

Results of Community Elicitations

CONTEMPORARY HERITAGE VALUES OF GRENADIAN CITIZENS

Prepared for the Organization of American States
Output 4 of Phase II of the Project:
“Expanding the Socio-Economic Impact of Cultural Heritage in the Caribbean”



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II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this deliverable is to identify current perceptions of cultural heritage and its significance among selected communities in Grenada and Carriacou. The analysis of these perceptions, contained in this report, is intended to assist the development of cultural sustainability criteria for the Heritage Endorsement Programme, to be hosted by the Grenada National Trust.

Four key research questions guided the elicitation of local heritage values. Labrador and Silberman trained eight local facilitators to carry out the research activities over three months. Three participatory ethnographic research methods were utilized to gather visual and audio data from five Photovoice groups, ten mobile oral history interviews, and five community focus groups. The resulting 202 Photovoice images and the discussion notes about each one, as well as 10 transcribed interviews (280 minutes of audio) were coded and analyzed for prevalent themes and repeating ideas. The validity of the themes were tested in five subsequent focus groups (324 minutes of audio) whose participants viewed and answered specific questions on selected Photovoice images.

As a result of this process, Labrador and Silberman formulated answers to the four research questions. These answers, in turn, provided the basis for the proposed criteria for the “Fourth Pillar” of sustainability—cultural sustainability—to be presented and further developed at the Heritage Sustainability Workshop, 15–17 October 2015, in Grenada.

III. PURPOSE OF ELICITATION

Typically, standards of cultural heritage protection and promotion are formulated by official administrators or experts and reflect their perception of what the most important categories of significance and heritage resource types should be. The intent of this project is to apply a new paradigm of public engagement in the field of heritage management. Furthermore, it is important that heritage-related products and services offered to tourists (in Grenada or any other destination) reflect and are resonant with local cultural perceptions, thus avoiding generic or degrading representations of the destination's heritage and encouraging local entrepreneurship and growth in the cultural industries.

In order to achieve those objectives, an endorsement programme was proposed, which would incentivize heritage entrepreneurship while safeguarding cultural heritage and communicating local values. The endorsement programme will incorporate sustainability criteria and indicators for all four pillars of sustainability: economic, social, environmental, and cultural. However, rather than defer to expert opinion about the content of the cultural sustainability criteria, the project utilized participatory ethnographic research methods to elicit, document, and analyze the values and attitudes regarding Grenada's history and cultural heritage from the perspective of local communities.

IV. METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

In an attempt to elicit contemporary public values on the essential components of distinctively Grenadian heritage (i.e. *what* makes Grenadian heritage *distinctively* “Grenadian”) the following research questions were formulated.

- 1) How do tourists and locals experience Grenada similarly and differently?
- 2) When is something no longer truly Grenadian heritage?
- 3) If a Grenadian heritage element has been lost or disused over a long period of time, what would serve as evidence of its genuine revival?
- 4) What are Grenadian expectations, desires, and fears for the future?

These questions acknowledge that there is no single, authoritative criterion that unambiguously defines Grenadian heritage, but rather a diversity of perceptions of its significance and component values, which may change over time. The aim of these research questions was to obtain a current snapshot of local heritage values to inform the endorsement criteria and to gain an understanding of the public vision of the trajectory of Grenadian history and heritage. Methods

Three research methods: Photovoice, mobile oral histories, and focus group interviews, were employed to gather a variety of qualitative data whose analysis was validated by comparing results across the three methods, i.e. “triangulating” the data (Glesne 2005). Local facilitators for were trained in qualitative research ethics (Blackman and Fairey 2014; Tracy 2012) so that all participants were able to give their informed consent to be interviewed or otherwise participate in the research activities.

Photovoice

The Photovoice methodology combines documentary photography, ethnographic focus groups, and public exhibitions to provide a forum for community members to engage with each other and policymakers around specific public policy issues.

“Photovoice has three main goals: to enable people

- 1) to record and reflect their personal and community strengths and concerns,
- 2) to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about personal and community issues through group discussions of photographs, and
- 3) to reach policymakers” (Wang 1999).

Originally developed in the late 1990s to understand cultural attitudes within the field of public health, Photovoice is gaining in popularity to document and communicate environmental values, issues shared by marginalized populations, and cultural heritage ethics. As outlined by Wang (1999) and Gubrium and Harper (2013), Photovoice combines documentary photography, ethnographic focus groups, and public exhibitions to provide a forum for publicly-engaged, participatory research around public policy issues (Labrador 2013). Photovoice research follows a three step process:

- 1) documentary photography prompts are assigned to participants,
- 2) photographs are shared in facilitated discussion groups,
- 3) photographs are curated and displayed in a public exhibit.

Photovoice enables local community members to frame their own images in order to define what is of significance and should be included in public discourse about local heritage. Because the documentary photographs become prompts in facilitated focus groups, they potentially become objects of critical reflection rather than an archive of routine commemoration. In the three-step process of photography, ethnography, and public interpretation, research projects can move beyond the baseline heritage resource inventory toward creating a deliberative space for sharing heritage values (Labrador 2013).

Mobile Oral Histories

The goal of this method is to establish a connection between personal memories and landscape features, integrating the spatial dimension of heritage with the temporal dimension, which is often the singular subject of traditional oral histories (Evans and Jones 2011). Interviews are conducted while moving around a locality, hence the name, “mobile” oral histories. Local community members transcribe their local cultural values onto their local landscape; hence, setting oral history interviews within the landscape prompts more explicit dialogue that can reveal the local heritage values that are often hidden from visitors or go unspoken and assumed by locals (Basso 1996). Those unspoken assumptions are critical to the formulation of cultural sustainability criteria that reflect local values.

Focus Groups

Focus groups offer the opportunity to elicit dialogue that pointedly answers specific questions after having completed preliminary research (Tracy 2012). Because these discussions take place in a group setting, many perspectives are elicited at once, and often “feed” off of each other, confirming or correcting individual perceptions by peers. They also are helpful to identify the associations between ideas, attitudes, and values. In this project, the purpose of the focus groups is to verify whether the common themes that had been identified from the Photovoice

and Mobile Oral Histories had been correctly identified and to solicit the participants' opinions about which types of sites or products may not be appropriate to show or market to tourists.

Data Analysis

All data were analyzed following the tenets of "grounded theory," whereby research questions guide elicitation rather than the testing of pre-formulated research hypotheses (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003; Glesne 2005).

Local Photovoice facilitators submitted 202 digital photos and corresponding notes of the group discussions for each photo. Mobile Oral History facilitators submitted 10 audio files of 280 minutes total, which were transcribed by Verbal Ink (verbalink.com). The photos, discussion notes, and transcriptions were uploaded to the Dedoose web application (www.dedoose.com) to be analyzed. These media were excerpted and coded separately by Silberman and Labrador and then compared to identify prevalent and recurring themes.

V. REPORT OF FIELD ELICITATION ACTIVITIES

Training

Training of Photovoice and Mobile Oral History facilitators took place at the Priory in St. Georges, Grenada, 7-9 April 2015 and at the Multipurpose Center in Hillsborough, Carriacou, on 11-12 April. Angela Labrador led the Photovoice training and Neil Silberman led the training of the Mobile Oral History interviewers.

The training included a general overview of participatory elicitation, ethical considerations and the necessity of informed consent, and the protocols to be followed in the use of each of the methods. The main research questions were discussed and worksheets and other forms were refined and distributed. At the conclusion of the training, six Photovoice prompts were finalized and the themes for the mobile oral history interviews were tentatively decided upon.

Photovoice

Photovoice Teams

Five Photovoice teams were assembled, one on Carriacou, and four around the island of Grenada. Smart TVs were purchased and supplied to four community centers conveniently located around the two islands and a digital projector was provided for usage at another location, all of which served as the groups' respective meeting spots. The Grenada National Trust coordinated the recruitment of volunteer photographers, who represented a diversity of ages. The teams each met six times during May–July 2015.

Allison Caton facilitated the following team of volunteer photographers on Carriacou:

- Olando Harvey
- Charlie Kingsman
- Teja Patrice
- Trevis Thomas

Andrea McLeod facilitated the following team of volunteer photographers in the Tivoli/LaPoterie district on Grenada:

- Yoggie Charles Brizan (aka “Yogs”)
- Kenisha La Pompe (aka “Spicediva”)
- Kathy-Ann Lyons (aka “Kathy-ann”)
- Lasson Mitchell (aka “Son”)
- Kendon Richards (aka “Crawlla”)

Karen Moore facilitated the following team of volunteer photographers in Clozier, Grenada:

- Joan Charles
- Horace George
- Amellia Williams
- Iva Williams

Malaika Brooks-Smith-Lowe facilitated the following team of volunteer photographers in St. George North West, Grenada:

- Iroy Andrew
- Nola Wellington
- Xena Wellington

Malaika Brooks-Smith-Lowe facilitated the following team of volunteer photographers in St. George North East, Grenada:

- Tricia Gill
- Jada Joseph
- Niomi Marshall
- Nadika Moses
- Jucil Phillip

Photovoice Prompts

- 1) That's We Culture: When you think of the cultural heritage of Grenada, Carriacou or Petit Martinique, what always comes to mind? What defines being a Grenadian? What has been passed on from previous generations?
- 2) The Only Things Tourists See
- 3) The Things Tourists Never See
- 4) This is not the Grenada I Once Knew
- 5) Lost & Found: Sometimes cultural heritage disappears and is revived again. Think about special practices, traditions, places, ways of life or things that once seemed lost and are being celebrated or reinterpreted again.
- 6) Grenada's Future: If your camera lens was a crystal ball with a view into the future of Grenada, Carriacou, and Petit Martinique, what would it see?

Photovoice Discussion Questions

For each photograph, the Photovoice groups were asked the following series of questions:

1. What do you see here? (addressed to the whole group)
2. What is the photograph's title? (addressed to the photographer)

3. Why did you take this photo? (addressed to the photographer)
4. What is really happening here? (addressed to whole group – alternatively, what does this photograph represent?)

Mobile Oral Histories

Two interview teams were assembled, one on Grenada, which centered in St. George's parish, and the other on Carriacou. Each team identified five interview subjects and landscapes or localities where the interviews were conducted during May–July 2015.

Allison Caton, assisted by Charlie Kingsman and Teresa Williams, interviewed:

- 1) Henry Stiel at various locations in Hillsborough, Carriacou
- 2) Alwyn Enoe at the boatyard in Windward, Carriacou
- 3) Veronica Adams around her yard garden near Harvey Vale, Carriacou
- 4) Sonnell Allert around the seine mending shed in L'esterre, Carriacou
- 5) Winston Fleary around his house in Belview, Carriacou

Dean Jules and Afibah McQueen interviewed:

- 1) Curlynn Casimir at various locations in Boca, Grenada
- 2) Marlon St. Clair at various locations in Belmont, Grenada
- 3) Clint Sylvester at various locations in New Hampshire, Grenada
- 4) Calista Jules at various locations in New Hampshire, Grenada
- 5) Wendy Joseph at various locations in Boca, Grenada

Focus Groups with Photo Elicitation

Focus Group Locations

Five focus groups of 5-10 participants each were conducted, one on Carriacou and four on Grenada after the initial analysis was completed in September 2015. Silberman and Labrador provided the facilitators with a discussion guide and a series of images to be displayed to the focus groups.

Allison Caton conducted one focus group at the Music Centre in Hillsborough, Carriacou. Andrea McLeod conducted one focus group in Tivoli, Grenada. Malaika Brooks-Smith-Lowe conducted three focus groups: one at the Priory in St. Georges, Grenada, one at the Mt. Moritz Community Centre, Grenada, and another in Clozier, Grenada.

Focus Group Discussion Guide

A series of six Photovoice images were displayed with the following prompt: “Imagine you’re taking a small group of tourists to see ‘the real Grenada’ and the following places and sights are on your tour. What does each say about who we, as Grenadians and Carriacouans, are?”

A series of three Photovoice images were displayed with the following prompt: “Still imagining you’re giving the tour, would you feel uncomfortable taking the tourists to any of the following sights? Why or why not?”

VI. FINDINGS

The following findings reflect the prevalent and recurring themes and values that research participants voiced (or depicted in photographs) during the elicitation activities that were relevant to the initial research questions.

Research Question 1: How do tourists and locals experience Grenada similarly and differently?

Beyond the obvious demographic and economic differences between tourists and residents of Grenada, perceived differences related to tourists' restricted and uneven access to the Grenadian landscape, its people, and the "backstage" of the tourism market. Perceived similarities related to pressures of globalization and modernization and sometimes romanticized views of community spirit. A prominent theme that emerged during elicitations was a distinctive retention of the diverse mixture of cultures that have peopled Grenada. Some participants noted that many tourists and some locals do not experience some of this heritage, especially certain customs that are related to Africa.

Finding A: Tourists only see a small part of the country and get only a partial picture of its culture

Participants noted a spatial restriction of tourists to St. George's Parish generally, and to beach areas, marina areas, and the "main road" in particular; e.g., "When tourists come is [sic] either beaches or waterfalls. It is the same kind of postcard locations." In a negative sense, this was felt to deprive tourists of a full grasp of the distinctive landscapes and cultural diversity that Grenada possesses, reducing it, instead, to a generic Caribbean holiday locale with no particular differentiation from other destinations in the region. The following discussion excerpt notes the limits of a typical sun, sand, sea experience:

"Beach is the main attraction."

"But the beach doesn't really say anything about the country."

"It is beautiful, but, yea, it doesn't give any insight into us as a people."

On the positive side, some of the participants suggested particular vistas and locations at which tourists might indeed get a better understanding of the country if they did not stay to the "main roads." The following photograph and explanation describes how locals and tourists share an appreciation for the beauty of rural landscapes and vistas, and that tourism itineraries can better take advantage of this appreciation.



Figure 1. Photo credit: Horace George, *Picturesque Clozier*, 2015, in response to Prompt 3: The Things Tourists Never See

I wanted to share this rare breathtaking view of Clozier, St. John's, Grenada, W. I. with the world. The view itself encompasses a mountain, valley, coastline, and an open horizon. This photograph also serves as an encouragement for the Grenada Tourism Authority to exhibit what Clozier has to offer to certain tourists who will like to visit rural areas.

On the other hand, some participants opined that “some things are made only for us,” and that some places and views “might not be appreciated as much” by visitors. Yet others noted that at such sights, “Knowing the whole picture might make [tourists] understand the place better.” Meanwhile, some participants noted that some of Grenada's historic sites are “hidden in plain sight” even from locals and should be made more accessible to the public in general.

Finding B: “It's like we put on a show.”

The issue of “staged authenticity” (e.g. Chhabra, Healy, and Sills 2003; Gmelch 2003) has long been a concern among heritage and tourism scholars, and the participants in the elicitation activities evinced a clear awareness of the self-censorship exercised in interactions with tourists.

“There are two sides to every story. With Grenada, tourists see the beautiful side.”

“They see what has been prepared for them in a sense.”

Some participants took this as a necessary mode of encouraging visitation to Grenada by showing only certain superficially positive aspects of life, while concealing or avoiding what seemed to be negative or unappealing places or communities. For example:

“Tourists see the gardens and the beautification. We beautify for them to see, take photos, and enjoy.”

“Tourist destinations have to be clean, so they maintain them.”

“We only take care of what we want them [tourists] to see.”

Others expressed the feeling that this amounted to playing a sometimes subservient or even demeaning role strictly for the benefit of tourists. This interpretation is implied in the following exchange about a photograph of a boy on the beach (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Nadika Moses, *A Figure of Happiness*, 2015, in response to Prompt 3: The Things Tourists Never See

“We act for tourists, put on a plastic smile.”

“This is natural stuff, this boy just playing, being himself.”

“Tourists don’t get to see that, normally it’s like we put on a show.”

In another discussion about the following photograph, participants noted similar issues but then observed, perhaps cynically, that natives *and* tourists “play” happy.



Figure 3. Jada Joseph, *Private Lives*, 2015, in response to Prompt 3: The Things Tourists Never See

“We seem happy and jolly to tourists but not all of us, some of us [sic] miserable and seeing trouble in their life circumstance.”

“It is like a performance. It makes you act nice and quiet, like a doll. Especially when they [tourists] visit your [primary] school.”

“Sometimes people’s accent changes when they are talking to tourists because they don’t want to feel lesser or because they want the tourist to understand them easily.”

“Tourists smiles are often fake too.”

Finding C: The “Business Behind It” is often hidden and undervalued by tourists and locals

Participants noted that the experiences and products offered to visitors were seen to conceal certain elements of Grenadian culture that, upon reflection by some of the participants, were actually positive and often underappreciated by Grenadians themselves. For instance, participants agreed that the hard work, “industriousness,” and pride required to produce agriproducts and crafts were rarely shown to visitors: “Usually tourist images are of the final product rather than the process.”

Some participants suspected that this was due to a belief that physical labor was somehow undignified to present to tourists or that the production process (e.g. the routine decisions about the use of raw materials, methods, and tools) was of no or little significance to visitors, who presumably are only interested in the final products. For example, “This is the type of work I have to do at home. Tourists don’t take heed of what has to be done to get fruit ready.” Even when labor was on display, some participants felt that tourists didn’t appreciate the sight, as illustrated in the following exchange.



Figure 4. Nola Wellington, *Hard Labour*, 2015, in response to Prompt 3: The Things Tourists Never See

“Tourists don’t look for these things. They may see someone working put they don’t see the person, they look at the scenery.”

“Little appreciation or interest that the outside world has for daily life”

“Tourists see beautiful building and admire but are not interested in who or why?”

“No one asked ‘well who are the men that did that?’”

“Tourists are not interested in hard labour, the stories and people behind it.”

This contrasted sharply with the frequent observation that Grenadians and their traditions often display exceptional ingenuity and resourcefulness in their use of local materials and the country’s rich natural resources. Images of drum making in Tivoli and boat building in Windward generated a lot of discussion regarding the expertise and technical skill that self-taught and apprenticed artisans have developed and transmitted through generations.



Figure 5. Crawlla, *Drum Making*, 2015, in response to Prompt 5: Lost & Found

“I want people to see the stages and how hard working this type of job [drum making] is to do. Mango wood is the material.”

Vernacular kitchens were one of other examples offered as evidence of the creative resourcefulness of traditional Grenadian culture.



Figure 6. Crawlla, *Back in Time Kitchen*, 2015, in response to Prompt 5: Lost & Found

“This is a stylish fireside.”

“This is very creative.”

“This is a good thing to represent “Lost and found” – we were smart in terms of old time technology.”

Additionally, the business savviness of local craftspeople was opined to be undervalued by tourists: “I wanted to show the thought process behind creating a craft for sale. Money can waste if people don’t want what you are offering. Tourists don’t see the business behind the products.”

Furthermore, many participants observed that locals also undervalue Grenadian products, and prefer foreign goods. They recommended improved packaging, better marketing of handmade products, and higher quality standards to help compete with imports. Some noted that local producers can’t compete with the prices of mass manufactured goods or industrial agricultural products from elsewhere, and local artisans find it difficult to afford their raw materials and tools.

Globalizing market and cultural forces were seen as negative influences on the marketplace and on the tastes and preferences of the youth especially (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Horace Green, *The Fall of the Waistline*, 2015, in response to Prompt 4: This is Not the Grenada I once Knew

In addition to globalization making it difficult for local producers to compete in the marketplace, a more insidious suspicion and derision of local knowledge was also cited by several participants.

So I mean, the education level has really sent us a far way. But Grenada has been making a lot of changes based on we the ones who has gotten that education. But, I mean, there is still a problem in Grenada.... Our people still don't accept you to know—like a person will come from the outside with the same level [of education as] me, and they will say, well, jump over this hill, and a Grenadian will jump over the hill. And when I tell him jump over the hill, they won't. So we have that problem with we don't have 100 percent belief in our people.

Perhaps the most disturbing observation was of the internalized racism that some cited as impacting the ability for local Grenadians, and Black Grenadians in particular, to perceive their knowledge and products as valuable, despite an oft-cited acknowledgement of the importance of African heritage.

I think – and that is a mental thing it seems that we all have, and not just as poor people, but as black people, that no matter what we achieve, we always seem to want to judge ourselves against somebody else.

Finding D: Grenadians value and yearn for community spirit

While the forces of globalization and racism were perceived as impacting social trust, participants often stressed the highly-valued themes of unity¹, cooperation, generosity, security and community, at times invoking metaphors from the natural environment² and relating community back to labor:

“Bees highlight the spirit of maroon; that is, people working together for the good of the entire community.”

“I took a picture of the trees together to symbolize exactly what the title says, we are better when we are together as a people. If we put aside our differences we could come together and blossom and be as strong as a tree.”

During her interview, Veronica Adams noted the active community spirit in her village on Carriacou, commenting that people help those who help themselves:

¹ These themes are more fully documented and explored in Shemer’s recent ethnography of Grenada (2012).

² In fact, participants often utilized natural metaphors when speaking about Grenadian heritage and values. The endorsement programme and its marketing team may wish to consider this when planning its public relations.

“How do you manage with your crops in the dry season? Because we – on Carriacou we don’t have any pipe-borne water, so in the times of severe drought, how do you manage?”

“Well, I should say that is where the community spirit comes in. There are people who knows what I do, because I don’t have the water, the offer me the water, I only have to pay for the trucking, and these people, they say they get great satisfaction by seeing that I'm trying to help myself and in turn, they help me.”

Another participant linked community values to her Christian culture:

“I was baking bread for the church. Bread basket is once a month. It is when the vulnerable in our community get bread from the church. Charity. We like to give, in a Christian setting we like to reach out.”

For as many mentions of community spirit were equal observations of a decline or lack thereof.

“The people don't unite anymore as they used to. It's like the elders, the people who started that had died off, and nobody seems to want to continue. “

“Like we normally used to be going and helping our neighbors like to – like if they have a house to build, we normally go and help and stuff like that, but now, nobody tend to do that. So everything kind of falling apart right now, basically.”

For instance, several people mentioned the decline of an “open door” policy that had once been perceived or remembered as prevalent, yet in at least one exchange, the conversation turned reflexive, questioning whether this was more of a nostalgic remembrance than a historic reality:

“For instance, at Christmas time people used to share food with their neighbours or people used to keep their house open and you were always welcome to stop by.”
Facilitator then notes: They discuss whether they have ever had those features, food sharing and open house, in their community. Most have not experienced either previously.”

There was a hint in some participants’ reflections that the value of community spirit was shared with tourists. This and the level of security and safety afforded tourists and locals were perceived as attractive features.

“And as we already know, tourists love the sea, the warmth of the water, the Grenadian friendliness, and Grenada’s general sense of making people feel at home.”

It should be noted that some participants felt that this security and safety was not equally accessible to women in Grenada and the Caribbean region:

“Being a female, street harassment is a reality. Culture is the way of life of a people, objectification of women is a culture in Grenada. They show images of us dancing with fruits but culture as a female in a Caribbean country is not as fun and easy as it seems.”

The above quote reflects an experience that was confirmed by other discussants and echoed in other elicitations, and which also relates back to the dissonance between depictions of the Caribbean to tourists and the locally lived reality.

Finding E: Grenadians retain and are reviving the heritage of a diverse mix of cultures, especially African, but some revived customs remain hidden

The retention of African cultural heritage was cited often, especially in relation to music, festivals, religious practices, communal events, performances, and even architecture. For instance, consider how Winston Fleary explains in his interview why the Big Drum tradition is so significant to Carriacou:

“Well, because it has to do with the invocation of the old people and the important people in their lives from mother Africa, but they sent here and they didn’t want to forget that they come from Africa that they kept up this tradition, no matter what they do then. Because they...banned the beating of the drum in the entire Caribbean. And the only way – place you could uphold the drum was in Carriacou. Even Grenada had to ban the drum....and Jamaica had some problems and Haiti, but it survived in Carriacou and in Belize. And it's through this survival in Carriacou it's revitalized again after slavery and the abolition of slavery, it's revitalized and then survived.”

Fleary observed that the retention of African culture could be seen as an act of defiance in the face of slavery and colonialism. He noted this with regard to the Big Drum Dance on Carriacou, also known as the “African Nation Dance” (Martin 2007).

While Fleary speaks of a historic time period, some younger participants noted that these themes are still relevant to contemporary Grenadians, especially women, as discussed in the following exchange concerning the photo, *Natural Hair* Figure 8.



Figure 8. Tricia Gill, *Natural Hair*, 2015, in response to Prompt 5: Lost & Found

“For women hair is one of the most complicated ... Before, natural hair was how we keep our hair, back in the day. Then relaxers came in, and now, people are going back to natural. They have pride in their hair and there is more info out there about the best ways to take care of it.”

When discussants were asked to expand upon what the photograph represented they noted the “history of oppression of black women,” “elaborate hairstyles in Africa,” the racist history of perceived hyper-sexuality of African women’s features in colonial times, and that today, this hairstyle symbolizes confidence and being “comfortable” with one’s identity. Internal struggles regarding the mixture of racial and ethnic identity were also cited, such as in Marshall’s, *Identity*.



Figure 9. Niomi Marshall, *Identity*, 2015, in response to Prompt 5: Lost & Found

“Everybody’s lost at some point, then you find yourself. I wanted to depict my African and Indian heritage. When I started secondary school everyone thought I was white; I’m only part white. I’m confusing for others. I’m a hybrid, we all are.”

Participants agreed that Marshall’s photograph represented “the history that makes us who we are,” and that she was “embracing all the parts of who she is.”

This “hybrid” sense of identity is well explored by scholars of the Caribbean (Bolland 1998; Palmié 2006), and was raised by several participants with regard to the retention of the heritage of Indigenous peoples (Taino, Caribs, and Arawaks were mentioned) and white colonists (Scottish boating building and European quadrille dances for instance).



Figure 10. Tricia Gill, *Indigenous Culture*, 2015, in response to Prompt 1: That’s We Culture

“Represents Tainos and others from that era. We tend to base the culture on Africa but it started way back. We had indigenous peoples living her long before.”

Finally, while African cultural heritage retention was cited as distinctive, some participants felt that elements were hidden from tourists and even misunderstood or even feared by some visitors and locals.



Figure 11. Kathy-Ann, *Black Culture*, 2015, in response to Prompt 3: The Things Tourists Never See

“Part of ‘our’ culture shows spiritual activities taking place. ‘Our’ culture is based on many different tribes. This picture is ‘Shango,’ the reverend is in the image and the sheep’s head is representing the feast.

This is “A true representation of what’s not seen by tourists and some locals.”

“Some Grenadians fear this type of ceremony.”

“African culture which is also ‘we culture.’”

Research Question 2: When is something no longer truly Grenadian heritage?

The topic of “authenticity” is obviously critical for the formulation of endorsement criteria and for the marketing and delivery of heritage tourism experiences, products, and services. This is especially the case considering the global trend to mass produce tourist souvenirs in factories far from the places they are sold (and represent). Furthermore, many scholars have observed the negative impacts of locals “putting on a show” for tourists, including the dilution of cultural traditions and racist or otherwise socially harmful misrepresentations of cultural heritage (Cornwell and Stoddard 2001; Gmelch 2003; Guerron Montero 2011; Shemer 2012). A current theorization of heritage authenticity defines it as

A culturally contingent quality associated with a heritage place, practice, or object that conveys cultural value; is recognized as a meaningful expression of an evolving cultural

tradition; and/or evokes among individuals the social and emotional resonance of group identity. (Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan 2014)

Authenticity is fundamentally tied to its cultural context, and as such can and should be evaluated using locally-defined standards from within the same cultural context (Larsen 1995). This research question focused on eliciting more concrete indicators of “authenticity” from within Grenadian and Carriacouan contexts so that applicants for endorsement could be judged fairly. Because the research question was stated in the negative, the resulting findings are statements of shared perceptions of inauthenticity. The findings are necessarily “fuzzy” and may require further definition and specific indicators of the degree of permissibility and consideration whether the “authenticity” criteria are binary (i.e. either authentic or inauthentic) or ordinal (i.e. levels of authenticity).

Finding A: ...When imported ingredients, materials, and labor are used to the exclusion of local resources and local producers

Many participants reacted negatively to the fact that many mass-produced souvenirs that carry the name “Grenada” (e.g. baseball caps, sweatshirts, keychains) are imported and thus do not represent a genuine local cultural expression.

Many participants criticized the preference for imported foodstuffs and cited the abundance and distinction of Grenadian agricultural products, especially cocoa and nutmeg. While these crops are highly-valued in certain markets, the struggle farmers have in competing in the marketplace, and the devastation of Hurricane Ivan were noted as major barriers to local agricultural products succeeding. This in turn led to many participants remarking on the “slow death” of agriculture in Grenada:

“Because agriculture is dying slowly. If I could see in future ... you won’t see any agriculture. They putting more into tourism. The children studying agriculture in school, but they doing theory and not practical. Community cultures around agriculture are fading.

The linkage between the economic sustainability of agriculture and other trades feared to be “dying,” such as boat building and the safeguarding of Grenadian cultural heritage was not lost on participants. This criterion should reflect the value that locals place in locally-sourced materials and the hard-working, industrious Grenadian laborer while being realistic about current economic burdens. Optimally, the Trust should pursue medium- and long-term initiatives such as providing business support services and lobbying for fiscal incentives that would help to make such cultural and agri-heritage industries economically viable and attractive to young entrepreneurs.

Finding B: ...When things go to waste or degrade the environment

Participants repeatedly stressed that the resilience of Grenadian society is due to a resourceful and knowledgeable use of the abundance of Grenada's natural environment. Criticism was leveraged against instances of waste and pollution, the damage done by invasive species, disregard for the welfare of wild animals and livestock, and the observed decline in water resources. Activities that contribute to these conditions were viewed, almost by definition, as an abandonment of Grenadian cultural tradition.

Finding C: ...When self-respect is not effectively communicated

A generational divide was clearly evident in many participants' perceptions regarding Grenadian youth, including a perceived lack of respect, decline in religious attendance, disinterest in traditional modes of entrepreneurship, and the problems related to a subset of youth involved in criminal activity and alcohol/drug abuse. Discussions about growing preferences for globalized urban "hip hop" or "street" fashion, such as young men wearing their pants so that their boxers are exposed or young women "dressing less" in tight, revealing clothing and high heels, revealed ambivalence, concern, confusion, and dismay. This was contrasted with the depictions of young women celebrating their cultural identity through fashion and beauty choices (Figure 8 and Figure 9 above) in ways that were perceived as dignified and confident. Clearly the meaning and communication of visual forms of self-respect differ greatly between and even within the generations, but is a marker that many participants emphasized.

While scholars have noted that such generational divides are endemic to all cultures, the importance placed upon communicating self-respect can also be tied to participants' disapproval of the wider phenomenon of Grenadians' "lack of trust and faith in we people." In extreme cases, some participants derided "copy cat" preferences in emulating the customs and standards of the rest of the world, implying a lack of respect for one's own cultural roots.

This standard of "self-respect" is highly nebulous; moreover, the value is focused on its effective communication by insiders (i.e. whether another peer perceives the self-respect). While this report does not offer empirical indicators for the communication of self-respect, it does see this as a potential check on the negative effects of locals "putting on a show" for tourists wherein their identities and representations devolve into caricatures and, at worst, minstrelsy.

Research Question 3: If a Grenadian heritage element has been lost or disused over a period of time, what would serve as evidence of its revival?

The dynamism of cultural heritage traditions over time is now widely acknowledged by heritage professionals and administrators (Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan 2014; Deacon et al. 2004; UNESCO 2003) in contrast to the traditional conservation-without-change” paradigm (Petzet 2010), which sometimes unconsciously privileged and to an extent fossilized certain types of heritage over others. Recognizing that fact, this research question explored the possibility of the revival of neglected Grenadian heritage while respecting the transformative effects of generational transmission, passage of time, and revival itself.

Finding A: Youth taking up the tradition

Many participants expressed admiration for traditional Grenadian lifeways as being healthier and more ecologically conscious, and many reported that they had adopted certain practices of their forebears (i.e. economic self-sufficiency, cultivation of house gardens, outdoor cooking, community meal preparation, reliance on local resources). This “Back to Basics” resourcefulness was depicted in the following photo of the same name, which prompted discussion about its seeming revival among younger participants.



Figure 12. Tricia Gill, *Back to Basics*, 2015, in response to Prompt 5: Lost & Found

“This is an example of something that is being reinterpreted now. It is an innovative way of conserving energy. Gives food a superb taste. Across classes people use it again. It was lost of a while probably because it is a bit more time consuming than lighting a stove and also maybe it was seen as something people who couldn’t afford stove use, i.e., people were too proud to use it.”

“I don’t know if it is being used more by others but I always use my coal pot. If gas for the stove is done then I use it. I like roasting corn too.”

Likewise a number of older participants noted the danger that some traditional trades (i.e. boatbuilding, seine fishing, spice agriculture) might soon come to an end without the establishment of apprentice programs that would provide young people with a marketable skill and a stable income.

In both cases, the revival of Grenadian tradition was directly tied to the active participation of new generations as the key to successful intergenerational transmission.

Finding B: Market forces changing for the better and “Local” and “Handmade” symbolizing high quality and high value.

A number of participants noted the sad irony of a decline in the number of boat builders on the west coast of Grenada and on Carriacou and Petit Martinique, during a time when traditional handmade boats can command extremely high prices in the yachting market of the region and Europe. Some participants noted that in European markets handmade crafts carried a certain prestige, which contrasted with the perceived undervaluation of Grenadian craftsmanship, which did not necessarily connote high quality nor high value.

Participants agreed that a marker of the successful revival of cultural heritage, especially those related to traditional occupations and crafts would be the recognition of the value of its craftsmanship as reflected in the jobs and revenue they could generate.

Research Question 4: What are Grenadian expectations, desires, and fears for the future?

Participants’ responses regarding their future understandably were diverse and could be categorized into the following three visions.

Finding A: Apocalyptic

These visions were grim and increasingly dismal, marked by increasing emigration of the younger generation, the collapse of traditional creative industries and agriculture, general public unconcern for history and heritage, intra- and inter-community violence, unrelenting economic hardships, and lack of government help.

Finding B: Utopian

These visions were promising and hopeful with a return to self-reliance and environmental awareness through the adoption of traditional lifeways, recognition of multi-cultural heritage, public support of cultural creativity, the positive influence of new technologies, steady infrastructural improvement and international development helping Grenada in “catching up with the rest of the world.” For instance, one discussant, prompted by Olando Harvey’s photograph, *Sustainability* (Figure 13), optimistically opined, “the lack of water on the island will soon be a problem of the past.”

PROJECT: BUILDING RESILIENCE TO CLIMATE CHANGE BY PROVIDING FRESHWATER TO THE CITIZENS OF CARRIACOU THROUGH THE INSTALLATION OF A SALTWATER REVERSE OSMOSIS SYSTEM POWERED BY PHOTOVOLTAIC ENERGY



Client: Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs

Funding Agencies: United Kingdom Agency for International Development (UK AID)
European Union through the African Caribbean and Pacific Global Climate Change Alliance Program (EU-GCCA)
Grenada Electricity Services Limited (GRENLEC)
Government of Grenada

Executing Agency: Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre

Contractor: Caribbean Water Treatment (CWT) Limited

Project Cost: US\$1.095 Million

Commencement Date: January 2014 **Completion Date:** March 2015

Figure 13. Olando Harvey, *Sustainability*, 2015, in response to Prompt 6: Grenada’s Future

Finding C: Uncertain

Between these two extremes, some participants saw Grenada’s future as an empty canvas:



Figure 14. Jucil Philip, *Empty Canvas. Paint me a Picture*, 2015, in response to Prompt 6: Grenada's Future

“It represents life and new beginnings. I see Grenada as an empty canvas, every day you paint a piece. There are mishaps and faults along the way but when it is over you have the whole. And also you can paint over mistakes too.”

“The future is not one set thing, it will always change.”

As expressed by the photographer, some of the younger participants recognized the central and active role that the people of Grenada can and must take in shaping a better future and perhaps the dangers of passive resignation to the belief that nothing will ever improve.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of the elicitations was to contribute to the formulation of cultural sustainability criteria for the Grenada National Trust Heritage Endorsement Programme that reflect and embody local cultural values. The following criteria are recommendations that will be presented at the Heritage Sustainability Workshop in Grenada, 15-17 October, 2015, and will be further developed and refined by the workshop participants. As such, they are a starting point to guide the development of relevant criteria, feasible indicators, and a fair scoring system.

Categories of Heritage Tourism Products and Services	Dimensions of Cultural Sustainability			
	Local Authenticity (Is it Grenadian heritage?)	Cultural Sustainability and Safeguarding (Does it have potentially destructive effects?)	Connection or story related to local culture/history values (Will it embody the heritage values represented in the endorsement program?)	High Quality (Will the Trust be proud to endorse this?)
Crafts	<p>1. Endorsed heritage craft products should be made of local materials.</p> <p>AND/OR</p> <p>2. Endorsed heritage products should use traditional techniques.</p> <p>3. Pictorial or decorative works in any medium by local artists of local subjects would fit into this category as well.</p>	<p>1. Endorsed heritage craft products should be produced in Grenada.</p> <p>2. They cannot be made from endangered species or harvested in an illegal manner.</p>	<p>Endorsed products and services should embody one or more of the following historical and cultural values:</p> <p>1. Diverse Roots: Interaction between and/or fusion of African, European, and Indigenous cultures</p>	[Reserved for the GNT to define.]
Experiences	<p>1. Endorsed heritage experiences should portray historical events, as verifiable by a historian, or how the</p>	<p>1. Endorsed heritage experiences should not disrupt residents' daily life</p>	<p>2. Resourcefulness in the skilled use of local environmental assets to produce</p>	

	<p>events were experienced, as expressed in oral histories.</p> <p>AND/OR</p> <p>2. Experiences should feature local cultural traditions and customs.</p>	<p>or overburden public services.</p>	<p>distinctive cultural products and expressions</p> <p>3. Resilience: Commemoration of the chapters of Grenada’s history of struggle against natural, political, economic, and human rights challenges.</p>	
Sites	<p>1. Endorsed heritage sites can be places, buildings, structures, or landscapes that played a significant role in historical events.</p> <p>AND/OR</p> <p>2. Heritage sites should embody traditional architectural styles or unique architectural forms.</p>	<p>1. Business activities conducted at the site and the volume of visitor traffic should not compromise the historic integrity of the site.</p> <p>2. Access and parking for the site must not violate private property rights of adjoining landowners.</p>		
Agricultural and Botanical Products	<p>1. Endorsed agricultural and botanical products should include agricultural and botanical commodities that were traditionally grown or produced in Grenada.</p>	<p>1. Endorsed agricultural and botanical commodities should be grown in Grenada. AND/OR</p> <p>2. Products containing Grenadian agricultural and botanical commodities should be manufactured in Grenada.</p> <p>3. Products and the commodities they</p>		

		contain cannot originate from endangered species or be harvested in an illegal manner.		
Dining	<p>1. Endorsed heritage dining experiences feature local ingredients, such as produce, spices, fish and shellfish, legumes, and meats.</p> <p>AND/OR</p> <p>2. They should incorporate traditional cooking techniques.</p>	1. Endorsed dining experiences must not include foods made from endangered species or harvested in an illegal manner.		
Lodging	<p>1. Endorsed heritage lodging experiences should be in historic buildings or new construction that embodies traditional architectural styles.</p> <p>2. Lobbies and public spaces should be furnished in a style consistent with its architecture when possible.</p>	1. Signage, business activities, and guest services should not compromise the historic integrity of the lodging place or its vicinity.		

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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