

RESPONSIBLE TOURISM IN JAMAICA: DEVELOPING A CULTURAL HERITAGE BRAND FOR TREASURE BEACH

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Abstract

Treasure Beach, a rural community on the south-west coastline of Jamaica, places the needs of residents on an equal footing to the demands of tourists. The region is a beacon for responsible tourism in a Caribbean context that is overshadowed by all-inclusive hotels and cruise liners. Resident-driven initiatives are nurtured through a community-based tourism model that rejects hard growth and encourages development from below. For the past three decades, travel literature has promoted a legendary Scottish shipwreck as the Treasure Beach origin story. The sailors are said to have swum ashore, “intermarried” with “locals”, and imbued their descendants with a “distinctive appearance” of blue or green eyes, red or blonde hair, and light skin. This narrative was embedded into the Treasure Beach tourism brand following the collation of brief snippets of oral history from community members. But we argue that, to truly align the cultural heritage brand of Treasure Beach with a responsible tourism ethos, the community need to be consulted in-depth about how they would like their cultural heritage to be represented. The current narrative inadvertently occludes the contemporary historical context of enslavement and invasion. Plus, the broader histories that constitute the diverse self-understandings amongst the Treasure Beach peoples are neglected. We propose a collaboration between the tourism industry and academia to address this lacuna. Our research explores the rich, layered, and multi-ethnic history of Treasure Beach by placing the voices of residents and the diaspora at the core of the narrative. Our findings provide travel literature with a nuanced and expanded knowledgebase from which to draw considerate content. A development of the Treasure Beach cultural heritage brand could enhance the uniqueness of the tourism experience and plug the region’s cultural products into a combined cultural tourism offer. As travel literature is the only publicly accessible genre communicating the Treasure Beach history, a renewed narrative could also nurture self-understandings within the community and act as a teachable moment to discuss the complexities of Jamaican heritage. Moreover, the case study of Treasure Beach could function as a best-practice model for other destinations looking to develop their cultural heritage brand.

Keywords: cultural tourism, responsible tourism, Caribbean

1 INTRODUCTION

Treasure Beach, the name given to five coves and a handful of inland communities along the south-west coastline of Jamaica, is a beacon for responsible tourism in a Caribbean context overshadowed by all-inclusive hotels and cruise liners. Responsible tourism places the needs of the host community on an equal footing to those of the tourist. The Treasure Beach tourism industry achieves this by actively seeking consultation with residents prior to any business development. Thirty or so years ago, one of these developments was the use of Treasure Beach’s unique history as a branding tool. And, following the collation of brief snippets of oral history from community members, a legendary Scottish shipwreck and a “distinctive appearance” stereotype became firm staples of travel literature content about Treasure Beach. For example:

Lonely Planet writes:

‘It’s said Scottish sailors were shipwrecked near Treasure Beach in the 19th century, accounting for the presence of fair skin, green eyes and reddish hair among the local population’ [1].

Rough Guides writes:

'You may also notice that many of the residents have a very distinctive appearance – red or blonde hair; blue, green or yellow eyes; light skin and freckles – that is said to be the result of intermarriage between locals and a crew of Scottish sailors who were shipwrecked here in the nineteenth century. Whatever the reason, Treasure Beach's "red" men and women, as they're known, are famed island-wide for their unusual beauty' [2].

Through a discourse analysis of 25 travel literature texts, we have mapped the historical narrative constructed for Treasure Beach by the tourism industry from 1985 through to 2020. Treasure Beach is identified as an enclave of peoples who have phenotypes stereotypically associated with White ancestry - red or blonde hair, blue or green eyes, and light skin – against a backdrop of 92% of Jamaicans who self-identify as Black [3]. Scottish sailors, said to have been shipwrecked sometime between the 17th and 19th centuries, are portrayed as progenitors of the Treasure Beach peoples and are used by way of an explanation for the “distinctive appearance”. The current cultural heritage narrative is an appealing branding tool and distinguishes Treasure Beach from competitor destinations.

However, the construction of this seemingly innocuous representation does not fall in line with the responsible tourism ethos of Treasure Beach. As a short and engaging synopsis, the current historical narrative is tailored to the demands of the tourist market. The Treasure Beach community, on the other hand, have never been consulted in-depth about how they would like their cultural heritage to be represented. There is vast potential to place the voices of residents and the diaspora at the heart of research and expand the historical narrative of Treasure Beach. Especially in a responsible tourism context that fosters opportunities to tap into the community knowledgebase. The shipwreck legend and “distinctive appearance” stereotype are integral facets of self-understanding in Treasure Beach and should be acknowledged as such. But, without an investigation into the complexity of these themes, touristic representations inadvertently occlude the contemporary historical context of enslavement and invasion. Moreover, they neglect the broader histories that constitute the diverse self-understandings amongst the Treasure Beach peoples.

We propose a collaboration between the tourism industry and academia to address this lacuna. Our current research aims to construct an expanded history for Treasure Beach that places the voices of residents and the diaspora at the core of the narrative. Academia provides the time, resources, and capacity, that are not afforded to the tourism industry, to explore the rich, layered, and multi-ethnic history of Treasure Beach. Our findings provide travel literature with a nuanced and expanded knowledgebase from which to potentially draw considerate content. A move that would align their historical narrative with the responsible tourism ethos of Treasure Beach. Beyond travel literature, a renewed cultivation of the cultural heritage brand could enhance the uniqueness of the tourist experience and plug the region's cultural products into a combined cultural tourism offer. Travel literature is the only publicly accessible genre communicating the Treasure Beach history and has the power to shape both international and Jamaican understandings of the region. An expanded historical narrative could nurture self-understandings in Treasure Beach, and act as a teachable moment to discuss the complexities of Jamaican heritage. Moreover, the Treasure Beach case study could be transplanted as a best-practice model into other tourism destinations looking to develop their cultural heritage brand.

2 HOW DOES TREASURE BEACH EMBODY RESPONSIBLE TOURISM?

The accepted definition of responsible tourism was coined at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Cape Town (2002) and officially adopted by the World Travel Market for Responsible Tourism Day (2007). Responsible tourism takes various forms but is broadly 'making better places for people to live in and better places for people to stay.' Operators, hoteliers, governments, host communities and tourists are encouraged to take responsibility for their destination and ensure that all activities are sustainable [4]. Treasure Beach achieves their iteration of responsible tourism through a community-based tourism model that cultivates resident-owned accommodation and resident-driven initiatives. The region is designated the “Home of Community Tourism” in Jamaica and welcomes tourists as new community members through their inclusive marketing slogan, “Where You Are Born.” Tourists in Treasure Beach are provided with the tools and confidence to interact with residents and curate their own experiences [5,6]. The community-based tourism offer of Treasure Beach is anchored by Jakes Hotel, a cluster of villas that caters to a wealthier clientele, but metaphorically and literally opens its doors to the neighbourhood. Within Jack Sprats, a bustling restaurant operated by Jakes,

tourists and residents are welcomed in equal measure. The Breds Treasure Beach Foundation was established by Jakes to foster “community empowerment” and sustainability with programmes designed to enhance livelihoods and care for the natural environment [7]. Examples of their work include the construction of homes in the wake of the devastation caused by Hurricane Ivan, infrastructure and literacy aid for the local primary school, and the establishment of a radio communication tower to assist fishermen [8].

The wider range of tour operators, accommodation, restaurants, and gift shops in Treasure Beach cohabitate and work in conjunction with community organisations, including the Treasure Beach Women’s Group, the Calabash Bay Fishermen’s Co-op, and the Treasure Beach Citizens Alert Group. Tourism establishments are small scale to ensure quality over quantity. Most restaurants, tour operators, and accommodation are owned by residents and suppliers are sourced locally from fishing and farming co-operatives, markets, and craftspeople. There is a range of accommodation from high-end villas to budget guesthouses that cater to a variety of tourists. Development through tourism is centrally orchestrated and managed by the Treasure Beach Destination Management Organisation. Local government and resident stakeholders collaborate to carefully plan and manage development. Legislation limits tourist accommodation to 15 rooms per acre (half the density of Jamaica as a whole) and a donation of US\$1 to community development groups is required for every occupied hotel room. Having sustained itself as a community-based tourism destination for five decades, Treasure Beach has been granted a US\$48 million cash injection from the Ministry of Tourism to pioneer Jamaica’s Community Tourism Policy [9,10].

Timms and Conway elevate Treasure Beach to a bastion of slow tourism - an antithesis to mass tourism that encourages active engagement with the host community through a slower and more thoughtful pace of travel. They commend Treasure Beach for rejecting hard growth, encouraging sustainability, meeting the increasing demand for responsible tourism, and embracing development from below [9,11]. As community-based tourism took root in Treasure Beach, the region’s offer broadened into ecotourism, sports tourism, and cultural tourism. Ecotourism conserves natural heritage and promotes environmental education. Treasure Beach advocates ecotourism by taking inspiration from its traditional industries of fishing and farming, and by lobbying for policies that will protect its beachfront, ecology, and natural resources. A small natural history museum has recently opened with a focus on the endangered hawksbill turtles that nest in the region [12,13]. Sports tourism involves observing and participating in a sporting event. Treasure Beach has been boosted by the construction of their internationally renowned Sports Park and by hosting sporting events, such as the world’s longest off-road triathlon [14-16]. Cultural tourism is engagement with the lifestyle and history that helped shape a region’s way of being. Cultural tourism in Treasure Beach has flourished through the wildly successful Calabash International Literary Festival, which draws international writers, such as Zadie Smith and Salman Rushdie, and is described by Vogue as ‘the island’s best kept secret’ [17,18].

3 HOW DOES THE TOURISM INDUSTRY REPRESENT THE TREASURE BEACH HISTORY?

To understand how the tourism industry represents the Treasure Beach history, we undertook a discourse analysis of 25 travel literature texts across five genres (see Table 1.). Firstly, guidebooks are designed to introduce tourists to a destination. They are the chief medium through which the Treasure Beach history is represented to international audiences. We have eight in our travel literature corpus. Four are the earliest guidebook references to the history of Treasure Beach, and four are the most recent editions by those same authors. Secondly, journalism defines seven texts produced by reporters for news outlets. They aim to critically investigate Treasure Beach. Thirdly, our marketing sample is four adverts for Jakes, the leading hotel in Treasure Beach, posted on booking sites. Fourthly, four websites constitute our information genre. They showcase in-depth representations of Treasure Beach that go beyond the tourism brand. Finally, our diaries genre is two autobiographical accounts of travels to Treasure Beach.

Table 1. Corpus of travel literature.

GUIDEBOOKS				
Pariser, Harry S.	<i>Guide to Jamaica, including Haiti</i>	1985	USA	Moon Publications
Pariser, Harry S.	<i>Jamaica: A Visitor's Guide</i>	1995	USA	Hunter Publishing
Baker, Christopher P.	<i>Travellers Jamaica</i>	1997	UK	Thomas Cook
Baker, Christopher P.	<i>Lonely Planet: Jamaica</i>	2000	UK	Lonely Planet
Thomas, Polly et al.	<i>The Rough Guide to Jamaica</i>	2003	UK	Rough Guides
Girma, Lily	<i>The Rough Guide to Jamaica</i>	2018	UK	Rough Guides
Reid, Michael	<i>Caribbean Islands</i>	2005	Australia, USA, UK	Lonely Planet
Kaminski, Anna	<i>Jamaica</i>	2017	Australia, USA, UK	Lonely Planet
JOURNALISM				
Davidson, Julie	<i>A fantasy island</i>	1997	UK	The Herald
Aitkenhead, Decca	<i>Hidden Treasure</i>	2000	UK	The Guardian
Jakobson Ramin, Cathryn	<i>Backroads Travel/ Road Trip, Jamaica/ Looping the island with local drivers.</i>	2007	USA	SF Gate
Scalza, Remy	<i>Rum and Reggae? Not Here</i>	2012	USA	The New York Times
Mitchell, Nick	<i>Travel: Jake's Hotel, Jamaica</i>	2012	UK	The Scotsman
Skarlatos, Theopi	<i>Going back in time in Jamaica</i>	2013	UK	BBC News
Hochman, David	<i>Jamaica island oasis: An island Apart</i>	2015	USA	Delta Sky Magazine
MARKETING				
-	<i>Island Outpost resorts in Jamaica offer travel packages honouring Jamaica's heroes</i>	2007	Caribbean	Caribbean.com
-	<i>Island Outpost announces "Jamaica Proud History" package</i>	2007	Jamaica	Island Outpost
-	<i>Jakes: Treasure Beach Jamaica</i>	2012	Jamaica	Bespoke Hotels
-	<i>Jakes Experiences</i>	2020	Jamaica	Jakes
INFORMATION				
Wiersma, Rebecca	<i>Your information source for Treasure Beach, Jamaica</i>	1999	Jamaica	TreasureBeach.net
-	<i>Treasure Beach Introduction</i>	2007	Jamaica	Jamaicans.com
Morris, Allison	<i>Treasure Beach Jamaica</i>	2009	Jamaica	Real Jamaica Vacations
-	<i>Treasure Beach</i>	2011	Jamaica	Jamaica Travel and Culture
DIARIES				
Thompson, Ian	<i>The Dead Yard: Tales of Modern Jamaica</i>	2009	UK	Faber and Faber
Barry, Alex	<i>A few notes on my experiences in Jamaica and Vietnam (and the places in between): Treasure Beach</i>	2014	UK	Barry's Elective

As expected, the two overarching themes discussed about the Treasure Beach history are: the shipwreck legend, and the "distinctive appearance" stereotype. Barring one text [19], which only alludes to a failed Scottish expedition in the 17th century, most of our corpus directly addresses the shipwreck. 21 texts also attempt to date the shipwreck; one suggests hundreds of years ago [20]; another suggests 200 years ago [21]; 12 broadly assign the 19th century [22-33]; three pinpoint the 1830s [34-36]; one fixes on 1699-1700 [37]; and three indicate the mid-1600s [38-40]. Moreover, some texts note broader Scottish influences to bolster the credibility of the shipwreck; one describes an elusive Scottish cannon recovered from the ocean [36]; two list prevalent Scottish surnames, such as Strachan and Campbell [36,37]; and one lists villages with Scottish names, including Culloden and Ballard's Valley [37]. Yet, none of the texts provide any tangible material evidence of a momentous Scottish shipwreck that defined the foundation of Treasure Beach.

Five texts acknowledge a pre-existing population, that inhabited Treasure Beach prior to the shipwreck, as: 'locals,' 'local population,' 'local inhabitants,' and 'natives.' They tentatively conceptualise the relationship between the pre-existing community and the Scottish arrivals as: 'intermarriage,' 'inevitable intermixing,' 'established families,' and 'intermingled' [24,25,35,39,40]. Through hazy word choice these texts avoid having to define who the pre-existing population were and how their relationships with the Scottish manifested. And, by providing no contextual information for the pre-existing population, the texts signpost the shipwreck as the Treasure Beach origin story. Simply put, the shipwreck is portrayed as the pivotal moment when the history of Treasure Beach began. The Scottish roots of Treasure Beach are played off against an island-wide context that is predominantly associated with West African ancestry [41]. Furthermore, the lack of context romanticises the Treasure Beach narrative against a contemporary historical backdrop of enslavement and invasion across Jamaica.

Most of our corpus uses a patchwork of emblematic phenotypes to build representations of the Treasure Beach peoples. Only four texts do not reference physical appearance [32,38,42,43]. The remaining 19 dwell on hair colours, eye colours, and skin tones that are stereotypically associated with White ancestry. To describe the hair colour of the Treasure Beach peoples; 10 texts list 'red hair,' 'reddish hair,' or 'a reddish tinge to the hair' [20,22,24,25,29-31,33,39,40]; five list 'blonde hair' [20,24,25,39,40]; and four note 'light hair' or 'fair hair' [19,26-28]. To describe the eye colour of the Treasure Beach peoples; 11 texts list 'green eyes' [22,24-30,34,39,40]; nine list 'blue eyes' [20,22-25,29,30,39,40]; two note 'blue-green eyes' [31,33]; two list 'yellow eyes' [24,25]; and one notes 'light eyes' [19]. To describe the skin of the Treasure Beach peoples; seven texts list 'light skin,' 'light skinned,' 'lighter skin,' or 'lighter complexion' [19,24,25,36,39,40,44]; one observes 'fair skin' [34]; one observes 'white skin' [39]; nine list 'red skin,' 'reddish skin,' 'sun-reddened skins,' or a 'distinctive red/brown skin colour' [22,26-31,35,37]; one notes a 'dark caramel fudge complexion' [20]; and three pinpoint 'freckles' [20,24,25]. Through the commodification of physical appearance, the Treasure Beach peoples are promoted as a spectacle and portrayed as "others" in the context of Jamaica.

Our corpus conceptualises the uniqueness of the Treasure Beach "look" in a variety of ways. Seven texts directly label the "look" as different; two coin the phrase 'distinctive appearance' [24,25]; another observes a 'distinct look' [19]; one describes a 'distinctive' skin colour [35]; one describes the spirit of the peoples as 'just as distinctive as their look' [31]; another describes how the peoples 'looked just as different' as the landscape [22]; and one describes Treasure Beach as one of Jamaica's 'distinct communities' [37]. Other texts use broader framing devices. One text describes 'features which look out of place but familiar' because they resemble those of men 'riding buses in Glasgow, lifting pints in Edinburgh pubs' [43]. Another observes that the "look" is present 'even among those who have dreadlocks and speak in a patois' [34]. One describes a 'noticeably lighter complexion of the people in comparison to the rest of the island' [36]. Another adds, 'Unusual for Jamaica, a high proportion are light skinned' [19]. Two comment that the Treasure Beach peoples 'are famed island-wide for their unusual beauty' [24,25]. Another replicates, 'Across the island they are instantly recognised,' and adds, 'it makes for some truly beautiful people!' [40].

Some texts do acknowledge other histories of Treasure Beach. One text notes the region's 'most famous' resident Chrissie James, a basket-weaver who won the Jamaica 21 competition (held in celebration of the island's Independence) [42]. Three texts highlight family formations in the region; one records a Hewett James, an economic migrant from Scotland three generations back, with nine wives and 32 children [44]; another observes that everyone in Treasure Beach is related in some way, due to the remoteness of the community and the tendency of Jamaican men to father 10 or 20 children [20]; and one concludes that Treasure Beach residents are derived from a handful of families [38]. Four texts consider the indigenous Taíno presence [35,38,39,40]. One of these texts pinpoints c.AD 1494 as the earliest phase of Taíno settlement in Treasure Beach and observes that Taíno pottery still washes from the earth during heavy rainfall [40]. Two texts reference stories of fishermen dating back 200 years [39,40]. One text notes a history of pirates, including Calico Jack [35]. One text discusses Spanish peoples hiding in the caves of Treasure Beach [38]. Another text touches on a Maroon presence, the forced migration of indigenous Miskito communities from Central America to Treasure Beach in the 18th century, and the influx of German economic migrants in the 19th century [19].

The oldest guidebook in our corpus was written in 1985 by Harry S. Pariser and happens to be the very first piece of travel literature to reference the Treasure Beach shipwreck (see Table 1, above). Pariser duplicated his 1985 content for his 1995 guidebook and was the only contemporary travel writer referencing the Treasure Beach history (see Table 2.). Christopher P. Baker followed closely behind with his 1997 guidebook, which referenced the shipwreck and was the first travel literature publication to tie-in the "distinctive appearance" stereotype. Baker rephrased the narrative for his Lonely Planet guidebook in 2003, which disseminated the shipwreck legend and "distinctive appearance" stereotype to a broader readership. Despite different authors, Lonely Planet replicated the content from Baker's edition in 2005, and most recently in 2017, with only minor alterations. Rough Guides created their own interpretation of the shipwreck and "distinctive appearance" narrative in 2003 and, despite different authors and a 15-year time lapse, replicated identical content in their 2018 edition.

Table 2. Patterns of replication.

PATTERN 1	
Pariser (1985)	Locals, some of whom are said to be the descendants of shipwrecked Scottish seamen, are among the friendliest in Jamaica.
Pariser (1995)	Locals, some of whom are said to be the descendants of shipwrecked Scottish seamen, are among the friendliest in Jamaica.
PATTERN 2	
Baker (1997)	Many of the fishing pirogues are worked by blue-eyed descendants of Scottish seamen shipwrecked in the 19th century.
Bespoke Hotels (2012)	Most of the locals can trace their ancestry back to Scottish sailors who were shipwrecked here in the 19th century.
BBC News (2013)	Treasure Beach's residents descend from just a handful of families, and many, like independent tour guide Damian Parchment, trace their origins back to Scottish fishermen who were shipwrecked on the coast in the mid-1600s.
PATTERN 3	
TreasureBeach.net (1999)	The history of Treasure Beach would not be complete without telling the tale of a Scottish ship sinking off the coast in the mid-1600s. The survivors swam to shore and settled in the area. The inevitable intermixing with the local population has led to the prevalence of residents with light skin, blue and green eyes, and blond and red hair. Across the island they are instantly recognized as "brownin's" or "red men" from Treasure Beach.
Jamaicans.com (2007)	Another part of the colourful history of the people of treasure beach is the tale of the Scottish ship that sank offshore of the island during the 1600s. Survivors swam to shore and made their home on the island—when these shipwrecked citizens intermingled with the natives, a rainbow of people were created, with lighter skin, blue and green eyes, and red and blonde hair. Today, these people are known as "brownin's" or "red men".
Jamaica Travel and Culture (2011)	A defining moment in the history of Treasure Beach was when a ship of Scottish sailors sank off the coast of Treasure Beach in the 1830s. The sailors settled in the community and established families with the local inhabitants. Their legacy continues to this day and many modern-day residents of Treasure Beach (and elsewhere in St. Elizabeth Parish) have a distinctive red/brown skin colour.
PATTERN 4	
Baker (2000)	It's said that Scottish sailors were shipwrecked near Treasure Beach in the 19th century. Accounting for the preponderance of fair hair, green eyes, and reddish skin.
The Guardian (2000)	It is said that Scottish sailors were shipwrecked on Treasure Beach hundreds of years ago, and this would account for the remarkable colouring of people: the local complexion is a kind of dark caramel fudge, and you see locals with red hair and freckles or blonde hair and blue eyes.
Lonely Planet (2005)	It's said that Scottish sailors were shipwrecked near Treasure Beach in the 19th century, accounting for the preponderance of fair hair, green eyes and reddish skin.
Caribbean.com (2007)	It's said Scottish sailors were shipwrecked off Treasure Beach in the 19th century and are responsible for today's preponderance of red skin, red hair and blue and green eyes.
Island Outpost (2007)	It's said Scottish sailors were shipwrecked off Treasure Beach in the 19th century and are responsible for today's preponderance of red skin, red hair and blue & green eyes.
Lonely Planet (2017)	It's said Scottish sailors were shipwrecked near Treasure Beach in the 19th century, accounting for the presence of fair skin, green eyes and reddish hair among the local population.
PATTERN 5	
Rough Guides (2003)	You may also notice that many of the residents have a very distinctive appearance - red or blonde hair; blue, green or yellow eyes; light skin and freckles - that is said to be the result of intermarriage between locals and a crew of Scottish sailors who were shipwrecked here in the nineteenth century.
Rough Guides (2018)	You may also notice that many of the residents have a very distinctive appearance - red or blonde hair; blue, green or yellow eyes; light skin and freckles - that is said to be the result of intermarriage between locals and a crew of Scottish sailors who were shipwrecked here in the nineteenth century.
PATTERN 6	
SF Gate (2007)	The people looked just as different: Scottish sailors were shipwrecked off Treasure Beach in the 19th century, which explains why many residents have blue or green eyes and reddish skin and hair.
Barry (2014)	Mainly consisting of farmers and fishermen, the community traces its origins to Scottish sailors who were shipwrecked here in the 19th century, accounting for the predominance of a reddish tinge to the hair and blue/ green eyes.
Delta Sky (2015)	Many locals are said to be descendants of Scottish sailors shipwrecked there in the 1830s, which explains the fair skin and green eyes, even among those who have dreadlocks and speak in a patois.

Duplication of content is not confined to our sample of guidebooks. There are six patterns of sentence structure replicated across 19 of our texts regardless of genre (see Table 2, above). Pariser (1985), Baker (1997), TreasureBeach.net, Baker (2000), Rough Guides (2003), and SF Gate each established their own sentence structures to convey the shipwreck and "distinctive appearance" narrative. In turn, these six patterns were replicated by other travel literature. Moreover, only Pariser (1985) and TreasureBeach.net can claim to have established truly original patterns of sentence structure as there are also six trends of cross-pattern replication (see Table 3, below). The sentence structures used by

17 of our texts have evolved from the original patterns established by Pariser (1985) and TreasureBeach.net (see Table 3). We argue that Pariser (1985) and TreasureBeach.net, plus the remaining six texts in our corpus that present no replication of sentence structure, display original content because they undertook primary data collection in Treasure Beach. Pariser was the very first travel writer to cover content about the Treasure Beach history; The Herald, Ian Thomson, and The New York Times interviewed Treasure Beach residents; The Scotsman explored material culture and genealogy; TreasureBeach.net, Jakes, and Allison Morris have access to the local knowledgebase as they reside in the region.

Table 3. Cross-pattern replication.

PATTERN 1 → PATTERN 2	
PATTERN 1: Pariser (1985)	Locals, some of whom are said to be the descendants of shipwrecked Scottish seamen, are among the friendliest in Jamaica.
PATTERN 2: Baker (1997)	Many of the fishing pirogues are worked by blue-eyed descendants of Scottish seamen shipwrecked in the 19th century.
PATTERN 2 → PATTERN 3	
PATTERN 2: Baker (1997)	Many of the fishing pirogues are worked by blue-eyed descendants of Scottish seamen shipwrecked in the 19th century.
PATTERN 4: Baker (2000)	It's said that Scottish sailors were shipwrecked near Treasure Beach in the 19th century. Accounting for the preponderance of fair hair, green eyes, and reddish skin.
PATTERN 2 → PATTERN 4	
PATTERN 2: BBC News (2013)	Treasure Beach's residents descend from just a handful of families, and many, like independent tour guide Damian Parchment, trace their origins back to Scottish fishermen who were shipwrecked on the coast in the mid-1600s.
PATTERN 6: Barry (2014)	Mainly consisting of farmers and fishermen, the community traces its origins to Scottish sailors who were shipwrecked here in the 19th century, accounting for the predominance of a reddish tinge to the hair and blue/ green eyes.
PATTERN 3 → PATTERN 4	
PATTERN 4: Baker (2000)	It's said that Scottish sailors were shipwrecked near Treasure Beach in the 19th century. Accounting for the preponderance of fair hair, green eyes, and reddish skin.
PATTERN 6: SF Gate (2007)	The people looked just as different: Scottish sailors were shipwrecked off Treasure Beach in the 19th century, which explains why many residents have blue or green eyes and reddish skin and hair.
PATTERN 3 → PATTERN 4 & 5	
PATTERN 3: TreasureBeach.net (1999)	The history of Treasure Beach would not be complete without telling the tale of a Scottish ship sinking off the coast in the mid-1600s. The survivors swam to shore and settled in the area. The inevitable intermixing with the local population has led to the prevalence of residents with light skin, blue and green eyes, and blond and red hair. Across the island they are instantly recognized as "brownin's" or "red men" from Treasure Beach.
PATTERN 4: Baker (2000)	It's said that Scottish sailors were shipwrecked near Treasure Beach in the 19th century. Accounting for the preponderance of fair hair, green eyes, and reddish skin.
PATTERN 5: Rough Guides (2003)	You may also notice that many of the residents have a very distinctive appearance - red or blonde hair; blue, green or yellow eyes; light skin and freckles - that is said to be the result of intermarriage between locals and a crew of Scottish sailors who were shipwrecked here in the nineteenth century.
PATTERN 4 → PATTERN 5	
PATTERN 4: Baker (2000)	It's said that Scottish sailors were shipwrecked near Treasure Beach in the 19th century. Accounting for the preponderance of fair hair, green eyes, and reddish skin.
PATTERN 5: Rough Guides (2003)	You may also notice that many of the residents have a very distinctive appearance - red or blonde hair; blue, green or yellow eyes; light skin and freckles - that is said to be the result of intermarriage between locals and a crew of Scottish sailors who were shipwrecked here in the nineteenth century.

Only seven of our 25 texts derive from Jamaica. Of the remaining 18: one is based in the wider Caribbean, five are based in the US, 10 are based in the UK, and two are based across Australia, the US, and the UK (see Table 1, above). Our corpus shows that, over the past 30 years or so, travel literature representations of the Treasure Beach history have replicated the same patterns of content and have skewed towards a UK and US perspective. Most of our corpus brands Treasure Beach as an enclave of Jamaicans with stereotypically White phenotypes that stand testament to their Scottish origins and a legendary shipwreck. The Jamaican tourism industry has become complacent about this oversimplified, flawed, and predictable content that lacks consultation with residents and glosses over the historical record. As Mimi Sheller reminds us, the entire Caribbean tourism industry is 'vested in the branding and marketing of Paradise' [45]. Representations of sun, sand, and sea are favoured at the expense of the diverse, rich, and vibrant cultural heritage of the region.

There is a longstanding recognition across the Caribbean that the tourism industry needs to shift away from Paradise tropes. At the 1972 Haiti meeting of the Caribbean Travel Association, James Mitchell (the future Prime Minister of St. Vincent and the Grenadines) coined the phrase "to hell with paradise",

arguing that the idyll conjured up by regional tourist boards had never existed [46]. Travel literature romanticises the Treasure Beach history. There may well have been a shipwreck, and there may well be a “distinctive appearance” and notable Scottish roots. But there are more contextual details to this narrative that need to be acknowledged and there are broader histories that should be explored. Amongst some pockets of scholarship there is a perception that the Caribbean has no noteworthy history. Trinidadian author V.S Naipaul controversially wrote in 1962, ‘History is built around achievement and creation; and nothing was created in the West Indies’ [47]. Buoyed by a dearth of published historical research, travel literature unconsciously perpetuates the perception that the history of Treasure Beach has little value. Yet, there are roots amongst our corpus of an inclination to delve deeper into the Treasure Beach history. Some texts do acknowledge broader histories and others do avoid repetition of content in favour of original research.

4 HOW CAN TREASURE BEACH DEVELOP THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGE BRAND?

“Treasure Beach” is a recent construct that was born through tourism. Originally, the region was simply known as Pedro Plains. But, in the mid-1930s, Canadian immigrant Ernest Dicker opened the Treasure Beach Hotel and subsequently convinced local authorities to rename the region [48]. Despite always being dotted with various villas and guesthouses, the Treasure Beach tourism industry only boomed in the 1980s and 1990s through a responsible tourism consensus and the establishment of Jakes Hotel. Over time, various local histories were corralled into the Treasure Beach brand. Travel literature stands testament to the symbiosis between the dissemination of the Scottish shipwreck legend and the growth of tourism. Prior to tourism the legend was only known locally and had been passed down orally over generations of communities living along the coastline below Pedro Plains. Conversely, the “distinctive appearance” stereotype, prior to being used for touristic narratives, was well-known across Jamaica and associated with a much broader region surrounding and including Pedro Plains. These narratives were fed into the tourism industry through brief snippets of oral history provided by Treasure Beach residents. In turn, tourism extrapolated the localised Scottish shipwreck legend into the defining explanation for the famous “distinctive appearance” stereotype.

The oral, written, and material history of Treasure Beach is more nuanced and much vaster than most travel literature would lead us to believe. The region was originally settled by an indigenous pre-Taino population (c.600 AD onwards), and subsequently accommodated free and enslaved African peoples (c.1494 onwards), Spanish invaders (c.1494 onwards), British invaders (c.1655 onwards), and a myriad of other international communities. Post-Emancipation (c.1834 onwards), these diverse origins gave rise to an enclave of multi-ethnic Jamaicans sustained by rurality, landownership, kinship, and colourism. By the 20th century, the communities within and surrounding Pedro Plains had become stereotyped across Jamaica as light-skinned, Mixed-Race, or Brown. Whilst Treasure Beach could perhaps have been defined as a majority Brown enclave 30 years ago, this narrative no longer holds true. Many Jamaicans from the region have emigrated to the US, the UK, and Canada, and Jamaicans from other regions have moved in. The community of Treasure Beach has never been homogenous – simply Scottish or a people with green eyes, red hair, and light skin tones. Rather, these are the identifications that have been brought to the fore for tourism branding purposes.

We propose a collaboration between the tourism industry and academia to address this lacuna and generate awareness of the broader histories of Treasure Beach. The tourism industry does not currently have an expanded historical narrative from which to draw, which is where our research can step in. The “distinctive appearance” stereotype and Scottish shipwreck legend are defining elements of self-understanding in Treasure Beach and we acknowledge and research them as such. But we have created a complementary knowledgebase that gives space to a broader range of Treasure Beach histories. A narrative that puts the voices of the Treasure Beach residents and diaspora at front-and-centre. The core of our research is built around a series of 30 semi-structured audio-recorded oral history interviews with Treasure Beach residents and diaspora. The aim is to facilitate the Treasure Beach peoples in defining their own heritage. We use archival research and ethnographic observation to flesh out the interview content. Our research is fully funded by the UK’s Arts and Humanities Research Council at no cost to the Treasure Beach community. Furthermore, the research process is monitored by the University of Birmingham’s Ethics Review Committee to mitigate any risks to participants. From the outset, principal investigator Chloe Helen Bent acknowledged her own positionality as a British-Jamaican with Treasure Beach ancestry. It was important for her to embed herself in Treasure Beach

and Jamaica. She spent over a year living in the Treasure Beach community and became a Visiting Researcher at the University of the West Indies in Kingston.

5 WHY SHOULD TREASURE BEACH EMBRACE CULTURAL TOURISM?

In 2016, travel and tourism generated 10.2% of global GDP (adding US\$7.6 trillion to the global economy) and its contribution is expected to grow annually by 4% over the next decade [49]. The impact in Jamaica is far greater. In 2016, tourism and travel generated 30.3% of Jamaica's GDP (adding US\$4.5 billion to Jamaica's economy). Between 1997 and 2016, the contribution of travel and tourism to Jamaica's GDP increased by 35.2% (Jamaica's total economy only expanded by 12%) and its contribution is forecast to increase annually by 5% over the next decade [50]. The UN World Tourism 2007 statistics suggest that cultural tourism accounts for 40% of international tourism. Moreover, the ATLAS 2007 Cultural Tourism Survey indicates that the proportion of tourists with a specific cultural tourism motivation grew during the noughties [51].

The UNWTO General Assembly in China (2017) adopted the following definition of cultural tourism:

'Cultural tourism is a type of tourism activity in which the visitor's essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination' [52].

Culture can be tangible or product-based, such as sites or monuments, or intangible and process based, such as everyday practices and customs [53]. There is widespread consensus that cultural tourism generates copious economic and social benefits. OECD attests that the most successful destinations are those that create a positive synergy between culture and tourism. Culture creates a sense "authenticity" and distinctiveness, which becomes embedded within the images and ideas consumed by tourists. Destinations become more attractive locations to live, visit, work, and invest in. Wider benefits include social cohesion, increased innovation and creativity, and support for the cultural sector [54]. Moreover, "tourism experiences" – museum visits, intangible heritage demonstrations, and cultural events – are crucial in connecting tourists to host communities [55].

Cultural tourism is an emerging trend in the Caribbean. Richard Campbell, OAS Chief of Culture and Tourism, in a 2015 statement emphasised that OAS 'is making a significant investment to support the efforts in member states [in the Caribbean] to develop and utilise the untapped social and economic potential of the Cultural Heritage of the region' [56]. OAS have initiated a large-scale programme titled *Expanding the Socio-Economic Potential of Cultural Heritage in the Caribbean*, which invests research and resources in the Caribbean's cultural heritage as a prototype for similar initiatives in other regions of the Americas [57]. Furthermore, UNESCO's *Culture and Development: World Heritage in the Caribbean* (2014) report clearly acknowledges that communities involved in heritage management in the region enjoy economic sustainability and improved standards of living [58]. Traditionally, the Caribbean relied on its natural assets of sun, sand, and sea. Tourists flocked to the region from North America and Western Europe as the Caribbean was more accessible than other tropical destinations. Yet, in recent years, tourists have become spoilt for choice with cheaper airfare making visits to a wider variety of far flung locales increasingly viable. Cultural tourism offers a new form of branding through which the Caribbean can distinguish itself from competitors and showcase its vibrant diversity [59].

Treasure Beach has none of the site or situation factors that appeal to mass tourism in the Caribbean, such as white beaches, calm seas, or accessibility. Instead visitors are greeted with average beaches, rough underwater currents, and a long trek from Jamaica's airports. Treasure Beach's attractiveness lies in its responsible tourism ethos that prides itself on hospitality, safety, and sustainability [60]. Vogue describes Treasure Beach:

'Sometimes it's the places that really make you work to get there that leave the most lasting impression... There are no high-rise hotels, all-inclusive packages, or kitschy souvenir shops in this southwest part of Jamaica. Instead, what you'll find are colourful cottages shrouded in bougainvillea, roadside stands serving steaming pumpkin soup, and fishermen docking their brightly coloured canoes on six miles of coral and black sand' [18].

Treasure Beach's successful expansion into cultural tourism through the Calabash International Literary Festival was developed by Jakes. Writer Kwame Dawes describes the heart and spirit of the festival as 'earthy, inspirational, daring and diverse.' He notes that the qualities of the festival are an extension of

the qualities of Jakes and adds that, in Treasure Beach, ‘the community blends with Jakes, and Jakes blends with the community’ [61]. Jakes is the custodian of the community-based tourism offer and any initiatives driven by the hotel are imbued with a responsible tourism ethos. However, there are disparate cultural products in Treasure Beach and the surrounding communities that are not plugged into the Jakes nexus. There are a handful of budding cultural organisations, including: the Treasure Beach Walking Tour, a historical walking tour; the Blue Marlin archaeological collection, the home of a plethora of artefacts sourced in Treasure Beach; and Southfield Heritage Centre, a community hub with a museum of contemporary Jamaican artefacts. Moreover, there are renowned intangible heritage practices deriving from the region, including: straw-craft (such as hats and basket-weaving), the making of bammy (a traditional cassava flatbread) and “Spanish Wall” construction (masonry of limestone sand and stone between wooden frames). Furthermore, the tangible heritage sites of the region include British fortifications from the late 17th to early 18th centuries, the material culture of enslaved peoples, and pre-Taíno settlements. The broader historical narrative that we have established could be developed to contextualise these products and connect them into a combined cultural heritage offer.

6 CONCLUSION

Treasure Beach is the hub of community-based tourism in Jamaica. Under the custodianship of Jakes and other key tourism establishments and community organisations, Treasure Beach has maintained a responsible tourism ethos that staves off mass tourism. Most travel literature defines the history of Treasure Beach by a legendary Scottish shipwreck and a “distinctive appearance” stereotype. Whilst there is no known material evidence of a defining shipwreck, travel literature estimates a possible dating between the 17th and 19th centuries. The population that resided in Treasure Beach prior to the arrival of the Scottish are either disregarded by most travel literature or only acknowledged as a nebulous entity. In short, the Scottish shipwreck is represented as the origin story of Treasure Beach. Jamaica is principally associated with West African heritage, but travel literature defines Treasure Beach by Scottish links. The Treasure Beach peoples are deemed by travel literature to have stereotypically White phenotypes – blue or green eyes, red or blonde hair, and light skin - against the backdrop of a Jamaican populace that predominantly self-identifies as Black. The shipwreck and “distinctive appearance” are paradise tropes. They serve as effective and engaging branding tools that emphasise the rurality, isolation, and uniqueness of Treasure Beach.

However, we argue that the current version of the shipwreck and “distinctive appearance” narrative perpetuated by travel literature is reductive to the Treasure Beach peoples. The Scottish shipwreck legend and “distinctive appearance” stereotype are integral facets of self-understanding in Treasure Beach and should be acknowledged as such. But under the tourist gaze they become tools that reduce and romanticise the Treasure Beach history into a bitesize snippet. Without exploration into the contemporary context of the shipwreck, histories of enslavement and invasion are occluded. Through listings of stereotypical phenotypes, the Treasure Beach peoples become spectacles to behold rather than individuals with agency. Travel literature distances the Treasure Beach peoples from a Jamaican identity and depicts them as an “other” within their home nation. And, the broader histories and heritages that constitute the diverse self-understandings amongst the Treasure Beach peoples are neglected. The first travel literature reference to the Scottish shipwreck legend was written in 1985 and was followed up by the first reference to the “distinctive appearance” stereotype in 1997. Over the past 30 years, content about the Treasure Beach history has been ongoingly recycled by travel literature skewed towards a UK and US perspective. An engaging narrative that meets the demands of tourists is favoured over a narrative that enables the Treasure Beach peoples to have a say in how their heritage is represented. Without Jamaican voices and original research, the current narrative will continue to be perpetuated.

To align the cultural heritage branding of Treasure Beach with a responsible tourism ethos, residents and diaspora should be consulted in-depth. Some travel literature, notably texts produced in Treasure Beach and the surrounding communities, do delve deeper into the Treasure Beach history. These texts recognise that there is not one “real” and “authentic” history of Treasure Beach that neatly ties up into the “distinctive appearance” stereotype and the Scottish shipwreck legend. Rather, there are competing representations of the past, some of which are brought to the fore (often those which neatly align with a tourism brand) and those which are suppressed. Akin to these texts, our research has created a space for a wider range of representations of Treasure Beach and for the marginalised voices of residents and diaspora. Our findings will be published as a publicly accessible manuscript by the University of Birmingham in 2021. The transcripts and audio recordings will also be donated to the Jamaica Memory

Bank (an oral history archive in Kingston). The Treasure Beach tourism industry, and anyone interested in the history of Treasure Beach, will be at liberty to use this newly collated knowledgebase.

A more inclusive narrative could bolster the responsible tourism brand and set Treasure Beach apart from competitor destinations. And, could plug the region's cultural products into a combined cultural heritage brand and expand the "tourism experiences" on offer. Furthermore, the impact of expanding the historical narrative perpetuated by travel literature about Treasure Beach could extend far beyond broadening the perceptions of tourists. Travel literature is the only publicly accessible genre communicating the Treasure Beach history and has the power to shape both international and Jamaican understandings of the region. By expanding the dialogue surrounding the Treasure Beach heritage, travel literature could increase awareness amongst residents and diaspora of the region's broader history and help to develop more reflective and encompassing self-understandings. The archive of data that we have collated is designed to grow. There are already many pockets of data collection conducted by residents and diaspora that can be absorbed into this archive, which in turn could be used as a reference bank for others researching the Treasure Beach history. A responsible tourism destination, such as Treasure Beach, that actively fosters engagement with residents is the ideal test site for an innovative partnership between tourism and academia. The case study of Treasure Beach could provide lessons for international tourism and act as a best practice model for other destinations looking to develop their cultural heritage brand.

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