believed,

> the areas that have successfully translated their historical resources into economic opportunities are the areas in which real tourism actually thrives." Furthermore, "in terms of negative social impact [and] negative environmental impact, heritage tourism carries far less risks…than does sun, sea and sand. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)
>
> Similarly, interviewee 7 claimed,

tourists also want to learn something about the places that they go to and if they can

get in the same package an understanding of a whole people, it would be great…

many of our stories have never been told from our perspectives. They have been told

from a European perspective. (Interviewee 7: Interviews, 2009)

He believed that there is a definite learning component, in particular, for students of history,

culture, slavery or interaction of peoples; Falmouth should be the first point of call.

On a scale of 1–10, where 10 is the highest, where would you rate the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth?

When asked to rate the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth, interviewees submit

ratings from a low of 5 to a high of 10. The mean score of the cultural heritage resources was

7.65. Of significance, two of the twelve interviewees did not give a rating, although one

made positive comments about the cultural heritage while the other was not optimistic. One

of the two, Interviewee 4 stated, "In comparison to places in Jamaica we are top, we are way

up there." In contrast, Interviewee 11 said, "a lot has to be done about it [the cultural heritage

resources]; as it is right now, there is not much." The pronouncements from Interviewee 11

showed that he was frustrated with the underdevelopment and scant regard that people have

of the cultural heritage resources in Jamaica. There was also uncertainty on the part of

interviewee 7, who was not specific, and said either 8 or 9, and Interviewee 12 who initially

gave a score of 7 but changed it to an 8 after further deliberating.

It was pointed out by a number of the interviewees that the score given was based on

the potential of the cultural heritage resources. For example, Interviewee 2 stated, "the

potential resources, ten. We are unique, we are unparalleled… there are literally hundreds of

historic buildings." Interviewee 3 said, "as a resource, very high, I would say about a nine as

potential." While Interviewee 10 asserted, "the potential, I would rate it at eight."

Others think that a lot of work needs to be done to bring out the potential in the

cultural heritage resources in order to increase the given scores. For example, Interviewee 6

stated

I would sort of settle for a five. I don't think we have really been using up and

exposing and developing our heritage…we are on the path to growth and

development, so later on, I think we will rise to ten. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 8 argued, "a seven, because I think they are very good but there is quite a lot of work to be done." Similarly, interviewee 9 claimed, "The raw material, I think we have a six. It is there, but it is just for it to be properly packaged." These comments are congruent with the position taken above by interviewee 11 that a lot of work is needed to transform the heritage resources into a tourism product.

What are your views on authenticity in relation to cultural heritage development in Falmouth?

All the interviewees are of the opinion that cultural heritage development must be authentic to be meaningful. It is also an opinion that Jamaicans should present their own history and authenticate it and then the tourist will recognise it as such. According to interviewee 1,

> You need persons who speak to the presentation, persons who know and understand the story and are able to retell it, but also it has to be authentic…. A part of how we examine and develop the process has to be an eye towards the authenticity of the product itself, physical appearance of the product itself, an eye towards ensuring that whosoever is working in the product and whosoever is in charge of presenting the product understands what exactly they are trying to sell. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 2 stressed, "It is for Jamaicans who think like Jamaicans, act like Jamaicans and are Jamaicans to determine what are authentic. The historic buildings are the most authentic things you can have." Interviewee 3 opined,

> Maintain the authenticity where you can. In spite of that, there will be concessions. You have to make concessions to modernity… but within that framework you try to keep as true as you can to the historical structures. (Interviewee 3: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 4 argued,

> There is no doubt about that… truthfulness is a precondition for everything. You will get away in the short term with misleading the people on matters, but it is going to create serious damage for the future… bodies should be put in place, regulatory bodies to verify claims. (Interviewee 4: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 5 stated, "We need to present authentic history. Whatever the case may be, people must know the truth." Interviewee 6 asserted,

We don't need that fake, fake, pretty, pretty stuff at all… in this town there would not

be that much of a place for something like Disney World. But showing you the real

thing… is why I am happy for this little town…. We have forgotten where we are

coming from and we really need to take the young ones so that they can know. And

then they could develop that pride and try to know that, yes, as a set of people, we

have accomplished much. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 8 argued that it is important for the development to be authentic. Interviewee 9

stated,

We need to see it really to appreciate what we have…. This is what built your

character; this is what made you what you are now…. It is important in my opinion to

see what had happened… it hits more home for me. (Interviewee 8: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 10 declared, "For it to be meaningful, it has to be authentic. If it's not authentic,

then you can see it anywhere. If it's not going to be authentic it isn't worth it." Interviewee

11 exclaimed,

Has to be! Definitely! You can't make a Disneyland out of it. It's got to be, you have

to try to be as accurate as possible and to get a feel of the place and the period you are

dealing with. (Interviewee 11: Interviews, 2009)

Finally, Interviewee 12 argued,

If we hope to maintain a heritage district it has to be authentic…. It has to be that for

the declaration to be credible… the whole integrity now of the district itself…. The

business of authenticity and integrity is very, very important. (Interviewee 12:

Interviews, 2009)

6.4 Opportunities and Constraints

Do you think there are constraints to cultural heritage development in Falmouth?

There are many constraints and pressures that come to bear on the development of

any heritage district. All the interviewees except one, believed that there are numerous

constraints to cultural heritage development in Falmouth. Financial constraints are seen as

the biggest impediment to cultural heritage development in Falmouth. Interviewees 2, 3, 4, 7,

9 and 12 pointed to financial constraints. Interviewee 2 spoke about the difficulty of

accessing funding to maintain wooden houses and other structures that belonged to the less-

affluent, workers and artisans who lived in Falmouth during the British colonial era.

Interviewee 4 bemoaned that large sums of money are needed to preserve various sites in the town. Interviewee 7 pointed to financial constraints in the present environment as a result of the world recession that started in 2008. Interviewee 9 asserted that the main constraint is economic resources for "with anything, it's going to take money and you have to know where the money is coming from." Interviewee 12 was concerned about the source of funding to do necessary development or enhancement.

Interviewees cited a number of other constraints to cultural heritage development in Falmouth. Interviewees 1 and 4 highlighted the need to establish ownership and access to a number of heritage sites. Interviewee 4 was also concerned about the constraints on sites as a result of heritage designation, in particular the disposal and use of such sites. Another constraint cited by interviewee 1 was the lack of consensus locally on how to develop the heritage product; it is claimed that stakeholders articulated the vision for the development of Falmouth's cultural heritage differently with different priorities. In addition, interviewees 1 and 12 expressed that some stakeholders, including state agencies and developers, are seen as being hostile to the cultural heritage product for they are not fully cognisant of the meaning behind a heritage district designation.

Other constraints that need resolving, according to interviewee 1, include: how to operate a modern business within the environment of Falmouth in which people are living and working; how to operate a town that has needs for 21st Century amenities, 21st Century resources and still reflect an 18th Century ambiance; and, forces external to Trelawny have driven most of the proposed developments in Falmouth. In addition, it is a challenge to develop and improve infrastructure while preserving the integrity of the historical district, for example, the town is below sea level and the drainage system needs to be expanded and improved significantly?

Interviewee 3 posited that there are also psychological constraints, for some people hold the view that cultural heritage development creates an economic demand for the trapping of local culture, whereby hosts are unwilling to give up traditions because of demand from tourists. As a result, there is a view that old buildings should be torn down and replaced with newer structures in order to modernize the town. According to interviewee 8, a lot of people are discouraged about the pace of development in Falmouth because not much has materialized over the years even though numerous plans and pronouncements have been

173

made. Interviewee 11 maintained that "the people in charge of the parish themselves don't know the goldmine they are sitting on… they don't understand the value… "oh that old colonial stuff, we don't need that now," not realizing that's where their roots are." According to interviewee 12, the community is the biggest hindrance because they are resistant to the restrictions resulting from heritage district designation. Furthermore, the community does not fully appreciate what they have and where they live in relation to the heritage district.

Contrary to the popular views, Interviewee 5 felt that there are no constraints to cultural heritage development in Falmouth. The geographical location of Falmouth and the development of the cruise pier make the town an ideal place for tourism development and for visitors to interact with locals. As such, it gives Falmouth an edge over the other cruise destinations in Jamaica. Interviewee 6 thought that the answer to whether there are constraints is neither "yes" nor "no". He cited a concern that some people are not aware of their heritage and they have a laid back attitude and don't care about what is being developed.

How could the constraints to development be removed?

Interviewees highlighted a number of strategies and actions to remove constraints to developments in Falmouth. Interviewee 1 argued that the strategies and actions used would also have to target the unemployed youth to harness their energies. The number-one strategy identified was public education. According to interviewee 1, public education is critical and the need for it is immediate. This should be carried out in town hall meeting settings where people meet, such as in churches, rum bars and betting shops. Interviewee 11 asserted that everything has to be done through education in the schools and public education. In this regard, the residents need to be made aware of the cultural heritage of the town through repetition of the stories and narratives. Interviewee 12 also was of the opinion that it should be done primarily through sensitization and education and compromise to some extent.

There were a number of other proposed strategies and actions to remove constraints. They included: making the development relevant to the residents in the town; assessing the readiness of people educationally to participate in cultural heritage development; looking at what had occurred in towns similar to Falmouth that had their cultural heritage developed, with attention being placed on what went right and what went wrong and the solutions.

According to Interviewee 1, there is also a need to address deficiency in the infrastructure and craft products,

> …from an infrastructure point of view, the development does create some risks to a town like Falmouth. We might very well destroy the same thing that we are trying to sell; we might become so overrun with persons, people who came here and don't appreciate the product that they are coming to see…. The craft market in Trelawny is so greatly disorganized they need some organization… do an analysis of the craft market and the craft product. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

It is critical for the state to play a role if the constraints are to be removed. Interviewee 2 thought leadership has to come from the government and expressed that they need to buy into the various studies on the town that they have commissioned over the years.

> Government has to change their attitudes, government has to buy into their own studies, Town Plan, the Tourism Development Plan and the OAS [Pre-Feasibility] Study. If you read those things and government takes it serious, that is what will make a big difference… we need government. (Interviewee 2: Interviews, 2009)

Government needs to invest in the raw material for product development if they want to develop the business "…and that can be done by the government through tax incentives". Interviewee 9 also underscored the need for partnership between the various government agencies that are stakeholders and are involved in the beautification and rehabilitation of Falmouth. Interviewee 3 thought that there is a need to have discussions with developers who are insensitive to the historic structures with the view to finding alternative areas for them to develop.

What suggestions would you give to stakeholders who wish to seize the heritage development opportunities?

The interviewees made suggestions and gave advice to stakeholders who want to participate in development opportunities in Falmouth. Interviewee 1 said, "The first advice I would give them is get involved… because nobody can spot the opportunities that impact you better than you." In addition, businesses need to modernize themselves, for though the product dates from the 18th century, the market place is 21st century; businesses need to be positioned so that maximum benefits are guaranteed. Further, staff needs to be properly trained and a careful analysis of the business landscape needs to be done to ascertain how

best the skill that is available can be tapped into. Cautiously, interviewee 2 advised that the stakeholders should wait and see if the cruise ship pier is going to be built. Interviewee 3 advised stakeholders to "be sensitive to the historic structures and don't destroy them." On the other hand, interviewee 4 advised stakeholders to

> advance full speed ahead and get possession of or agreements with owners of sections of the town and some of the buildings and move towards capitalizing on the potential that is there. (Interviewee 4: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 6, while admitting that the pier will be a catalyst for other projects, asserted that investors are always welcome, but they should "come with a good heart, mean the parish well and I am sure you will enjoy the benefits." Interviewee 9 advocated the creation of a comprehensive business plan for the town and being honest and realistic with stakeholders.

6.5 Residents' Participation and Involvement
What are your views on residents' involvement in the cultural heritage development process?

The interviewees agreed unanimously that residents should be involved in the cultural heritage development process. Views expressed included: "residents' active participation is critical for the success of the product;" "their support is needed to prevent further loss of the historic fabric;" "it is mandatory;" "definitively should be involved;" "their involvement is central from the planning to the implementation stage;" "it is something that is feasible;" "the residents' involvement would enhance the process;" and "the people are involved through the consultative process and they understand the benefits that are to be gained from selling cultural heritage."

> In this regard, interviewee 1 emphasized
> It is critical, this product can only be a success if the residents are actively participating in the product. It has been proven over and over again that when the residents of an area take ownership of any development, or any activity taking place within that area, it can only help to ensure the success of that development.
> (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Conversely, precedents have shown that where

> the residents were not adequately prepared for the development… were unable to tap into the development process and were unable to derive any benefit from the

176

process… they became resentful… and… hostile towards it. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Therefore,

From an economic standpoint, it is only fitting that the closest persons to the development, the persons whose lives are impacted and in some ways inconvenienced by the development, are the ones that are benefiting from it and are the first in line to benefit from it. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 2 claimed, "If you don't have the residents' support you are going to continue losing the historic fabric. So, they must buy-in, they must want to save their buildings." As a result, "They need to be convinced that there is intrinsic value, there is educational value and there is a sense of pride because of what they represent." Interviewee 3 asserted that the residents "definitely should be involved…. They should be more involved, and I think they would be more involved if they understood what their involvement ought to be."

Similarly, interviewee 4 also argued that, "The development should involve the residents… from the planning stage to the implementation stage." However, the residents were sceptical:

There is a feeling in Falmouth among the residents that it is not going to happen because they have heard so much talk over the years that they have lost faith in the people who have come and spoken of development and heritage tourism. (Interviewee 4: Interviews, 2009)

At the same time, "there is no hostility toward the idea," but, "If they don't share the vision they might not want to participate in the development or its preservation." Furthermore, "I have not heard that residents would get in the way of development because of the association of slavery with the heritage of Falmouth."

Interviewee 6 asserted,

I think that all residents should be aware of their heritage and try and do all they can to enhance and to support… and they should be involved…. The residents' involvement would enhance the process, because…it will show that, as a parish, these people… take pride in what is happening. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

According to Interviewee 7, the people are already involved in the process and are aware that heritage tourism is on the development agenda for Falmouth. Their involvement and awareness have been as a result of the "many consultations [that have taken place] and the people understand the benefits… to be gained from selling… history and culture." Interviewee 8 opined, "I think it is very important" to involve residents in the cultural heritage development process. Further, the interviewee stated, "I don't think the people would hinder development." He also contended that local people's involvement should be facilitated and given some preference and be a part of the final product.

Interviewee 9 believed that it is important for the residents to be involved; however, "I don't think they [JNHT] got the buy-in of the residents when they declared the town a [Heritage] District." Likewise, interviewee 10 agreed that the people should be involved in the cultural heritage development process for "that's the only way it will, can work;" however, the process in Falmouth so far has been a disappointment. Further, Interviewee 10 argued, "I don't think… the people in the town have grasped the potential of what we have." Interviewee 11, while agreeing that residents should be involved in the heritage development process, lamented, "like many other places in Jamaica, Falmouthians today are not aware much of their heritage." He argued that the process should

> start in the schools… involving school children as early as possible to tell the stories about the town, about the character of the town [and] about what was happening around the town that made it important. (Interviewee 11: Interviews, 2009) Interviewee 12 alleged,
>
> They are critical, because… the resources are actually located within the community and if the community doesn't buy into it, [then], what you are trying to do will probably never succeed. The community ensures first of all, the protection of your development, 2) what you do by involving the community is to increase the recognition and appreciation of what is there…. The community wants to know how they will benefit economically, how is your development going to affect us, what is the interface that you hope to have with us, can we for instance come and have a shop within your development, will we be getting some sort of concessionary rate and will we be employed to be tour guides - that sort of thing. So, there has to be some meaningful engagement of the community. (Interviewee 12: Interviews, 2009)

What mechanisms should be put in place to engage residents in the cultural heritage development process in Falmouth?

The interviewees suggested a number of ways to engage residents in the cultural heritage development process. They included: sensitizing them to the development; providing information about possible opportunities as a result of the development; giving practical information on ways to improve structures and restore buildings; providing information and education to build awareness about the cultural heritage of the town; having reaching out processes to build inclusiveness among the residents; and a public education campaign. The process should facilitate a dialogue with the community. Furthermore, it is argued that the engagement of the residents will bring them into the cultural heritage development processes and keep them involved in the conversation.

Interviewees 4, 9, 10 and 12 advocate the implementation of educational activities as a critical component to endear the residents to the cultural heritage development process in Falmouth. They also agreed that residents' involvement would enhance the process. Interviewee 4 said,

"I think one of the first things is information, education… getting them there with you from day one." Interviewee 9 suggested,

> First of all we are going to need a public education campaign…. This is now where the Heritage Trust [JNHT comes in]…. So they… have to show the residents how they can benefit from…keeping their structures in the 18th century look or the Georgian look… show them how they will benefit economically…. You have to have a massive public education program for that. (Interviewee 9: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 10 posits, "Maybe more education." Interviewee 12 asserts, "public education campaigns [are critical]. Hence, the community is sensitized to what we are doing and what it will mean to have this particular site or, in the case of Falmouth, the particular district declared and how it will benefit them."

Interviewee 4 said, "residents' involvement would absolutely enhance the process more… they must sign on and they must be partners." Interviewee 9 contends, "Public participation is important for the process of heritage development…. So, if you don't get their buy-in, you are doomed to fail." Interviewee 12 advocates,

the development of...Heritage Foundations, which are basically community-based organizations with more of a heritage focus... they could help us to do inventory and [also] help us with enforcement.... The other thing is to meaningfully engage them (residents) in discussions that will help, for instance, in developing [Development] Orders[22] for the different townships. (Interviewee 12: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewees also mentioned a variety of other actions and reasons to engage residents: Interviewee 1 stated,

First and foremost a sensitization of the development in its scope...[for] a lot of persons still aren't aware of the reality of the development.... Secondly, we need to speak to our residents in a very real way about the opportunities inherent in that process.... In that respect, we are looking at three things: the development of viable local businesses, the development of products [that are] unique to Trelawny...and... [a] change in the business mind-set that currently prevails.... How do we ensure that our local farmers are a part of the product.... If the product ensures that there is food on my table, my mortgage is paid, my child can go to school, my dreams are being realized, then I will fight tooth and nail to protect that product. I will ensure that the [product] succeed.... [There will be]...less harassment of our visitors [and] a more clean and presentable product. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 2 claimed, "When people of Falmouth see that their sons and daughters and themselves are getting jobs because we have a product here, it's got to sort of change their mind." Interviewee 3 said, "giving them practical ways of how they can restore their buildings. Give them blueprints, give them designs that they can use to improve their structures." Interviewee 6 stressed,

I think it has to be a kind of reaching out process... because some are not aware. Some aren't sure they are welcomed in the process, so I think there should be a sort of reaching out or a sensitization process and invite and let them know, come and be a part of this. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

Finally, Interviewee 8 expressed,

It needs someone with special terms of reference on how to do that on behalf of the developers... [someone that] is very good with dealing with government red tape.

---

[22] Development Orders are planning legislations that set out guidelines for development.

Residents' involvement would "absolutely" strengthen the development process: it is very important. (Interviewee 8: Interviews, 2009)

6.6 African Diaspora and the Cultural Heritage of Slavery
What are your views on the use of slavery heritage as themes for the development of attractions?

All the interviewees agreed that it is quite appropriate and important to use cultural heritage that is associated with slavery as themes for attraction development. Although some explicitly stated that such themes are negative, they are regarded as a significant part of "our history." However, they felt that its development should be done in a memorable and respectful way and it should be a learning experience. According to Interviewee 1,

It is [a] significant component of our history. It continues to define us as a people…. It is part of our story and we [should not] separate the good from the bad in our history. In order to be accurate, in order to be truthful to the history, you cannot be selective. We have to present it in its entirety. I think it is quite appropriate. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 3 argued,

You have to do it in a memorable way…. Whatever we do, we have to do it with respect… if we are marking their memory in some way by our activity then that is fine. If it is just for financial gain – there is nothing wrong with making money – but we have to be respectful of the heritage, and we have to be learning from it and part of what we should be developing is an understanding of that heritage and how we [can] learn from it… it is our people and our heritage and we don't want to be disrespectful but, at the same time, there are ways of building on it to our advantage, whether psychological advantage or physical advantage. (Interviewee 3: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 7 opined,

From my personal perspective I would say "yes"… some different emotions come up inside of you when you recreate those kinds of conditions and people relive them. I think each of us must, in our own way, re-experience those things so that we can stand up and be men. (Interviewee 7: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 8 agreed, "Oh, yes I do. Yes, I definitely do."

Others saw slavery as one of the most evil events that have ever happened to mankind that should not be forgotten, and it is something that should be re-enacted to educate people about the impact of the Transatlantic Trade in Africans slaves. According to Interviewee 4,

> I believe it should be. I think it should not be forgotten, it's one of the most evil things that has ever happened to mankind…. It's a most brutal thing and mankind should ensure that it is so well documented and preserved as the greatest evil of all times…. Every effort should be made to ensure that this is never repeated and it should be remembered…. I have always thought, you look at our heritage of slavery, don't you think a tremendous opportunity exist here for let's say a slave museum. We could have a replica of what a plantation was like, how to run a slave society, what it was like. We could create things within Falmouth in some of these empty buildings that used to store the sugar for shipment…. In my view we have more to develop than others. I have seen [some] who have taken less and presented things for visitors to their country. (Interviewee 4: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 5 argued,

> It is something we have to re-enact and we have to make people know. We have to understand that we have to educate our people now…. It is important that we understand that it happened, let us show what happened… it is something that we must remember. (Interviewee 5: Interviews, 2009)

Some interviewees regarded the cultural heritage of slavery as something we should be unashamed of; it is a reminder that shows the journey of black people through slavery, the struggle; it would be an activity that is unique, important and a critical part of "our" heritage that shows where we are coming from; and reminds and informs the past, gives strength for the future and instils pride. Interviewee 6 posited,

> Yes, I think we should know, as a people, we can't be ashamed of where we are coming from; it was not our fault…. I would be quite interested and comfortable… I would say, as a people, this is where we are coming from and this is the person who we are today. So, it would only be to enhance us…. I believe it should stand out because it is very, very important. Our fore-parents came here as slaves, they went through some hard and tough times but we have passed through that, so we should always be able to see and it should remind us of where we are coming from and

where we can reach as a people…. It all shows a life of struggle… you are able to

relate to people much better because you know where your fore-parents are coming

from. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 9 contended,

I think it would work because nowhere else in Jamaica we have that and we cannot

deny it. It's an important and critical part of our heritage and it is important for

persons to see where we are coming from to appreciate what we have… it would

work. (Interviewee 9: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 10 alleged,

I think some can be used… to the extent that it reminds you or it informs you of the

past, yes…. I think it gives you some strength for the future. So, if we have

something… that reminds people of where you come from, it will help develop some

pride to see where you have reached. I would support a venture that uses slavery

heritage themes to instil pride and as a reminder. (Interviewee 10: Interviews, 2009)

Although Interviewee 11 did not like the phrase 'slavery heritage,' he was in-support

of showcasing the experiences and facts surrounding slavery. He cautioned,

I don't like to use the word slavery heritage; I like to talk about the fight for freedom

and the emancipation…. Because people have wrong idea about slavery in Jamaica

and it gets embedded in their minds and associated with things that are

stereotypical… there were tremendous movements for freeing the human spirit, for

freedom in Trelawny and St. James. Tremendous resistance to it from the people

living in Trelawny at the time… you could talk about the fact that Trelawny had the

most slaves, not only the most sugar estates but the most slaves than the other

parishes. (Interviewee 11: Interviews, 2009)

It is felt that the cultural heritage associated with slavery is a part of our history that

helped to frame the nation, for a large percentage of the people is descended from slaves,

which is nothing to be ashamed of. Potentially, it could showcase the atrocities, the growth as

a result of slavery, be an educational experience and build awareness among the younger

generations of the slavery experience. Interviewee 12 claimed,

It has potential… it is part of our history. It's not the glamorous part but the reality is

it is that part of our history that framed the nation, because a large percentage of our

population is actually descendant of slaves and there is no shame in it…. So, the potential is there on both sides, 1) you showcase the atrocities what we went through, 2) we are able to showcase the growth and the development that occurred because of it. There are also benefits to be had… 1) it is actually an educational [experience]…and 2) help the younger generation to understand that where they are now is just not something that fell from Heaven…. Liverpool has done it, there is a slavery museum in Liverpool, but the potential is there [in Falmouth]. (Interviewee 12: Interviews, 2009)

What are your views on the development of sites in Falmouth that appeal to Jamaicans locally and to those in the Diaspora?

The interviewees expressed a number of views about developing cultural heritage sites in Falmouth for Jamaicans locally and those in the diaspora. The diaspora will have to be engaged because they own a number of the properties in Falmouth and they have been active in lobbying the State to develop the town as a tourist attraction. They believed the developmental potential is there. Also, from an educational perspective, the development of the sites is critical for locals and visitors. Developing the sites would help the locals to reconnect and maintain a link with their heritage which is lacking in some cases. Interviewee 1 admitted,

The diaspora is actively involved in developing these products. They have lobbied, they are lobbying the government to the best of my knowledge for at least 10 years to provide funding in developing Falmouth as a tourist attraction…. Majority of the historical structures are not government-owned. They are either owned by churches or by individuals. The majority of these individuals are a part of the diaspora, so they will have to be engaged [or else it will be]…pointless, nobody want to come and look at ruins…. For the locals, one of the things we need to ensure is that…. I think our countrymen have lost touch with the history of their country. So, from an educational standpoint, it is very… critical that we develop these types of products." Interviewee 12 opined, "It can be done and I think the only reason it has not been done is a matter of maybe the will to do it.... Primarily you would have to purchase property or you would have to get into some joint partnership agreements with owners of properties…. The potential for development is great in the town but what we need to

do is to look at what may be the barriers to actually having that development happen. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

It was also expressed that sites be made to satisfy locals who should be the ones to authenticate the product for outsiders. Further, the sites should highlight the heritage of Falmouth as it relates to Jamaicans and their ancestors. For example, interviewee 2 stated,

I have always argued that the development in Falmouth should be done to satisfy the people of Trelawny first, then the people of Jamaica and then the people outside…if you do it right for the local population it's going to be authentic and so a foreigner, a visitor from outside is going to recognize that it's authentic…you try to highlight the heritage of Falmouth as it relates to Jamaicans and the ancestors of Jamaicans living today. (Interviewee 2: Interviews, 2009)

Jamaicans in the Diaspora are big supporters of local events that have international appeal. Likewise, local Jamaicans would visit as they had done on previous occasions when a small museum was set up in the town. The sites could help to enhance and showcase the parish and could also become an educational site. Interviewee 5 affirmed,

They will always be [coming]…when [we have] events, our biggest supporters are our Jamaicans in the Diaspora…who come home because any opportunity they get, they run come home looking for reason to come back. So, all we need to do is just put on something that have international appeal and they will come. (Interviewee 5: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 6 testified,

I am in support of anything good for this parish and if a site is coming up that will enhance Trelawny, to showcase Trelawny to the world I am for that and I am sure even [those in] the diasporas…would be interested as well, school children and university students…. People could come in to do some extra studies and see what is really happening. I think we have got one of the richest heritage site here. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 10 predicted, "Jamaicans would come, because [previously someone] had started a little slave museum with little artefacts [in Falmouth] and there was quite a number of people [who] use to visit it."

It is said that Jamaicans locally and those in the Diaspora have not shown a lot of interest in cultural heritage that is associated with slavery. Also, many people are ashamed of being associated with Africans and slavery; however, it is a historical fact that will have to be accepted. Interviewee 4 espoused,

> I am not particularly excited about that, because locals and Jamaican in the Diaspora…have [not] shown any great interest in that aspect of our heritage. I think the interest has been mainly from individuals out there in the world [who have]…particular interest in world heritage sites. (Interviewee 4: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 7 alleged,

> I would say that many people are ashamed of being called African or being called former slaves, as black people…. Even in our own experience here, many people do not want a…slave museum, they want a freedom museum or some such name…. But I have no qualms that my grandfather was a slave. That was just what happened, I have no apologies for the fact that people in my lineage came from Europe as well. I also have no apologies for the fact that people inside my mothers lineage were proud warriors that came and decided that they were going to lead rebellions on sugar plantations and so on, I am not ashamed of it. It is just history or a historical fact that we have to deal with. (Interviewee 7: Interviews, 2009)

According to some interviewees, dynamism will have to be incorporated in the development of sites that are associated with slavery to make them appealing to visitors. Such sites could become living museums that showcase slavery in general. Interviewee 8 advanced,

> The whole enslavement can be portrayed from the point of arrival unto the sugar estates around Falmouth. The stories can be built through actual places rather than books. I believe in living museums, not fixed ones. (Interviewee 8: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 9 argued,

> It is something that can be explored…it as to be in such a way that appeals to an individual…you have to bring an added value to it…. You have to add some activity to generate interest…you need something dynamic. (Interviewee 9: Interviews, 2009)

6.7 Strategies for Cultural Heritage Development

What actions should be taken to develop the cultural heritage resources in Falmouth?

Interviewees expressed the need for various actions deemed necessary for the development of the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. Interviewee 8 declared, "There are so many things to be done." First of all, there is a need to set up a 'think tank' to generate ideas. It was also felt that a Master Plan is needed with a systematic way for its implementation along with the requisite funding. Other recommendations included the implementation of a legislative framework specific to the town to protect its cultural heritage; the development of educational awareness programmes; the development of heritage resources and related infrastructure; the building of consensus among stakeholders; seeking communities' buy-in to cultural heritage concepts; establishing a framework for the funding of restoration; and engaging organizations such as the JNHT and the Parish Council. Notwithstanding all the actions that are needed, Interviewee 7 claimed,

> A lot of things had been done. We had the town prescribed as a tourist development area[23]. We are having it prescribed in law as a development area and the Development Order is to be signed once legal work has been done…. The people in the town, business people in the town are sensitized…. Residents are very aware and very expectant. I would say people are now waiting on the development of the Port and by extension the heritage area…. The potential is tremendous, the linkages are many. (Interviewee 7: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 1 emphasized the need first, to address infrastructure issues impacting the cultural heritage resources, for a number of the sites are in an advanced state of disrepair. The Interviewee further claimed,

> We need to get these buildings up and running. We need to address the issue of the change in the 'flavour' of the town…it has no relevance to the persons living in the town. So, what you find is that a lot of the buildings that [gave the area a historical ambiance]…are now being converted into very modern looking structures and it is jarring…. One of the suggestions right now is for the key stakeholders to clearly define what that road…[that is, developmental path]…right now there are so many

---

[23] Such a designation would guarantee special funding from the Jamaica Tourist Board to assist with beautification and other developmental projects in Falmouth.

187

voices…so many different things that it's hard to get any clear consensus out of it. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 2 expressed the need

To create a pleasant historically oriented town showcasing both small and large beautifully restored Georgian structures with an inviting atmosphere that encourages visitors to walk about. To accomplish this we need planning, public awareness, training, education and total involvement of the citizens of Trelawny…. Community leaders must convince the citizens that it is in their interest and their children's interest to see to it that Falmouth becomes a place that visitors want to see. (Interviewee 2: Interviews, 2009)

Further, the interviewee argued for the following actions to achieve the above:

ensure that the local authorities, eg, Parish Council, Building Supervisor, Health Officer, etc., have the capacity for quick action and leadership; establish a Trelawny Resort Board; have developers share their plans for development with the citizens of Falmouth; convene a meeting of all training agencies; have the first town hall meeting to present the plan to the people; review all relevant laws pertaining to commercial vs. residential areas; enforce the relevant laws as they pertain to illegal activities in the town, eg., abandoned and overgrown lots, unsafe buildings, commercial businesses in residential areas, etc.; employ an engineer to examine and make recommendations for the drainage system; convene a meeting of lending agencies to seek ways of establishing small business loans' schemes for Falmouth entrepreneurs; establish an advisory network for persons wishing to develop a business relevant to the product; and start the process of citizen's education/awareness by contacting all schools, service clubs and churches. (Interviewee 2: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 3 highlighted the need to develop projects such as a museum and a theatre and the establishment of a "think tank" to develop other ideas for implementation. Interviewee 4 opined

Government could use its legislative power to ensure that the sites are protected and also [that] the developments [will] bring benefits for the people and the country on a whole…Government has a huge role in there, I think there ought to be, too, an information and education thrust for the people. (Interviewee 4: Interviews, 2009)

188

Interviewee 6 stated, "there must be certain guidelines to protect our heritage…and the people who are coming to invest must make sure that they follow these rules and regulations."

Interviewee 9 proposed,

Step one, you have to get the buy-in of the community. Secondly, you get all the stakeholders, government stakeholders together because each agency has their role to play and they too must have the mind-set…this is what is going to be done and it's going to take that…. Also, you have to take into consideration your other stakeholders, which are your craft vendors and the business people on a whole…. Those are steps I would take and then everybody would come together and try to get their ideas, what they see for the town of Falmouth, how they see the town of Falmouth going and you properly package that and move forward. (Interviewee 9: Interviews, 2009)

According to Interviewee 10 funding is needed, particularly since it usually costs more to restore structures to Georgian architectures' specifications than if they were being restored without such rigid specifications.

Interviewee 11 proposed that the engagement of the JNHT which will in turn engage the Parish Council and then create

an organization that 'shove' these people into action or get permission from them to act, then you are going to have to be very militant about it…. It's not going to happen if you simply go through the same old channels that we have been dealing with all these years. (Interviewee 11: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 12 suggested,

A plan for what we need or what we want it to be…like a Master Plan, this is what Falmouth should look like, [and] we need a systematic way of implementing that plan along with funding. We need to argue for legislation that is specific to our towns. (Interviewee 12: Interviews, 2009)

Who or what agencies should be responsible for what actions?

Interviewees identified a number of international, national and local organizations that should be responsible for actions in the cultural heritage development process for

Falmouth. They include government, NGO's, civic, professional and business organizations that develop, fund and regulate or provide information. Although these agencies were identified as critical, for the most part, their specific roles in the development process were not identified. Interviewee 4 asserted, "There [are] roles definitely for those heritage agencies, the government, the parish council, the Chamber of Commerce, the taxi association." However, Interviewee 6 warned,

> What we don't want is too much agencies coming, new agencies coming and sort of clustering the process. I think what is already there, it has been working well, [and] so, we should continue to work with those agencies. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

One interviewee, Interviewee 8 pointed to international organizations, the

> World Heritage Funds, UNESCO, etc…Falmouth is the ideal spot to start this movement because it has visitors all the time…. What they are doing in Falmouth if it succeeds it could be applied to places such as Port Royal. It could become a model for other places. (Interviewee 8: Interviews, 2009)

> However, the Parish Council is cited by interviewees 1, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 12 as the agency that should play the lead role since it has the legal authority and gives the final approval for all physical development in the town. According to interviewee 1,

> The lead agency has to be the Parish Council. They are the only one with legal authority over the town and over the parish as it relates to development…. So they have to take a lead role in not only articulating the vision but, ensuring that the vision is realized in the way that we want it to be realized. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 3 opined, "Certainly the Parish Council [PC], the PC is critical." Interviewee 6 asserted,

> You have the Local Authority…the Local Authority plays a very important role because in all of this we see to it that everything is done by the rules, you abide by the necessary process. The Local Authority or Parish Council is the one that gives, that makes the final approval for anything that is to be done. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewees 4 and 9 also mentioned the Parish Council but did not state a specific role for it. Interviewee 12 declared, "Local government, they control municipalities."

Another state agency that is seen as critical and integral to the cultural heritage development process is the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT). Fifty per cent of the interviewee cited it as an important agency since it has the legal mandate to protect and develop Jamaica's cultural heritage resources. Apart from the JNHT, Interviewee 3 cited other organizations that are associated with cultural heritage such as,

> the Georgian Society of Jamaica, Jamaica Historical Society as well, the Jamaica Archaeological Society, all of these organizations that have some things to do with heritage certainly could be involved as well, and should be. (Interviewee 3: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 4 argued, "First of all you have to bring on board the entire Heritage Trust, all those who have an interest in the issues of heritage." Interviewee 6 said, "You have Heritage Trust [JNHT] that makes sure that the heritage of the town and historic town is maintained and is protected." Interviewee 10 claimed, "You have the Heritage Trust, the great difficulty with the Heritage Trust is that the Heritage Trust has responsibility, it has authority but it has no funding." Interviewee 12 also mentioned the JNHT as an agency.

A number of Interviewees referred to roles in the process for some economic and business organizations. Interviewee 1 asserted,

> The Chamber of Commerce has a huge task on its hands in reorienting the business mind frame that currently exists in Trelawny…the greatest challenge we are going to have at the end of the day is how do we capture the attention of these people [visitors]… how do we ensure that when they come here they don't jump on a couple buses and are ferried to Montego Bay and Ocho Rios…how do we convert this great house into a Bed and Breakfast, how do we convert that one into a restaurant or tea house or a bath house or something unique that speaks to a specific type of product that can be tapped into by our visitors. How do we use the story at each one of the great houses…. How do we utilize these resources, these structures to ensure that we either convert them to places of attraction, places of leisure. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

> Interviewee 4 claimed,

> I think all economic groups that now exist in Trelawny, the Chamber of Commerce, the collection of business men they need to be brought on board because they are the

ones who stand a good chance of benefitting [most] out of any development. Then of course the people must have thorough information, education, they must be given a chance to see what transformation can take place in the lives of adult citizens here. (Interviewee 4: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 2 expressed,

There are numerous organizations mandated to accomplish various tasks involving training…. Consideration should also be given to setting up a small business loan scheme through local banks…. Perhaps the Small Business Association could help spearhead such an initiative. (Interviewee 2: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewees referred to a number of other organizations that have roles and responsibilities to play. According to Interviewee 1 the

Social Development Commission (SDC) as it relates to the interface with the communities and ensuring that the communities are abreast and are actively a part of the process have a significant role to play. (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewees 3 and 6 identified NEPA (National Environment and Planning Agency) as one of the agencies. Interviewee 3 asserted, "you have NEPA, you have the various bodies that are concerned with development, UDC [Urban Development Corporation] concerned with maintaining the early structures." Interviewee 6 posited, "NEPA which is one of the agencies that regulate environmental impacts and to make sure you abide by it." Interviewee 9 alleged,

NWA [National Works Agency]…the roads, the drainage, which is our main concern, even the utility companies (JPS [Jamaica Public Service], NWC [National Water Commission]). JPS [Jamaica Public Service Company] could move their poles or go underground with some of their wires underground, [this would allow you to]…see the beauty of the town of Falmouth. (Interviewee 9: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 10 argued,

Recently you have the Tourism Enhancement Fund…. They are not developmental agencies, they are primary agencies that oversee and regulate, and they don't do development. One of the sad things even if they don't have the fund to develop they can regulate and tell you what to do. (Interviewee 10: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 12 declared, "then we would need like OPM [Office of the Prime Minister] for instance and the UDC will come in."

What time frame should be attached to the various aspects of the plan?

Interviewees thought that it is important to have a time frame in place. The majority of them are of the opinion that Falmouth should have been developed already as a tourist attraction. According to Interviewee 1,

> The development of the product [should] be taken in threefold, the first thing is the development of local understanding and…appreciation…and that need[ed] to [have] be[ing] developed like three years ago. From that appreciation we are going to understand the necessary skills that are needed not only to sell it but also to maintain it…. And, a third thing, lay the foundation for some sort of legacy process that ensures that we are continually replenishing the product with the entry of new qualified persons to manage it and new and approved products that can enhance the larger product…. How do we make the product bigger and better each and every time a person comes back to be a part of it? (Interviewee 1: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 2 and 5 alleged that the development of the cultural heritage of Falmouth should have taken place some 10 years ago, as far back as 1998 when the OAS commissioned a prefeasibility study on Falmouth. Also, Interviewee 5 stated, "we do not have time, time is not on our side." Interviewee 3 specifically made reference to fixing Falmouth's drainage system that have serious problems that need to be addressed when one is looking at improving the town. According to Interviewee 4, a definite timeframe is needed, but this depends on

> who has the money…. There must be a timeframe in the minds of residents and the developers. Can't work without a timeframe for the people around must know this is going to happen within a certain time. (Interviewee 4: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 10 also thinks a timeframe is needed urgently because some of the historic buildings are deteriorating beyond the point of repair.

Should pre-conditions be set for participation?

Participants agreed that preconditions are important for the development process. However, they should come out of discussions and debates in order for people to buy into them. Most important, the local residents should be allowed to participate fully in developments and given first preference "up to a point." Interviewee 1 stated that whatever is being done should be done in the interest of the residents of Falmouth and the people of

Trelawny. From an environmental perspective, social perspective and economical perspective there has to be pre-conditions. Interviewee 2 cautioned that the pre-conditions should be those that are considered reasonable in the normal course of business and not pre-conditions that will become stumbling blocks. In relation to the environment, there should be clear guidelines as to what is allowed. The environment must survive while development takes place; it should not be either or, but coexistence of both as a result of responsible actions and practices.

Interviewee 5 admitted that we cannot stop development but it should be done for the "betterment" of the town. In reference to the development of cultural heritage, Interviewee 5 argued, "Whenever you have development like this you need the people from the area to get the work." Interviewee 8 stated that it is important to incorporate local residents in the project, "you want to keep residents here, you don't want to get a whole lot of new people buying up properties and moving in as had happened in so many places abroad." Interviewee 9 asserted,

It would be good to have preconditions in place. Like a policy agreement, like a memorandum of understanding (MOU) could be signed between all parties so everybody is on the same page so you don't have any misconceptions…it will offer for better communication. (Interviewee 9: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 10 was also in agreement to having preconditions in place,

Oh yes, there has to be. As to what these will be is going to depend on further discussions and the people…. For it doesn't make sense you set preconditions that people won't buy into. These conditions must come out of discussions and debates in order that the people will buy into it. (Interviewee 10: Interviews, 2009)

What else would you like to add about Falmouth?

The remarks of interviewees focussed mainly on the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. Interviewee 3 expressed the need to respect the heritage of the town. Interviewee 5 pointed to cultural heritage resources in Falmouth such as the buildings and William Knibb, the Baptist Minister who played a pivotal role in the fight against slavery. Interviewee 6 asserted

I am looking forward one day when Falmouth will be the place where everybody wants to come and it will be buzzing with activities and we will be able to stand out

194

as a model community who has stuck with our heritage. (Interviewee 6: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 7 argued

> I think Falmouth has one of the richest offerings in heritage attractions. Every Jamaican should visit the Falmouth area…for your own development as a person…. So, it can definitely help us to create an identity, which is lacking in some areas. (Interviewee 7: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 10 claimed,

> The whole parish not just Falmouth has areas that we can develop…. Quite a number of the great houses in the parish are deteriorating, some urgent actions are needed to really see that they don't fall apart because within the next 10-15 years there won't be there anymore. (Interviewee 10: Interviews, 2009)

Interviewee 12 expressed,

> there is an opportunity now to develop it into a combination of vehicle and pedestrian traffic…. Falmouth is actually a waterfront town, it came to life because of the slave trade and then it grew into more commercial ventures. (Interviewee 12: Interviews, 2009)

6.8 Summary

Twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with stakeholders of Falmouth. The data from the interviews were analysed using content analysis as espoused by Gillham (2000). All the interviewees were in agreement that cultural heritage tourism opportunities exist in Falmouth as a result of the rich heritage of the town, which is expected to gain economically, physically, and socially from the development of its cultural heritage as attractions. Falmouth has the largest collection of Georgian architecture in Jamaica and a lot of it is linked to the plantation society that existed during and after the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. It was expressed that both local and international visitors would be interested in the cultural heritage resources of the town, which was given a mean score of 7.65 on a scale of 1 to 10. Authenticity should be strived for in the development of the heritage of the town. All the interviewees except one were of the opinion that there are constraints to the development of cultural heritage in Falmouth. While the interviewees see financial constraints as the biggest obstacle, they argued that public education is critical to

remove most of the other constraints. The interviewees were unanimous in the view that residents' involvement is critical in cultural heritage development, which would lead to sustainability of the product. It was felt that, sensitizing and educating residents about development opportunities in Falmouth are ways to engage them in the process. Without any reservation, all the interviewees agreed that it is appropriate and important to use cultural heritage that is associated with slavery as themes for the development of attractions. The actions that should be taken to develop the cultural heritage of Falmouth should include planning, building public awareness and education, training and involving the citizens of the parish.

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH FINDINGS: HISTORICAL RESEARCH

7.1 Introduction

The data presented in this chapter represents the findings from the historical research, one of the four data collection methods used in the research (see Section 4.4 Data Collection Mechanisms). Whereas Chapter 3 contextualized Jamaica and the study site of Falmouth this chapter establishes their connections to the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves by the use of primary and secondary textual information. That is, the chapter highlights the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth that are associated with enslaved Africans that can potentially be interpreted and developed as dark tourism attractions. The sources that were evaluated to uncover the information include, but are not limited to, John Bigelow's (1850), *Jamaica in 1850: or, the effects of sixteen years of freedom on a slave colony*; Philo Scotus' (Phillip Ainslie) (1861), *Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman*; and Dan Ogilvie's (1954), *The History of the Parish of Trelawny*. The information gleaned affirms Falmouth's association with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves, thus establishes the town beyond a shadow of doubt as a potential dark cultural heritage site (dark cultural heritage is defined in Chapter 2 above, Page 47). This chapter, first, gives an overview of the trade and it impacts on the Caribbean. Second, it outlines Britain's role and influence on the trade. Third, it summarizes the links between Jamaica and the trade. Finally, it examines aspects of Falmouth's cultural heritage that are associated with enslaved Africans and that can be deemed to be dark.

The Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves was "one of the most extreme forms of the relations of domination, approaching the limits of total power from the viewpoint of the master, and of total powerlessness from the viewpoint of the slave" (Patterson, 1982, p.5). As a result, slaves were seen as genealogical isolates, "socially dead" and isolated by force (Patterson, 1982, p.5). Slaves were subjected to forced alienation of birth in both ascending and descending generations from all formal, legally enforceable "blood" ties. They had no custodial claims or powers over their children and children inherited no claims or obligations to their parents or living blood relations or their most remote ancestors and descendants. That is, they were formally isolated from the social heritage of their ancestors and were not allowed freely to integrate the experience of their ancestors into their lives. As a result, some

slaves in Jamaica were found to have an extraordinarily shallow genealogical and historical memory (Paterson, 1982). In their powerlessness slaves became extensions of their master's power as they had no socially recognized existence outside of their master. Although slaves had strong social ties among themselves, these relationships were never recognized as legitimate or binding for, for example, slave couples could be and were at time, forcibly separated and the master had the power to remove a slave from the local community in which he or she was brought up.

7.2 Impact of the Transatlantic Trade on the Caribbean.

The Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves spans a period from the 16th to the 19th century when some Europeans states sanctioned slavery and forcibly brought millions of captive Africans to the New World to work on plantations in North and South America and the West Indies. Rodney (1972, p.95) argued "Africans only became a slave when he reached a society where he worked as a slave… he was first a free man then a captive." However, it is acceptable to speak of the trade in slaves in reference to the shipment of captives from Africa to the New World where they lived and worked as the property of Europeans. Patterson (1982, p.160) claimed that "the enormously profitable transatlantic slave trade" was the last and greatest of all slave-trading systems because almost all European peoples were involved at one time or another. Even though the Portuguese, Dutch, British, French and Spanish were the major slave-trading countries, the Portuguese were the first to developed the trade and, by the end of the 16th century, the Dutch became a major player. However, by the end of the 17th century, the British and the French were heavily involved. The Spanish were mainly involved through the *Asiento* contract of 1713, whereby other countries, mainly Britain and France, supplied them with Africans who were enslaved.

The enslaved Africans came mainly from the west coastal region of the African continent, from Senegal south to Angola and extending to a distance of between 320 to 480 kilometres inland (Patterson, 1982; Watts, 1987). Initially, the region covered the areas referred to as the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast. Subsequently, other areas such as Nigeria, Cameroon and Gabon became more significant to the trade. The tribal groups from the Gold Coast, who were referred to as 'Coromantine' were preferred by planters as the best workers, while those from the Congo delta region and Angola were regarded as being among the worst.

According to a number of sources, most of the Africans who were enslaved came to the New World during the 18th century (Rodney, 1972; Patterson, 1982; Watts, 1987). However, the exact numbers who were enslaved is still a point of contention and conjecture; estimates have ranged from a few millions to over a hundred million (Rodney, 1972). Patterson (1982) estimated that approximately 7.44 million Africans made the journey across the Atlantic into slavery; however, he asserted that an estimate of 10 million is the most widely used figure. Nevertheless, Rodney (1982, p.96) argued, "any figure of Africans imported into the Americas which is narrowly based on the surviving records is bound to be low, because there were so many people at the time who had a vested interest in smuggling slaves (and withholding data)." In this regard, Rodney suggested that, to arrive at the number of Africans that the trade impacted, we should include the following: 1) the number of deaths that occurred during warfare which was the principal means of obtaining captives; 2) the deaths that occurred in Africa during the time of capture and time of embarkation since some captives had to travel hundreds of kilometres to the coast; and 3) the lives lost during the Middle Passage, the journey from Africa across the Atlantic which averaged between 15 and 20 per cent.

Some writers alleged that the 'Middle Passage' was the most horrific part of the Transatlantic Trade (Williams, 1944, 1994; "Daniel," n.d.). This was the journey from Africa across the Atlantic to the New World which usually ranged from 58 to 70 days in duration. One of the hallmarks of the Middle Passage was the high mortality rate, sometimes as high as 45 per cent ("Daniel," n.d.; "1790 letter," n.d.). In fact, a mortality rate of 14.1 per cent occurred on a Slaver (a ship transporting slaves), the "Daniel", in May 1792 and this was referred to as being a relatively good record. Rodney (1982, p.96) also alleged that the Middle Passage "was notorious for the number of deaths incurred." Deaths were attributed to a number of factors, such as, 'tight packing' of slaves on the ships, the length of time at sea, the quality of food and water during the passage, and epidemics and health conditions during the journey. Also, homicides, mutinies and suicides were very common on ships that were engaged in the trade. While a number of Africans jumped overboard, preferring death to slavery, some were intentionally thrown overboard by ships' crews ("Daniel," n.d.; "1790 letter," n.d.). Williams (1944, 1994) related a case in 1783 where 132 slaves were thrown overboard because the ship was running short on water. Ironically, no attempt was made by

anyone to prosecute the captain and crew for mass homicide, but the insurance company honoured a claim by the owners who alleged that the loss of the slaves fell within the clause "perils of the sea." In the words of Williams (1944, 1994, p.35), "The slave trader's aim was profit and not the comfort of victims." As a result, the space allotted to each slave during the Middle Passage measured only five and a half feet in length by sixteen inches in breadth which was less room than a man in a coffin (Williams 1944, 1994). The slaves were packed like books on shelves and chained two by two, right leg and left leg, right hand and left hand.

The brutality experienced by the Africans did not end upon their arrival in the Caribbean but continued on the plantations and resulted in a high mortality rate, which was estimated at 13 per cent per annum during the 18th century (Patterson, 1982). Whereas the American Colonies imported the smallest percentage of captive Africans to the New World, by 1825 they had the largest proportion of slaves in the hemisphere. Patterson (1982) argued that the shift in proportion was attributed to better living conditions in the American colonies which fostered a remarkable rate of natural increase. On the other hand, the Caribbean imported over 40 per cent of all Africans brought to the New World but, by 1825, they had less than 20 per cent of the enslaved population. This was attributed to the remarkable rate of natural decrease due mainly to very poor living conditions, in particular, on sugar plantations. Watts (1987, p.366) argued, "The evidence for this is unequivocal, and most of it dates from the commencement of the eighteenth century until c1775." He further claimed that there were several causes of death which included scurvy, ulcers and intestinal parasites in addition to other diseases that affected the general population on the islands, but "for all slaves, overwork and malnutrition were effective contributory factors too" (Watts, 1987, p.366). In territories like Jamaica, which were most heavily committed to the production of sugar, field slaves were often expected to labour on an inadequate diet for 15 hours each day or 18 hours during harvesting. The harsh treatment of slaves was most common on those properties owned by absentees[24], where the degree of cruelty and excessive work to which slaves were exposed was higher than elsewhere. Bigelow (1851, p.79) asserted, "nine-tenth of the land under cultivation [in Jamaica] before the Emancipation Act, was owned by absentees."

---

[24] Planters who resided in Europe and North America and left overseers and agents in charge of operating their plantations in the West Indies.

As a consequence of the forced relocation of the millions of Africans to the New World, the predominant hue of the West Indian population changed from white to black, as more and more Africans were brought in to establish and work on plantations (Watts, 1987). According to Watts (1987), the white population of the West Indies increased from about 51,000 to 660,000 from 1665 to 1833. On the other hand, the black slave population increased from about 49,000 to over 1.1 million. In addition, there were approximately 500,000 'free-coloured.' In particular, there were many more slaves in the British colonies because of their commitment to sugar plantations.

7.3 Britain's Impact on the Transatlantic Trade.

According to Watts (1987), Barbados was the first colony in the West Indies where the English introduced the commercial growth of sugar cane in the 1640s. Eventually, plantations were established on other islands including Jamaica as British influence increased in the region. The knowledge and expertise for the growth and processing of sugarcane product was gained from a group of Sephardic Jews who had been expelled from Brazil and had an established sugar cane industry. In the initial stages, indentured white servants and black slaves were the types of labour available to sugar plantations. The white labourers included over 12,000 Irish and Scottish prisoners from the English Civil War of 1642, convicted thieves and petty criminals. However, unlike white labourers, slaves could be acquired permanently, they cost much less to feed and clothe and were able to provide some of their own food (Watts, 1987). Slaves could also work for longer periods without getting ill in the climatic conditions of the West Indies. Moreover, a large number were familiar with the basic techniques required for successful tropical agriculture, including the means of forest clearance and some were also technologically knowledgeable about mills (Watts, 1987). Furthermore,

> …the founding of sugar plantations could not proceed at all without the continued hard labour needed first for land clearance… crop planting, weeding and harvesting, along with the many mill duties which followed; and this could only be provided by black slaves, most indentured servants simply not being up to the persistent and harsh physical demands which all of this involved. (Watts, 1987, p.309)

As a result, the islands that were involved in commercial sugarcane cultivation increased their enslaved population significantly over time through the Transatlantic Trade.

In time, Britain became the foremost slave trading nation in the world, supplying hundreds of thousands of Negroes to its own plantations and to those belonging to other European countries (Williams, 1944, 1994). The trade was facilitated through a number of British companies, such as the Company of Royal Adventurers and the Royal African Company. In addition, a number of free traders or interlopers joined the trade. One record showed that over two million Africans landed in all the British colonies between 1680 and 1786. The period from 1700 to 1786 was particularly important in the case of Jamaica as approximately 610,000 landed in this 78-year span ("Negroes imported from," n.d.). Williams (1944, 1994, p.34) alleged that, "The Privy Council Committee of 1788 paid special attention to the fact that of the annual British export of slaves from Africa, two-thirds were disposed of to foreigners," mainly through Jamaica which had developed as a principal transhipment hub in the West Indies. As a result of the trade, the cities of London, Bristol and Liverpool derived tremendous economic benefits and developed as the principal slave trading ports in Europe. In 1755, Bristol, London and Liverpool had 237, 147 and 89 listed slave traders respectively (Williams, 1944, 1994). In 1760, 146 ships with a capacity for 36,000 Africans sailed from British ports but, by 1771, the number of ships had increased to 190 with a capacity for 47,000. Liverpool's first slave trader sailed for Africa in 1709 but, by the end of the 1700s, the city was referred to as the greatest slave trading port in the Old World as it commanded five-eighths of the British slave trade and three-sevenths of the whole European slave trade (Williams, 1944, 1994).

However, after more than 200 years, the British Parliament passed the Slave Trade Act of 1807 outlawing the trade in Africans as slaves throughout its Empire, followed by the Bill of Emancipation in 1833 which granted freedom to slaves on August 1, 1834. The 1833 Act set at liberty approximately 800,000 enslaved Africans in the British colonies. However, after emancipation, an 'apprenticeship' period was to follow and end on August 1, 1838 for domestic slaves and August 1, 1840 for field slaves. During apprenticeship, the ex-slaves were to undertake 40.5 to 45 hours of free labour per week for their masters and any additional labour was to be paid for at a rate to be determined in the colonies. In return,

planters were to provide food, shelter and clothing free of cost to the ex-slaves during the period.

The apprenticeship system worked so badly that after a trial of four years it was abandoned and, on August 1, 1838, the ex-slaves in all the British colonies were made fully and unconditionally free. Former slaves saw the apprenticeship system as a denial of full freedom to which they were entitled, while some planters regarded it as a period "through which they could squeeze the last drop of energy from the ex-slaves" (Watts, 1987, p.470). However, some planters thought that, if the change to full freedom was inevitable, it was better done immediately rather than gradually. In some territories, especially Jamaica, "trouble over apprenticeship arrangements erupted from time to time, disputes customarily being centred on the level of wages, or provision ground allocations" (Watts, 1987, p.470-471). Pressures also from the anti-slavery movement helped to put an early termination to the apprenticeship system.

7.4 Impact of the Transatlantic Trade on Jamaica.

This section describes the impact of the Transatlantic Trade on Jamaica. The British gained control over Jamaica in 1655, when an army left Barbados under the command of Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables with the intention of capturing Hispaniola from the Spanish. The Spanish defeated them and they instead turned to Jamaica. The expedition was part of Cromwell's Western Design of 1654, a military campaign aimed at gaining control of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. After establishing control over the island, approximately 7,000 White settlers, of mostly Scottish origin, left Barbados over the next decade and settled in Jamaica (Watts, 1987).

Some of the early settlers saw the opening up of Jamaica as an opportunity for them to continue in sugarcane production which was on the decline in Barbados (Watts, 1987). From 1664 to 1671, approximately 121,457 hectares of land was allocated to potential sugarcane planters. Each allocatee was awarded 12 hectares and an additional 12 hectares for each member of their family, servants and slaves. This policy, which was started by Jamaica's first Governor, Thomas Modyford, saw a growth in the number of large plantations throughout the island. As a result, by 1683, there were over 300 land grants which covered approximately 437,247 hectares with the mean size of the grants being approximately 146 hectares (Watts, 1987). However, "despite the large property holdings

which were being put together at this time, it is important to remember that relatively little of the land was planted with cane in Jamaica until the eighteenth century" (Watts, 1987, p.344).

Thus, under the English, cane cultivation in Jamaica had a slow start for two main reasons (Watts, 1987). First, the population in the initial years was very small and it resulted in prolonged shortages in labour. Watts (1987, p.291) asserted that "Although the black slave population doubled to around 80,000 between 1700 and 1730, it was nowhere near enough to open up all the potentially available fertile lands." However, after the breakdown of the *Asiento,* the labour situation in Jamaica improved as many more slaves remained in Jamaica as opposed to being transhipped to other islands. Second, the island was also susceptible to internal and external attacks from the Maroons[25] and outside forces e.g. Spanish and French respectively. As a result, most of the early sugar estates were restricted to the defendable southern plains of the island in the vicinity of Port Royal and Kingston. By 1733, it was estimated that there were approximately 200 Maroons in the island whose frequent incursions caused the abandonment of estates and settlements. Eventually, in 1739 the Maroons signed a peace treaty which had the effect of preventing further incursions.

Table 7.1
The Jamaican Population, 1658 – 1834

Year	Non Africans	Enslaved Africans	Freed Africans	Total	Proportion of enslaved %
1658	4,500	1,400	-	5,900	24
1664	6,000	8,000	-	14,000	57
1673	8,564	9,504	-	18,068	53
1730	7,658	74,525	-	82,183	91
1758	17,900	176,900	3,500	198,300	89
1775	18,700	192,800	4,500	216,000	89
1800	30,000	300,000	10,000	340,000	88
1834	20,000	310,000	46,200	376,200	82

Source: Patterson, 1982, pp.359, 477; Watts, 1987, p.311

Eventually, Jamaica developed as the principal transatlantic slave destination and Britain's most-prized possession in the Caribbean. As a result, hundreds of thousands of

---

[25] See Chapter 3 above, Page 89 for information on the Maroons.

Africans were imported and enslaved to work on the hundreds of plantations throughout the island (Salmon, 2008, September 13; "Negroes imported from Africa," n.d.). Table 7.1 shows the resultant shift in the ratio of African descendants to non-Africans in the island, from 1:3 in 1658 to 18:1 in 1834. Another record showed that, from 1702 to 1787, Jamaica imported 602,774 Africans who were enslaved ("Negroes imported from Africa," n.d.). Also, the 1790 "Jamaica Almanac" showed that the enslaved population in Jamaica in 1787 was 256,000. However, just one year later in 1788, it declined dramatically to 226,432 ("1790 almanac," n.d.). The 1788 records also showed that the other British colonies in the Caribbean with the most enslaved Africans after Jamaica were Barbados and Antigua with 62,115 and 37,808 respectively.

Initially, both male and female slaves were sought in equal numbers, and slave family relationships and the rearing of children were fostered. However, this changed as the workload increased as more and more land was developed and harsher labour regimes for the enslaved Africans were introduced. By the middle of the 18th century, planters had began to take the view that female slave confinement was little more than a nuisance, which interfered with work routines, cut down on work efficiency and, thereby, added to their expenses. As a result, the planters discouraged slave family life and, instead, concentrated on purchasing more male slaves between 15 and 30 years of age (Reckord, 1968). The following illustrates the depth to which a Planter in Jamaica went to discourage marriage among his enslaved Africans:

> A missionary… informed me that four negroes, who had attended for some time on his instructions, intimated to him their earnest desire to marry the women with whom they were living in concubinage, and expressed to him their hope that he would intercede for them with their masters to have the measure sanctioned. He wrote a respectful letter to the proper authorities, soliciting their acquiescence, and despatched it to its destination on a Saturday forenoon. No notice of the communication was taken till Monday, when the four negroes were called out, stripped, and lashed, and then told to show their bleeding backs to their parson. (Bigelow, 1851, p.26)

This policy that was pursued by the planters resulted in a pronounced gender imbalance among slaves. Birth rates began to fall and the slave population as a whole became less capable of maintaining itself than had been the case formerly. On some estates in Jamaica, the scale of imbalance eventually reached 5:1. Further, the rates of slave births were reduced by the prevalence of abortions. In addition, infant mortality rates among Jamaican slaves were high, at least one quarter dying within the first two weeks of life (Watts, 1987).

Major expansion in new sugarcane estates took place from 1763 to 1774 along the northern and the western coastlands of Jamaica as a result of the increase in labour supply

Table 7.2
Total production of sugar in the British West Indian Colonies, 1700-04 to 1825-9, in tons, and the % of the overall total produced by individual colonies, or groups of colonies

Year	Total production	Barbados		North Leewards		Jamaica	
		Tons	%	Tons	%	Tons	%
1700-04	19,467	8,158	41.91	6,858	35.23	4,451	22.86
1705-09	17,729	8,278	46.69	4,447	25.08	5,004	28.23
1710-14	22,697	7,564	33.33	9,120	40.18	6,013	26.49
1715-19	31,691	10,862	34.28	11,923	37.62	8,906	28.10
1720-24	31,644	7,957	25.15	13,730	43.39	9,957	31.46
1725-29	42,875	10,192	23.77	18,857	43.98	13,826	32.25
1730-34	44,199	7,362	16.66	20,295	45.92	16,542	37.42
1735-39	41,170	6,119	14.86	19,067	46.31	15,984	38.33
1740-44	39,038	6,891	17.63	15,874	40.60	16,333	41.77
1745-49	39,383	6,215	15.78	17,827	45.27	15,341	38.95
1750-54	44,276	6,637	14.99	17,407	38.50	20,592	46.51
1755-59	55,247	7,134	12.91	22,518	40.76	25,595	46.33
1760-64	66,334	8,657	13.05	20,809	31.37	31,646	47.71
1765-69	70,436	7,999	11.36	22,545	32.01	34,052	48.34
1770-74	84,179	6,659	7.91	22,257	26.44	41,643	49.47
1775-79	72,998	4,014	5.50	19,843	27.18	36,679	50.25
1805-09	151,897	7,054	4.64	21,481	14.14	88,060	57.97
1810-14	162,843	9,703	5.96	20,499	12.59	72,523	44.53
1815-19	156,037	12,565	8.05	21,014	13.47	79,754	51.11
1820-24	147,733	10,960	7.42	17,090	11.57	77,312	52.33
1825-29	136,546	12,932	9.47	16,713	12.24	66,782	48.91

Source: Watts, D. 1987, pp.286, 288

after the *Asiento* era and the signing of the 1739 peace treaty with the Maroons. The developments were boosted by the opening of free ports for the shipment of sugarcane product in Montego Bay and Lucea, the capitals of the western parishes of St. James and Hanover respectively. "The expansion was encouraged by a surge in demand for sugar products not only in Europe, but also in North America" (Watts, 1987, p.292). In addition, from 1748 to 1756, sugar prices remained reasonably steady and relatively high. Consequently, by 1750-54 Jamaica overtook Barbados and became the number-one sugar-producing colony in the world, a position it held until emancipation. This is illustrated in Table 7.2 which shows that, from about 1740, Jamaica consistently made over 40 per cent of the sugar that was produced in the British West Indian colonies. The percentage production figures of Jamaica in the later years confirmed the primacy of Jamaica in sugar production from 1750 onwards.

The high level of outputs from the Jamaican plantations did not always occur in a peaceful environment for the enslaved Africans were not in total submission. Reckord (1968) alleged that riots and rebellions were endemic in 18th century Jamaica. It was the first island in the British West Indies in which large-scale rebellions starting in the 1730s involving over 1,000 slaves were recorded. Another slave rebellion, called the Baptist War from 1831-32, was one of the events that was said to have helped to bring about the emancipation of the enslaved Africans in the British colonies (Blouet, 1990; Reckord, 1968). Nowhere was the resistance more pronounced than in the Western parishes, which include Trelawny, for it had a large proportion of the enslaved population in Jamaica. The rebellions were attributed to the island's high proportion of African-born to Creole slaves population and the large expanse of wooded areas where they could take refuge (Watts, 1987). Two groups, in particular, were influential in organizing resistance: the Coromantines who were regarded as being good workers and the Akan who had a fierce and ruthless warrior reputation in their homeland in Africa. The punishment for slaves who organized rebellions was death or deportation. Resistance by the enslaved Africans took several forms. Some refused to work or work properly and efficiently, often feigning illness, while others committed suicide, set fire to cane fields or ran away.

7.5 Impact of the Transatlantic Trade on Falmouth, Jamaica.

This section highlights the links between the trade in Africans as slaves and the town of Falmouth, Trelawny. Using primary and secondary data from a number of written sources, the researcher uncovered and highlighted information about Falmouth's association with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. First, the town was founded primarily to facilitate the trade in plantation produce that was generated mainly by enslaved Africans' labour. Second, of all the parishes in Jamaica, Trelawny had the most enslaved Africans. Third, the town's founders and political leaders were heavily involved in slavery. Fourth, some of Jamaica's wealthiest families, who operated out of Trelawny, made their fortunes from the sugarcane industry and the Transatlantic Trade. Fifth, Philo Scotus, a bookkeeper in the town, in 1804, documented a number of observations which demonstrated the resilience of the enslaved Africans. Finally, the town was featured at the forefront in the fight to end slavery. In so doing, it affirmed the town as a potential dark cultural heritage site. According to the Commonwealth Secretariat (2002, p.106), "The town's history lends itself well to an interpretive museum of slavery that could be linked to the subsequent struggle for emancipation…. Parallels have been drawn between Falmouth and Williamsburg in Virginia, which was successfully developed as a tourist attraction." Also, the Trelawny Cultural Foundation (n.d., p.22.) argued that the town "should be on the itinerary of every visitor and be a place of pilgrimage as well for Jamaicans." Binney et al. (1991, p.13) asserted, "Falmouth is a model Georgian town that deserves international recognition."

Falmouth became the chief town in Trelawny after the first capital, Martha Brae, which was not a port town, was unable to accommodate the volume of trade resulting from the prosperity of the sugarcane plantations in the parish. The development of the town provided an opportunity to put into practice contemporary British ideas in the 18th century about town planning, the Georgian principles. It was ideally suited to handle the ocean-going trade that developed after the founding of Trelawny in 1770. According to Ogilvie (1954), there were 88 sugar plantations operating in the parish. Another source claimed that prior to the abandonment of the apprenticeship period in 1838, there were more than 100 estates, plantations and pens with Great Houses in Trelawny (*"Estates, plantations & pens,"* n.d.). The town had no less than four established wharves which included Jarrett's Wharf, Davis' Wharf, Tharpes' Wharf and Barrett's Wharf. The trade through the port included products

and supplies from Europe, the American colonies and Canada, and the agricultural produce from the plantations and the human trade in Africans as slaves. The traders who used the port included some of Jamaica's largest land and slave owners who operated out of Trelawny. Most activities at the port took place during the sugarcane-harvesting period which ran from January to April each year. During this period, a large number of ships visited the port to transport the local produce of sugar, rum and molasses and delivered supplies and Africans to be enslaved. It was a time of great revelry in Falmouth for the sailors who arrived on the ships were never short of ways to spend their hard-earned money: the bars did brisk business (Ogilvie, 1954).

In November 1788, the "*Return of Inhabitants*" (n.d.) lists Trelawny as the parish with the most slaves: 21,000. The four other parishes with the most slaves after Trelawny were St. Thomas, St. James, St. Mary and Westmoreland with 19,893, 18,980, 18,271 and 17, 486 respectively. Another source posited that in 1820, the slave population in Trelawny rose to 25,654, at a time when 88 sugar estates were in operation in the parish (Ogilvie, 1954). The enslaved population consisted of Creoles, those who were born on the plantations and "new niggers," the freshly imported ones (Scotus, 1861, p.191). According to Scotus (1861), the Creoles were exceedingly proud of their status and looked down with immeasurable contempt on the newly-imported Africans.

The founders of Falmouth and the political leaders were directly involved with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. Edward Barrett and Thomas Reid, who subdivided land they owned and developed Falmouth, owned several plantations with thousands of enslaved Africans in Trelawny and the neighbouring parish of St. James (Conolley & Parrent, 2005; "*Estates, plantations & pens,*" n.d.). After the town was formally planned and laid out according to Georgian principles and characteristics, several other planters and merchants bought lots and established businesses and built townhouses and other fine structures which are now heritage assets (CHRML et al. (1989); TCF, n.d.). The core was laid out in a formal rectangular grid which was typical of Georgian plans. Some of the merchants who bought lots in the town also owned jobbing-slaves who were hired out to anyone in need of additional labour. The structure of the local government reinforced the linkages between the political leaders and the planters. It comprised the Custos Rotulorum (Chair), four Magistrates, the Rector of the Anglican Church and the two Church Wardens

and ten Freeholders who were elected annually as Vestrymen. The records show that many of the Custos Rotulorums over the years, including the first one William Barrett, owned plantations and were involved in the trade and use of enslaved Africans as labourers ("*Estates, plantations & pens,*" n.d.). Furthermore, the ten elected Vestrymen had to be owners of properties to be elected to the post. "*Estates, Plantations & Pens*" also indicated that a member of the clergy, Rev. Joseph Stoney, was the owner of a plantation.

Some of the records showed that the parish of Trelawny had a number of wealthy families who made their fortune from the sugarcane industry and the trade in Africans as slaves. They included the Barretts, Tharpes and the Fowlers, among others. As a result, the legacies of these families are rooted in Falmouth's dark past. Furthermore, it reinforces the notion that the founding and creation of the town was embedded in a dark past that is associated with enslaved Africans. The first Barrett came to Jamaica with the British invading force that captured the island in 1655 and was given a huge tract of land on the north coast. The Barretts built their fortune as a result of the booming sugar industry in the 18th century. Edward Barrett, who inherited the family's plantations and land, was one of the developers of Falmouth who laid out a part of the town on land that he owned. He donated land for the building of the Parish Church and also sold land for the building of a number of other public buildings in the town. One member of the Barrett family, Richard Barrett who was a Speaker of the Jamaican House of Assembly, was a firm supporter of slavery and had lobbied for its retention (Robinson, 2007). According to Robinson (2007), at the time of emancipation in 1834, Edward Barrett owned about eight estates with more than 2,000 enslaved Africans in the parishes of Trelawny and St. James. The ruins of the Barrett's town house in Falmouth can still be seen.

The Honourable John Tharpe, a former Custos Rotulorum of Trelawny, was one of the largest land and slave owners in Jamaica. It is said that Tharpe made his money from the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves for he owned ships that were involved in the trade. He invested in a number of plantations, including Good Hope, and a waterfront lot in Falmouth on which he built a wharf, offices and a town house. The wharf was also a site where many African captives disembarked after the Middle Passage and were then openly auctioned into slavery. Tharpe had thousands of slaves working on over 4,000 hectares of land. Under Tharpe, Good Hope became the centre of social activities and a gathering place

for dignitaries and planters who met to discuss the economy of the sugar industry and current issues. Apart from the usual amenities found on estates, Good Hope had its own hospital, resident physician, church and burial ground for the Negro population from Tharpe's estates (Scotus, 1861). A Governor of Jamaica, George Nugent, and his wife were guests of John Tharpe at Good Hope in 1802. Lady Nugent wrote that Tharpe came next to Simon Taylor of St. Thomas "in respectability and as the owner of extensive properties in Jamaica" (Ogilvie, 1954, p.146). Scotus (1861, p.186) also asserted that Tharpe "ranked next to Simon Taylor as the richest and most extensive proprietor in Jamaica." When Tharpe died in 1804, his estates were passed to a grandson. According to Ogilvie (1954, p.85), the records show that in 1829, the Tharpes had approximately 2,600 enslaved Africans on nine properties in Trelawny, "which was more than that possessed by any other single proprietor in Jamaica." However, with the abolition of slavery and the fall in the price of sugar, the estates became heavily indebted as did others throughout the British Empire. In 1865, twelve properties belonging to the Tharpes were sold, thus ending the Tharpe's dynasty in Trelawny (Robinson, 2007).

Another wealthy planter in Trelawny, John Fowler, owned three estates: Friendship, Grange and Lottery ("*Estates, Plantations & Pens,*" n.d.). Fowler was a shipping agent for James Rogers and Company, one of the largest slave traders in Bristol, England. The records showed that three shipments of slaves from James Rogers and Company that were consigned to John Fowler, landed in Falmouth in April, May and November 1792 from a slaver named Daniel (*"Daniel" – slave voyage*, n.d.). Of the 211 slaves that left Africa on the May shipment, only 171 disembarked in Falmouth. Another record showed that Fowler disposed of two of three shipments of enslaved Africans who came on a slaver named Sarah (*1790 letter*, n.d.). The first shipment from the Sarah consisted of 141 Africans from a total of 256 who was originally purchased in Africa which translated in a mortality rate of 45 per cent. In a letter to James Rogers and Company written after disposing of the first shipment from the Sarah, Fowler indicated, "I Shall be happy if Capt Goodrich is Sent for a Cargo of real Eboes, to Consist of Young people. I think if he arrives here by the first of May I could turn them to good account" (*1790 letter*, n.d.). Fowler, however, died in June 1792 and was therefore not the agent for the third and last batch of 458 Africans who disembarked from the Sarah or the November shipment from the Daniel.

The Scotsman, Phillip Ainslie, who wrote as Philo Scotus (1861), came to Jamaica in 1804 to work as a bookkeeper on a plantation in Trelawny. He documented a number of observations which revealed that the enslaved Africans developed strategies to cope with their miserable conditions. One of his initial observations in Falmouth was the painful sight of:

> …the daily passing by of a band of negroes who had been landed from a Liverpool Guinea-man…. There were both males and females amongst them. I perceived, with astonishment, no appearance of sorrow or unhappiness at their degraded and, what seemed to me, miserable condition. On the contrary, they all appeared to be merry and cheerful, and, that volubility so characteristic of the negro race, they kept up a noisy chattering, intermixed with laughter. They were composed of Cormantees and Eboes – the former tall and muscular, and of a determined and fiery temper; the latter much quieter and more tractable, but of a less powerful frame. (Scotus, 1861, pp.174-175)

He also gave the following account of gangs of negroes working in the cane fields of Irvine Tower Estate on the outskirt of Falmouth: "the negroes, on the contrary, were laughing and joking with each other, and every now and then gave out the refrain of one of their songs to a very melodious air" (Scotus, 1861, p.176). Also, at Christmas, the enslaved Africans "enjoyed a state of entire freedom" for three days, in which work was suspended (Scotus, 1861, p.210). On Christmas day, a large distribution of clothing and food such as rice, flour and sugar took place and in the evening a ball was held in the Great House for the Negroes where they appeared in their best attire and danced to the sound of drums. "At the end of that time, the negroes appeared quite satiated with amusement and idleness, and returned with cheerfulness to their usual labour" (Scotus, 1861, p.211).

Falmouth was thrust into the forefront of the fight to end slavery as a result of the activities of some of the religious groups in the town in conjunction with the enslaved Africans. The religious groups included the Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Wesleyans and Presbyterians. Whereas the Anglicans supported slavery and were not sympathetic to the plight of the slaves, the others, the non-conformist churches, were strongly opposed to slavery and were very vocal in speaking out against its injustices and horrors (Binney et al.

(1991). As a result, the activities of the non-conformist churches, which included educating and converting the enslaved Africans to Christianity, did not go down well with the ruling planter class. They resulted in the enactment of laws that made it difficult and offensive to educate and preach to the enslaved Africans and the persecution of a number of church leaders. One of the most outspoken critics of slavery was a Baptist Minister by the name of William Knibb who, in 1830, took over the Falmouth Baptist Church which was established in 1814. Knibb spoke out and challenged the status quo and criticized the injustices that occurred under the system of slavery that was practiced in the country. His bold advocacy on behalf of the enslaved Africans endeared him to them, but created animosity with the planter-class. As a result of Knibb's advocacy for the emancipation of slaves, he suffered severe persecution (arrest, imprisonment and prevention from preaching) at the hands of the State. He did, however, succeed in arousing public sympathy and resentment against slavery.

About a year and six months after Knibb's arrival in Falmouth, a massive slave uprising led by Samuel Sharpe, a Baptist deacon, started on December 27, 1831 on the Kensington Estate in St. James. It was called the 'Baptist War' because the majority of slaves who were involved were said to be Baptists. The rebellion was attributed to a rumour that the slaves had been freed but were not so informed by the planters. This was the last major slave uprising in Jamaica. The rebellion spread to neighbouring parishes including Trelawny. The slaves were also demanding pay for their labour. Over one hundred and seventy properties were set on fire. Marshall law was declared and a number of missionaries, including Knibb, were arrested and thrown in jail. Great Houses and cane fields were burned and 15 whites were killed. Three hundred enslaved Africans were hanged in reprisal. Included among them was Samuel Sharpe who was hanged in the square in Montego Bay. In the end, over five hundred enslaved African, lost their lives. The militia, the Trelawny Regiment and the St. Ann Regiment set about wrecking non-conformist chapels throughout Trelawny, including Knibb's Chapel and the Methodist Chapel in Falmouth. Following the revolt, Knibb and a number of other missionaries went to England to plead the case for emancipation and, as such, were able to help convince the British public and Parliament that if the abolition of slavery was put off any longer, more rebellions would ensue. The following year, in 1833 a bill was introduced in the British parliament to abolished slavery throughout its Empire. So it

was that Trelawny and Falmouth became associated with events that led to the abolition of slavery.

This confirms that Falmouth was one of the most important centres of slavery in the world, both as a place where slaves entered the New World, were sold, and where they were used as labour on plantations. It was also a place which was significant in the fight for the abolition of slavery through the rebellions that occurred as well as the activities of anti-slavery clergymen. Thus, it has been established that Falmouth has a rich dark cultural heritage that may be amenable for use as a basis for tourism. However, it still remains to identify the specific legacy of slavery, both tangible and intangible, that remains in the present as a potential resource for tourism.

7.6 Summary

The Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves which was sanctioned by most of the European states ran from the 16th to the 19th century and resulted in the forced removal of millions of Africans to the New World colonies where they were enslaved to work mainly on plantations. One of the most horrific parts of the trade was the journey across the Atlantic to the New World, the Middle Passage, where millions perished before reaching the colonies. Millions also perished on plantations as a result of diseases and very poor working conditions. Although the Portuguese started the trade, the British eventually became the largest trader, supplying millions of Africans to its own colonies and to the colonies of other European countries. As a result of the role of Britain, the cities of London, Bristol and Liverpool derived tremendous economic benefits from the trade. However, after more than 200 years, the British abolished the trade in 1807 and passed an Act in 1833 to emancipate all the slaves throughout its colonies.

Jamaica was the British island colony on which the slave trade had the most significant impact. The island developed as the principal destination in the Caribbean for captives from Africa who were enslaved and the number one sugar-producing colony in the world. The slaves in Jamaica were treated very badly in comparison to other destinations for there was a high percentage of absentee ownership. The island was also susceptible to a lot of resistance and rebellions which were attributed to the high percentage of African-born slaves in the country.

The town of Falmouth, the capital of Trelawny was one of the main destinations in Jamaica for enslaved Africans. The town, which was planned according to the principles of Georgian town planning, prospered and came to prominence as a result of the legacy of beautiful buildings that are now heritage assets and the high volume of trade generated through its port because of the large number of surrounding plantations. In the decade leading up to emancipation in 1833, it was recorded that Trelawny had more than 100 plantations with great houses. The parish also had the largest number of slaves who were needed to work on the plantations. The political leaders of the parish were from some of the wealthiest families in Jamaica who were directly involved with slavery, some owned plantations while others were slave traders. At the height of the emancipation struggle the town was thrust into the forefront as a result of the activities of the slaves and a number of the religious groups that were present in the community.

CHAPTER 8

RESEARCH FINDINGS: TOWNSCAPE SURVEY

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the townscape survey, one of the four data collection methods used in the research (see Section 4.4 Data Collection Mechanisms). It identifies, evaluates and catalogues several of Falmouth's cultural heritage resources that have the potential to be developed as attractions in support of a 'dark' cultural heritage theme. The set of structures was identified through field observation, content analysis of text and from the responses of the interviewees and questionnaire survey respondents. Moreover, the townscape survey assisted in confirming and corroborating information from the other data collection methods: questionnaire survey, interviews and historic research. The resources were catalogued using a 2-page form and ranked in order of importance (see Appendix I). The ranking rates the resources' intrinsic value as dark cultural heritage resources that are associated with enslaved Africans and the information on the sites is further analysed to identify the most important ones that could be developed as attractions. The ranking of the resources is based on the four main indicators as discussed in Section 4.4.4.4, Rating of Sites: heritage value/significance, designed value/physical value, identified as resource and contextual value. Further, assessment and the implications of these findings are discussed and presented in chapters 9 and 10.

8.2 Overview of Cultural Heritage Resources

The townscape survey identified and inventoried twenty-four specific sites and three building types that are distinctive features of Falmouth's landscape. Eight of the twenty-four sites were associated with religious groups and three were wharf complexes which were active when the town was an important part of the Triangular Trade. Four sites were associated with historic personalities from Falmouth.

One of the resources identified among the twenty-four, 'Bend Down' market, occurred at various locations in the town at different times and it is the activity that is most important culturally. The 'Bend Down' phenomenon is a vibrant 'festival market' which takes place on Wednesdays. This is where sellers and buyers from all over Jamaica converge

to trade inexpensive, quality merchandise. The atmosphere that this event creates is unique to Falmouth, as it is not repeated in any other town in Jamaica and, as such, it has the potential to become a part of an internal tourism experience. The 'festival market' atmosphere at 'Bend Down' has similarities to the atmosphere that existed at the slaves' Sunday-market shown in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1
Enslaved African's Sunday Market in Water Square
Source: GSOJ (n.d.)

Another site, which was also identified as an important cultural heritage resource, is the Parish Library. This is a contemporary single-story masonry structure that was built in the Modern Style[26] of architecture and situated on part of the Pond Land[27]. Also, the slave hospital at Good Hope which is about 10 kilometres outside of Falmouth, was cited as a cultural heritage resource of the town. As mentioned in Chapter 7, Section 7.5, Good Hope is associated with John Tharpe, a slave trader and once the largest land and slave owner in

---

[26] A 20th Century style of architecture which emphasized the function of buildings over forms that were stripped of ornaments and decorations.
[27] The Pond Land was a site where prisoners from the District Prison in Falmouth were taken to dig aggregate to repair the streets in the town.

Jamaica who owned three townhouses and a wharf in Falmouth. The water wheel at Martha Brae, which for many years generated the water supplied to households in Falmouth, was also identified by survey respondents as a cultural heritage resource of Falmouth.

The townscape survey identified three building types that are characteristic of Falmouth's landscape. They are buildings with colonnade open-space at ground referred to as piazzas[28], historic Georgian Buildings and small cottages or cabins. The buildings with the piazzas often housed commercial activities on the ground floor and residences on the upper floors. The upper floors usually overhang the piazzas which serve as pedestrian circulation paths, thus giving shade and protection from rain and other elements (Figure 8.2). The colonnade piazza is a prominent feature along Market Street and Water Square and at isolated areas along some other streets. Binney, Harris, Martin and Curtin (1991) argued that

Figure 8.2
Historic District, Falmouth

Source: Tyndale-Biscoe (1986)

---

[28] The verandahs or porches on the ground floors of buildings that are accessible to the general public.

Market Street is the street that visitors should turn down initially to explore the town; it contains some of the outstanding buildings that were identified as having the unique public piazza. They saw this street as a catalyst that could be used to spur development in adjoining streets.

Questionnaire survey respondents and interviewees most often referred to the historic Georgian buildings as opposed to specific sites in Falmouth as cultural heritage resources. These historic Georgian buildings characterized Falmouth's landscape. The Trelawny Cultural Foundation (TCF, n.d.) contends that during the Georgian period (1702 – 1810), the planters and merchants in Falmouth were in competition to see who could build the best townhouse. The builders and craftsmen used plans, details and features taken from books produced by architects and craftsmen in England but that were adapted to Jamaica's condition and climate. In this regard, the Georgian Society of Jamaica (GSOJ, n.d., p.5) argued, "Falmouth remains perhaps the only town where the spirit of 18th century Jamaica can still be felt, and to some lingering extent seen in brick, stone and timber" that were used in the construction. Further, GSOJ (n.d.) states "Falmouth still possesses a number of distinguished town houses." Binney et al. (1991, p.13) argued, "The fascination of Falmouth is that it is all in one piece." They further claimed, "Falmouth compares well with Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, where much of the charm lies in the reconstructed everyday life of the town. At Falmouth, on the other hand, originals survived" (1991, p.14). Market and Duke Streets have a representative collection of these historic Georgian buildings.

The cottages and small structures, which were said to have belonged to free coloured tradespersons, and the ancillary structures attached to townhouses were usually constructed of wood, bricks or cut-stone and are situated throughout the historic district (Binney et al., 1991). A number of these cottages have unique features indigenous to the country, such as 'ginger bread' motif or fretwork[29] (see figure 8.3). Binney et al. (1991, p.13) argued, "In Falmouth one gets the real sense of scale of an eighteenth century town, for it is not only the large buildings which have survived but also many one-room and two-room cabins, and even smaller buildings such as outdoor kitchens." They further argued:

---

[29] Decorative motifs along the eaves, gable ends of roofs and balcony railing.

Figure 8.3
Fretwork on House

No town of the Georgian era besides Falmouth has retained its ancillary and dependent buildings, most of which were slave quarters attached to the planters' town houses…in Falmouth many are intact and are a remarkable display of what might be called the *cabin style* of Georgian vernacular architecture. (Binney et al., 1991, p.14)

These sites, in particular, small modest houses, though not specifically identified or cited as cultural heritage resources by any respondents to the questionnaire or interviewees are important in telling the story of the dark history of Falmouth.

8.3 Ranking of Cultural Heritage Resources

In Section 4.4.4, it was stated that the Townscape Survey process involves some subjectivity; however, it is systematic and replicable. Also, Section 4.4.4.4, Rating of Sites, submits that twenty-seven resources were rated and ranked according to their intrinsic value using the following indicators: heritage value/significance, identified resources, design value/physical value and contextual value (see Table 8.1). A 5-point scale ranging from a low of 25 to a high of 100 with intervals of 15 points was used to rate the resources, A = 100 – 86, B = 85 – 71, C = 70 – 56, D = 55 – 41 and E = 40 – 25. The results were: five resources

ranked "A," eleven ranked "B," five ranked "C," one ranked "D" and five ranked "E." The scores give the intrinsic values that are used to rate the resources, that is, the higher a resource's score the greater is its intrinsic value and as a result, the more valuable it is as a dark cultural heritage resource.

Four of the resources got the maximum score of 100 while only one got 30, the lowest recorded score. Further, the data revealed that all the sites that were ranked 'A' and most that were ranked 'B' have high significance value, that is, they have strong association with enslaved Africans (see Table 8.1). Three of the resources that were ranked 'A,' the Court House, the Albert George Market and the Tharpe House/Wharf were also identified as cultural heritage resources of Falmouth by a large percentage of the questionnaire respondents and interviewees. The Court House is an iconic structure that is visually outstanding, while the Market shares the former site of the enslaved Sunday market and, as mentioned, Tharpe Wharf was a site where captive Africans disembarked and were auctioned into slavery. The other resource that got a score of 100, 'historic Georgian buildings', was also the most highly- rated resource by questionnaire respondents and interviewees. The questionnaire respondents referred to the 'historic Georgian buildings' collectively as cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. These resources have direct and close associations with the theme and events of slavery which is significant to the heritage of Falmouth. The majority of the resources, eleven, were ranked 'B.' Four of these had strong associations with religious groups that operated in Falmouth during the time of slavery. This confirms the impact of religious groups and their association with slavery. Other resources in this category include the Slave Hospital at Good Hope which belonged to the Tharpe's family.

8.4 Location of Cultural Heritage Resources

Figure 8.4 shows the location of the cultural heritage sites that were inventoried in Falmouth. Except for the Slave Hospital at Good Hope and the Water Wheel at Martha Brae, the majority of the sites are located within the Jamaica National Heritage Trust's (JNHT's) designated heritage district. Most of the sites are concentrated along the coast adjacent to the port, along the Market Street corridor and around Water Square. The spatial distribution of the identified resources confirms the importance of the coastal area which includes the wharves, the main streets and Water Square. These are areas with strong association with the

Table 8.1
Listing and Ranking of Cultural Heritage Sites

	Cultural Heritage Resources	*Significance*	High (40)	Medium (20)	Low (10)	*Identified*	High (20)	Medium (10)	Low (5)	*Design Value*	High (20)	Medium (10)	Low (5)	*Context*	High (20)	Medium (10)	Low (5)	Total Score	Rank
1	Albert George Market		40				20				20				20			100	A
2	Court House		40				20				20				20			100	A
3	Historic (Georgian) Buildings		40				20				20				20			100	A
4	Tharpe House/Wharf		40				20				20				20			100	A
5	Phoenix Foundry		40					10			20				20			90	A
6	Cottages		40						5		20				20			85	B
7	Public Piazza		40						5		20				20			85	B
8	Slave Hospital (Good Hope)		40						5		20				20			85	B
9	Anglican Church			20			20				20				20			80	B
10	Baptist Church		40					10				10			20			80	B
11	Barrett House/Methodist Manse		40					10				10			20			80	B
12	Falmouth All Age School/Fort Balcarres			20			20				20				20			80	B
13	Police Station		40					10				10			20			80	B
14	St. Andrew Presbyterian Church		40					10			20					10		80	B
15	Water Square		40					10				10			20			80	B
16	Barrett Wharf		40					10					5		20			75	B
17	Bend Down Market		40						5				5		20			70	C
18	Baptist Manse			20					5		20				20			65	C
19	Hampden Wharf		40					10					5			10		65	C
20	Post Office			20				10			20					10		60	C
21	Water Wheel			20				10				10			20			60	C
22	David Lindo's Apothecary				10				5		20					10		45	D
23	Jewish Cemetery			20					5				5			10		40	E
24	Anglican Manse				10				5			10				10		35	E
25	Catholic Manse				10				5			10				10		35	E
26	Dr. Vines' House				10				5			10				10		35	E
27	Parish Library				10			10					5				5	30	E

Rating Scale: A=86-100, B=71-85, C=56-70, D=56-70, D=41-55, E=25-40

Figure 8. 4
Location of Cultural Heritage Sites

Source: Social Development Commission

Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves and slavery and, as such, reinforce the claim that they are dark cultural heritage sites.

8.5 Summary

The townscape survey is a somewhat subjective yet systematic and replicable methodology that has been used extensively to evaluate townscape elements. It was used to identify, catalogue and evaluate 27 cultural heritage resources in Falmouth. The activities that were used to conduct the assessment included field observations, and content analysis of text and questionnaire and interview data. After the resources were identified, they were catalogued and evaluated. Most of the resources had strong association with enslaved Africans and are located within the JNHT's designated heritage district, along the coast in the vicinity of the port, along Market Street and around Water Square. Overall, six of the individual resources had links with religious organizations that were active in Falmouth. A 5-point scale ranging from a low of 25 to a high of 100 with intervals of 15 points was used to rank the resources. Five of the resources were ranked in the highest range 'A,' while the majority, eleven, were ranked in the second highest range 'B.'

CHAPTER 9

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

9.1 Introduction

This thesis was motivated by the need for research that explores the development of attractions that focus on the dark cultural heritage which is associated with the Transatlantic Slave Trade. In particular, the study focused on dark cultural heritage as a potential attraction in the town of Falmouth, Jamaica, West Indies. Thus, the goal of this research was to explore the development of Falmouth, a town which has a "dark" and contested heritage, for sightseeing and learning and as an exemplary place for authentic experiences of identity for the African Diaspora. This chapter analyses and discusses the findings in relation to the following research objectives (see Section 1.4), which were formulated and employed to guide the study to address the main research goal: 1) to analyse residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Falmouth, 2) to identify and highlight the attributes of the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Falmouth that could be used to frame development, 3) to identify the opportunities and constraints for heritage tourism development in Falmouth, 4) to explore and suggest appropriate mechanisms to facilitate participation of local residents in the heritage development process, 5) to determine what value local residents attach to cultural heritage resources that are "symbolic of and are associated with the European trade in Africans as slaves", and, 6) to develop strategies for the conservation, upgrading, and revitalization of heritage sites in Falmouth that is based on the shared sensitivity of the local people if it is found that local people are motivated to tell the true story of the place.

Findings from this study should help in setting out a framework or model for the development of dark cultural heritage as attractions. Also, it should assist in informing community leaders in the design and implementation of tourism development strategies aimed at building residents' support for dark cultural tourism development.

9.2 Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Tourism

The first objective was to analyse residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Falmouth. The findings showed that they have a favourable disposition

towards tourism development in their town. The respondents to the questionnaire survey and the interviewees strongly support tourism and argued for its development and expansion in Falmouth. Further, a comparison between the results from the survey and the interviews indicate a very high level of congruence. All in all, they firmly believed that the overall benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts.

The majority of the survey respondents were in agreement with the positive statements about tourism and were equally in disagreement with the negative statements. Ninety-nine per cent strongly agreed and agreed that tourism should be actively encouraged in Falmouth. On the other hand, they overwhelmingly rejected the suggestion that "they are against the development of facilities that will attract more tourists to Falmouth." For the most part, they stated that tourism is good as it can provide jobs and employment and open up business opportunities. Although the respondents expressed positive attitudes towards tourism, their acknowledgement of the benefits of tourism refers largely to the potential for such benefits, in lieu of actual benefits, for tourism is not yet an important activity in the town. These findings are unsurprising in light of the high unemployment rate confronting the town and the residents' knowledge about the impacts of the tourism industry elsewhere in Jamaica.

The questionnaire survey respondents' opinions and attitude towards tourism and its benefits were positive. On the whole, they believed that there are environmental, economic and socio-cultural benefits to be gained from tourism. The potential benefits include (see Table 5.5): improvements in the appearance of Falmouth (100% strongly agreed and agreed), many desirable employment opportunities for residents (89% strongly agreed and agreed), preservation of the cultural identity of Falmouth (89% strongly agreed and agreed), improvement in the local standards of living (88% strongly agreed and agreed), encouragement of a wide variety of cultural activities in Falmouth (86% strongly agreed and agreed) and promotion of cultural exchange (84% strongly agreed and agreed). These findings are noteworthy for they proved that the residents have tremendous confidence in the tourism industry and they are cognisant of its likely positive impacts on Falmouth.

The interviewees' opinions and attitudes towards tourism and its benefits were also positive. All were in support of cultural heritage tourism development in Falmouth. Also, they unanimously agreed that tourism opportunities exist in Falmouth because the town has a

large number of cultural heritage resources. Their support for tourism development in Falmouth is based on an expectation that the town will benefit economically, socially and physically from the development of its cultural heritage. Most asserted that Falmouth's heritage resources that are associated with the Transatlantic Slave Trade are potential attractions. As such, it is very likely that they are going to be supportive of tourism development that exploits the dark cultural heritage of the town.

The results of this section suggest that the residents' support for tourism development in Falmouth is very strong. Furthermore, they favoured its expansion. This support for further development must be interpreted as a complete vote of confidence in the tourism industry, and both public and private sector decision makers should execute a development plan for tourism that incorporates and exploits the town's cultural heritage. The findings are also consistent with other studies that have been done in communities that are in the pre-tourism or initial stage of development which often show a high level of support from residents (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Vargas-Sánchez, Plaza-Mejía & Porras-Bueno, 2009). It is also consistent with the premise of the evolutionary models of destination development which advanced that residents are usually highly supportive of tourism and its development in the initial stage (Butler; 1980; Christaller, 1963; Doxey, 1975; Miossec, 1977; Mitchell, 1998; Plog, 1973).

9.3 Cultural Heritage Resources of Falmouth

The second objective was to identify and highlight the attributes and features of the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Falmouth that could be used for development. The data collection methods; namely a questionnaire survey, interviews, historic research and a townscape survey, unearthed references to a vast number of outstanding resources that are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. These have the potential to be developed as attractions (see Sections 6.3 and 8.3). This validates the argument that there is an abundance of cultural heritage resources in Falmouth. Also, the finding is significant for it established the existence of a resource base for dark cultural heritage attractions.

As expected, most of the identified resources are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves and slavery itself. Several of these resources are located in the Historic District but others are in the Peripheral District and throughout the parish. Those on the periphery were selected for discussion in this study because they had significant links to

events and people that impacted the development of Falmouth. Overwhelmingly, tangible resources were highlighted such as buildings and other structures in contrast to intangible resources which include narratives and events. Furthermore, the results indicate a strong corroboration between all four data collection methods as to the elements that constitutes the cultural heritage of Falmouth. The level of congruence can be attributed to the high level of cultural awareness of the citizens (see Chapters 5 and 6), the excellent documentation that exists about the town from its inception (see Chapter 7), and the vast number of existing tangible historic resources in Falmouth (see Chapter 8).

The selection of Falmouth's cultural heritage resources was based on a number of criteria. Many have links to the enslaved Africans that were a part of the milieu of Falmouth and the trade in rum, molasses and other agricultural products which flourished in the town. Others exhibit elements of the Georgian architectural-style in which most of the early structures were built. Also, many have been a part of the physical environment of Falmouth for more than 100 years and, thus, add to the historical richness and ambiance of the town. Consequently, they have substantial heritage value and significance, design and physical value and contextual value. As such, there is tremendous evidence of valuable dark cultural heritage resources in Falmouth that have the potential to be developed as attractions.

The documentation confirms that from the middle of the 18th Century up to and for many years after the emancipation of the enslaved Africans in 1838, Jamaica was the number one sugar-producing colony in the world and Falmouth was the main shipping port for sugar in the West Indies and the world. A significant number of cultural heritage resources from that era were uncovered and validated by the data collection methods that were used in the study. They could be developed in support of a dark cultural heritage theme. The interviewees ranked the cultural heritage resources on a 10-point scale from a low of 5 to a high of 10 with a mean score of 7.65. The given scores were based on the potential of the cultural heritage resources since a lot of work is needed to transform them into tourist attractions. One of the primary dark sites that was identified is the Tharpe Wharf Complex where newly arrived captives from Africa were landed, washed, showcased and auctioned into slavery. Adjacent to the wharf complex is the Phoenix foundry, which repaired parts for ships, and many sugar estates in the surrounding region. There is also the Police Station on Rodney Street, which was once a district prison with one of the earliest gallows in Jamaica

where, without a doubt, punishments including executions were carried out on persons who were deemed to be a threat to the status quo and the state.

On the whole, the survey respondents and interviewees referred to the historic/Georgian/old buildings as the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. Some said that the "whole historic district" should be considered as a cultural heritage resource. Others identified specific sites, such as the Anglican Church, the Barrett's House, the Tharpe's House, the Court House, the Post Office, the Baptist Manse, the William Knibb Baptist Church, the Albert George Market, the Falmouth All Age School (Fort Balcarres), and the Hampden Wharf. Also, some mentioned intangible cultural heritage resources such as, the history of Falmouth, 'Bend Down' market, elders who teach about history, the layout of town, slavery and traditional dance group. In addition, some made reference to resources outside the boundaries of Falmouth, such as the Water Wheel (at Martha Brae), Martha Brae[30] town, Martha Brae River rafting and the slave hospital (building) at Good Hope.

The belief that Falmouth is endowed with a substantial amount of cultural heritage resources is recognized nationally and internationally. The JNHT declared Falmouth a Heritage District in 1996 because of the concentration of significant cultural heritage resources in its historic core. The Town Plan outlined that it should be developed as a cultural heritage site (Town Planning Department, 1998). The OAS recognized the value of the town's cultural heritage and, as a result, funded a Pre-feasibility Study[31] in 1998. Jamaica's Tourism Master Plan of 2002 highlights the town as one of the sites to be developed as a cultural heritage tourism destination. Last, in 2008, the Royal Caribbean International (RCI) partnered with the Government of Jamaica to build the Falmouth Cruise Ship Pier (which began operation in 2011) because the town was perceived as an international heritage tourism site.

9.4 Opportunities and Constraints to Cultural Heritage Conservation

The third objective was to identify the opportunities and constraints for heritage tourism development in Falmouth. Consequently, this section analyses and discusses the

---

[30] Martha Brae was Trelawny's first capital before it was moved to Falmouth.
[31] The study found that if Falmouth was developed as a cultural heritage destination with a Museum on Slavery it would result in a significant increase in both local and international tourist flow.

opportunities that were identified, as well as a number of constraints and some suggestions to eliminate them. The residents were confident that a significant amount of cultural heritage tourism opportunities exist in the town and it would be prudent to pursue such opportunities. The conservation of the town's heritage should generate business and job opportunities in the cultural industry and exposes the town to visitors. The reason for their assertions relates mainly to the remnants from the era of the enslaved Africans and British Colonialism that have been a part of the milieu in Falmouth for generations. The findings confirm the notion that the residents would endorse the development of attractions from cultural heritage resources that are associated with slavery. Conversely, the findings also highlight a number of constraints that may hinder development and unevenly share the costs and benefits.

Falmouth possesses a number of characteristics that should enhance the opportunities for cultural heritage development in the town. There are an abundance of cultural heritage resources in the town. The geographical location of Falmouth between two of Jamaica's premier tourist destinations, Montego Bay and Ocho Rios makes the town easily accessible to visitors at these destinations. Also, the location of the Falmouth Cruise Ship Pier adjacent to the town centre makes it easy for visitors on cruises to interact with locals and businesses in the town. These characteristics give Falmouth an edge over the other cruise destinations in Jamaica.

The residents of Falmouth acknowledged some economic and socio-cultural benefits, as well as some negative impacts that are likely to materialize from the opportunities and constraints in developing the town's cultural heritage. Economically, it is expected that the development would generate jobs and employment for residents. Also, there would be additional investments and the opening up of new businesses that would result in an increased revenue stream in the form of foreign currency for the town and parish. Furthermore, it was felt that since visitors will be spending at the local level, the money spent would remain in the local economy[32]. On the other hand, they identified some possible negative impacts: increase in cost of living, most jobs going to outsiders and only a few people benefitting from the opportunities. While the results emphasized a number of economic benefits from tourism opportunities, it also corroborates the possibility of what

---

[32] The CHRML (1998) study showed that a substantial amount of money from visitors' expenditure in Falmouth would remain in the local economy.

Walpole and Goodwin (2001, p.160) referred to as "distributional inequalities" in tourism benefits and costs. Furthermore, these results are consistent with recent findings in which job creation, investment generation, foreign exchange earnings, improvement in standard of living and creation of more businesses were highly ranked as benefits by respondents who also identified increase in the level of prices of goods and services as a main economic cost (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010).

The residents are of the opinion that the development of Falmouth's cultural heritage will have positive socio-cultural impacts on the town. The town is expected to gain increased exposure from tourists and other visitors. Local high school and college students should benefit from visiting Falmouth and being made aware of their cultural heritage, which may instil pride, national identity and nationalism. Also, the town is expected to put on a new appearance physically and would "come alive" because of the various activities that would be staged to satisfy residents and visitors. It should lead to improvements in the physical infrastructure such as the drains, roads and buildings. On the issue of crime, it was not a major concern, since less than a third strongly agreed and agreed that crime will increase as a result of developing cultural heritage tourism in the town. However, it should be noted that "crime and violence" was what residents disliked most about Falmouth (see Table 5.4), but it appears that no link was established with tourism development. Also, only a small percentage of the residents strongly agreed and agreed that the traditional culture will change negatively and that too many people will visit Falmouth and cause it to be crowded. In some cases, residents have negative attitudes towards the social impacts of tourism; in particular, an increase in crime rate is often regarded as one of the social ills of tourism development (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010, 2007).

All the interviewees, except one, believed that there are numerous constraints to cultural heritage development in Falmouth. Financial constraint was seen as the biggest impediment to development. Other constraints that were cited include: the need to establish ownership and access to a number of heritage sites; the disposal and use of designated heritage sites; the lack of consensus on how to develop the heritage product; and the hostility to the heritage resources by some stakeholders who are not fully cognisant of the meaning behind a heritage district's designation. Also, there is a lack of appreciation of the cultural heritage resources by a minority who are of the view that the old buildings in Falmouth

should be torn down and replaced with newer structures in order to modernize the town. The authorities and planner should be mindful of these concerns which have been shown to have negative effects on some communities that choose to develop their tourism potential (Kreag, 2001). As such, strategies should be put in place to address and remove negative perceptions of some residents. The literature revealed that many constraints and pressures came to bear on the development of cultural heritage districts and designated properties for tourism purposes (Kovacs, Shipley, Snyder & Stupart, 2008). Some of the constraints stems from a lack of knowledge about the intent and scope of the policies and strategies used in the process. Others are based on myths and false premises, such as: designation will restrict property rights and undermine property values. Also, Kovacs et al. (2008) confirmed what Shipley (2000) and Mason (2005) found, that heritage designation in most cases caused increase in property values and did not prevent changes and development to properties.

A number of strategies and actions were suggested to remove constraints to cultural heritage development in Falmouth. The number-one strategy identified was public education. Other suggestions include: making development relevant to the residents by including them in the process, equipping the residents and building their capacity to participate in the development process, collaborating with towns that were in a similar position as Falmouth that had their cultural heritage developed, and addressing deficiencies in the town's infrastructure and craft products. Also, it is critical for the state to play a role if the constraints are to be removed. Government needs to invest in product development, possibly through tax incentives, if they want to develop the business. Shipley (1999) like Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) insist that the role of government in heritage development is a prerequisite for success. In addition, there is a need to form partnerships between the various government agencies that are stakeholders and are involved in the beautification and rehabilitation of Falmouth.

9.5 Participation and Involvement in Cultural Heritage Development

The fourth objective was to explore and suggest appropriate mechanisms to facilitate participation of local residents in the heritage development process. In this regard, there was overwhelming support for residents to participate in the cultural heritage conservation process in Falmouth. The residents were also supportive of a number of strategies to engage, participate and benefit from cultural heritage development and its process.

The interviewees suggested a number of ways through public education campaigns to engage residents in the cultural heritage development process. These included: sensitizing residents about the development, providing information about possible opportunities, giving practical information on ways to improve structures and restore buildings, providing information and education to build awareness about the cultural heritage of the town and suggesting ways to create linkages with other sectors.

The questionnaire respondents were highly supportive of a number of matters relating to cultural heritage conservation in Falmouth. Over 95 per cent thought it was "highly important" and "somewhat important" to conserve the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth. Also, approximately 95 per cent thought it was "highly important" and "somewhat important" for the local residents to participate in cultural heritage conservation efforts. Furthermore, 81 per cent said they were willing to participate in the conservation of cultural heritage in Falmouth. All in all, there was strong support from residents for cultural heritage conservation which is backed by a willingness to participate in the process. Therefore, the authorities should seize this strong support going forward in developing the cultural heritage of the town.

The interviewees asserted that residents should be involved in the development process in order for it to succeed, especially, those residents who are directly affected. They argued that their involvement is feasible and should be made mandatory from the planning to the implementation stage. Also, their involvement is not expected to hinder development but would enhance the conservation and development process and help to prevent further loss of the historic fabric of the town. Furthermore, involving the community ensures the protection of the development and increases the recognition and appreciation of existing heritage resources. In addition, it is contended that local people's involvement should be given preference in the process. It is only fitting that the closest persons to the development, the persons whose lives are impacted and in some ways inconvenienced by the development, are the first in line and are the ones that should be benefiting from it most. However, one interviewee posits that if residents don't share the vision nor have the capacity to participate, they might not want to be part of the process. The idea to involve residents who are directly affected is congruent with assertions by Murphy (1985) and a number of other scholars (Hall, 2000; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Scarpaci, 2005).

The questionnaire respondents, also, were supportive of a number of suggested strategies through which residents can participate and benefit from cultural heritage conservation in Falmouth. These included: employment as tour guides, 93.7 per cent strongly agreed and agreed; operating bed and breakfasts, 92.5 per cent strongly agreed and agreed; employment in visitors' services, 90.4 per cent strongly agreed and agreed; and planning how conservation takes place and direct employment in conservation efforts, 83 per cent strongly agreed and agreed. No one strongly disagreed with any of the suggested strategies for residents to participate.

9.6 African Diaspora and the Cultural Heritage of Slavery

The fifth objective was to determine what value local residents attach to cultural heritage resources that are "symbolic of and are associated with the European trade in Africans as slaves." Residents placed a high value on cultural heritage resources that are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves and also demonstrated a high level of awareness of the association between some of the cultural heritage resources in Falmouth and the Transatlantic Trade. In particular, they are extremely aware that a large number of the buildings in the town dates back to the late 1700s and are associated with plantation owners and slave traders. As a result of these revelations, they overwhelmingly are of the opinion that the historic buildings in the town should be conserved, more so because of their association with slavery.

In addition, they wish for the town to be developed and showcased as a destination where visitors are not only entertained, but can also learn about the Transatlantic Trade through a 'living museum of slavery.' These findings are significant for they support the argument that persons of African descent in the diaspora have a different outlook from their counterparts in Africa towards cultural heritage in their community that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade (Bruner, 1996). Such cultural heritage is extremely important to persons of African descent in the diaspora for the creation of cultural identity.

The research findings also uncovered the respondents' opinions and attitudes towards the relics of slavery in Falmouth. Eighty-five per cent indicated that the relics of slavery should be preserved for future generations, while 94 per cent believed the town should be a destination where visitors can learn about slavery. The respondents also placed a relatively high value on the relics of slavery which got a mean score 3.5 on a 5-point scale where five

was the highest. In addition, they are proud of the cultural heritage of Falmouth and are in agreement that its development will increase pride of local residents. The respondents' scores on, "how proud the residents were of the cultural heritage of Falmouth," yield a mean score of 3.9 on a 5-point scale where five was the highest.

With regard to the "old" buildings in Falmouth, it was advanced that they should be retained, more so because of their association with slavery. Approximately 72 per cent of the survey respondents answered, "no" when asked, "do you think all the old buildings in Falmouth should be torn down and replaced with newer ones?" Nine respondents or 9.9 per cent said they would change their answer after being made aware that some of the old buildings in Falmouth are associated with slavery. Interestingly, eight of the nine had previously indicated that the old buildings should be torn down and replaced with newer ones. Therefore, eight of the nine respondents who would change their response believed that the structures should be retained because of their association with slavery, while only one believed that the buildings should be torn down for the same reason. Putting it another way, eight persons who originally wanted the buildings torn down, now wanted them to be retained because of their association with slavery and, conversely, one person who originally wanted to retain the buildings, now wanted the buildings torn down because of their association with slavery. Thus, it is argued that the residents attached a very high value to the "old" buildings in Falmouth because of their association with slavery. This finding is significant for it indicates that the residents are not opposed to, but wish to protect the cultural heritage of Falmouth that are symbolic and linked to a brutal past, slavery which *Deveau* referred to as "the greatest tragedy in human history" (What they said, 2000).

The residents further argued for the conservation and showcasing of cultural heritage that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. All the interviewees agreed that it would be appropriate and important to use such cultural heritage as themes for developing attractions even though such themes conjure negative impressions for some. Moreover, cultural heritage that is associated with slavery is a part of Jamaica's history that helped to frame the nation, for a very large percentage of the population descended from Africans who were enslaved, which is nothing to be ashamed of. In addition, it is an important, significant and critical part of the cultural heritage of the people that shows and

reminds them where they are coming from, which is important for persons to see in order to appreciate what they have and where they can reach as a people.

Further analysis of the survey and interview responses revealed the following ideas to deal with the issue of the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves in developing Falmouth's cultural heritage. Generally, it is agreed that reminders of the Trade should be preserved, even though it is deemed one of the greatest evils against mankind. Every effort should be made to ensure that it is never repeated, but it should be remembered. It should be re-enacted to educate people about its impact. The development should be a venture that uses heritage themes of slavery to inform of the past, give strength for the future and instil pride. However, the development should be done in a memorable and respectful way and it should be a learning experience. It is important that we understand what happened, show what happened and use it as a reminder that shows the journey and the struggles of black people through slavery. It should showcase the atrocities, the growth as a result of slavery, be an educational experience and build awareness of the enslaved African experience in particular, among the younger generations. The whole of enslavement should be portrayed from the point of arrival at a port and then on to a sugar estate around Falmouth. This experience should be contextualized in the replica of a slave plantation, in a museum setting illustrating its organization and operation.

9.7 Strategies for Cultural Heritage Development

The sixth objective was to develop strategies for the conservation, upgrading, and revitalization of heritage sites in Falmouth that is based on the shared sensitivity of the local people if it is found that local people are motivated to tell the true story of the place. As stated previously, residents were in favour of developing the cultural heritage of Falmouth as attractions. At the same time, they stressed that the development should be authentic and tell the truth. They agreed to a number of suggested actions and strategies for cultural heritage development and also proposed some with attached caveats. Consequently, this section assesses the residents' perspectives towards presenting the truth about the cultural heritage of Falmouth. Also, it outlines the residents' opinion towards some suggested actions, as well as some strategies for developing the town's cultural heritage. The residents also identified a number of international and local organizations that should be involved in carrying out the various actions that would be needed to develop the town's cultural heritage.

The residents proffered that there is growing interest in cultural heritage tourism where tourists go to destinations, such as Falmouth, to hear the truth and learn about the places. They argued that there is a definite learning component in the cultural heritage of Falmouth, in particular, for students of history, culture or slavery. As a result, it is believed that there is a market for the cultural heritage of Falmouth that is associated with slavery. Most interviewees asserted that both tourists and locals would support cultural heritage that is associated with slavery. However, the cultural heritage development must be authentic to be meaningful and Jamaicans should be the ones who present their history and authenticate it for the tourists. They emphasized that "at all cost, people must know the truth." Also, authenticity and integrity are very important since they are preconditions for Falmouth to maintain its Heritage District designation.

The survey respondents overwhelmingly supported the suggested actions for the development of Falmouth's cultural heritage resources. They include: promoting Falmouth as a tourist destination (100% strongly agreed and agreed); job training for residents (100% strongly agreed and agreed); clean-up programs to beautify Falmouth (100% strongly agreed and agreed); infrastructure development (98% strongly agreed and agreed); providing loans, grants and subsidies for building owners (90% strongly agreed and agreed); building citizens' awareness of the town's cultural heritage (87% strongly agreed and agreed); and heritage programs (design-actions, project development) (82% strongly agreed and agreed). Additional suggested actions from the respondents include: the provision of more entertainment facilities and activities; the development of Falmouth; addressing the cultural heritage of Falmouth; the creation of job opportunities; and the setting up of training facilities to target the youth.

The interviewees also suggested some actions for the development of Falmouth's cultural heritage. Included are: the setting up of a 'think tank' to generate ideas; the creation of a Master Plan that is adequately funded, along with a systematic way for its implementation; the implementation of legislation to protect the town's cultural heritage; the development of educational awareness programmes; and the building of consensus among stakeholders. They also suggested: establishing a framework for the funding of restoration; the establishment of design guidelines to protect the heritage; building leadership capacity in the towns; have developers share their plans at town-hall meetings to build citizens'

awareness; convene meetings of training and lending agencies to seek ways of establishing small business loan schemes for entrepreneurs; establish an advisory network for persons wishing to develop businesses relating to cultural heritage; and engaging organizations, such as the JNHT and the local government.

Further, it was advocated that whatever is proposed should be done in the interest of the residents of Falmouth and Trelawny and that local residents should be allowed to participate fully in the development. Local residents should be allowed to work and be incorporated in all proposed projects and the natural environment should be protected at all cost. Most of the interviewees argued for the setting up of a time frame in which the various actions should be carried out for the development of cultural heritage attractions. A time frame would help to establish a framework towards which stakeholders could plan and work.

Interviewees went further and identified a number of international, national and local organizations that should partner in the cultural heritage development process to give it broad based participation. The suggested organizations include: government, NGO's, civic, professional and business organizations that regulate, develop, fund and provide information. The specific ones that were identified include: the World Heritage Funds, UNESCO, the Central and Local Governments, the Trelawny Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, the Georgian Society of Jamaica, the Jamaica Historical Society, the Jamaica Archaeological Society, the Social Development Commission, the National Environment and Planning Agency, the Urban Development Corporation, Taxi Associations and the utility companies. Although these agencies were identified as critical in the development process, for the most part, their specific roles were not articulated. Notwithstanding, these organizations should add credibility, lend expertise and build consensus to the cultural heritage conservation and development process.

9.8 Conclusion

The residents of Falmouth have favourable perceptions and attitudes towards tourism and its development because there are environmental, economic and socio-cultural benefits to be gained from the industry. They strongly believed that the overall benefits from tourism outweigh the negative impacts of the industry. However, the development should focus and capitalize on the dark cultural heritage of the town that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in African as slaves.

The data collection methods uncovered a substantial number of dark cultural heritage resources in Falmouth that has the potential to be developed as attractions. Nearly all of these resources date back to almost two hundred years, to an era of enslaved Africans, brutality and British colonialism. The evidence from the research showed that a vast number of cultural heritage resources are concentrated in the town's historic core which is a designated heritage district.

The survey and the interviews could be regarded as the most important and significant methods since they uncovered information that addressed all the objectives. As such, they could be regarded as the most important methods. On the other hand, the historical research and townscape survey unearthed information that confirms and corroborate data from other methods. The historical research revealed critical information that contextualize and corroborate historical events and narratives which was very crucial because of the historic nature of the research. The townscape exposes the researcher to direct knowledge and experience with the context and contextualized the data that were collected. In addition, it provides the evidence of the various elements and features that exist in the town.

The residents are of the opinion that the development of Falmouth's cultural heritage for tourism would generate numerous opportunities. In particular, it should generate employment and job opportunities for residents and open new business opportunities. In addition, the town should benefit from increased revenue streams through investment and taxes. On the other hand, they identified a number of constraints, including the lack of finance, which was seen as the biggest impediment to development. However, it was felt that stakeholders including the government could implement strategies to address the constraints.

There was overwhelming support for residents to participate in the cultural heritage conservation process in Falmouth. It was argued that resident participation is necessary for the development process to succeed. It will also help in the protection of the historic fabric which is under threat from neglect and inappropriate intervention. The residents agreed with a number of avenues through which they can participate and benefit from the conservation processes. Some argued that the residents whose lives are directly impacted should be given preference in the process to benefit from the development.

Residents have a high level of awareness that a lot of the cultural heritage in Falmouth is associated with the Trade in Africans as Slaves. In particular, a large number of

the buildings in the town date back to the 1700s and are associated with plantation owners, slave traders and merchants. They attached high value to these heritage resources even though they are reminders of a brutal past in mankind's history. They argued that they should be preserved and developed as a reminder and be used as attractions for learning and building self-awareness. However, the development should be authentic and tell the truth. It was very surprising that most of the residents wanted to retain the structures in Falmouth because they are associated with slavery. The expectation would be to obliterate these resources that are reminder of slavery.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION: OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

10.1 Introduction

Visits to dark cultural heritage sites have occurred for hundreds of years. However, the phenomenon has received little attention from the academic community until recently. Not much research has been done on the dark cultural heritage of the Caribbean region, even though it is firmly associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. This is regarded by many as one of the greatest and most brutal atrocities in human history. The Trade in Africans resulted in the forced removal of millions of Africans by Europeans to labour as slaves under inhumane conditions on plantations throughout the Caribbean region and elsewhere. Sometimes as many as 40 per cent of the captives that left Africa did not even make it across the Atlantic because they either committed suicide, were murdered or died from diseases. Jamaica, the largest of the English-speaking Caribbean islands, had thousands of enslaved Africans who were the main labour force behind the transformation of the island into the world's largest sugar-producing colony from the middle of the eighteenth century up to Emancipation in 1838. The port of Falmouth on the north coast of Jamaica played a central role in the slave trade.

The main research question which is addressed in the thesis is: How can a community such as Falmouth, whose cultural heritage is "dark" and contested, be developed, not only for sightseeing and learning, but also as an exemplary place for authentic experiences of identity for the African Diaspora? Six research objectives were addressed through a questionnaire survey administered to residents of Falmouth, interviews conducted with a number of Falmouth's stakeholders, the analysis of historical data, as well as a townscape survey. The following are the research objectives that were formulated and employed to guide the study: 1) to analyse residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Falmouth, 2) to identify and highlight the attributes of the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Falmouth that could be used to frame development, 3) to identify the opportunities and constraints for heritage tourism development in Falmouth, 4) to explore and suggest appropriate mechanisms to facilitate participation of local residents in the heritage development process, 5) to determine what value local residents attach to cultural heritage

241

resources that are "symbolic of and are associated with the European trade in Africans as slaves", and, 6) to develop strategies for the conservation, upgrading, and revitalization of heritage sites in Falmouth that is based on the shared sensitivity of the local people if it is found that local people are motivated to tell the true story of the place. This concluding chapter highlights exactly how the main research question and the objectives were addressed. Further, it presents observations that emanate from the results of the research and states their implications for dark cultural heritage development. Also, it outlines the contributions of the study and concludes with suggestions for future research.

10.2 Planning Dark Cultural Heritage Attractions

The first component of the research question is: "How can a community such as Falmouth, whose cultural heritage is "dark" and contested, be developed?" An evaluation and synthesis of a number of planning methods provided the attributes of a process for addressing this main question (Getz, 1992; Gunn, 2002; Murphy, 1985; Prideaux, 2002; Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979; Shipley, 1999; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). First, there is the need to identify, create an inventory of and select appropriate cultural heritage resources. Next, interpretation and packaging of the resources as attractions for experiences and enjoyment must be undertaken. Finally, it is necessary to market the attractions and experiences to potential visitor groups, in particular, the African diaspora.

The initial step involves identifying and selecting the cultural heritage resources of the town, as defined by the stakeholders, which are essential for successful development. This corresponds with suggestions from Shipley (1999), Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) and a number of others. The selected resources are then used to create an inventory for the development of attractions. The residents of Falmouth were willing to be involved in this process and argued for citizens' involvement and participation in the planning process (see Section 9.6). It is important that the process is made inclusive, that is, inclusive of the academic community, experts, the local residents and the people whose heritage is being impacted in the process for, as Uriely, Israeli and Reichel (2002, p.861) argued, "residents whose heritage is positively promoted for tourism might be more likely to support its development than those whose religious or cultural heritage is ignored. Under such circumstances, identification with what is promoted could generate positive attitudes toward tourism development." Also, individuals and diverse groups could bring uniqueness,

expertise and special knowledge to the process. These different groups, along with heritage and government agencies, could eventually form what Bowes (1993) called a steering committee to coordinate the planning and implementation of projects. Such a broad-based approach should result in a more robust selection process that would help in the validation of the development.

The next step involves the packaging and the interpretation of the selected cultural heritage resources into distinct products and attractions for enjoyment by the various market segments. This step encompasses more than marginal enhancement as it involves the selection, assembly and integration of the chosen resources in an appropriate mix with the aim of deliberately creating a particular product (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The identification of market segments is important for the development of varied experiences for the international and multicultural audience at cultural heritage sites. While the market for dark products was not explored explicitly in this thesis, Buzinde and Santos (2009, p.456) contend, "slave related sites ought to craft metanarratives that incorporate pluralistic perspectives. Representations focused on a tourist-centred ethos will allow for portrayals that lure diverse populations and facilitate wider voice resonance within depictions." Also, Freeman Tilden (1957), the 'father' of interpretation, who is credited with systematizing and formalizing the interpretation process, claimed that all interpretation programs should contain the same information but the approaches used should vary for each category of visitors. Most importantly, the final product that emerges for the enjoyment and learning of a distinct and discrete market segment should include local residents, the general tourist market and, depending on context, the Diaspora.

The final step involves marketing the products to the categorized consumer segments. Some researchers refer to patrons of cultural heritage attraction as "the tourism market," which is too wide and could be misleading (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The cultural heritage tourism market has distinct and discrete segments (Poria et al., 2006a). First of all, local residents visiting cultural heritage sites in Small Island Developing States such as Jamaica are usually not categorized as tourists. Further, it is not sufficient to categorize all tourists at cultural heritage sites as cultural heritage tourists since some have other motives for visiting (Poria et al., 2006b). Also, as discussed in Section 1.2, Wight (2006), Wight and Lennon (2004) and Beech (2000) identified two types of visitors at dark sites who have

distinctly different socio-cultural linkages; there are those with direct connections to the sites and those who are "general" or incidental tourists. Most important, there will be local visitors who have connections and will identify intimately with the cultural heritage of Falmouth. Thus, it is important that the marketing of the product reflects the interests of these various groups, in particular, the people whose cultural heritage is to be conserved.

10.3 Evaluation of Research Objectives

Objective 1: to analyse residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Falmouth.

This objective was addressed by findings from the questionnaire survey and the interviews. There was overwhelming support from the survey respondents and interviewees for tourism and its development in Falmouth. The support, however, is conditional since the residents' expectations from such development are for positive economic, social, cultural and physical impacts on the town. The following statements by interviewees sum up residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism:

- "The areas that have successfully translated their historical resources into economic opportunities are the areas where "real" tourism actually thrives" (Interviewee 1)
- "My vision is to have cafés along the streets like you have in Europe and the school kids come and take them [the tourist] around" (Interviewee 5)

Objective 2: to identify and highlight the attributes of the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Falmouth that could be used to frame development.

This objective was addressed by findings from the questionnaire survey, interviews, historic research and the townscape survey. In most instances, the survey respondents and interviewees pointed to the many historic Georgian architectural-style buildings as the cultural heritage of Falmouth. This was confirmed by the townscape survey (see Appendix I). The historic research revealed that, during the early years in Falmouth's development, the Georgian architectural-style, which was in vogue throughout Britain, was exported to its colonies such as Jamaica.

Most of cultural heritage resources that were identified are located in the Historic District and the Peripheral District (See Figure 8.4). The research process uncovered both tangible resources, which include buildings and other structures, and intangible resources,

which include events and narratives. The resources include large public buildings, townhouses that belonged to planters and merchants, and small cottages that belonged to ex-slaves and Free-coloured. It was established that a significant number of the cultural heritage resources are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. The research also highlighted the nexus between the European "Masters" who were usually planters or merchants and the enslaved Africans who provided the labour that drove the plantation economy and probably built the buildings throughout the parish. The following statement from Interviewee 2 sums up the attitudes and opinions towards the cultural heritage resources in Falmouth, "the whole Historic District… is what makes Falmouth unique in the Caribbean and there is no place else that I know of in Jamaica that has [such a large] collection of historic buildings that we have in Falmouth." One of the challenges, therefore, is to create a synergy between the buildings and other physical structures with narratives which will add value, life and dynamism to the development.

Objective 3: to identify the opportunities and constraints for heritage tourism development in Falmouth.

This objective was addressed by findings from the questionnaire survey and the interviews. The consensus is that the conservation of the cultural heritage of Falmouth would generate new businesses and employment for residents but, for this to materialize, there are several constraints that need to be addressed. The conservation effort is expected to create opportunities that are connected to the cultural heritage resources of the town. Tourists and other visitors, such as students, would have the opportunity to learn, experience and enjoy the cultural heritage of the town, while the residents and local entrepreneurs would benefit economically. In addition, residents would get the opportunity to be involved in the process of development of the town.

With regards to constraints to cultural heritage conservation, Interviewee 5 claimed, "There is none, there is no constraint…" Conversely, all the other interviewees identified several, of which funding was seen as the most pressing. However, investment and incentives offered by the State, coupled with public education, were seen as being the principal strategies to remove constraints.

Objective 4: to explore and suggest appropriate mechanisms to facilitate participation of local residents in the heritage development process.

This objective was addressed by findings from the questionnaire survey and the interviews. There was unanimous support from survey respondents and interviewees for residents to participate in and be involved in cultural heritage development in Falmouth. Also, there was a very high level of willingness on the part of residents to participate and to be involved in the development process. Most respondents and interviewees regard residents' participation and involvement as necessary for the development process to succeed in Falmouth. It was argued that residents could participate and benefit from the process by being involved in planning the development of resources and by offering services to tourists. The following statements by interviewees sum up residents' attitudes and perspectives towards participation and involvement in cultural heritage development:

- "It is critical, this product can only be a success if the residents are actively participating…" (Interviewee 1)
- "If you don't have residents' support you are going to continue losing the historic fabric" (Interviewee 2)
- "The residents' involvement would enhance the process" (Interviewee 6)

Objective 5: to determine what value local residents attach to cultural heritage resources that are "symbolic of and are associated with the European trade in Africans as slaves".

This objective was addressed by findings from the questionnaire survey and the interviews. The residents attached a very high positive value to cultural heritage resources that are associated with the European trade in Africans as slaves. Also, there was strong support for the preservation of the relics of slavery for future generations and for Falmouth to be a destination where visitors can learn about slavery. Further, it was concluded from the residents' responses that the historic structures in the town should be retained because of their association with slavery. The following statements sum up residents' attitudes and perspectives towards cultural heritage resources that are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves:

- "It is a significant component of our history. It continues to define us as a people…" (Interviewee 1)

246

- "it should not be forgotten…it should be remembered" (Interviewee 4)
- "it is something we have to re-enact and we have to make people know" (Interviewee 5)
- "I think each of us must in our own way re-experience those things so that we can stand up and be men" (Interviewee 7)
- "I would support a venture that uses slavery heritage themes to instil pride and as a reminder" (Interviewee 10)
- "it is the part of our history that framed the nation…" (Interviewee 12)

Objective 6: to develop strategies for the conservation, upgrading, and revitalization of heritage sites in Falmouth that is based on the shared sensitivity of the local people if it is found that local people motivated to tell the true story of the place.

This objective was addressed in findings from the questionnaire survey and the interviews. It was argued that the development of the cultural heritage of Falmouth should be authentic and present the undiluted truth. Further, the development should be for both visitors and locals and should include a learning component and should be done in the interest of the residents of Falmouth. It was suggested that collaboration between local and international organization is necessary. The essential actions that are needed include the development of educational programmes and the implementation of legislation to protect the town's cultural heritage. Other important actions include promoting Falmouth as a tourist destination, job training for residents, clean-up programs to beautify Falmouth, infrastructure development and the provision of loans, grants and subsidies for building owners. The residents identified the following as critical actions that are necessary for cultural heritage development in Falmouth:

- "First and foremost there are some infrastructure issues that ought to be addressed" (Interviewee 1)
- "To create a pleasant historically oriented town showcasing both small and large beautifully restored Georgian structures…" (Interviewee 2)
- "there must be certain guidelines to protect our heritage" (Interviewee 6)
- "get the buy-in of the community… second, get all stakeholders… together…" (Interviewee 9)
- "A plan for what we need or want… like a Master Plan…" (Interviewee 12)

10.4 Observations

One of the remarkable findings from this research is that there is high "level of attachment" between the residents and Falmouth (see Chapter 5). It was found by many that the more attached residents are to their community, the more negative they are about tourism development, given that tourism has the potential to undermine the quality of life in their community (Harill, 2004; Nepal, 2008). Given the previous, one might have expected the residents of Falmouth to reject tourism and its development, mainly because of the high level of attachment of residents to the town. Conversely, however, the residents of Falmouth expressed a strong vote of confidence in tourism, and had great expectations from its development. Here, it is argued that, the vote of confidence in tourism is based on expectation, since only 53 per cent of the households presently have someone who is employed directly in the tourism industry which is not yet an important activity in the town. Therefore, Falmouth's residents could not be regarded as being economically dependent on tourism.

One possible reason for the residents' strong support and positive expectations from tourism development is that Falmouth's tourism industry is in its infancy and the many documented negative impacts that often cause residents to oppose the industry have not yet been manifested in the town. Perdue, Long and Allen (1987) and Lankford (1994) found that when residents felt that increasing numbers of visitors impinged on their access to their own recreation opportunities, the desire for further tourism development diminished dramatically. Such action by residents is in keeping with the theory advanced by the evolutionary models which suggests that residents are usually very receptive and supportive in the initial stage of tourism development (Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975; Miossec, 1977; Mitchell, 1998; Plog, 1973). Also, Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2007) argued that, in general, there is usually a high level of support for tourism when it is in its infancy and has yet to be exploited.

There are other possible reasons why the residents are in support of the tourism industry and it development in Falmouth. The residents are aware of the importance of tourism to Jamaica's economy, for it has been for many years among the top contributors to the country's GDP. Wilkinson (1989, p.156, 1997, 1999, p.263) argued that countries such as Jamaica where tourism is the main contributor to their GDP have "tourist's economies" and "can be described as a 'tourist island' state." Other researchers have shown that the general

level of residents' knowledge about tourism and the local economy tend to influence attitudes toward tourism development and tourists (Davis, Allen & Cosenza, 1988; Lankford, 1994; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Pizam & Milman, 1986). Specifically, if the resident is more knowledgeable about the local economy, they are more supportive of tourism (Lankford & Howard, 1994). Unemployment is very high in the town and residents have high hopes that tourism will provide employment opportunities, improve the local standards of living and grow the town's economy (see Table 5.5; Table 5.9). Also, residents are aware of the seemingly positive effects of tourism on Jamaica's major tourism centres, Montego Bay, Negril and Ocho Rios. Over the years, Falmouth has deteriorated physically, resulting in the presence of dilapidated buildings throughout the town and a gradual destruction by neglect of the town's cultural heritage. Residents are of the opinion that tourism development would result in the rejuvenation of the town and prevent further deterioration.

10.5 Contributions

This dissertation makes significant contributions in a number of areas. It contributes to the tourism, planning and dark cultural heritage literatures. Specifically, it reinforced the position that is held by many that Falmouth is a site of internationally significant heritage that has tourism potential. Also, it highlights the developmental potential of the dark cultural heritage of Falmouth as a viable tourism product. In addition, it demonstrates that the development of Falmouth would offer a different type of tourist attraction which would help to diversify Jamaica's tourism product that is currently predominantly focused on the sun, sea and sand. Further, it identifies elements of dark heritage that were critical to Falmouth's residents and feasible as tourism resources. Finally, the development of Falmouth would provide visitors with the opportunity to gaze, be entertained and at the same time learn about a different culture.

The dissertation makes methodological contribution to the study of dark cultural heritage by using a mixed methods approach which incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods, namely questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews, historical research and townscape survey. However, it is a predominantly qualitative research which is consistent with observation by Wight (2006) who claimed that research into dark cultural heritage usually adopts qualitative methods. In particular, this research helped to validate the Townscape Survey as an emerging method to analyze and study the urban fabric. There is

also a mixture of primary and secondary data which adds to the richness of the research. Moreover, this combination of methods and data adds rigour and robustness to the research process and allows for triangulation which contributes to the reliability and credibility of the result. As such, this dissertation establishes a methodology for the study of dark cultural heritage which could be applicable to other dark cultural heritage sites. In particular, the approach used is transferable to other towns in Jamaica as well as other Caribbean nations which has similar cultural traditions as Jamaica. It demonstrates how and through a replicable process the means of gathering citizens' input in the early stages of tourism planning. In many cases, public input only comes at late stages after private or public plans have largely been made. Equally important, the research demonstrated how to engage "black" person and acquire their perspectives on slavery heritage, in particular, those in the diaspora who are descendant of slaves. It also took into consideration the opinions of members of the local community, the perceived benefits they derive, and the disadvantages they experience. Dan and Seaton (2001) identified these shortcomings in a number of studies that seek to address slavery heritage. Also, it advances "tangible visioning™" and builds on my esteemed colleagues, Shipley and Feick's (2009) visioning principle which is anchored to citizens understanding of places and identifying things that they value. The research also contextualized dark cultural heritage that are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves in Small Island Developing States in contrast to other places such as Brazil and the Southern United States where the Trade also featured prominently.

The dissertation also contributes to the dark cultural heritage literature surrounding the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. It fills a knowledge gap by highlighting Falmouth's rich cultural heritage legacy which is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. Also, it builds a new and better understanding and insight in residents' perception of what dark cultural heritage is and means. Although the study focused on Falmouth, Jamaica, many of the findings would be of value to other countries in the Caribbean, including Haiti, Cuba and Barbados and in the Pacific Region, including Mauritus, Réunion and the Seychelles where a thriving Trade in Africans as slaves existed simultaneously with the Atlantic Trade. Ultimately, recommendations developed from this empirical research may be applied to the development of dark cultural heritage attractions as a resource base for tourism in these other countries which would have developed similarity

with the cultural traditions of Jamaica. In addition, the research fills a gap that exists in the Americas regarding the UNWTO's (United Nation World Tourism Organization) and UNESCO's Slave Route Project that seeks to put an end to the historical silence on the African slave trade and slavery in general (UNESCO, 2000). The research should stimulate debates on issues surrounding the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves and help to remove the veil that's shrouds that trade.

10.6 Directions for Future Research

This research focused on the development of attractions from dark cultural heritage that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in the town of Falmouth, Jamaica, West Indies. Future research should be extended to other towns and regions in Jamaica so that comparative analyses can be made. A town that should be considered is Black River, the capital of the parish of Saint Elizabeth, which had a large population of enslaved Africans. Black River, which borders the South coast of the island, also had port facilities where captive Africans disembarked and were sold in the town's slave market after the journey across the Atlantic. In addition, Black River was the port where *The Zong*, a Liverpool-based slaver, docked on December 22, 1781 after the crew allegedly threw overboard more than 130 African captives who were sick and dying in order to make an insurance claim (Watts, 1987). Conducting research in other regions will allow for comparative analyses which should enrich the dark cultural heritage literature.

As argued, there are not many developed dark cultural heritage sites which are associated with the Transatlantic Trade in the Caribbean and other regions of the Americas. The few developed sites that exist are often sanitized and do not express adequately, if at all, the pain, brutality and atrocities that existed under the system of slavery. The narratives on the sites often focussed on factors such as: the European owners, the architecture and techniques used in building construction, the construction materials and their origins, the types and volumes of agricultural products grown on plantations, and European personalities who were associated with the sites. In such situations, it would be important to ascertain the effects on these dark sites due to changes to the narratives that reflect perspectives of the African slaves, in particular on visitation and the socio-demographic characteristics of visitors.

There is great scope for additional research on other aspects of dark cultural heritage in the Americas, in particular, the Caribbean. Studies should also be undertaken in the Spanish and French-speaking regions that had large enslaved populations. Studies should also be done in the other English speaking islands of the Caribbean that had slave populations. It would be interesting to compare the situations in different countries to have a better understanding of the dark cultural heritage that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade. This would be very instructive for, during the era of the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves, there was thriving intra-island trade in slaves, in particular, between Jamaica and other Caribbean islands such as Cuba, Hispaniola and Guadeloupe. Most of the intra-island trade was made possible through the *Asiento* contract which permitted other countries to supply enslaved Africans to Spanish colonies.

This research was done before tourism became a main source of economic activity for Falmouth. As such, it would be appropriate to include among the possible lines of future research related to this study, the proposal to return to the community in a few years to measure again the residents' attitudes to and perceptions of the development of tourism. In particular, it would be noteworthy to measure the impact resulting from the newly built cruise port in Falmouth. Contrast could also be drawn between conventional mass tourism and culturally rooted and locally based dark cultural heritage tourism. Also, it may be possible to incorporate and test new variables, both intrinsic (variables that affect individual residents) and extrinsic (variables that affect the community on a whole), which may allow the work to be enhanced by the discovery of new factors that influence residents' attitudes. It will also be important to assess the impacts of attractions and determine the nature and types of attraction that have the greatest impacts on the community. In addition, the long-term effects on residents should be studied to see whether they still hold dark cultural heritage in high esteem and to assess whether there are changes in their perceptions.

The framework proposed in this dissertation for the planning of dark cultural heritage attractions could be applied to other situations, such as sites of armed conflicts. Also, academic interest in these kinds of studies may include learning whether or not the conceptual framework presented here is useful for understanding dark cultural heritage attractions in other destinations areas under a similar set of yardsticks. As well, this type of

research could reveal similar or dissimilar constraints to the application of this framework in other socio-cultural, political and economic environments in other parts of the world.

10.7 Concluding Remarks

There is a resurgent interest in the development of Falmouth. The town could, once again, become an important apex in a Triangular Trade linking established dark heritage attractions in West Africa and in European cities such as Liverpool and Bristol. However, the people who will be making the journey this time will not be captives, but free individuals on a journey to experience, discover and learn about their roots, bring closure to a brutal episode and find spiritual reunion with ancestors. Such events have the potential to transform Falmouth into an important and unique tourism destination in the Caribbean and the World by developing its dark cultural heritage that is associated with the Transatlantic Trade in Africans as slaves. This would, in turn, boost the town's economy and the country's as a whole. However, for this to materialize, strong collaboration between the Falmouth community, the State and international partners such as the UNESCO, UNWTO, the World Monuments Fund and other organizations is required.

At present, Falmouth is blessed with a wealth of cultural heritage resources, enthusiastic residents and a large market of potential visitors (although the latter has not been explored in this thesis). This is, however, a critical juncture for Falmouth with its fate resting primarily on the expressed willingness and capacity of the community to make and implement development decisions. If development is characterized by short-term reactionary planning, then a great deal of luck will be required for the rejuvenation of the town to occur. On the other hand, if development is guided by carefully considered long-term goals and objectives, tourism will play a leading role in the local economy and residents' quality of life.

REFERENCES

"Daniel" – slave voyage. (n.d). Retrieved June 26, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples2/Danielvoyage.htm.

1790 almanac. (n.d.). Retrieved June 29, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples/1790alll.htm.

1790 letter from John Fowler to James Rogers & Co. (n.d) Retrieved June 26, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples2/fowler1790.htm.

Aas, C., Ladkin, A., & Fletcher, J. (2005). Stakeholder collaboration and heritage management. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(1), 28-48.

Abotchie, C. (1996). International tourism in Ghana: socio-cultural impacts. *Legon Journal of the Humanities, 9*, 1-25.

Africa must recognize its role in slavery, Jean tells audience. (2006, November 29). *The Record*, p. A7.

Akis, S., Peristianis, N., & Warner, J. (1996). Residents' attitudes to tourism development: the case of Cyprus. *Tourism Management, 17*(7), 481-494.

al Rubaie, T. (2002). The rehabilitation of the case-study method. *European Journal of Psychotherapy, Counselling & Health, 5*(1), 31-47.

Allen, L., & Gibson, R. (1987). Perceptions of Community life and ervices: a comparison between leaders and community residents. *Journal of the Community Development Society, 18*, 89-103.

Allen, L., Long, P., Perdue, R. & Kieselbach, S. (1988). The impact of tourism development on residents' perception of community life. *Journal of Travel Research, 27*(1), 16-21.

Alzua, A. O'Leary, J., & Morrison, A. (1998). Cultural and Heritage Tourism: identifying niches for international travellers. *The Journal of Tourism Studies, 9*(2), 2-13.

Ames, P. (1988). Meshing mission and market. *Museum Journal, 88*, 33-36.

Ames, P. (1989). Marketing museums: means or master of the mission. *Curator, 32*, 5-15.

Andereck, K. & Vogt, C. (2000). The relationship between residents' attitudes toward tourism and tourism development options. *Journal of Travel Research, 39*, 27-36.

Andereck, K., Valentine, K., Knopf, R., & Vogt, C. (2005). Residents' perceptions of community tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(4), 1056-1076.

Andriotis, K., & Vaughan, R. (2003). Urban residents' attitudes toward tourism development: the case of Crete. *Journal of Travel Research, 42*, 172-185.

Ap, J. (1990). Residents' perceptions research on the social impacts of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 17*, 610-616.

Ap, J. (1992). Residents' perceptions on tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*, 665-690.

Apostolakis, A. (2003). The convergence process in heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(4), 795-812.

Ashworth, G. (2000). Heritage, tourism and places. *Tourism Recreation Research, 25*(1), 19-29.

Ashworth, G. & Larkham, P. (1994). A heritage for Europe: the need, task, the contribution. In G. Ashworth & P. Larkham (eds.), *Building a new heritage: Tourism, culture and identity in the New Europe* (pp. 1-9). London: Routledge.

Ashworth, G., & Hartmann, R. (eds.) (2005). *Horrors and human tragedy revisited: the management of sites of atrocities.* New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Ashworth, G. & Tunbridge, J. (1990). *The tourist historic city*. New York: Belhaven Press.

Associated Press, (2009, November, 15). Ja's cruise industry sweeps World Travel Awards: Ocho Rios named world's leading cruise port. Retrieve November 15, 2009, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Austin, N. (2002). Managing heritage attractions: Marketing challenges at sensitive historical sites. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*(6), 447-457.

Ayers, J. & Potter, H. (1989). Attitudes toward Community change: a comparison between rural leaders and residents. *Journal of the Community Development Society, 20*(1), 1-18.

Babbie, E. (2001). *The practice of social research.* (9th ed.) Canada: Wadworth.

Babbie, E. (2004). *The practice of social research.* (10th ed.) Canada: Wadworth.

Bachleltner, R., & Zins, A. (1999). Cultural tourism in rural communities: the residents' perspectives. *Journal of Business Research, 44*, 199-209.

Balcar, M. & Pierce, D. (1996). Heritage tourism on the west coast of New Zealand. *Tourism Management, 17*(3), 203-212.

Balwin, F. & Sharpley, R. (2009). Battlefield tourism: bringing organized violence. In R. Sharpley and P. Stone (eds.), *The darker side of travel: the theory and practice of dark tourism,* (pp. 186-206). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Bartlett has five-year plan to boost tourism (2008, May 15). Bartlett has five-year plan to boost tourism. *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve May 15, 2008, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Baudrillard, J. (1988). *Simulcra and simulation. Selected Writings*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Beech, J. (2009). Genocide tourism. In R. Sharpley and P. Stone (eds.), *The darker side of travel: the theory and practice of dark tourism,* (pp. 207-223). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Beech, J. (2001). The marketing of slavery heritage in the United Kingdom. In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 85-105). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Beech, J. (2000). The enigma of holocaust sites as tourist attractions: the case of Buchenwald. *Managing Leisure, 5*(1), 29-41.

Belhassen, Y., & Caton, K. (2006). Authenticity matters: A comment [Comment on the article by Yvette Reisinger & Carol Steiner, 2006]. *Annals of Tourism Research, 33*(3), 853-856.

Belisle, F., & Hoy, D. (1980). The perceived impact of tourism by residents: a case study in Santa Marta, Colombia. *Annals of Tourism Research, 7*(1), 83-101.

Berg, B. (2004). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences.* (4th ed.) Chapter 9. San Francisco: Pearson Education Inc.

Besson, J. (2002). *Martha Brae's two histories: European expansion and Caribbean culture-building in Jamaica.* K. (1985). Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.

Bestard, A., & Nadal, J. (2007). Modelling environmental attitudes toward tourism. *Tourism Management, 28*, 688-695.

Beveridge, W. (1957). *The art of scientific investigation.* (3rd ed.) London: William Heinemann.

Bigelow, J. (1851). *Jamaica in 1850*. Retrieved June 26, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples2/bbigelow.htm.

Binney, M., Harris, J., Martin, K., & Curtin, M. (1991). *Jamaica's heritage: an untapped resource*. Kingston, Jamaica: The Mill Press.

Biran, A., Poria, Y., & Oren, G. (2011). Sought experiences at (Dark) heritage sites. *Annals of Tourism Research, 38*(3), 820-841.

Blom, T. (2000). Morbid tourism – a postmodern market niche with an example from Althorp. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift, 54*(1), 29-36.

Blouet, O. (1990). Slavery and freedom in the British West Indies, 1823-33: the role of education. *History of Education Quarterly, 30*(4), 625-643.

Boorstin, D. (1964). The image: a guide to pseudo-event in America. New York: Atheneum.

Booth, K. (1985). When Jamaica Welcomed the World: The Great Exhibition of 1891. *Jamaica Journal, 18*(3), 39-51.

Bowes, R. (1989). Tourism and heritage: a new approach to the product. *Recreation Research Review, 14*(4), 35-40.

Bowes, R. (1993). A Heritage Canada Perspective. In G. Nelson, R. Butler and G. Wall (eds.), *Tourism and Sustainable Development: Monitoring, Planning, Managing* (pp. 119-134). Waterloo: Heritage Resources Centre, University of Waterloo.

British soldier's account of the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion. Retrieved June 29, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples/faughnan.htm.

Brodsky-Porges, E. (1981). The grand tour: travel as an educational device 1600-1800. *Annals of Tourism Research, 8*(2), 171-186.

Bromley, R. & Jones, G. (1996). The conservation cycle in the cities of the developing world: implications for authenticity and policy. *Urban Geography*, 17, 650-669.

Brougham, J. & Butler, R. (1981). A segmentation analysis of resident attitudes to the social impact of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 8*, 569-589.

Brown, I. (2008, December 14). Ailing tourism sector to get help. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve December 14, 2008, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Bruner, E. (1994). Abraham Lincoln as authentic reproduction: a critique of postmodernism. *American Anthropologist, 96*(2), 397-415.

Bruner, E. (1996). Tourism in Ghana: the representation of slavery and the return of the black Diaspora. *American Anthropologist, 98*(2), 290-304.

Bryman, A. (2007). Barriers to integrating qualitative and quantitative research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*, 8-22.

Buddan, R. (2009, August 2). Debating emancipation: morality and profitability. *The Sunday Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve August 2, 2009, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Butler, D. (2001). Whitewashing plantations: the commodification of a slave-free antebellum South. In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 163-175). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Butler, R. (1980). The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources. *Canadian Geographer, xxiv*(1) 5-12.

Butler, D., Carter, P., & Dwyer, O. (2008). Imagining Plantations: slavery, dominant narratives, and the foreign born. *Southeastern Geographer, 48*(3), 288-302.

Buzinde, C., & Santos, C. (2008). Representations of slavery. *Annals of Tourism Research, 35*(2), 469-488.

Buzinde, C., & Santos, C. (2009). Interpreting slavery tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 36*(3), 439-458.

Campbell, O. (2005, March 20). Falmouth: prosperity on the horizon. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve March 20, 2005, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Canosa, A., Brown, G. & Bassan, H. (2001). Examining social relations between adolescent residents and tourists in an Italian coastal resort. *Journal of Tourism Studies, 12*(1), 50-59.

Carmichael, B. (2001). A matrix model for resident attitudes and bahaviours in a rapidly changing tourist area. *Tourism Management, 21*, 601-611.

Cavus, S., & Tanrisevdi, A. (2003). Residents' attitudes towards tourism development: a case study in Kusadasi, Turkey. *Tourism Analysis, 7*, 259-269.

Chang, T., & Yeoh, B. (1999). "New Asia – Singapore": communicating local cultures through global tourism. *Geoforum, 30*(2), 101-115.

Chang, T., Milne, S., Fallon, D., & Pohlmann, C. (1996). Urban heritage tourism: the global-local nexus. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(2), 284-305.

Chen, J. (2000). An investigation of urban residents' loyalty to tourism. *Journal of Hospitality & Research, 24*(1), 5-19.

Chen, H., Hwang, S., & Lee, C. (2006). Visitors' characteristics of guided tours. *Journal of Business Research, 59*(10-11), 1167-1181.

Cheung, S. (2003). Remembering through space: the politics of heritage in Hong Kong. *International Journal of heritage Studies, 9*(1), 7-26.

Chittenden, V. (2006). "Put your very special place on the north country map!": community participation in cultural landmarking. *Journal of American Folklore, 119*(471), 47-65.

Christaller, W. (1963). Some considerations of tourism location in Europe: the peripheral regions-under-developed countries-recreation areas. *Regional Science associations; paper XII,* 95-105.

CHRML (Commonwealth Historic Resources Management Limited), ARA Consulting Inc., Roy Stephenson Associates, Geoffrey de Sola Pinto Associates, & Stupart, C. (1998). *Pre-feasibility study for the restoration of greater Falmouth (Final Report & Heritage Inventory).* A report prepared for: Organization of American States (OAS) and Office of the Prime Minister, Tourism (Jamaica).

Cohen, E. (2007). 'Authenticity' in tourism studies: Aprés la lutte. *Tourism Recreation Research, 32*(2), 75-82.

Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 15*, 371-386.

Cole, S. (2007). Beyond authenticity and commodification. *Annals of Tourism Research, 34*(4), 943-960.

Collier, A. (1991). *Principles of Tourism: A New Zealand Perspective*. (2nd ed.) New Zealand: Pitman Publishing.

Commonwealth Secretariat (2002). *Master plan for sustainable tourism development – Jamaica*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Conolley, I., & Parrent, J. (2005). Land deeds that tell the story of the birth of Falmouth. *Jamaica Historical Society, Bulletin, 11*(15), 383-409.

Cooke, K. (1982). Guidelines for socially appropriate tourism development in British Columbia. *Journal of Travel Research, 21*(1), 22-28.

Copeland, C. (2011). Madness and mayhem: the aesthetics of dark tourism. *Afterimage, 39*(1&2), 43-46.

Cory, G. (1994). Tourism Trends for the Millennium. Second Global Conference, International Institute for Peace Through Tourism, Montreal, Canada. San Francisco: Economics Research Associates.

Costa, C. (2001). An emerging tourism planning paradigm? A comparative analysis between town and tourism planning. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 3*(6), 425-441.

Creswell, J. (2009). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches*, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Curtin, P. (1990). *The rise and fall of the plantation complex: essays in Atlantic history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cutler, A. (2004). Methodical failure: the use of case study method by public relations researchers. *Public Relations Review, 30*, 365-375.

Dann, G. (1998). *The dark side of tourism. Studies and Reports, Series L, 14*. Aix-en-Provence, France: International Center for Research and Studies in Tourism.

Dann, G., & Potter, R. (2001). Supplanting the planters: Hawking heritage in Barbados. In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 51-84). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Dann, G., & Seaton, A. (2001). Introduction. In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 1-29). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Davis, Allen & Cosenza (1988). Segmenting local residents by their attitudes, interests and opinions towards tourism. *Journal of Travel Research, 27*(2) 2-8.

de Sola Pinto, G. & Phillips, A. (1982). *Jamaican houses: a vanishing legacy*. Montego Bay, Jamaica: de Sola Pinto Publishers.

Deed 19 Sep 1805. Phillp Levy grantee to Henry Cerf. (n.d.). Retrieved June 2, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples/dcerf1.htm.

DiGrino, B. (1986). Community surveys: purchasing confidence and accuracy. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration, 4*, 61-69.

Dogan, H. (1989). Forms of adjustment: sociocultural impacts of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 16*(2), 8-13.

Doxey, G. (1975). A causation theory of visitor-resident irritants; methodology and research inferences. In *Travel and Tourism Research Association Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings* (pp.195-198). San Diego, Ca: TTRA.

Dredge, D. (2004). Development, economy and culture: cultural heritage planning, Liangzhu, China. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 9*(3), 405-422.

Dyer, P., Gursoy, D., Sharma, B., & Carter, J. (2007). Structural modeling of resident perceptions of tourism and associated development on the Sunshine Coast, Australia. *Tourism Management, 28*, 409-422.

Ebron, P. (2000). Tourists as pilgrims: commercial fashioning of transatlantic politics. *American Ethnologist, 26*(4), 910-932.

Eco, U. (1986). *Travels in hyperreality*. London: Picador.

Edgel, D. (1990). *International Tourism Policy*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Edwards, A. (2009, September 4). Caribbean tourism holding up well – Stewart. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve September 4, 2009, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Edwards, A. (2008, April 18). Spanish hotel operators look to Jamaica. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve September 18, 2008, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Edwards, A. (2007, May 18). Harmony Cove will push Jamaica's tourism product back into the high-end bracket. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve May 18, 2007, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Eisenhardt, K. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of Management Review, 14*(4), 532-550.

Erb, M. (2003). 'Uniting the bodies and cleansing the village': conflicts over local heritage in a globalizing world. *Indonesia and Malay World, 31*(89), 129-139.

Eskew, G. (2001). From civil war to civil rights: selling Alabama as heritage tourism. In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 201-214). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Essah, P. (2001). Slavery, heritage and tourism in Ghana. In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 31-49). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Estates, plantations & pens with a great house in Trelawny prior to Emancipation. (n.d.). Retrieved June 26, 2009 from http://www.cockpitcountry.com/TrelEstates.html.

Falmouth cruise terminal to cost $7.5b (2008, April 16). Falmouth cruise terminal to cost
$7.5b. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve April 16, 2008,
http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Falmouth designated a resort area (2005, September 17). Falmouth designated a resort area.
The Jamaica Observer [newspaper]. Retrieve September 17, 2005,
http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Fan, C., Wall, G., & Mitchell, C. (2008). Creative destruction and the water town of Luzhi,
China. *Tourism Management, 29*, 648-660.

Faulkner, B., & Tideswell, C. (1997). A framework for monitoring community impacts of
tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 5*(1), 3-28.

Fisher, I., & Ziviani, J. (2004). Explanatory case studies: implications and applications for
clinical research. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal, 51,* 185-191.

Flemming, D. (1986). From shepherds' smocks to EEC. *Museum Journal, 85*, 179-186.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making social science matter: why social inquiry fails and how it can
succeed again.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fogerty, D. (1982). Lafayette, Indiana: preservation as part of a comprehensive development
strategy. *Smalltown, 13*(1), 8-12.

Foley, M., & Lennon, J. (1997). Dark tourism – an ethical dilemma. In M. Foley, J. Lennon,
and G. Maxwell (eds.), *Hospitality, tourism and leisure management: issues in strategy
and culture* (pp. 153-164). London: Mansell Publishing house.

Foley, M., & Lennon, J. (1996a). Heart of Darkness. *International Journal of Heritage
Studies, 2*(4), 195-197.

Foley, M., & Lennon, J. (1996b). JFK and dark tourism: a fascination with assassination.
International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2(4), 198-211.

Forss, K., McCutcheon, A., Mwaiselage, A., Nilsdotter, A., & Stadin, K. (2005). Evaluation
of the Slave Route Project 1994 – 2004. UNESCO.

Foster, P. (2004, July 04). Georgian Splendour: harmonizing Falmouth. *The Jamaica
Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve July 4, 2004, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Fraenkel, J. & Wallen, N. (1990). *How to design and evaluate research in education.* Chapter
17. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fredline, E., & Faulkner, B. (2000). Host community reactions: a cluster analysis. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(3), 763-784.

Fyall, A. & Garrod, B. (1998). Heritage tourism: at what price? *Managing Leisure, 3*, 213-228.

Gable, E., & Handler, R. (1996). After authenticity at an American heritage site. *American Anthropologist, 98*(3), 568-578.

Gee, C. (1981). *Resort Development and Management.* Michigan: The Educational Institute of the American Hotel and Motel Association.

Gee, C., Choy, D. & Makens, J. (1984). *The Travel Industry*. Connecticut: The AVI Publishing Company.

Georgian Society of Jamaica, The (GSOJ) (n.d.). *Falmouth 1791-1970.* Kingston, Jamaica: Prepared by Publication Services Limited, Printed by Lithographic Printers Limited.

Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for? *American Political Science Review, 98*(2), 341-354.

Getz, D. (1994). Residents' attitudes towards tourism: a longitudinal study in Spey Valley, Scotland. *Tourism Management, 15*(4), 247-258.

Getz, D. (1992). Tourism Planning and Destination Life Cycle. <u>*Annals of Tourism Research*</u> , *19*, 752-770.

Getz, D. (1986). Models in tourism planning: towards integration of theory and practice. *Tourism Management, 7*, 21-32.

Gilbert, D., & Clark, M. (1997). An exploratory examination of urban tourism impact, with reference to residents attitudes, in the cities of Canterbury and Guildford. *Cities, 14*(6), 343-352.

Gill, C. (1994). All-inclusive prove they're no flash in the pan. *Caribbean Tourism Today,* March/April, 34-39.

Gillham, B. (2000). *The research interview*. London: Continuum.

Gleaner, The (1993). *Geography and History of Jamaica*. 22nd ed. Kingston, Jamaica: The Gleaner Company Limited.

Goings, K. (2001). Aunt Jemima and Uncle Mose travel the USA: the marketing of memory through tourist souvenirs. In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 131-200). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Gordon, S. (2008, October 31). Harmony Cove will find capital, says Hylton. *The Financial Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve November 1, 2008, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Goudy, W. (1977). Evaluations of local attributes and community satisfaction in small towns. *Rural Sociology, 42*, 371-382.

Goulding, C. (2000). The commodification of the past, postmodern pastiche, and the search for authentic experiences at contemporary heritage attractions. *European Journal of Marketing, 34*(7), 835-853.

Graham, B. (2002). Heritage as knowledge: capital or culture? *Urban Studies, 39*(5-6), 1003-1017.

Graneheim, U., & Lundman, B. (2004). Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today, 24*, 105-112.

Greene, J. (2006). Towards a methodology of mixed methods social inquiry. *Research in the Schools, 13*(1), 1-11.

Greene, J., Caracelli, V., & Graham, W. (1989). Towards a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 11*(3), 255-274.

Greenhalgh, P. (1989). Education, entertainment and politics: lessons from the Great International Exhibitions. In P. Vergo (ed.). *The New Museology* (pp. 74-98). London: Reaktion.

Greenwood, D. (1982). "Cultural authenticity." *Cultural Survival Quarterly, 6*(3), 27-28.

Greenwood, D. (1977). Culture by the pound: an anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization. In *Host and Guests,* V. Smith, ed., pp129-139. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

GSOJ (Georgian Society of Jamaica, The). (n.d.). *Falmouth 1791-1970*. Kingston, Jamaica: Prepared by Publication Services Limited, Printed by Lithographic Printers Limited.

Guest, G., Bunce, A, & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods, 18*(1) 59-82.

Gunn, C. (2002). *Tourism Planning*. New York: Crane, Russak.

Gursoy, D., & Rutherford, D. (2004). Hosts attitudes toward tourism: an improved structural model. *Annals of Tourism Research, 31*(3), 495-516.

Gursoy, D., Jurowski, C., & Uysal, M. (2002). Resident attitudes: a structural modeling approach. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(1), 79-105.

Halewood, C. & Hannam, K. (2001). Viking heritage tourism: authenticity and commodification. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(3), 565-580.

Haley, A., Snaith, T. & Miller, G. (2005). The social impacts of tourism: a case study of Bath, UK. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(3), 647-668.

Hall, C. (2009, August 2). Freedom feeding frenzy – mad rush for money with emancipation fallout. *The Sunday Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve August 2, 2009, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Hall, C. (2000). *Tourism planning: policies, processes and relationships*. Singapore: Pearson Hall.

Hall, P. (2002). *Urban and regional planning*. (4th ed.) Canada: Routledge.

Hamel, J. (1992). The case method in sociology introduction: new theoretical and methodological issues. *Current Sociology, 40*(1) 1-7 & 181-200.

Hampton, M. P. (2005). Heritage, local communities and economic development. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(3), 735-759.

Handler, R. (1986). Authenticity. *Anthropology Today, 2*(1), 2-4.

Handler, R., & Linnekin, J. (1984). Tradition, genuine or spurious. *Journal of American Folklore, 97*(385), 273-290.

Harrill, R. (2004). Residents' attitudes toward tourism development: a literature review with implications for tourism planning. *Journal of Planning Literature, 18*(3), 251-266.

Harrill, R., & Potts, T. D. (2003). Tourism planning in historic districts - attitudes toward tourism development in Charleston. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 69*(3), 233-244.

Harvey, D. (1989). The condition of postmodernity. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Hayes, D. & MacLeod, N. (2007). Packaging places: designing heritage trails using an experience economy perspective to maximize visitor engagement. *Journal of Vacation Marketing, 13*(1), 45-58.

Hedges, B. (2004). Sampling. In C. Seale (ed.), *Social research methods: a reader* (pp. 63-72). New York: Routledge.

Henry, B. (1987, July 31). Government policy initiatives in the tourist industry in Jamaica 1962-1987. *The Weekend Star* [Newspaper], pp. 26-27.

Henthorne, T. & Miller, M. (2003). Cuban tourism in the Caribbean context: a regional impact assessment. *Journal of Travel Research, 42*, 84-93.

Herbert, D. (1995a). Preface. In D. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, tourism and society* (pp. xi-xii). London: Mansell Publishing House.

Herbert, D. (1995b). Heritage places, leisure and tourism. In D. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, tourism and society* (pp. 1-20). London: Mansell Publishing House.

Hernandez, S., Cohen, J., & Garcia, H. (1996). Residents' attitudes towards an instant resort enclave. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(4), 755-779.

Hewison, R. (1987). *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline.* London: Methuen.

Hitchcock, M. & King, V. (2003). Discourses with the past: tourism and heritage in South-East Asia. *Indonesia and Malay World, 31*(89), 3-15.

Høivik, T. & Heiberg, T. (1980). Centre-periphery tourism and self reliance. *International Social Science Journal, 32*(1), 69-98.

Hollinshead, H. (1999). Surveillance of the world of tourism: Foucault and the eye-of-power. *Tourism Management, 20*(1), 7-23.

Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research, 15*(9), 1277-1288.

http://sampsize.sourceforge.net/iface/index.html. Sample size for a prevalence survey, with finite population correction. Accessed June 26, 2009.

Huh, C., & Vogt, C. (2008). Changes in residents' attitudes toward tourism over time: a cohort analytical approach. *Journal of Travel Research, May*, 446-455.

Iles, J. (2008). Encounter in the field – tourism to the battlefields of the Western front. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 6*(2), 138-1154.

Iroegbu, H., & Chen, J. (2002). Urban residents' reaction towards tourism development: do subgroups exist? *Tourism Analysis, 6*, 155-161.

Jackson, L. (2006). Ameliorating the negative impacts of tourism: a Caribbean perspective. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 18*(7), 574-582.

Jackson, M., & Inbakaran, R. (2006). Evaluating residents' attitudes and intentions to act towards tourism development in regional Victoria, Australia. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 8*, 355-366.

Jamal, T., & Getz, D. (1999). Community roundtable for tourism related conflicts: the dialectics of consensus and progress structures. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 7*, 290-313.

Jamal, T., & Kim, H. (2005). Bridging the interdisciplinary divide. *Tourist Studies, 5*(1), 55-83.

Jansen-Verbeke, M., & van Rekom J. (1996). Scanning museum visitors: urban tourism marketing. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(2), 364-375.

Jayawardena, C. (2003). Performance of tourism analysis: a Caribbean perspective. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 15*(3), 176-179.

Jessop, D. (2006, September 3). The business of tourism. *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve September 3, 2006, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Johnson, J., Snepenger, D., & Akis, A. (1994). Residents' perceptions of tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research, 21*(3), 629-642.

Johnson, P., & Thomas, B. (1995). Heritage as business. In D. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, tourism and society* (pp. 170-190). London: Mansell Publishing house.

Johnson, R., Onwuegbuzie, A., & Turner, L. (2007). Toward a definition on mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(2), 112-133.

Johnson, R., & Onwuegbuzie, A. (2004). Mixed methods research: a research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher, 33*(7), 14-26.

Josiam, B. M., Mattson, M., & Sullivan, P. (2004). The historaunt: Heritage tourism at Mickey's dining car. *Tourism Management, 25*(4), 453-461.

JTB (Jamaica Tourist Board). (2009). *Annual travel statistics 2008.* Jamaica Tourist Board: Jamaica.

JTB (Jamaica Tourist Board). (2003). *Annual travel statistics 1992.* Jamaica Tourist Board: Jamaica.

JTB (Jamaica Tourist Board). (2001). *Annual travel statistics 2000.* Jamaica Tourist Board: Jamaica.

JTB (Jamaica Tourist Board). (1993). *Annual travel statistics 1992.* Jamaica Tourist Board: Jamaica.

Jurowski, C., & Gursoy, D. (2004). Distance effects on residents' attitudes toward tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 31*(2), 296-312.

Jurowski, C., Uysal, M., & Williams, D. (1997). A theoretical analysis of host community resident reactions to tourism. *Journal of Travel Research, 3*, 17-24.

Kaltenborn, B., Andersen, O., Nellemann, C., Bjerke, T., & Thrane, C. (2008). Resident attitudes towards mountain second-home tourism development in Norway: the effects of environmental attitudes. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 16*(6), 664-679.

Kang, E., Scott, N., Lee, T., & Ballantyne, R. (2012). Benefits of visiting a 'dark tourism' site: the case of the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park, Korea. *Tourism Management, 33*, 257-265.

Kaufman, T. & Weaver, P. (2005). Heritage Tourism: Question of Age. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 11*(2), 135-146.

Kayat, K. (2002). Power, social exchanges and tourism in Langkawi: rethinking resident perceptions. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*, 171-191.

Kelle, U. (2006). Combining qualitative and quantitative methods in research practice: purposes and advantages. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*, 293-311.

Keogh, B. (1990). Public participation in community tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research, 17*, 449-465.

Kerstetter, D. L., Confer, J. J., & Graefe, A. R. (2001). An exploration of the specialization concept within the context of heritage tourism. *Journal of Travel Research, 39*(3), 267-274.

Kerstetter, D., Confer, J., & Bricker, K. (1998). Industrial heritage attractions: types and tourists. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing, 7*(2) 91-104.

Khalifa, A. (2006). African influence on culture and music in Dubai. *International Social Science Journal, 58*(188), 227-235.

Kim, H, Cheng, C. & O'Leary, T. (2007). Understanding participation patterns and trends in tourism cultural attractions. *Tourism Management, 28*, 1366-1371.

King, B. (2007). Response to Yeoman et al.: competitive advantage through "authenticity": an assessment of Scotland's tourism prospects. *Tourism Management, 28*, 1141-1143.

King, B., Pizam, A., & Milman, A. (1993). Social impacts of tourism: host perceptions. *Annals of Tourism Research, 20*, 650-665.

Kingsbury, P. (2005). Jamaican tourism and the politics of enjoyment. *Geoforum, 36*(1), 113-132.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). Destination culture: tourism, museums and heritage. Berkley, Ca: University of California Press.

Ko, D., & Stewart, W. (2002). A structural equation model of residents' attitudes for tourism development. *Tourism Management, 23*(5), 521-530.

Kondracki, N., Wellman, N., & Amundson, D. (2002). Content analysis: review of methods and their applications in nutrition education. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior, 34*(4) 224-230.

Krakover, S. (2005). Attitude of Israeli visitors towards the Holocaust remembrance site Yad Vashem. In G. Ashworth & R. Hartmann (eds.), *Horrors and human tragedy revisited: the management of sites of atrocities for tourism* (pp. 108-117). Sydney: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Kreag, G. (2001). The impacts of tourism. *Minnesota Sea Grant.* Downloaded from www.seagrant.umn.edu March 9, 2009.

Kuhn, T. (1996). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. (3rd ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuvan, Y., & Akan, P. (2005). Residents' attitudes toward general and forest-related impacts of tourism: the case of Belek, Antalya. *Tourism Management, 26*, 691-706.

Langout, R. (2003). Reconceptualizing quantitative and qualitative methods: a case study dealing with place as an exemplar. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 32*(3/4), 229-244.

Lankford, S., & Howard, D. (1994). Developing a tourism impact attitude scale. *Annals of Tourism Research, 21*, 121-139.

Larkham, P. (1995). Heritage as planned and conserved. In D. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, tourism and society* (pp. 85-116). London: Mansell Publishing house.

Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (2000). *Dark tourism: the attraction of death and disaster*. New York: Continuum.

Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (1999). Interpretation of the unimaginable: the U.S. Holocaust
    Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., and "dark tourism". *Journal of Travel
    Research, 38*(1), 46-50.

Li, W. (2006). Community decision making: participation in development. *Annals of
    Tourism Research, 33*(1), 132-143.

Li, Y. & Lo, L. (2005). Opportunities and constraints of heritage tourism in Hong Kong's
    changing cultural landscape. *Tourism and Hospitality Research, 5*(4), 322-345.

Light, D. (1995). Heritage as informal education. In D. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, tourism and
    society* (pp. 117-145). London: Mansell Publishing house.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Lindberg, K., & Johnson, R. (1997). Modeling resident attitudes toward tourism. *Annals of
    Tourism Research, 24*(2), 402-424.

Liu, J., & Var, T. (1986). Resident attitudes toward tourism impacts in Hawaii. *Annals of
    Tourism Research, 13*, 193-214.

Lockhart, D. (1997). Islands and tourism: an overview. In D. Lockhart & D. Drakakis-Smith
    (eds.), *Island tourism: Trends and prospects* (pp. 3-20). London: Pinter.

Logan, W. & Reeves, K. (2009). Introduction: Remembering places of pain and shame. In
    W. Logan & K. Reeves (eds.), *Place of pain and shame: dealing with 'difficult past'*
    (pp. 1-14). London: Routledge.

Long, P., Perdue, R., & Allen, L. (1990). Rural resident tourism perceptions and attitudes by
    community level of tourism. *Journal of Travel Research, 28*(3), 3-9.

Lowenthal, D. (2005). Natural and cultural heritage. *International Journal of Heritage
    Studies, 11*(1), 81-92.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a foreign country*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University
    Press.

Lumsden, J. (1991). Jamaica International Exhibition, 1891. *Jamaica Historical Society,
    Bulletin, 10*(3 & 4), 16-21.

Lundgren, J. (1988). Tourism Destination Development and Problems of Management: Case
    Lake Memphremagog Region. *Teoros, 7*, (2), 11-16.

MacCannell, D. (1976; 1999). *The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*. Berkley:
    University of California Press.

MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology, 79*(3), 589-603.

Macdonald, S. (2006). Undesirable heritage: fascist material culture and historical consciousness in Nuremberg. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 12*(1), 9-28.

Madrigal, R. (1995). Residents' perceptions and the role of government. *Annals of Tourism Research, 22*(1), 86-102.

Manning, G. (2006, September 17). Too many rooms! – hotel growth pressuring infrastructure. *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve September 17, 2006, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Martin, L. (1994). *Reflections on Jamaica's Tourism*. Montego Bay, Jamaica: Unlimited Exposures Limited.

Martin, W. & Mason, S. (1993). The future of attractions: meeting the needs of the new consumer. *Tourism Management, 14*, 34-40.

Mason, J. (2006). Mixing methods in a qualitatively driven way. *Qualitative Research, 6*(1), 9-25.

Mason, R. (2005). *Economics and Historic Preservation*. Washington, DC: the Brookings Institution.

Mason, P., & Cheyne, J. (2000). Residents' attitudes to proposed tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(2), 391-411.

Mathieson, A., & Wall, G. (1982). *Tourism: economic, physical and social impacts*. London: Longman.

McCain, G. & Ray, N. (2003). Legacy tourism: the search for personal meaning in heritage travel. *Tourism Management, 24*, 713-717.

McGehee, N., & Andereck, K. (2004). Factors predicting rural residents' support of tourism. *Journal of Travel Research, 43*, 131-140.

McKercher, B., Ho, P., & du Cros, H. (2004). Attributes of popular cultural attractions in Hong Kong. *Annals of Tourism Research, 31*(2), 393-407.

McLernon, P., & Griffiths, S. (2002). Liverpool and the heritage of the slave trade. In A. Phelps, G. Ashworth, & B. Johansson, (eds.), *The construction of built heritage: a north European perspective on policies, practices and outcomes* (pp. 191-205). New York: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

271

Medina, L. K. (2003). Commoditizing culture: tourism and Maya identity. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(2), 353-368.

MIGA/JAMPRO/PIOJ. (1991), "Jamaica Investment Promotion Conference," February 4-6, Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), Jamaica Promotion Corporation (JAMPRO) and The Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ).

Miles, W. (2002). Auschwitz: Museum interpretation and darker tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(4), 1175-1178.

Millar, S. (1989). Heritage management for heritage tourism. *Tourism Management, 10*(1), 9-14.

Milman, A., & Pizam, A. (1988). Social impacts of tourism on central Florida. *Annals of Tourism Research, 15*, 191-204.

Ministry of Culture. (2006). *Heritage property evaluation: a guide to listing, researching and evaluating cultural heritage property in Ontario communities.* Canada: Ministry of Culture, Government of Ontario.

Miossec, J. (1977). Un modèle de l'espace touristique. *L'Espace Gèographique, 6*(1) 41-48.

Mitchell, C. (1998). Entrepreneurialism, commodification and creative destruction: a model of post-modern community development. *Journal of Rural Studies, 14*(3), 273-286.

Mitchell, C., Atkinson, R. & Clark, A. (2001). The creative destruction of Niagara-on-the Lake. *Canadian Geographer, 45*(2), 285-299.

Mitchell, R., & Reid, D. (1988). Community integration: island tourism in Peru. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(1), 113-139.

Morgan, D. (2007). Paradigm lost and pragmatism regained: methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(1), 48-76.

Morgan, D. (1998). Practical strategies for combining qualitative and quantitative methods: applications to health research. *Qualitative Health Research, 8*(3), 362-376.

Morrison, D. (2006, September 17). Tourism growth since 9/11. *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve September 17, 2006, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Moscardo, G. (2007). Interpretation, culture and the creation of place. *Tourism Recreation Research, 32*(3), 57-64.

MOT (Ministry of Tourism). (1995), "Hotels in Jamaica-December 31, 1994".

MOT (Ministry of Tourism). (1973a). The Resort Cottages (incentives) Act. Government of Jamaica.

MOT (Ministry of Tourism). (1973b). The Hotels (incentives) Act. Government of Jamaica.

MOT (Ministry of Tourism). "Jamaica Annual Travel Statistics 1987-1993".

MOT (Ministry of Tourism). (1995), "Villas/Resort Cottages in Jamaica-December 31, 1994".

Mowforth, M. & Munt, I. (2003). *Tourism and sustainability in the Third World: development and new tourism in the Third World.* London: Routledge.

Murdock, S. & Schriner, E. (1979). Community service satisfaction and stages of community development: an examination of evidence from impacted communities. *Journal of the Community Development Society, 10*, 109-124.

Murphy, P. (1985). *Tourism: A Community Approach*. New York: Methuen, Inc.

Murphy, P. (1981). Community attitudes to tourism a comparative analysis. *Tourism Management, 2*, 188-195.

Muzaini, H., Teo, P. & Yeoh, B. (2007). Intimations of postmodernity in dark tourism: the fate of history at Fort Siloso, Singapore. *Journal of tourism and Cultural Change, 5*(1), 28-44.

Napier, T. & Wright, C. (1974). Impact of rural development: case study of forced relocation. *Journal of the Community Development Society, 5*, 107-115.

Negroes imported from Africa into the said island and exported from the said island yearly between 22 September 1702 and 31 December 1741. (n.d.). Retrieved June 26, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples2/longslavedata.htm.

Neita, H. (1995, December 3). Jamaican Legends – an unexploited resource. *The Sunday Gleaner* [newspaper], pp. 9A-10A.

Nelson, V. (2007). Traces of the past: the cycle of expectation in Caribbean tourism representations. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 5*(1), 1-16.

Nelson, V. (2005). Representation and images of people, place and nature in Grenada's tourism. *Geografiska Annaler, 87B*(2), 131-143.

Nepal, S. (2008). Residents' attitudes to tourism in Central British Columbia, Canada. *Tourism Geographies, 10*(1), 42-65.

Newman, W. (2004). *Basics of social research: qualitative and quantitative approaches.* Toronto, Canada: Pearson Education, Inc.

Newman, W. (2003). *Social research methods*. (5th ed.) Toronto, Canada: Allyn and Bacon.

Newman, W. (2000). *Social research methods*. (4th ed.) Toronto, Canada: Allyn and Bacon.

Nicholas, L., Thapa, B., & Ko, Y. (2009). Residents' perspectives of a world heritage site: the Pitons management area, St. Lucia. *Annals of Tourism Research, 36*(3), 390-412.

Nunkoo, R., & Ramkissoon, H. (2010). Small island urban tourism: a residents' perspective. *Current Issues in Tourism, 13*(1), 37-60.

O'Cathain, A., Murphy, E., & Nicholl, J. (2007). Integration and publications as indicators of "yield" from mixed methods studies. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(2), 147-163.

O'Rourke, P. (1988). *Holidays in hell.* London: Picador.

OAS. (1995). *Social and economic impact of tourism, Jamaica*. Washington DC: Organization of American States.

Office of research Ethics (2000-2003). Online guide to completing the Form 101. Waterloo, Ontario: Office of Research Ethics. Accessed November 12, 2009 from http://iris.uwaterloo.ca/ethics/human/application/101guide.htm

Ogilvie, D. (1954). *History of the parish of Trelawny*. Trelawny, Jamaica: Printed by United Printers.

Olsen, J. (2009, November, 1). Largest cruise ship squeezes under Danish bridge. *Associated Press*. Retrieve November 1, 2009, from http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20091101/ap_on_re_eu/eu_world_s_largest_cruise_ship.

Olsen, K. (2007). Staged authenticity: a grande idée? *Tourism Recreation Research, 32*(2), 83-85.

Olsen, K. H. (2002). Authenticity as a concept in tourism research: The social organization of the experience of authenticity. *Tourist Studies, 2*(2), 159-182.

Palmer, K. (2006, November 30). G-G sheds tears at slavery's door of no return. *National Post*, p.A10.

Palys, T. (2003). *Research decisions: quantitative and qualitative perspectives.* (3rd ed.) Canada: Thomson - Nelson.

Panetta, A. (2006, November 30). 'We shall never be chained again:' Jean. *Toronto Star*, p. A2.

Parks-Savage, A. (2005). *Qualitative research traditions.* Assistant professor, School of Counselling and Psychology, Regent University. www.regent.edu. Retrieved July 1, 2004.

Parrent, J. (1994). *Cultural Heritage Tourism and The Restoration and Development of Falmouth*. Kingston, Jamaica: The Jamaica Heritage Trail Limited.

Parrent, J. (1995). *A Proposal for The Development of Tharp House, Central Wharf and Museum on Slavery in Falmouth*. Kingston, Jamaica: The Jamaica Heritage Trail Limited.

Patterson, O. (1982). *Slavery and social death*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Patterson, Prime Minister P.J. (1995). *Tourism Vital to Growth and Prosperity of the Nation*. Excerpt from address at "Live and Direct" Montego Bay, Jamaica.

Patton, C. & Stabler, K. (1979). The small town in the urban fringe: conflicts in attitudes and values. *Journal of the Community Development Society, 10*, 83-93.

Patton, E., & Appelbaum, H. (2003). The case for case study in management. *Management Research News, 26*(5), 60-71.

Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. (3rd ed.) Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Pearce, D. (1989). *Tourism Development*. Harlow: Longman.

Pearce, P. (2007). Persisting with authenticity: gleaning contemporary insights for future tourism studies. *Recreation Research Review, 14*(4), 10-14.

Pearce, P. (1994). Tourism–Residents Impacts: Examples, Explanations and Emerging Solutions. In W. Theobald (ed.), *Global Tourism: The Next Decade* (1203-1239). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd.

Perdue, R., Long, P., & Allen, L. (1987). Rural resident tourism perceptions and attitudes. *Annals of Tourism Research, 14*(4), 420-429.

Perdue, R., Long, P., & Allen, L. (1990). Resident support for tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research, 17*(4), 586-599.

Petrzelka, P., Krannich, R., Brehm, J., & Trentelman, C. (2005). Rural tourism and gendered nuances. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(4), 1121-1137.

Philp, J. & Mercer, D. (1999). Commodification of Buddhism in contemporary Burma. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(1), 21-54.

Pine, B., & Gilmore, J. (1999). *The experience economy*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Pine, B., & Gilmore, J. (1998). Welcome to the experience economy. *Harvard Business Review, 76*(4), 97-105.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2008). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 2007*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2007). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 2006*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2006). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 2005*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2005). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 2004*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2004). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 2003*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2003). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 2002*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2002). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 2001*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2001). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 2000*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (2000). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 1999*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

PIOJ (Planning Institute of Jamaica). (1999). *Economic and social survey Jamaica 1998*. Jamaica: Planning Institute of Jamaica.

Pizam, A. (1978). Tourism impact: the social cost to the destination community as perceived by its residents. *Journal of Travel Research, 16*(4), 8-12.

Pizam, A & Pokela, J. (1985). The perceived impact of casino gambling on a community. *Annals of Tourism Research, 12*, 147-165.

Poon, A. (1990). Flexible specialization and small size: the case of Caribbean tourism. *World Development, 18*(1), 109-123.

Poon, A. (1989). Competitive Strategies for a 'New Tourism." In C. Cooper (ed.), *Progress in Tourism, Recreation and Hospitality Management* (pp.93-102). Volume 1. London: Belhaven Press.

Poon, A. (1988). Innovation and the Future of Caribbean Tourism. *Tourism Management*, 213-220.

Poon, A. & Poon R. (1994). *The Eco-Tourism Opportunity in the Caribbean*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Centre for Environment and Development.

Port Antonio: a historic portrait of the town where Jamaica's tourism began (n.d.). Retrieve April 20, 2010, http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/pages/history/story0027.html.

Postal museum for Falmouth (2003, October 4). Postal museum for Falmouth. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve October 4, 2003, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Poria, Y., Reichel, A., & Biran, A. (2006a). Heritage site perceptions and motivations to visit. *Journal of Travel Research, 44*(3), 318-326.

Poria, Y., Reichel, A., & Biran, A. (2006b). Heritage site management - motivations and expectations. *Annals of Tourism Research, 33*(1), 162-178.

Poria, Y., Butler, R., & Airey, D. (2004a). The meaning of heritage sites for tourists: the case of Massada. *Tourism Analysis, 9*, 15-22.

Poria, Y., Butler, R., & Airey, D. (2004b). Links between tourists, heritage, and reasons for visiting heritage sites. *Journal of Travel Research, 43*(1), 19-28.

Poria Y., Butler, R. & Airey, D. (2003). The core of heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(1), 238-254.

Postal museum for Falmouth (2003, October 4). Postal museum for Falmouth. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve October 4, 2003, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Preece, T. & Price, G. (2005). Motivations of participants in dark tourism: a case study of Por Arthur, Tasmania, Australia. In C. Ryan, S. Page and M. Aicken (eds.), *Taking tourism to the limits: issues, concepts and managerial perspectives* (pp. 188-190). London: Elsevier.

Preister, K. (1989). The theory and management of tourism impacts. *Tourism Recreational Research, 14*(1), 15-22.

Prentice, R. (2001). Experiential cultural tourism: Museums & the marketing of the new romanticism of evoked authenticity. *Museum Management and Curatorship, 19*(1), 5-26.

Prentice, R. (1993a). *Tourism and heritage attraction*. London: Routledge.

Prentice, R., & Andersen, V. (2003). Festival as creative destination. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(1), 7-30.

Prideaux, B. (2002). Creating rural heritage visitor attractions – the Queensland heritage trails project. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*(4), 313-323.

Reckord, M. (1968). The Jamaica slave rebellion of 1831. *Past & Present,* (40), 108-125.

Rahim, A., & Baksh, M. (2003). Case study method for new product development in engineer-to-order organizations. *Work Study, 52*(1), 25-36.

Reason, P. & Bradbury, H. (2001). Handbook of action research: participative inquiry and practice. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Reeve, A., Goodey, B. & Shipley, R. (2007). Townscape assessment: the development of a practical tool for monitoring and assessing visual quality in the built environment. *Urban Morphology, 11*(1), 25-43.

Reid, D. (2003). *Tourism, Globalization and Development: responsible tourism planning*. London: Pluto Press.

Reid, D., Mair, H., & George, W. (2004). Community tourism planning: a self-assessment instrument. *Annals of Tourism Research, 31*(3), 623-639.

Reisinger, Y. & Steiner, C. (2006). Reconceptualizing object authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research, 33*(1), 65-86.

Return of inhabitants of Jamaica in 1788. (n.d.). Retrieved June 26, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples2/1788tab.htm.

Reframing a tourism master plan. (May 26, 2008). *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve May 26, 2008, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Return of inhabitants of Jamaica in 1788. (n.d.). Retrieved June 26, 2009 from http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com/samples2/1788tab.htm.

Richards, G. (2002). Tourism attraction systems: exploring cultural behavior. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(4), 1048-1064.

Richards, G. (2000). Tourism and the world of culture and heritage. *Tourism Recreation Research, 25*(1), 9-17.

Richards, G. (1996). Production and consumption of European cultural tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(2), 261-283.

Richards, S. (2005). Performing family: cultural travel to Ghana's slave castles. In G. Ashworth & R. Hartmann (eds.) *Horrors and human tragedy revisited: the management of sites of atrocities* (pp. 224-232). New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Richie, J. (1993). Crafting a destination vision: putting the concept of resident-responsive tourism into practice. *Tourism Management, October*, 379-389.

Richie, B. & Inkari, M. (2006). Host community attitude toward tourism and cultural tourism development: the case of the Lewes District, Southern England. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 8*, 27-44.

Rifkind, C. (1977). *Mainstreet: the face of urban America*. New York: Harper & Row.

Ritchie, B. (1988). Consensus policy formulation in tourism: measuring resident views via survey research. *Tourism Management, 9*, 199-212.

Robinson, C. (2007). *The rise and fall of Falmouth, Jamaica*. Jamaica: LMH Publishing Limited.

Rojeck, C. (1993). *Ways to escape*. Basingstoke: Macmillian.

Rosenow, J. & Pulsipher, G. (1979). *Tourism: the good, the bad, and the ugly*. Lincoln, Nebraska: Century Three Press.

Rothman, R. (1978). Residents and transients: community reaction to seasonal visitors. *Journal of Travel Research, 16*(3), 8-13.

Roushanzamir, E. & Kreshel, P. (2001). Gloria and Anthony visit a plantation: history into heritage at "Laura: a creole plantation". In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 177-201). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Robinson, C. (2007). *The rise and fall of Falmouth, Jamaica: urban life in 19th Century Jamaica.* Jamaica: LMH Publishing Limited.

Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Howard
University Press.

Rose, D. (2009, October 25). Foreign investors edge out J'can in tourism ownership, local
share falls to 40 per cent. *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve October 25, 2009,
from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Roy Stephenson Associates (1989). *Falmouth Restoration Plan*. (Unpublished).

Ryan, C., & Kohli, R. (2006). The buried village, New Zealand – an example of dark
tourism? *Asia and Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 11*(3), 211-226.

Ryan, C., & Montgomery, D. (1994). The attitudes of Bakewell residents to tourism and
issues in community responsive tourism. *Tourism Management, 15*(5), 358-369.

Ryan, C., Scotland, A., & Montgomery, D. (1998). Residents' attitudes to tourism
development – a comparative study between the Rangitikei, New Zealand and
Bakewell, United Kingdom. *Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research, 4*, 115-
130391-411.

Ryan, G., & Bernard, H. (2003). Techniques to identify. *Field Methods, 15*(1), 85-109.

Salmon, L. (2008, September 13). The second Spanish conquest of Jamaica. *The Daily
Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve September 13, 2008, from http://www.jamaica-
gleaner.com/.

Scarpaci, J. (2005). *Plazas and barrios: heritage tourism and globalization in the Latin
American centro historico*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Schamber, L. (2000). Time-line interviews and inductive content analysis: their effectiveness
for exploring cognitive behaviors. *Journal of the American Society for Information
Science, 51*(8), 734-744.

Schouten, F. (1995). Heritage as historical reality. In D. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, tourism and
society* (pp. 21-31). London: Mansell Publishing House.

Scotus, P. (1861). *Reminiscences of a Scottish gentleman, commencing in 1787.* London:
Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.

Screven, C. (1986). Exhibitions and information centers: some principles and approaches.
Curator, 29, 109-137.

Seaton, A. (2001). Sources of slavery – destinations of slavery: the silences and disclosures of slavery heritage in the UK and US. In G. Dann & A. Seaton (eds.) *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism* (pp. 107-129). New York: The Haworth Press Inc.

Seaton, A. V. (1999a). War and thanatourism: Waterloo 1815 – 1914. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(1), 130-158.

Seaton, A. (1999b). Guided by the dark: from thanatopis to thanatourism. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2*(4), 234-244.

Seaton, A. (1996). Guided by the dark: from thanatopis to thanatourism. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2*(4), 234-244.

Seaton, A, & Lennon, J. (2004). Thanatourism in the early 21st Century: moral panic, ulterior motives and alterior desires. In T. Singh (ed.), *New horizons in tourism: strange experiences and stranger practices*. (pp. 63-82). Cambridge, MA: CABI Publishing.

Selby, M., & Morgan, N. J. (1996). Reconstruing place image. *Tourism Management, 17*(4), 287-294.

Selener, D. (1997). *Participatory action research and social change*. Cornell Participatory Action Research Network: Cornell University.

Shackley, M. (2001). Potential futures for Robben island: shrine, museum or theme park? *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 7*(4), 355-363.

Sharpe, G. (1982). An overview of interpretation. In G. Sharpe (ed.), *Interpreting the environment* (pp. 3-26). New York: John Wiley.

Sharpley, R. (2009). Shedding light on dark tourism: an introduction. In R. Sharpley and P. Stone (eds.), *The darker side of travel: the theory and practice of dark tourism,* (pp. 39-55). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Sharpley, R. (2005). Travels to the edge of darkness: towards a typology of "Dark tourism." In C. Ryan, S. Page and M. Aicken (eds.), *Taking tourism to the limits: issues, concepts and managerial perspectives* (pp. 215-226). London: Elsevier.

Sharpley, R. & Stone, P. (2009). (Re)presenting the macabre: interpretation, kitschification and authenticity. In R. Sharpley and P. Stone (eds.), *The darker side of travel: the theory and practice of dark tourism,* (pp. 110-128). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Sheldon, P. & Var, T. (1984). Resident attitudes to tourism in North Wales. *Tourism Management, 5*, 40-47.

Shipley, R. (2000). Heritage designation and property values: is there an effect? *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 6*(1), 83-100.

Shipley, R. (1999). Making a silk purse from a sow's ear: lessons from the failure to develop the Welland Canal as a tourism resource. *Environment, 27*(2), 25-44.

Shipley, R. & Feick, R. (2009). A Practical Approach For Evaluating Cultural Heritage Landscapes: Lessons From Rural Ontario. *Planning Practice and Research,* 24(4), 455-469.

Shipley, R., & Svihlova, D. (2006). International expert advice on regional development plans: two Chinese case studies. *Regional Development Studies, 10*, 129-144.

Shipley, R., Reeve, A., Walker, S., Grover, P., & Goodey, B. (2004). Townscape heritage initiatives evaluation: methodology for assessing the effectiveness of Heritage Lottery Fund projects in the United Kingdom. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 22, 523-542.

Shuo, Y., Ryan, C., & Liu, G. (2009). Taoism, temples and tourists: the case of Mazu pilgrimage tourism. *Tourism Management, 30*, 581-588.

Silberberg, T. (1995). Cultural tourism and business opportunities for museums and heritage sites. *Tourism Management, 16*(5), 361-365.

Simmons, D. (1994). Community participation in tourism planning. *Tourism Management, 15*(2), 98-108.

Sirakaya, E., Teye, V., & Sönmez, S. (2002). Understanding residents' support for tourism development in the Central Region of Ghana. *Journal of Travel Research, 41*, 57-67.

Slade, P. (2003). Gallipoli thanatourism: the meaning of ANZAC. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(4), 779-794.

Smith, N. & Croy, W. (2005). Presentation of dark tourism: Te Wairoa, the buried village. In C. Ryan, S. Page and M. Aicken (eds.), *Taking tourism to the limits: issues, concepts and managerial perspectives,* (pp. 199-213). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Smith, M., & Krannich, R. (1998). Tourism dependence and resident attitudes. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*, 783-802.

Snaith, T. & Haley, A. (1999). Resident's opinions of tourism development in the historic city of York, England. *Tourism Management, 20*, 595-603.

Stake, R. (2000). Case studies. In the N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 435-454). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Stevens, T. (1995). Heritage as Design: A Practitioner's Perspective. In Herbert, D. T. (Ed.). *Heritage, tourism and society* (191-211). London: Mansell Publishing Limited.

Stevens, T. (1989). The visitor – who cares? Interpretation and consumer relations. In D. Uzzell (ed.), *Heritage Interpretation,* Vol. 11. (pp. 103-107). London: Belhaven.

Stone, P. (2012). Dark tourism and significant other death: towards a model of mortality mediation. *Annals of Tourism Research, 39*(3), 1565-1587.

Stone, P. (2011). Dark tourism and the cadaveric carnival: mediating life and death narratives at Gunther von Hagens' Body Worlds. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 1-17.

Stone, P. (2006). A dark tourism spectrum: towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism, 54*(2), 145-160.

Stone, P. & Sharpley, R. (2008). Consuming dark tourism: a thanatological perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research, 35*(2), 574-595.

Strange, I. (1997). Planning for change, conserving the past: towards sustainable development policy in historic cities? *Cities, 14*(4), 227-233.

Stupart, C. (1996). *Sustainable heritage tourism model for Falmouth, Jamaica: towards community economic development.* Unpublished master's project. School of Planning, McGill University, Canada.

Stupart, C. & Shipley, R. (2008). *Potential development sites in Southwestern Ontario.* A report sponsored by ACCELERATE Ontario and produced by the Heritage Resources Centre, University of Waterloo for the JG Group of Companies. Waterloo, Canada: Heritage Resources Centre.

Silvera, J. (2009, June 8). Falmouth port delay keeps 'Oasis' at sea. *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve June 8, 2009, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Silvera, J. (2009, April 26). Falmouth port gets nod from investors. *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve April 26, 2009, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Silvera, J. (2008, April 19). Bahia boss says NEPA blocking expansion. *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve April 19, 2008, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Spanish hotels do more harm than good to Jamaica's tourism product. (April 25, 2008). *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve April 25, 2008, from http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

STATIN (Statistical Institute of Jamaica). (2009). *Tourism satellite account 2007 Jamaica.* Jamaica: Statistical Institute of Jamaica.

STATIN (Statistical Institute of Jamaica). (2003). *Population census 2001, volume 2, age and sex.* Jamaica: Statistical Institute of Jamaica.

STATIN (Statistical Institute of Jamaica) 2003. *2001 Population Census – Jamaica. Volume 1, Country Report.* Kingston, Jamaica: Statistical Institute of Jamaica.

Taylor, F. (1993). *To Hell with Paradise: A history of the Jamaican Tourist Industry.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Taylor, F. (1987-88). The Birth and Growth of the Jamaica Tourist Association 1910-1914. *Jamaica Journal*, November 1987-January 1988, 40-44.

Taylor, J. (2001). Authenticity and sincerity in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(1), 7-26.

Tarlow, P. (2005). Dark tourism – the appealing 'dark' side of tourism and more. In M. Novelli (ed.), *Niche tourism: contemporary issues, trends and cases* (pp. 47-58). London: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

Teo, P., & Lim, L. (2003). Global and Local interactions in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(2), 287-306.

Teo, P., & Yeoh, B. (1997). Remaking local heritage for tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 24*(1), 192-213.

Teye, V., Sönmez, S., & Sirakaya, E., (2002). Residents' attitudes toward tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(3), 668-688.

Teye, V., & Timothy, D., (2004). The varied colors of slave heritage in West Africa. *Space and Culture, 7*(2), 145-155.

Thame, C. (2007, May 6). Harmony Cove developers considering Las Vegas model. *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve May 6, 2007, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Tortello, R. (n.d.). *The history of Falmouth: boom town of the 19th century.* Retrieved August 26, 2009 from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/pages/history/story0051.htm.

TCF (Trelawny Cultural Foundation), (n.d.). *Trelawny and Its History: souvenir handbook*. Speedy Prints, Montego Bay.

Trelawny hopeful about opportunities from wharf. (2009, February 14), *The Daily Gleaner* [newspaper]. Retrieve February 14, 2009, from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/.

Tilden, F. (1977). *Interpreting our heritage*. (3rd ed.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Timothy, D. & Boyd, S. (2006). Heritage tourism in the 21st century: valued traditions and new perspectives. *Journal of Heritage Tourism, 1*(1), 1-16.

Tomljenovic, R., &Faulkner, B. (2000). Tourism older residents in a sunbelt resort. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(1), 93-114.

Tortello, R. (nd). *The history of Falmouth: boom town of the 19th century*. Retrieved August 26, 2009 from http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/pages/history/story0051.htm.

Tosun, C. (2005). Stages in the emergence of a participatory tourism development approach in the developing world. *Geoforum, 36*(3), 333-352.

Tosun, C. (2000). Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. *Tourism Management, 21*(6), 613-633.

Tosun, C., & Jenkins, C. L. (1998). The evolution of tourism planning in Third-World countries: A critique. *Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research, 4*(2), 101-114.

Town Planning Department (1998). The greater Falmouth development plan. Kingston, Jamaica: Town Planning Department.

Towner, J. (1985). The Grand Tour: a key phrase in the history of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 12*, 297-333.

Trelawny Cultural Foundation (TCF), (nd). *Trelawny and Its History: souvenir handbook*. Montego Bay, Jamaica: Speedy Prints.

Trilling, L. (1972). *Sincerity and authenticity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Tuckman, B. (1999). *Conducting educational research*. (5th ed.) Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Tunbridge, J, & Ashworth, G. (1996). *Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict.* Chichester: Wiley.

Tyrrell, A., & Walvin, J. (2004). Whose history is it? Memorialising Britain's involvement in slavery. In P. Pickering & A. Tyrrell (eds.), *Contested sites: commemoration, memorial and popular politics in nineteenth-century Britain* (pp. 147-169). New York: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Tyrrell, T. & Spaulding, I. (1984). A survey of attitudes toward tourism growth in Rhode Island. *Hospitality Education and Research Journal, 8*(2), 22-33.

Um, S. & Cromption, J. (1987). Measuring resident's attachment levels in a host community. *Journal of Travel Research, 26*(1), 27-29.

UNESCO. (1972). Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage. *UNESCO*.

UNESCO. (2004). Struggles against slavery: International year to commemorate the struggle against slavery and its abolition. *UNESCO*.

UNESCO. (nd.). The Slave Route Project, News Letter. *UNESCO,* (4).

UNESCO. (2000). *The Slave Route Project*, News Letter. *UNESCO*, (1).

UNESCO (1982). Mexico City declaration on cultural policies, World Conference on Cultural Policies. Mexico City, July 26 – August 6.

UNWTO. (2007). *Tourism highlights*. Madrid: UNWTO.

UNWTO. (2008). *Tourism highlights*. Madrid: UNWTO.

UNWTO. (2009). *Tourism highlights*. Madrid: UNWTO.

Upchurch, R., & Teivane, U. (2000). Resident perceptions of tourism development in Riga, Latvia. *Tourism Management, 21*, 499-507.

Uriely, N., Israeli, A., & Reichel, A. (2002). Heritage proximity and resident attitudes toward tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(3), 859-862.

Urry, J. (1991). *The sociology of tourism*. C. Cooper (ed.) Progress in Tourism, recreation and hospitality management, Vol. 111 (pp. 48-57). London: Belhaven.

Valid International Ltd. (2006). *Notes on required sample size fro CSAS and similar coverage surveys.* Valid International Ltd. Version 0.32.

Vargas-Sánchez, A., Plaza-Mejía, M., & Porras-Bueno, N. (2009). Understanding residents' attitudes toward the development of industrial tourism in a former mining community. *Journal of Travel Research, 47*(3), 373-387.

Vogt, C., Kah, A., Huh, C. & Leonard, S. (2004). Sharing the heritage of Kodiak Island with tourists: views from the hosts. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 9*(3), 239-254.

Watts, D. (1987). *The West Indies: patterns of development, culture and environmental change since 1492*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Waitt, G. (2000). Consuming heritage: perceived historical authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(4), 835-862.

Wall, G. (1982). Cycles and capacity: incipient theory or conceptual contradiction? *Tourism Management, September*, 188-192.

Wall, G. (1996). Perspectives on tourism in selected Balinese villages. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(1), 123-137.

Wall, G. & Xie, P. (2005). Authenticating ethnic tourism: Li dancers' perspectives. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 10*(1), 1-21.

Waller, J., & Lea, S. (1998). Seeking the real Spain? authenticity in motivation. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*(4), 110-129.

Walsh, K. (1992). *The representation of the past: museums and heritage in the post-modern world.* London: Routledge.

Walter, T. (2009). Dark tourism: mediating between the dead and the living. In R. Sharpley and P. Stone (eds.), *The darker side of travel: the theory and practice of dark tourism,* (pp. 39-55). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Wang, N. (2000). *Tourism and modernity: a sociological analysis*. New York: PergamonAshgate Publishing Limited.

Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(2), 349-370.

Wang, Y., & Pfister, R. (2008). Residents' attitudes towards tourism and perceived personal benefits in a rural community. *Journal of Travel Research, 47*, 84-93.

Warren, C. & Karner, T. (2005). *Discovering qualitative methods.* (1st ed.) Chapter 1. Los Angeles, Ca: Roxbury Publishing Company.

Weaver, D., & Lawton, L. (2001). Resident perceptions in the urban-rural fringe. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(2), 439-458.

Weaver, P., & Kaufman, T. (2006). Heritage tourism: a question of age. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism research, 11*(2), 135-146.

What they said. (2000, September) *The Slave Route* (Newsletter), (1), 15. UNESCO.

What's in the pipeline for Falmouth? (2005, March 20). What's in the pipeline for Falmouth? *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper]. Retrieve March 20, 2005, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/.

Wight, A. (2006). Philosophical and methodological praxes in dark tourism: Controversy, contention and the evolving paradigm. *Journal of Vacation Marketing, 12*(2), 119-129.

Wight, A. & Lennon, J. (2007). Selective interpretation and eclectic human heritage in Lithuania. *Tourism Management, 28*(2), 519-529.

Wight, A. & Lennon, J. (2004). Towards an understanding of visitor perceptions of 'dark' sites: the case of the imperial war museum of the North, Manchester. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 2*(2), 105-122.

Wildemuth, B. (1993). Post-positivist research: two examples of methodological pluralism. *Library Quarterly, 63*(4), 450-468.

Wilkinson, P. (1999). Caribbean cruise tourism: delusion? Illusion? *Tourism Geographies, 1*(3), 261-282.

Wilkinson, P. (1997). *Tourism policy and planning: case studies from the Commonwealth Caribbean*. New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Wilkinson, P. (1989). Tourism in small island nations: a fragile dependence. *Annals of Tourism Research, 16*(2), 153-177.

Wilkinson, P. (1987). Strategies for tourism in island microstates. *Leisure Studies, 6*(2), 127-146.

Williams, E. (1944, 1994). *Capitalism & slavery*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Williams, J., & Lawson, R. (2001). Community issues and resident opinions of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(2), 269-290.

Williamson, K. (2008). Mrs Carmichael: a Scotswoman in the West Indies, 1820-1826. *International Journal of Scottish Literature, 4*, 1-17.

Wilson, R. (2007). Combining historical research and narrative inquiry to create chronicles and narratives. *The Qualitative Report, 12*(1), 20-39.

Wojno, C. (1991). Historic preservation and economic development. *Journal of Planning Literature, 5*(3), 296-306.

Woolley, C. (2009). Meeting the mixed methods challenge of integration in a sociological study of structure and agency. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 3*(1), 7-25.

World Travel & Tourism Council. (2004). *The Caribbean: the impact of travel & tourism on jobs and the economy.* London: World Travel & Tourism Council.

Xie, P. F., & Wall, G. (2002). Visitor's perceptions of authenticity at cultural attractions in Hainan, China. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*(5), 353-366.

Yale, P. (1991). *From tourist attractions to heritage tourism.* Huntingdon: ELM Publications.

Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research: design and methods.* (3ʳᵈ ed.) Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Yin, R. (2006). Mixed methods research: are the methods genuinely integrated or merely parallel? *Research in the Schools, 13*(1), 41-47.

Yoon, Y, Chen, S. & Gursoy, D (1999). An investigation of the relationship between tourism impacts and host communities characteristics. *Anatolia: an International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research, 10*(1), 29-44.

Zamani-Farahani, H., & Musa, G. (2008). Residents' attitudes and perceptions towards tourism development: a case study of Masooleh, Iran. *Tourism Management, 29*,

Zeppel, H., & Hall, C. (1992). Art and heritage tourism. In B Weiler and C. Hall (eds.) *Special interest tourism.* (pp. 47-68). London: Routledge.

Zhang, Y., & Wildemuth, B. (n.d.). Qualitative analysis of content. Retrieved September 17, 2009, from http://www.ils.unc.edu/~yanz/Content_analysis.pdf.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Information Letter to Residents and Interviewees

School of Planning
Faculty of the Environment

University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
N2L 3G1

Date: March 26, 2009

Dear Resident:

A Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) student in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo, Canada is conducting research under the supervision of Professor Robert Shipley on the development of Falmouth's cultural heritage as attractions. Various surveys of international tourists destinations consistently show cultural heritage as an important travel motive. As a resident of the historic town of Falmouth, your opinions may be important to this study. I would appreciate the opportunity to speak with you about your experience on this topic.

I plan to conduct this research as a door-to-door survey between the hours of 10 am and 8 pm, and expect to be in your neighbourhood during the months of February to March 2009. However, I would be happy to arrange another time, if you prefer. Your involvement in this survey is entirely voluntary and there are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study. If you agree to participate, the survey should not take more than about 30 minutes. The questions are quite general, for example, Do you think all the old buildings in Falmouth should be torn down and replaced with newer ones? However, you may decline answering any questions you feel you do not wish to answer. All information you provide will be considered confidential and will be grouped with responses from other participants. Further, you will not be identified by name in any thesis, report or publication resulting from this study. The data collected will be kept indefinitely in a secure location. In appreciation for your time, you will receive a keychain.

If after receiving this letter, you have any questions about this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please feel free to contact Professor Robert Shipley at 1(519)888-4567, Ext.35615 or rshipley@uwaterloo.ca.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo, Canada. However, the final decision about participation is yours. Should you have comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 1(519)888-4567, Ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.

Thank you in advance for your interest in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Copeland Stupart
University of Waterloo, Canada
School of Planning, Faculty of Environment
Contact Telephone Number (Cell): 832-5371 (Lime); 889-2223 (Digicel)
Email.: cstupart@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix B – Script for Door-To-Door Survey

Script for Door-To-Door Survey

C = Child; P = Potential Participant (Adult); I = Interviewer

(*Interviewer knocks on door or gate of selected address*)

(*Child answers door or gate*)

I – Good morning (afternoon, evening), is there an adult person at home today that I could speak with?

C – No.

I – Thank you, I will call back at another time when one is home.

Or

C – Yes.

I – Could you let them know that someone is here to speak to them.

(*Child leaves to get adult*)

P – (*Adult comes to door or gate*) How may I help you?

I – Good morning (afternoon – evening). My name is Copeland Stupart a PhD candidate at the University of Waterloo, Canada. About a week ago I left information about a survey I am conducting in Falmouth. I am here today to administer the brief questionnaire if this is a convenient time.

P - No thank you, I am not interested in the survey.

or

P - No, could you call back some other time (agree on a more convenient time to call back).

or

P - Sure, I would very much like to have my views reflected in the survey.

(*Researcher proceed to ask questions*)

I – As indicated, your involvement in the survey is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question you wish. (*At the end*) Thank you very much for your time. In appreciation of your time here is a keychain I indicated in the information letter that you would receive.

P - Good-bye.

I - Good-bye.

Appendix C – Questionnaire Instrument

School of Planning
Faculty of the Environment

University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
N2L 3G1

QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUMENT
Instructions: Please select or fill in the most appropriate responses

PART 1
A. PARTICIPANTS' CHARACTERISTICS

1. Gender: ☐ Male   ☐ Female
2. Ethnicity: ☐ Blacks ☐ East Indian ☐ Chinese ☐ White ☐ Mixed ☐ Others _____
3. Please select your age group: ☐ Under 30 years ☐ 31 to 40 years ☐ 41 to 50 years
   ☐ 51 to 60 years ☐ Over 60 years
4. Were you born in Falmouth? ☐ Yes   ☐ No
5. How long have you lived in Falmouth?
   ☐ Under 10 years ☐ 10 to 20 years ☐ 21 to 30 years ☐ 31 to 40 years ☐ Over 40 years
6. Do you own a home in Falmouth?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No
7. Do you own a business in Falmouth?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No
8. Is there anything in particular that you like about Falmouth?_____
9. Is there anything in particular that you dislike about Falmouth?
   _____
10. Where do you work? ☐ Falmouth ☐ Montego Bay   ☐ Ocho Rios   ☐ Other, please specify _____

PART 2
B. PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISM

11. Do you or does anyone in the household work in a tourism related business? ☐Yes   ☐ No

12. Tourism promotes cultural exchange.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

13. One of the most important benefits of tourism is how it can improve the local standards of living.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

14. The tourism sector provides many desirable employment opportunities for residents.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

15. The overall benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

16. I believe that tourism should be actively encouraged in Falmouth.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

17. I am against the development of facilities that will attract more tourists to Falmouth.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

18. It is important to develop plans to manage the growth of tourism in Falmouth.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

19. Tourism will help to preserve the cultural identity of Falmouth.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

20. Tourism development will lead to improvements in the appearance of Falmouth.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

21. Tourism will encourage a wide variety of cultural activities in Falmouth.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

PART 3
C. CULTURAL HERITAGE RESOURCES

22. What do you regard as the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

23. Of the items listed above which one is the most important? _____
_____

PART 4
D. OPPORTUNITIES, CONSTRAINTS AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION

24. How important is it to conserve the cultural heritage of Falmouth?

SCALE				
Highly important	Somewhat important	Neutral	Somewhat unimportant	Not important

25. Please indicate your opinion on the following statements relating to the possible effects of developing Falmouth as a cultural heritage destination. SA=Strongly agree, A= Agree, N= Neutral, D= Disagree, SD=Strongly disagree, DK=Don't know						
a. Local people will be left out of the process	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
b. Only a few people will benefit	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
c. Most jobs will go to outsiders	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
d. The traditional culture will change negatively	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
e. Too many people will visit Falmouth and cause it to be crowded	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
f. Crime will increase	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
g. Cost of living will increase	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK

26. How important is it for local residents to participate in the conservation of cultural heritage in Falmouth?

SCALE				
Highly important	Somewhat important	Neutral	Somewhat unimportant	Not important

27. Would you be willing to participate in the conservation of heritage in Falmouth?
    ☐Yes   ☐ No

28. Residents can participate in the cultural heritage conservation process in Falmouth through the following: SA=Strongly agree, A= Agree, N= Neutral, D= Disagree, SD=Strongly disagree, DK=Don't know						
a. Planning how conservation takes place	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
b. Direct employment in conservation efforts	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
c. Employed as tour guide	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
d. Employment in visitor services (food, souvenirs, transportation, etc.)	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
e. Operating bed and breakfast businesses	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK

PART 5
E. DARK CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUE

29. How aware are you of the large number of historic buildings in Falmouth, some dating back to the late 1700s?

SCALE				
5	4	3	2	1
Very Aware				Not Aware

30. Do you think all the old buildings in Falmouth should be torn down and replaced with newer ones?   ☐Yes   ☐ No
31. If I told you that some of the old buildings are associated with slavery, would you change your answer to Question 30?   ☐Yes   ☐ No
32. How aware are you of the association of Falmouth with slavery, sugar, and colonialism?

SCALE				
5	4	3	2	1
Very Aware				Not Aware

33. Do you think we should preserve the relics of slavery in Falmouth for future generations?   ☐Yes   ☐ No
34. Do you think that Falmouth should be developed as a destination where visitors can learn about slavery?   ☐Yes   ☐ No

35. How much value do you place on the relics of slavery that are in Falmouth?

SCALE				
1	2	3	4	5
Low value				High value

36. Indicate your emotional level when you see buildings or other structures that remind you of slavery. 1 = Least and 5 = Strongest					
a. Anger (enraged)	1	2	3	4	5
b. Disgust (shocked)	1	2	3	4	5
c. Sadness	1	2	3	4	5
d. Shame (embarrassed)	1	2	3	4	5
e. Nothing (don't care)	1	2	3	4	5
f. Joy (Happiness)	1	2	3	4	5

37. How proud are you of the cultural heritage of Falmouth?

SCALE				
5	4	3	2	1
Very proud				Not Proud

38. Heritage development will increase pride of local residents.

SCALE					
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know

PART 6
F. ACTION PLAN

39. The following are appropriate actions that should be taken in Falmouth to develop its cultural heritage resources: SA=Strongly agree, A= Agree, N= Neutral, D= Disagree, SD=Strongly disagree, DK=Don't know						
a. Infrastructure development	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
b. Job training for residents	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
c. Clean-up programs to beautify Falmouth	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
d. Building citizens awareness of cultural heritage	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
e. Providing loans, grants and subsidies for building owners	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
f. Heritage programs (designation, project development)	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK
g. Promoting Falmouth as a tourist destination	SA	A	N	D	SD	DK

40. Is there anything else you would like to add concerning Falmouth in general or its cultural heritage resources? _____

_____

Thank You For Completing This Survey!

Appendix D – Interview Telephone Recruitment Script

P = Potential Participant;   I = Interviewer

I - May I please speak to [name of potential participant]?

P - Hello, [name of potential participant] speaking. How may I help you?

I - My name is Copeland Stupart and I am a PhD student in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo, Canada. I am currently conducting research under the supervision of Professor Robert Shipley on the Development of Dark Cultural Heritage as Attractions in Falmouth, Jamaica. As part of my thesis research, I am conducting interviews with stakeholders and professionals such as planners and political leaders to elicit their perspectives on the development of the cultural heritage of Falmouth.

As you are a key stakeholder that has interest-in and directly impact cultural heritage, tourism and planning policies and practice, I would like to speak with you about your perspectives on Falmouth's cultural heritage as attraction for learning and sightseeing. Is this a convenient time to give you further information about the interviews?

P - No, could you call back later (agree on a more convenient time to call person back).

OR

P - Yes, could you provide me with some more information regarding the interviews you will be conducting?

I - Background Information:

- I will be undertaking interviews starting in February 2009.
- The interview would last about one hour, and would be arranged for a time convenient to your schedule.
- Involvement in this interview is entirely voluntary and there are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study.
- The questions are quite general (for example, What problems do you foresee in the development of cultural heritage in Falmouth?).
- You may decline to answer any of the interview questions you do not wish to answer and may terminate the interview at any time.
- With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis.
- All information you provide will be considered confidential.
- The data collected will be kept indefinitely in a secure location.
- If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please feel free to contact Professor Robert Shipley at 1(519)888-4567, Ext. 35615.
- I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation is yours.   Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 1(519)888-4567, Ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.
- After all of the data have been analysed, you will receive an executive summary of the research results.

With your permission, I would like to mail/fax you an information letter which has all of these details along with contact names and numbers on it to help assist you in making a decision about your participation in this study.

P - No thank you.

OR

P - Sure (get contact information from potential participant i.e., mailing address/fax number).

I - Thank you very much for your time. May I call you in 2 or 3 days to see if you are interested in being interviewed? Once again, if you have any questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at 832-5371 (cell).

P - Good-bye.

I - Good-bye.

Appendix E – Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Copeland Stupart of the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo, Canada. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo, Canada. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at 1(519)888-4567 ext. 36005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

☐YES   ☐NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

☐YES   ☐NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

☐YES ☐NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix F – Interview Schedule

Interviews Schedule

Objectives	Themes	Lead Questions	Supplementary Questions
to analyse residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Falmouth	Attitude towards tourism	Are there cultural heritage tourism opportunities in Falmouth?	▪ Why do you hold such views? ▪ How would Falmouth gain from the development of cultural heritage for tourists and other visitors?
to identify and highlight the attributes of the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Falmouth that could be used to frame development	Cultural heritage resources of Falmouth	What are the cultural heritage resources in Falmouth that could be developed as attractions?	▪ Why do you regard them as cultural heritage resources? ▪ Who do you think would be interested in these resources if they were developed? ▪ On a scale of 1–10, where 10 is the highest, where would you rate the cultural heritage resources of Falmouth? ▪ What are your views on authenticity in relation to cultural heritage development in Falmouth?
to identify the opportunities and constraints for heritage tourism development in Falmouth	Opportunities and constraints	Do you think there are constraints to cultural heritage development in Falmouth?	▪ How could the constraints to developments be removed? ▪ What suggestions would you give to stakeholders who wish to seize the cultural heritage development opportunities?
to explore and suggest appropriate mechanisms to facilitate participation of local residents in the heritage development process	Residents' participation and involvement	What are your views on residents' involvement in cultural heritage development process?	▪ What mechanisms should be put in place to engage residents in cultural heritage development process in Falmouth?
to determine what value local residents attach to cultural heritage resources that are "symbolic of and are associated with the European trade in Africans as slaves"	African Diaspora and slavery	What are your views on the use of slavery heritage as themes for the development of attractions?	▪ What are your views on the development of sites in Falmouth that appeal to Jamaicans locally and to those in the Diaspora?
to develop strategies for the conservation, upgrading, and revitalization of heritage sites in Falmouth that is based on the shared sensitivity of the local people if it is found that local people are motivated to tell the true story of the place	Action to be taken	What actions should be taken to develop the cultural heritage resources in Falmouth?	▪ Who or what agencies should be responsible for what actions? ▪ What time frame should be attached to the various aspects of the plan? ▪ Should pre-conditions be set for participation?

Appendix G – List of Interviewees

List of Interviewees

Interviewee No.	Organizations/Affiliation	Date of Interview
1	Social Development Commission	3/18/2009
2	Falmouth Heritage Renewal	4/06/2009
3	Georgian Society of Jamaica/Scholar	4/16/2009
4	Business Person	4/22/2009
5	Local Government (Politician)	4/22/2009
6	Local Government (Politician)	4/27/2009
7	Central Government (Politician)	4/27/2009
8	Georgian Society of Jamaica	4/27/2009
9	Local Government (Technocrat)	5/15/2009
10	Central Government (Politician)	5/15/2009
11	Historian/Scholar	6/16/2009
12	Jamaica National Heritage Trust	6/17/2009

Appendix H – Letter of Appreciation

School of Planning
Faculty of the Environment

University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
N2L 3G1

Date

Dear *(Insert Name of Participant),*

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study. As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to explore the development of Falmouth, Jamaica for sightseeing, learning and as an exemplary place for authentic experiences of identity for the African Diaspora.

The data collected during interviews will contribute to a filling the knowledge gap with regards to highlighting the rich cultural legacy of Jamaica. Also, it will contribute to developing awareness and appropriate direction for attractions at sensitive cultural heritage sites.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analysed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at either the phone number or email address listed at the bottom of the page. If you would like a summary of the results, please let me know now by providing me with your email address. When the study is completed, I will send it to you. The study is expected to be completed by December 2009.

As with all University of Waterloo projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 1(519)888-4567, Ext., 36005.

Copeland Stupart
University of Waterloo, Canada
School of Planning, Faculty of Environment
Contact Telephone Number (Cell): 832-5371
Email.: cstupart@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix I – Heritage Inventory

Photo File:

Ranking:

(100) A

Address:

Lower Parade Street/
Water Square

Date of Construction:

c.1896

Albert George Market

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The property is owned by Trelawny Investments Co. Ltd. Falmouth Arcade after it was abandoned as farmers market and restored as a shopping and historical centre. The interior has been renovated to include freestanding shops/restaurants. Although it is not yet a vibrant space, it has the potential to become a very active space that can cater to visitors' experience with an indoor/outdoor feel.

Historical or Associative Value:

The market was built by contractor Purdon and Cox at a cost of £4,000 in 1896. Sir Henry Blake, a Governor of Jamaica opened it. It is named after Albert, the Duke of Clarence, and George V, Queen Victoria's grandsons, who visited Jamaica in 1882. The clock tower was destroyed by hurricane Gilbert in 1988 and was later restored. The building is located on one city-block on the Eastern side of Water Square.

Design or Physical Value:

The clock tower is built of stone ashlars and timber. The main roof is double hipped with galvanized metal cladding. The lower level is gabled. The metal roof trusses are supported on steel columns. The interior has been renovated to include freestanding shops. The main entry is built in the Georgian architectural-style which is typical of most of the public buildings and a number of private buildings in the town. It is designed as an open-air market space.

Contextual Value:

The market borders the Eastern side of Water Square and helps to define and contain the space. It adjoins the spaces where the slaves were allowed to have their Sunday Market. Contextually, it fits into the surrounding. It functioned mainly as a farmers' market for about 100 years and was later renovated and served as a historical centre and shopping arcade with individual shops. The building is over 100 years old.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(100)A

Address:

Seaboard Street

Date of Construction:

c.1814/1926

Falmouth Court House

Designated Site:

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Yes

Status:

The Government of Jamaica owns the building. The outside was recently renovated; as a result the physical appearance is in very good condition. The building is occupied by the offices of the Local Government on the ground floor and the Falmouth Resident Magistrate Court on the upper floor.

Historical or Associative Value:

The land was purchased from Edward Moulton-Barrett for the building of a Fort and barracks which was in existing in 1804. In 1814 the Court House was planned for the site after the Fort was moved to Fort Balcarres site which is now the Falmouth All Age School. John Robey designed the 2-storey building at a cost of £16. The building, which contains a ballroom on the upper floor, was used to host social events for many foreign and local dignitaries who visited the Parish during the colonial period. In 1926 the building was partially destroyed by fire but it was rebuilt along the same line with changes to the orientation of the roof. Adjacent to the building is a park with a Cenotaph in honour of the soldiers killed in World War 1 and 2. In 1988 Hurricane Gilbert damaged the building again.

Design or Physical Value:

Two-story ashlar masonry building was designed in Classical Architectural style, 7 bays wide, hipped roof with gabled centre bay, building is 80' x 80' x 30' high. Four Tuscan columns support a large projecting central portico with a raised second floor entrance accessed via flanking stairs. Arcades at ground floor front, quoins at sides, round window in pediment. A secondary entrance to the building is located on lower parade street. The roof was redesigned when it was restored after a fire in 1926.

Contextual Value:

The Court House is one of the iconic buildings in Falmouth. The front of the building is oriented towards the harbour on which Falmouth depended during its colonial period. Its location is in the centre of a lot of commercial and civic activities adjacent to Water Square. Physically, in term of height and size the building fits in with the other structures around Water Square and adjacent areas.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

Ranking:

(100)A

Address:

N/A

Date of Construction:

N/A

Georgian Buildings

Designated Site:

Yes

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

Falmouth has the largest number of Georgian buildings in Jamaica and perhaps the Caribbean. Overall, they are in fairly good conditions. Most are privately owned but a few are owned publicly. It was as a result of the large concentration of buildings why the town was designated a Historic District by the JNHT. The buildings range from small modest dwellings to large structures such as the Parish Church and the Court House.

Historical or Associative Value:

Within three years after the founding of Falmouth in about 1770, by planters and merchant built more than 150 houses of stones, bricks and timber. Great enthusiasm and competition developed between the planters and merchant class to see who could build the best townhouse. The competition reached its peak during the Georgian period, when patterns of original work were introduced from England. Although a lot of the buildings in the town were inspired by the Georgian period, the buildings developed in a distinct manner of its own, based on classical forms and elements. This explained why Falmouth has such large numbers and fine specimen of Georgian architecture that were built during the prosperous period of British colonialism. Also, there was an abundance of skilled artisans and very wealthy landowner and merchants who spared no expense in building lavish structures. The buildings in the town include: residential dwelling, commercial buildings, mixed residential and commercial, industrial and military. Falmouth has been used for the setting of a number of Hollywood films including Eureka and Papillon.

Design or Physical Value:

Falmouth was laid out in a formal rectangular grid pattern which expressed the power of the imperial government and the obsession with symmetry and regularity characteristic of the Georgian era. Most of the buildings were built in the Georgian architectural-style which was in-vogue at the time. A lot of the stones and bricks that were used to construct the buildings came as ballast on ships from England and other European countries. Buildings in the town include the first Masonic Temple in Jamaica and the 'one of a kind' conical shaped Phoenix Foundry. Concannon (in GSOJ, n.d., p.5) alleged, "an abundance of domestic buildings [in Falmouth] was created in a simple yet charming vernacular using classical elements adapted to local conditions."

Contextual Value:

Originally, Falmouth contained a number of three-storey buildings, but they have all disappeared over the years. A number of the remaining two-storey and single-story buildings have been renovated and remodelled, but the Georgian architectural-style is still evident throughout the town. Also, many of the buildings in the historic district still maintain public veranda spaces on the ground floor referred to as piazzas.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

John Tharpe Town House Complex

Ranking:

(100)A

Address:

14 Seaboard Street

Date of Construction:

c.1985

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

No

Status:

The structure is in need of a lot of restorative work. The main building has suffered from some inappropriate interventions. However, the adjoining areas are in ruin and require considerable restoration and interpretation. The complex forms parts of the area to be restored under the planned cruised ship pier development by the Government of Jamaica and Royal Caribbean International.

Historical or Associative Value:

This complex contained one of three houses in Falmouth that was owned by John Tharpe (1744-1804) of Good Hope. Tharpe was one of the largest property and slave owners in Trelawny. It was developed in 1785 on land bought from Edward Barrett in 1778 to facilitate the shipping of sugar and other estate produce to England. Also, it facilitated the trade in Africans as slaves which included the auctioning of Slaves after disembarking after the Middle Passage.

Design or Physical Value:

The main house was designed in the Georgian Architectural-style with symmetrical, tri-partite composition of three adjoining 1-storey hipped-roof units. Gabled end portico is supported on two decorative wood columns located in the centre bay. The windows are original double hung sash 6/6. The roofs are sheeted with wood shingles. It was built from stones that came as ballast on ships that came from Europe.

Contextual Value:

The town house forms part of the Tharpe's wharf complex where captive Africans landed and were auctioned into slavery. Some of the captives were transshipped to other colonies in the Caribbean and North America. The complex adjoined a number of other wharfs along the waterfront.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

Ranking:

(90)A

Address:

Corner Tharpe Street and Harbour Street

Date of Construction:

c.1810

Phoenix Foundry (The Dome)

Designated Site:

Yes

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

The dome structure is in very good condition. However, the adjoining areas are in ruin and require considerable restoration and interpretation. The complex forms parts of the area to be restored under the planned cruised ship pier development by the Government of Jamaica and Royal Caribbean International.

Historical or Associative Value:

The Phoenix Foundry was one of the earliest in the island and is one of three foundries that were in operation in Falmouth which served the large number of ships that called on the port and the surrounding sugar estates. The building was constructed around 1810 by a Mr. Field, an engineer, whose daughter was the mother of Dr. S.T. Vine, a well known medic in the early 19th century. The primary function of the foundry was to repair ships docked in the Falmouth harbour; it also repaired boilers, pans and other sugar manufacturing equipment from a number of sugar estates. It may have been part of the Central Wharf complex or Tharpe Wharf which belonged to John Tharpe who was one of the largest land owner and slave owner in Jamaica. It is a remnant of the industrial era. The workers at the foundry were said to be mostly Scotsmen, who were capable of repairing machinery on the sugar estates in the parish of Trelawny and adjoining parishes. The invention of steam engines and steam ships renders the local works uneconomical. In the 1970s the site was used as part of an interpretation centre and museum. There is no visual evidence of the other two foundries that were in close proximity to the various wharves.

Design or Physical Value:

The foundry consists of the existing domed structure and adjoining buildings that have all disappeared over the years. Originally, the adjoining buildings, which had, slate roofs extended to Tharpe Wharf and Central Wharf. The central circular stone structure with a tall conical dome is vented at the peak. The brick and stone arched openings are intact. A stonewall enclosed the site. This is the oldest existing industrial building in the town.

Contextual Value:

The Phoenix Foundry is very important in defining and supporting the character of the wharf area. The foundry is adjacent to three of the four main wharves that were operating in Falmouth at the peak period of British colonialism and the plantation society in Jamaica. The wharves included Davis' Wharf now Central Wharf, Jarrett's Wharf now Hampden Wharf and Tharpe's Wharf now Government Wharf. The foundry fits in with the surrounding milieu physically, functionally, visually and historically. Another foundry operated by a Mr. Smither not far away on Upper Harbour Street was in operation up until the 1850s. Also, another one that was established by Robert Taylor was on Seaboard Street in close proximity to the Phoenix Foundry and the Harbour.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(85)B

Address:

N/A

Date of Construction:

N/A

Cottages

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

No

Status:

There are many small cottages throughout the town. Some are in excellent condition while others are dilapidated. The Falmouth Heritage Renewal Foundation embarked on a programme that renovated a number of these buildings throughout the town.

Historical or Associative Value:

According to Binney et al. (1991, p.13) "In Falmouth one gets the real sense of scale of an eighteenth century town, for it is not only the large buildings which have survived but also many one-room and two-room cabins, and even smaller buildings such as outdoor kitchens." Some of the ancillary buildings were slave quarters attached to the planters' and merchants' townhouses. Others belonged to trades persons such as Samuel Reeves and John Sylvester, two free mulattoes who were carpenters who bought lot 54 in 1775 from Edward Barrett.

Design or Physical Value:

Binney et al. (1991, p.14) referred to these buildings as "the cabin style" of Georgian vernacular architecture. Cooking was usually done in a kitchen detached from the main building connected by a covered walkway. Also, pit latrines were usually detached and away from the houses. Servant quarters that were not a part of the ground floor were usually attached to the kitchen away from the townhouses.

Contextual Value:

Binney et al. (1991, p.13) alleged "In Falmouth one gets the real sense of scale of an eighteenth century town, for it is not only the large buildings which have survived but also many one-room and two-room cabins, and even smaller buildings such as outdoor kitchens." These buildings are important in defining, maintaining and supporting the character of the town and are physically, functionally, visually and historically linked to the surrounding.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

Ranking:

(85)B

Address:

N/A

Date of Construction:

N/A

Public Piazzas

Designated Site:

N/A

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

A number of buildings with colonnade veranda that are open to the public at the ground floor level and referred to piazza can be found throughout the town. Most are concentrated along Market Street, Duke Street and around Water Square. Developments that have taken place over the years have enclosed some of these piazzas which as resulted in breaks in the continuity of the path.

Historical or Associative Value:

Concannon (in GSOJ, n.d., p.4) claimed "Enthusiasm for good building spread to merchants in…[Falmouth], owners competing with each other to decide who could build the finest house." Binney et al. (1991, p.13) claimed, "Falmouth frontages do not boast an architectural display beyond, perhaps, an arcade of plan Tuscan columns." In the two-storey townhouses of Falmouth the living rooms were usually on the first floor and the lower floor was used for domestic rooms and commercial activities. The veranda was usually an extension to the activities that take place at the ground floor level.

Design or Physical Value:

The colonnade piazza forms covered pedestrian paths along the street. It provides covering and shade from the rain and sun and allows pedestrians to move freely between buildings even when rain is pouring. Persons also use the space to sit and have conservation while looking out at what is happening in the streets. In addition, some of the business establishments incorporate the areas and used it as outdoor eating areas when tables and chairs are placed on it.

Contextual Value:

After the land on which Falmouth was laid out was subdivided, both merchants and planters purchased lots for building townhouses. The merchants would live on the upper floor while conducting commercial activities on the ground floor. On the other hand, the planters mainly used their townhouses to conduct plantation related businesses. These buildings with the piazzas are concentrated in the commercial areas of the town and are important in defining, maintaining or supporting the character of an area, physically, functionally and visually and are historically linked to the surrounding.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

Slave Hospital (Good Hope)

Ranking:

(85)B

Address:

Good Hope Estate

Date of Construction:

1798

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The building is in ruin. However, there are plans to reconstruct it from records and for it become a part of a larger development that provides experiences to visitors.

Historical or Associative Value:

The records showed that in 1829, there were 2,583 slaves on nine properties owned by the Tharpes. It is argued that John Tharpe displayed concern and treated his slaves humanely. He educated them and provided for their spiritual need by building a church at Good Hope. Estates often provided for the health care of the slaves and this was no different at Good Hope. Planters who had large number of slaves and large plantations often have their own hospital and resident doctor. John Tharpe built a 300-room hospital at Good Hope to take care of the thousands of slave on his estates. The hospital includes separate wards for men and women, a dispensary, kitchen, a medicine room and a quarantine room. In 1795 when the Trelawny Maroons were threatening to go to War, John Tharpe was the Custos and Chief Magistrate of the parish. He led a deputation to Trelawny Maroon Town for a peace conference which fell apart soon after when fighting broke out.

Design or Physical Value:

John Tharpe built a 300-bed hospital at Good Hope to accommodate and take care of the health issues of the thousands of slaves on his estates. The hospital included a dispensary and 150-bed accommodation on ground floor and 150-beds on first floor. The walls of the building were made from cut limestone.

Contextual Value:

Although the building is located at Good Hope, historically it is very important to Falmouth for it is linked to John Tharpe. Tharpe was a Custos and Chief Magistrate of Trelawny and was a very influential person in Jamaica. He had a wharf in Falmouth and his own fleet of ships that traded in captive Africans that were taken to the Americas.

Photo File:

St. Peters Anglican Church/Trelawny Parish Church

Ranking:

(80)B

Address:

Duke Street

Date of Construction:

c.1796

Designated Site:

Yes

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

The St. Peters Anglican Church was one of the first public buildings that were constructed in Falmouth. The building is still in use and is in very good condition. However, weathering is causing the stonewall to deteriorate and as such stabilization and repair is needed. Restoration work has been done to the interior supports, pews, stained glass and clock.

Historical or Associative Value:

It was the first church that was built in Trelawny at a cost of about £10,000 on four lots donated by Edward Barrett. Originally it was built to accommodate 300 persons. The present nave was constructed in 1842. The graveyard around the building contains important monuments and tombstones of "famous" individuals who were associated with Falmouth. The first person to be buried at the churchyard was Captain Herman Harris of Concord, New Hampshire who died about the middle of 1795. John Tharpe who was a slave trader and one of the largest landowner in Jamaica and who also owned a wharf complex in Falmouth donated the pipe organ. A number of stalls displaying craft and souvenir items are often set up in front of the church. The church is a regular stop for tour buses.

Design or Physical Value:

The stone building is constructed in the Gothic Revival style of architecture. It consists of a square tower, gable-roofed nave and hipped roof over the entry vestibule. The windows are arched and are a combination of double hung and awning. The roof over the main sanctuary is covered with wood shingles. A thick stonewall surrounds the property.

Contextual Value:

The church is one of the iconic structures that have been in Falmouth's landscape for a long time. Because of its height, it can be seen from various locations around the town. It blends into the surrounding as a result of its scale, the style of design and the type of material that was used to construct it. Also, it is a familiar structure that the residents identify as one of the town's cultural heritage.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(80)B

Address:

27 King Street

Date of Construction:

c.1837/1944

William Knibb Memorial Baptist Church

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The building is owned by the Jamaica Baptist Union and is in excellent condition. It still serves as a place of worship.

Historical or Associative Value:

The first English Baptist missionary to come to Jamaica was John Rowe, who brought the Baptist church to Falmouth in 1814. The Baptist church has had a long association with Falmouth. The first Baptist Chapel in Falmouth was the headquarters of the anti-slavery movement in Jamaica; the militia destroyed it in 1832 after the Sam Sharpe Rebellion. William Knibb rebuilt the church in 1837. Knibb was a Baptist missionary from England, whose advocacy was instrumental in ending slavery. Knibb secured for Falmouth the reputation of Freedom Town. The church that was built by Knibb was destroyed by hurricane in 1944 and was rebuilt with funding from the State in 1948. Again, it was extensively damaged by hurricane Gilbert in 1988. The pulpit from the first Baptist Chapel is still in use in the present church.

Design or Physical Value:

The stone and concrete masonry building has a steep gable roof clad with galvanized metal. The main entry is through a large flattened arch above which is a Gothic Revival-style arched window. A number of thick buttresses extend from the façade. The grand entry-elevation on King Street is three-stories high, coloured glass is used in the arched openings.

Contextual Value:

The first Baptist church was established in Falmouth in 1814 by missionaries from England who were invited by the Native Baptist who seek their assistance to fight for the cause of the enslaved Africans. Contextually, it fits into the surrounding physically, historically and visually. It still functions, as a place of worship, was important to the enslaved Africans, for under the guise of religion they planned a number of resistances including the "Baptist War" of 1832. The church suffered persecution because of their anti-slavery stance.

Photo File:

Edward Barrett Town House/Methodist Manse

Ranking:

(80)B

Address:

1 Market Street

Date of Construction:

c.1799

Designated Site:

Yes

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The Methodist church owns the building which is now in ruin. The upper floor was blown down by the wind while under restoration, c. 1997. A number of the doors and windows have been blocked up and bolted down to secure site. It will take a lot of work and material to bring it back to its original state.

Historical or Associative Value:

In 1770, Edward Barrett of Cinnamon Hill started laying out the town of Falmouth on land he owned after the Vestry approached him. He sold lots to a number of planters, merchants, free coloured and to the State for public use. He also donated land for the building of the church. He built this townhouse across from the Barrett's Wharf. The upper floor was the family's residence while the ground floor was used to store goods. Barrett was the great-grandfather of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the English poet. The house was once the social hub for the elite of the parish. The upper windows were adorned with wrought iron balconies which were reportedly imported from Philadelphia. The Methodist was one of the religious groups in Falmouth that fought to end the Transatlantic Trade and slavery. The Methodists also taught the enslaved Africans to read and vocational skills.

Design or Physical Value:

The main building was two-storey in height. The ground floor is from cut stone while the upper floor was a wood framed structure partially supported by six columns along Market Street side. The principal drawing room was decorated in the Adam architectural style. An open public veranda on the ground floor was paved with flagstone. There were five large triple-hung windows on the upper floor were adorned by wrought-iron balconies that were imported from Philadelphia. The house was used as a Methodist Manse for many years before it fell into disrepair and ruin.

Contextual Value:

Edward Barrett who owned this townhouse was one the founders of Falmouth. The remains are over 200 years old and as such are historically linked to the surroundings. The physical and visual attributes in terms of size and scale also support and blend in with the character of the area.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(80)B

Address:

Charlotte Street

Date of Construction:

c.1811

Falmouth All Age School/Fort Balcarres

Designated Site:

Yes

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The main building that was used as the barrack is in very good condition. However, some of the walls need cleaning and protection from the elements, in particular the salt air from the sea. It is owned by the State through the Ministry of Education. It as been in used as the Falmouth All Age School for many years.

Historical or Associative Value:

"In firing a salute on the King's birthday, two guns at Fort Balcarres, in Falmouth exploded and two of His Majesty's 55th regiment were unfortunately destroyed" (Royal Gazette, 1804). The Fort was established here after it outgrew it first location at the Court House site adjacent to Water Square. It was named in honour of Earl Balcarres, Governor of Jamaica from 1795-1801. Solders of the Trelawny Regiment were housed here. Behind the school are the two cannon that formed the defence. Erected as the officers' quarters of the Fort Balcarres complex. In 1803, the magazine was constructed at a cost of £1,500.

Design or Physical Value:

The older block is a rectangular plan, two-storey ashlars building. There are segmented arches over the windows, wood shingles on hipped roof, gabled dormer roof vents, and a stone staircase that provides access to the upper storey. The windows have operable metal louvres throughout. The four blocks of the complex are linked by covered walkways. The structures remaining on the site are predominately stone. One of the two cannons remains in situ in its battlement. The armoury building is a 15 feet square structure with walls 4 – 5 feet thick and an arched roof 2 feet thick. It is now used for storage

Contextual Value:

This site is historically linked to the surrounding. It also visually supports the character of the area. This complex was the administrative seat of Trelawny's defence from external and internal attacks. Solders from this fort was used to supress many Maroons' and enslaved Africans' uprisings and rebellions.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

Ranking:

(80)B

Address:

Rodney Street

Date of Construction:

c.1813-1814

Falmouth Police Station/District Prison

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

The building is in poor condition. In very dilapidated state. Still houses prisoners in its jails. The police will be moving to a new station that is being built at another location.

Historical or Associative Value:

It was built as a district prison and is one of the oldest structures in Falmouth. In pre-emancipation times it comprised the Parish jail and the Workhouse ("house of correction"). It also had a gallows with parts still in existence. It became the police station in 1897 after the prison was abandoned. Prisoners who were sentenced to 'hard labour' would be required to excavate limestone from the Pond Land to construct and repair the roads and streets of Falmouth. In 1781 the Vestry (Local Government) decided that the Palmetto Pen slave hospital should be converted into a "workhouse" (prison).

Design or Physical Value:

A stone masonry and timber-framed building has wood shingle-cladded hipped roof. The veranda is supported on square timber columns. The windows are mostly large double-hung sash 6/6. A very thick and high stonewall perimeter fence surrounds the property.

Contextual Value:

It was one of a number of public buildings that were erected in the early 19th century to the North of Rodney Street on lands purchased from the Barretts. Others include the Marine Hospital 1805/6 and the Poor House. This site is physically, functionally, visually or historically linked to the surrounding. It helped in defining and supporting the character of an area.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(80)B

Address:

15 Rodney Street

Date of Construction:

c.1830

St. Andrew Presbyterian Church

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The building is in a very good condition. However, weathering is taking a toll on the brickwork in some sections. The United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman are still using it as a church. Some additions that were made to the structure house the Manse and a dormitory of the Kelly-Lawson Training Centre. The Centre trains residents of the area in various vocational skills.

Historical or Associative Value:

This church was built by Scotsmen who were resident in Trelawny as their place for worship. It was very important and supportive to the large number of Scottish who lived in the area. Some came as prisoners of war from the English Civil war of 1642 and worked as indentured servants. Others came and worked on plantations as Overseers and Bookkeepers. One such person was Phillip Ainslie who landed in Falmouth in 1804. Ainslie, who wrote the *Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman* in 1887, left accounts of his observations and activities while working as a Bookkeeper on a plantation in Trelawny. The Presbyterians were one of the non-conformist churches that fought for the abolition of slavery. They also taught the enslaved Africans to read and write and vocational training such as sewing. In addition, along with other nonconformist churches Christianized some of the enslaved Africans. They along with the Baptists and Wesleyans were integral in sensitizing the English public about the horrors of slavery. As a result of their stand against slavery, they suffered persecution.

Design or Physical Value:

It is a two-storey high yellow brick building with concrete tiled cladded hipped roof. The brick that were used in the construction came from London as ballast on ships. A wood-framed belfry at one end is supported on iron columns. Circular arches with keystones top the large windows and the main entrance. It is a simple rectangular, symmetrical building with a large hall. Over the years a number of inappropriate developments resulted in the loss of some of the original characters to the structure.

Contextual Value:

The building, which is approximately 180 years old, sits majestically on a city block. It is physically, functionally, visually and historically linked to the surrounding. The site is important for it helped in defining, maintaining and supporting the character of the area.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

Water Square

Ranking:

(80)B

Address:

Water Square

Date of Construction:

N/A

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

This space is referred to as Water Square because a masonry tank that supplied the town with potable water was located in the centre of the square. Some persons also refer to it as Parade for it was the parade ground of the Trelawny Regiment when the Fort was located on the adjacent site at the Court House. Recently, it was renovated and pedestrianized as part of the redevelopment that is taking place in Falmouth.

Historical or Associative Value:

This was the site of the water tank that supplied Falmouth with potable water. It was a part of the first public water system in the New World. The Trelawny Regiment that was stationed at the adjacent fort used it as their parade ground. It was also the site of the first open-air market in Trelawny, where enslaved African and ex-slaves were allowed to trade ground provisions and other goods. The land in the centre of the square was converted into a garden after the tank was removed. Sir Hugh Foote, a Governor of Jamaica opened the garden in 1955. A fountain in the centre of the garden included a replica of the original water wheel at Martha Brae. The square served as a place for civic and political functions over the years.

Design or Physical Value:

Initially, the square consisted of a circular garden and fountain in the centre. It was also a main thoroughfare for vehicular and pedestrian traffic. The whole area was recently redesigned and redeveloped. The asphalt road surface was replaced with concrete and limestone pavers. Trees and shrubs have been replanted. Vehicular traffic has now been excluded and it is now a pedestrianized zone. Overall, the square seems to be more people friendly as a result of the renovation and the street furniture that has been installed.

Contextual Value:

Contextually, the site has very important historical links to enslaved African who traded at the open-air Sunday Market in which they were allowed to participate. It was also the place where the State paraded its military might that was used to crush descent in the form of slave revolts and rebellions. In addition, over the years it host civic and political events. The site is also important for it defines, maintains and supports the character of an area.

Photo File:

Barrett Wharf/Trelawny Wharf

Ranking:

(75)B

Address:

Market Street

Date of Construction:

18th century

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

Most of the original structures were demolished leaving only a small section which is in ruin. A branch of the Bank of Nova Scotia, Jamaica Limited now occupies a large part of the original wharf area. The area presents an opportunity for redevelopment that could enhance the area.

Historical or Associative Value:

Barrett Wharf, which was renamed Trelawny Wharf, was one of the four original wharves that were in Falmouth during the peak period of British colonialism and slavery. The wharf was built by the Barretts who were very wealthy landowners with a number of plantations in Trelawny and in neighbouring St. James. Also, they owned most of the land on which Falmouth developed. Their townhouse, which is now in ruin, is across the road from the wharf, which is also in ruin. Large quantities of rum, sugar, molasses and other plantation produce from surrounding plantations passed through this wharf. Also, it would not be far fetched to think that captive Africans passed through the wharf into slavery.

Design or Physical Value:

Only a small section of the original stone and brick structure remains. Sections were demolished to make way for the Bank of Nova Scotia. Also, there is a thick stonewall around the perimeter of the property.

Contextual Value:

Physically, not much remains. However, the historical links to the surrounding is important. Efforts should be made to develop the area to support the character of the area and re-establish linkages to the surrounding sites.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

Ranking:

(70)C

Address:

Jarrett Street

Date of Construction:

N/A

Bend Down Market

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

Bend Down Market is a vibrant event that takes place in the town on Wednesdays and is considered one of the largest markets in Jamaica, attracting crowds of shoppers and vendors from all over the island, with most of the vendors coming from Kingston the capital city. The items that are mainly sold include clothing and household goods.

Historical or Associative Value:

The atmosphere during the event is typical of what took place during the Saturday Market that enslaved Africans were allowed to have. Because the products are mostly displayed on sheets on the ground, customers constantly have to bend over to inspect the goods while shopping.

Design or Physical Value:

Most vendors hawk products displayed on plastic and cloth sheets that are laid out on the ground and on carts milling around the area. Others use wooden (stick-framed and sheet metal roofed) stalls to display their commercial wares and clothing that filled this large open-air market. Poorly built, but effective stalls that employ temporary construction technology, situated in a dirty environment.

Contextual Value:

The Bend Down market has long been associated with Falmouth. The people of the town and others looked forward to the event. Visually, it looked similar to the atmosphere that pervades during the Saturday market that the enslaved Africans were allowed to have.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(45)D

Address:

9 Market Street

Date of Construction:

c.1798

Baptist Manse

Designated Site:

Yes

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The building is owned by the Jamaica Baptist Union is in very excellent condition.
Presently, the Falmouth Heritage Renewal Foundation, a not-for-profit organization,
occupies it. The organization trains worker in some of the traditional building trades,
such as, joinery and lime masonry. One of the intentions is to develop it into a museum.

Historical or Associative Value:

It was built in 1798 as a Masonic Lodge Hall. The Lodge went bankrupt and was forced to sell the property to the Baptists in 1832 when the construction costs far exceeded their budget. It became the residence of William Knibb, the 'Great Emancipator' and other Baptists Ministers. The William Knibb Memorial High School started there until it outgrew the space. It was later used as a school for adult learners. A small furniture manufacturing shop operated from a shed in the back. It was damaged by hurricane Gilbert in 1988. The Falmouth Heritage Renewal is currently restoring it.

Design or Physical Value:

Two-storey stone ashlar building with double hipped wood shingle covered roof. Tall Neo-Gothic pointed windows on upper floor throughout. Double-hung sash windows o ground floor throughout. Gabled portico over main entrance on Market Street. Old stone outbuilding (possibly original kitchen) in the rear of premises. A low stonewall runs along the Market and Trelawny Street boundary.

Contextual Value:

The building is important for it helps in defining, maintaining and supporting the character of the area. Also, it is physically, functionally, visually and historically linked to the surrounding.

Photo File:

Ranking:

Address:

(65)C

Date of Construction:

6 Upper Harbour Street

Jarrett Warf/Hampden Wharf

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

Most of the structures are in dilapidated conditions. However, the site is now being renovated as a part of the cruise ship pier development.

Historical or Associative Value:

Jarrett Wharf was one of the four original wharves that were operating in Falmouth. Goods arrived from Europe and North America and plantation produce were shipped out. Later, the Hampden Sugar Estate acquired the wharf. Most of the existing warehouses were built during World War 1 of cut stone from disused buildings at Maxfield Estate. Formerly used for storing rum and sugar and as an outlet for selling hardware. Other small rum warehouses built in the 1940s. Hampden Estate still produces rum and sugar. Sugar, rum and other plantation were shipped through the wharf which operated up until the 1960s.

Design or Physical Value:

The buildings were constructed from fieldstone and ashlar masonry walls with heavy timber internal framing. Most are covered with galvanized cladded gable roofs. Wood shutters covered with metal sheeting windows. The large entry gate to the complex it make from circular pipe.

Contextual Value:

The site and buildings are important in defining, maintaining and supporting the character of an area. Also, it is physically, functionally, visually and historically linked to the surrounding.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(60)C

Address:

17 Market Street

Date of Construction:

c.1810

Falmouth Post Office

Designated Site:

Yes

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

The building is in excellent condition. It is owned by the Postal Corporation of Jamaica and houses the Falmouth Post Office. The second floor is slated to house a Postal Museum.

Historical or Associative Value:

It was built as a merchant's shop and residence and was owned by the Passmore family. A film company, while producing the 1984 movie "Eureka," added some louvered shutters.

Design or Physical Value:

Two-storey stone and brick building with a wood-shingled hipped roof. Perpendicular arches at each end flank a three-arched colonnade along the front. Heavy quoins at corners and on piers. Timber shutters on ground floor, double hung 6/6 windows on second floor. Pronounced keystones and mouldings on arches. A dripstone moulding and stringcourse separate the floors. A part of the ground floor is an open public piazza (veranda).

Contextual Value:

The building fits in with the character of the area physically, functionally, and visually and is historically linked to the surrounding.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(60)C

Address:

Martha Brae

Date of Construction:

c.1797

Water Wheel

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

Although the wheel is operational it is no longer used as part of the water supply system for the town or parish. The area around it has been developed as a park and entertainment venue.

Historical or Associative Value:

The Falmouth Water Company was first established in 1797 and was officially inaugurated in 1799 under Charter Law #40 of King George III to become the very first piped water supply system in the Western Hemisphere. Its mandate was to supply water to the inhabitants of Falmouth and the ships coming in port.

The pipe water supply system consisted of a 800 metre long diversion canal; a dam of rubble stones; a short aqueduct and a sluice gate. The six metre diameter Persian water wheel emptied about 380 litres per revolution into a six metre high trough connected to the 1.6 kilometre-long 152 mm diameter gravity-fed pipeline into the centre of the town square where a stone reservoir collected water before distribution to the town and harbour.

Design or Physical Value:

Originally, Falmouth got its water from the Martha Brae River, a mile away. In 1797/98 a company was organized and was granted a charter to supply water to the town and to the ships in port. A six-metre Persian wheel was used to raise the water into a trough to which a 152 mm diameter main was connected. The water was then gravity fed into a reservoir in the town square, where it was then distributed to individual households. As a result, the square became known as Water Square.

Contextual Value:

With the growth of the town, the water supply became unreliable as during the dry season there was insufficient water power to turn the wheel and when the river was in spate there was not enough current to turn the wheel. Shippers began to complain against the antiquated and outmoded system, resulting in a commission of enquiry which recommended that the Local Government took over the system for the water company failed to honour its charter.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(45)D

Address:

18 Market Street

Date of Construction:

c.1810

David Lindo's Apothecary

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

Is in fairly good condition. Sections of stonewall eroded. The building has been used for a number of different activities over the years. It is presently been used as a gift shop. It consists of a single-storey above ground and a basement level.

Historical or Associative Value:

Built as "The Apothecary" by David Lindo, a Jew from the Channel Isles, and used as his laboratory. Records show that this was once a two-storey building. The building also has a basement. According to Jacobs (in GSOJ, n.d.), Lindo lived for forty years in Falmouth before he died and was buried in the Jewish cemetery on Duke Street. "He was a merchant, but in his house on Market Street he had a laboratory in which he conducted experiments in industrial chemistry which gained him international repute in his day…the American government adopted his nitrogen test for fertilisers" (p.15).

Design or Physical Value:

One-storey masonry building comprised of 2 parallel barrel-vaulted spaces. The roof is flat with a low unadorned parapet. The building consists of a basement level. Slate pavers form a walkway against the edge of the building.

Contextual Value:

The building had lighting form acetylene generator which makes it "up to date." It became a gathering place for many intellectuals and doctors in the area. The site is important in defining, maintaining or supporting the character of an area and it is physically, functionally, visually and historically linked to the surrounding.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(40)E

Address:

57 Duke Street

Date of Construction:

N/A

Jewish Cemetery

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

It is in good condition. The site is often overgrown with bush; a section of the perimeter wall has collapsed. However, the site could be restored and become a destination to relatives of those who are buried there.

Historical or Associative Value:

In its economic peak many Jews lived in Falmouth. Famous persons buried here include Dr. Lewis Ashenheim, who performed one of the earliest surgical operations under an anaesthetic in Jamaica and David Lindo, merchant and self-taught chemist who was known internationally for his work in industrial chemistry.

Design or Physical Value:

An approximately 5' high stonewall encloses this site. There is a wooden gate main entry. Numerous historic marble headstones remain preserved in very good condition.

Contextual Value:

This site was important to the large Jewish community that lived in Falmouth. It was the final resting place for a number of them.

Falmouth Heritage Inventory
Pro-Forma

Photo File:

Anglican Manse

Ranking:

(35)E

Address:

20 Duke Street

Date of Construction:

c.1796

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The building is in poor condition but it should be renovated as part of the redevelopment that is taking place in the town as a result of the Falmouth Cruise Ship Pier. Sections of roof cladding are missing, parts of the wall are cracked and falling away and some of the windows are broken and boarded up.

Historical or Associative Value:

This was the manse for Trelawny's first church, the Falmouth Parish (Anglican) Church which was built in 1796. Therefore, it was among the first buildings that were constructed in the town. It is surrounded by burial ground. Featured on the interior walls are monuments to important Trelawny personages, including Custos James Stewart.

Design or Physical Value:

The design of the manse was typical of the styles and proportions of those in the town. In consists of a four-bay x two-bay symmetrical two-storey brick building with a stucco finish. Standing seam galvanized metal cladding on hipped roof. Windows are double-hung sash on both floors. A brick boundary wall surrounds the property.

Contextual Value:

The Anglican manse was part of an important institution in Falmouth, the Anglican Church. Furthermore, the building's characteristic supports the character of an area and is physically, visually and historically linked to the surrounding.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(35)E

Address:

17 Rodney Street

Date of Construction:

18th century

Catholic Manse

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage
Resource:

Yes

Status:

The church complex occupies a complete city block. The buildings that form a part of the manse are in excellent condition and are still being used as the home for the priest of the St. Joseph Catholic Church.

Historical or Associative Value:

The St. Joseph Catholic Church has had a long association with Falmouth. The sanctuary is circular in shape and is crowned with a hyperbolic-parabolic roof-form in the shape of the Pope's hat.

Design or Physical Value:

The main building is the home of the Catholic Priest. The small semi-detached structure is a carport and helper's quarters. The main structure is a two-storey yellow brick and timber framed building with wood shingled hipped roof and shed roof addition. Also, it consists of a projecting balcony with diamond lattice which is supported on two square brick columns. Double hung sash 6/6 windows with canopies are used throughout the building. Some sections also have wood louvers in combination with double hung windows. The other building is a single storey brick building with casement windows.

Contextual Value:

The building is typical of others throughout the town. Including are the colours and material used for construction. As a result, it maintains and supports the character of an area and is physically, functionally, visually and historically linked to the surrounding.

Photo File:

Ranking:

(35)E

Address:

9 Seaboard Street

Date of Construction:

c.18th century

Dr. Vines' House

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

The building is now in ruin, but it is located adjacent to the Falmouth Cruise Ship Pier and should be developed as a part of the overall plan for the area. It was last occupied by a government agency, the Ministry of Agriculture – Rural Agricultural Development Authority.

Historical or Associative Value:

It was built as the residence and office of Dr. Simeon Theophilus Vine, Jamaica's first Surgeon. It is said to be the oldest house on Seaboard Street. Dr. Vine was the son of a planter and the grandson of an engineer named Field who built the Phoenix Foundry. He studied at Edinburgh University in Scotland, with Arthur Conan Doyle, who created the fictional detective Sherlock Holmes. While at Edinburgh he was well known for his explosive behaviour and leader of student revolts. His crude and rough behaviour was transferred into his social life and medical practice in Falmouth. However, his patients dared not complain in fear of being thrown out of his office. Furthermore, there were only a few doctors around.

Design or Physical Value:

Two-storey building constructed of brick and heavy timber. Hipped roof surfaced with galvanized metal sheeting. The window louvers have been replaced with modern types made of redwood.

Contextual Value:

Dr. Vine was one of those characters that were known throughout Falmouth because of his professional association. The location of his residence and office could be regarded as being close to where a lot of activities would be taking place in the town, along the waterfront. Also, based on its size and age, the building could be regarded as being linked to the surrounding visually and historically.

Photo File:

Trelawny Parish Library

Ranking:

(30)E

Address:

Rodney Street

Date of Construction:

20th century

Designated Site:

No

Identified Heritage Resource:

Yes

Status:

The Parish Library is situated on part of the Pond land. The building is in very good condition and is used by students from nearby schools. It is owned by the State through the Jamaica Library Service. Respondents cited it as a cultural heritage resource of Falmouth even though the design is modern and it was built with modern construction material.

Historical or Associative Value:

When the town was first laid out, there was a large limestone hill that extends to this section of the town. Prisoners from the nearby District Prison were used to excavate aggregate to fix the streets of Falmouth. This practice continued up to 1897 when the Prison closed. By then depressions were formed that were often filled with salt water from the sea and was referred to as the ponds. During the dry season, the water would evaporate leaving large deposits of salt that some people would collect for use. As a result, the land came to be known as the Pond. The site on which the building is located is part of the Pond Land which had a limestone hill. The Pond Lands now accommodate the Falmouth Hospital, a youth centre and playfield, an infant school and the Parish Library.

Design or Physical Value:

The Library was designed in the Modern architectural style. Also, it was built using modern building material: steel, concrete and concrete block. The Classical Georgian architectural-style that is typical throughout the town is missing from this building.

Contextual Value:

The building appears to be out of context with the Georgian architectural-style dominates Falmouth's landscape. Except for its size, it could be regarded as not supporting the character of the area.