

**JAMAICA “THE HOME OF COMMUNITY TOURISM”:  
AN ANALYSIS OF AUTHENTICITY AND WOMEN’S EVERYDAY GEOGRAPHIES**

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## ABSTRACT

This research explores Countrystyle Community Tourism (CTT) operating in the rural communities of Beeston Spring and Treasure Beach, Jamaica. Data were collected over the summer of 2013 from semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The findings of this research concluded that CCT operates within the structure of capitalism and it has created a niche by promoting its tourism product as an authentic Jamaican experience. Additionally, I argue that the expansion of CCT in the formation of the Villages as Businesses program is one of the creative moments in the neoliberalization of Jamaica. An examination of women's everyday geographies reveals that class divides deepen and result in limited socio-economic mobility of working-class women. I also examined how the landscape and culture of each community are objectified as authentic representations of Jamaican culture. However, findings reveal that CCT creates positive affective geographies through residents' emotions of hope and pride.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BREDS	Bredrens Treasure Beach Foundation
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CBO	Community-Based Organisations
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CCT	Countrystyle Community Tourism
CCTN	Countrystyle Community Tourism Network
CCTN/VAB	Countrystyle Community Tourism Network's partnership with the Villages as Businesses Program
CDC	Community Development Committee
COMTRUST	Community Tourism Trust Fund
IIPT	International Institute for Peace through Tourism
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
PNP	Peoples National Party
PTT	Peace Through Tourism
REDI	Rural Economic Development Initiative
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
TBWG	Treasure Beach Women's Group
UNWTO	United Nations World Trade Organization
VAB	Villages as Businesses Program
WTO	World Trade Organization

## **Chapter 1: Introduction: Countrystyle Community Tourism in the Jamaican Context**

### **1.1 Research Focus and Research Questions**

This research examines issues of women's everyday geographies, authenticity, neoliberalism and place-making as it relates to community-based tourism operating in Jamaica's south and southwest parishes. My theoretical framework draws on research that explores tourism as both a socio-cultural and economic phenomenon.

In order to investigate these issues, I pose three research questions:

1. How are discourses of authenticity being used to market community-based tourism operating in Treasure Beach and Beeston Spring, Jamaica? Whose interests do these discourses serve? Neoliberal capitalism? Communities? The Jamaican state? All or none of these?
2. How are women's everyday geographies appropriated when community-based tourism is marketed as an authentic travel experience? Do women resist the appropriation of their everyday geographies?
3. How does community-based tourism participate in place-making and alternative imaginaries of the Anglo-Caribbean?

Jamaica has become successful at promoting itself as the ideal destination to enjoy sun, sand, sea and sex (Kempadoo, 1999). But the dominant form of tourism, resort tourism, has had destructive consequences for its environment, including deforestation, reduction of biodiversity and the degradation of coastlines. Moreover, the social costs of resort tourism create an increasing gap between the rich and poor; government monies are not appropriately invested into social welfare, but rather into constructing a marketplace that is amiable to foreign capital and tourists.

In the late 1990s, the Jamaican government started (as did many other governments in tourist destinations) to research sustainable forms of tourism that would reduce environmental impacts, increase social inclusion, work as a form a community development, and diversify the tourism product. In 2002, the Ministry of Tourism launched the *Master Plan for Sustainable Tourism Development*, which identified community-based tourism as one of the ways the government could diversify its tourism product and support the sustainable development of communities. For the purposes of this thesis, I will be focusing on the Countrystyle Community Tourism Network and National Best Community Organization's collaborative program called the Villages as Businesses program (CCTN/VAB), which promotes sustainable community and tourism development through tourism entrepreneurship.

In order to situate community-based tourism in these neoliberal processes, I will examine women's everyday geographies. Research in development, tourism, Caribbean, and feminist studies has shown that women are much more negatively affected socially, economically, and politically than men in capitalist ventures of mass tourism (Kempadoo, 1999; Harrison, 1988) and structural adjustment programs (Emeagwali, 1995). Women are also an important entry point for this research because community-based tourism operates within and is reliant upon women's social reproduction (Peterson, 2003) and their everyday geographies (Rose, 1993). These activities work together to support community-based tourism as an 'authentic' Jamaican product. Thus, focusing on women allows for a bottom-up perspective on community-based tourism and reveals their importance in the "staging" of it (MacCannell, 1973) for the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002).

The data used in this research were collected during my fieldwork during the summer of 2013. The methods used include: participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The data identifies the CCTN/VAB program as one of the creative (productive) moments in the neoliberalization of Jamaica as well as one of the strategies used to promote community-based tourism development at my two research sites. My research reveals that Countrystyle Community Tourism (CCT) is not an alternative economy that operates outside of the capitalist structure. Instead, this organization uses neoliberal discourse and a “peace-through-tourism” (PTT) framework to promote community-based tourism as a mechanism for sustainable community and tourism development. I also argue that CCT is a temporary solution to issues of unemployment and the informalization of labour under neoliberal capitalism.

CCT’s goals appeal to governments, business owners, and community residents alike because the cultural economics of the island corresponds with the neoliberal logic regarding the use of creative entrepreneurship for income generation (Freeman, 2005). In order for CCT to create a niche for itself in the marketplace, it promotes its tourism product as an authentic Jamaican experience. This marketing strategy draws upon women’s social reproduction, and by doing so, maintains both the residents and physical landscape of the community. Most importantly, CCT produces uneven effects that deepens class divisions and reinforces gender roles. But CCT also imposes new tourism geographies onto the rural landscape of Jamaica. Furthermore, CCT produces positive affective geographies based on the community’s pride and hope in the future possibilities for themselves and their families. To investigate these issues, women’s

activities were examined to see how CCT constrained and created opportunities for them as they moved through their everyday geographies.

## **1.2 The History of Countrystyle Community Tourism**

Tourism is an important mechanism in capital accumulation (Britton, 1991). It is an industry that accounts for nine percent of the world's gross domestic product (UNTWO, 2012). In addition, international tourism accounts for the movement of 1,035 billion tourists in 2012 with five to six billion including domestic tourists (Ibid.). Tourism participates in processes of globalization with the movement of people, capital, goods and services and has the ability to project imagined geographies of destinations through marketing (Gregory, 2004). For example, the imagined geographies of Jamaica use images that can be traced to the island's colonial place-making which constructed the island and its peoples as the exoticised 'other' (Sheller, 2004). In doing so, tourism reconfigures the world with different imagined geographies that overlap and intersect in the experiences that they offer tourists (Williams, 1998).

For countries like Jamaica, tourism is integral to the GDP of the island and extends a dependency that had been established during its colonial era (Loomba, 1998; Sorenson, 2003). Tourism accounts for a large portion of the island's economy, but as previously mentioned, it has had negative effects on the environment, people and local economy (as well as other factors that will be discussed further in Chapter 4). These negative impacts and global shifts toward sustainable tourism were influential in the decision by the Jamaican government to explore alternative tourism opportunities such as the CCTN/VAB program.

CCT began in the late 1960s, when Ceceline McIntyre, the mother of the woman who was to become the President of CCT, led community tours of the fishing villages located in Negril. This was before Negril became a major tourist site. At the time it was simply composed of seven miles of empty beaches. It was during this period that Negril became popular with nature enthusiasts and hippies. Thus, community-based tourism was operating in an era when the island had just gained independence, and mass tourism had gained full steam due to transportation developments of the jumbo jet in the 1950s. By 1966, Jamaican tourism was dominated by a US airline company buying up hotel buildings to provide accommodations for their clients. In 1968, the Jamaican Tourist Board promoted Jamaica as a “lovebird island” where visitors could indulge themselves. This tourism campaign labeled the island as exotic and used colonial place-making images of Jamaica. As a result, Ceceline’s community tours gave rural communities the opportunity to engage in tourism processes and access economical benefits.

In the 1970s, activists and politicians alike were advocating for a new form of tourism, which would be less exploitative of the Jamaican people’s labour, images, and environment. In 1972, Michael Manley coined the term “new tourism” – a call for bottom up tourism development to stop the elitist form of tourism occurring in Jamaica. Eight months later, this concept was further supported by Grenadian Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, and former Minister of Tourism, Desmond Henry (Jamaica). Henry defined “new tourism” as a “from-the-bottom-up concept designed to stimulate community cooperation, pride, and a sense of value to utilize local resources, provide local income and encourage the training of new hospitality skills” (Pattullo, 1996; 207). Following in

her mother's footsteps and using the concept of new tourism, Diana McIntyre-Pike and Desmond Henry worked together to create a bottom-up tourism product that they coined "Countrystyle Community Tourism" in 1978. Although "new tourism" offered an alternative to mass tourism development, it still operated within the capitalist structure and continued to marginalize working-class Jamaicans in their new vision of tourism development (discussed in further detail in Chapter 4).

Over time, community-based tourism also became an alternative form of development to the market-centered policies of Prime Minister Edward Seaga's national government (1980-1989). It was felt by many that the 1980s structural adjustment program and neoliberal processes had excluded the majority of Jamaicans from the wealth generated by the tourism industry. Community-based tourism thus created an alternative tourism opportunity for poor rural communities, which promoted it as a chance to experience "real" Jamaican culture. Currently however, the opportunity to expand community-based tourism in Jamaica correlates with state and capitalist interests to diversify the tourism industry.

My research examines the CCTN/VAB program, which received funding in 2009 from Jamaica's Rural Economic Development Initiative (REDI) - social investment fund. This program is used to train local entrepreneurs to create market-ready tours for the tourist industry. The CCTN/VAB program was offered to six rural communities in six parishes located on various locations on the island. Local entrepreneurs receive free community sensitization training, small business management training, product development, marketing, facilities, and funding support for community projects.

The CCTN/VAB program has been advocated as an opportunity for sustainable community development through tourism entrepreneurship. But how are these top-down decisions on the national and local scales affecting the everyday geographies of the residents? In particular to my research, how are women's everyday geographies affected by these operations? What are their roles in decision-making? And how are they benefiting or being exploited in their communities?

### **1.3 Tourism Research Literature review**

In this section, I will provide an overview of the literature to date that examines issues of tourism related exploitation, cultural renewal and authenticity as it relates to community-based tourism. I will begin with key terms in tourism research that are needed to understand tourism as a socio-cultural phenomenon. Then I will examine the critical turn in tourism studies, which situates my research in tourism geographies. The next section will analyze definitions and understandings of community-based tourism. Finally, I will focus on the debates centered around community-based tourism.

While the literature that I will review focuses on the progress of tourism studies, scholarship in geography has been equally influential to the development of tourism studies as a sub-discipline. The influence of geography is evident in tourism studies research that examines mobility (Sheller & Urry, 2006), production-consumption (Ateljevic, 2006; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003), tourist site/sight in place making (Urry, 1990) and exploring how tourism operates on multiple scales. It is important to note that research on community-based tourism is continuously shifting, but the multiple

experiences of Caribbean peoples, specifically women, have been absent in tourism literature. Thus, one of my research aims is to fill this gap in tourism research about the Caribbean.

Geographers and other tourism studies scholars have understood tourism to generally be one of two processes. One, tourism is embedded in processes of exploitation or two, that niche tourism such as community-based tourism is an opportunity to empower local people socially and politically. But before we delve into the current state of tourism studies, I will define the following key terms: tourism, the tourist and the tourist site.

### *1.3.1 Key Terms in Tourism Research*

To begin, tourism, leisure, and recreation studies are similar fields of research that use different methods of investigation. Tourism occurs in both the leisure and recreation time/space framework (Williams, 1998). For example, while leisure is free time, either sought out on vacation or a state of mind, recreation involves activities individuals do for enjoyment (such as skiing, dancing or hiking). All of these activities fall under the umbrella of “tourism,” even though they are at times studied separately (Butler, 2004). Due to their interconnectedness, these fields of study also share key terms that will be defined below.

“Tourism” is a complex term to define because it has various meanings depending on the discipline (it is of interest in anthropology, sociology and geography) and which aspects of tourism they wish to study. Tourism is also difficult to define because it is economically, socio-culturally and environmentally intertwined with the

everyday geographies of individuals, communities and nations (Fennell & Dowling, 2003). Tourism also consists of processes whose interpretation is based on public perception and is reliant on primary, secondary, and tertiary goods and services. In addition, tourism has been further complicated by processes of globalization that have made the industry more fluid, borderless and multi-scalar. One definition that this research reflects is by Goeldner and Ritchie (2009) who define tourism as “the processes, activities and outcomes arising from the relationships and interactions among tourists, tourism suppliers, host governments, host communities and the surrounding environments that are involved in the attracting and hosting of visitors” (p. 13).

Although tourism may be a complicated term to define, scholars have agreed that tourism generally consists of three processes. First, tourism consists of the mobility of people through space and time such as traveling for vacation, returning home, going to work and going on business trips. Secondly, tourism consists of an organized structure to promote the movement of capital or commodities, supply tourism processes and provide services to support destinations (Williams, 1998; Fennell, 2003). These supportive services include travel agents, hotels, insurance companies, policies and bills. Lastly, tourism (as with many phenomena) has consequential effects on the environment, cultures, communities and economies because the movement and building of sites changes the configuration of the local landscape. Thus, tourism is a geographical phenomenon due to the movement of people and capital across space, time and scales. It is also geographical because of its ability to “produce” specific types of spaces.

Another key term in tourism studies is the “tourist.” A “tourist” is defined as “someone who is taking a tour, or a circular trip made for business, pleasure, or education at the end of which one goes home” (Hall & Page, 2002; 21). Tourists participate in tours, sightseeing, and spectating of cultures and landscapes across the world. They are often privileged, able-bodied, cis-gendered, educated, white and have come to purchase tourist experiences (Sheller, 2004; Sanchez-Taylor, 1998). Tourism scholars have identified that tourists have various motivations when traveling such as seeking out adventure, escapism, romance and pilgrimage experiences. Hence, the way places are promoted by the tourism industry constructs the type of tourism experiences that operates in certain destinations. The tourist has been constructed as a symbol of modernism or post-modernism seeking out authenticity and culture away from home (MacCannell, 1974; Urry, 1990). But there are limits to the host/guest dichotomy because it essentializes these positionalities. The host/guest dichotomy also assumes that power operates unilaterally and this assumption ignores hosts’ ability to shape tourism processes (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007).

A tourist site or *sight* is a focus of the spatial turn in tourism studies, which examines the processes of place-making. On the one hand, a tourist site is the physical place and the assemblage of supportive infrastructure such as transportation, entertainment and attractions that make this particular place distinctive (Williams, 1998; Urry, 1990). Examples of tourist sites include the Eiffel Tower in Paris and the Leaning Tower of Pisa in Italy. On the other hand, a tourist sight refers to the power in the tourist’s gaze to socially construct places, organize space, and the ability to legitimize

places as tourist sites (Urry, 1990). Tourism is greatly dependent on visuals from books, television ads, and sightseeing, gazing at places, home videos and photos to remember experiences. This process by which our cultural filters (media, background, and country) are used in our everyday geographies to consume images is referred to as “visualization.” These filters allow us to gaze selectively and reconstruct places in a detached and superficial manner. When we gaze at sites, we may assume that the site/sight is representative of the particular country or culture as a whole, thereby participating in an increasingly superficial social construction of a place (Urry, 1990).

Geography’s influence is seen in tourism studies’ examination of place-making and the marketing strategies used to promote these destinations. The marketing of places is dependent on the dissemination of positive and attractive images of destinations as places (Williams, 1998). These marketing strategies create their own selective realities that are not representative of the everyday geographies of people who reside in these tourist sites. According to Hall and Tucker (2004), tourism has the ability to project imagined geographies, which Derek Gregory (2004) describes as consisting of “something that is fictionalized and something made real’ because they are the imaginations given substance” (Gregory, 2004: 17). He argues that imagined geographies are performative because they “produce the effect that they name and describe” thus bringing together “irreconcilable truths” (Gregory, 2004: 17). For example, the dominant image of the Caribbean as “exotic,” draws upon imaginary geographies that are connected to the region’s colonial place-making. These imaginary geographies are also engaged in producing a feminized landscape in which the island and the peoples are available to be explored and where authentically exotic

experiences can be purchased. Therefore, “tourism,” “tourist,” and “tourism sites/sights” are key terms in tourism studies that will be used to examine CCT in Jamaica.

### *1.3.2 The Early years of Tourism Research*

Before the 1990s, tourism research generally focused on tourism management, material consumption, and marketing opportunities (Bianchi, 2009; Butler, 2004). During the 1990s, tourism studies focused on power relations, cultural landscapes, mobility, performativity, and embodied/phenomenological accounts of tourism (Aitchison, 2006; Edensor, 2001). But before examining how tourism studies has come to encompass such a broad range of enquiry, I first look at the key texts that launched the study of tourism as a socio-cultural phenomenon.

In 1964, American historian Daniel Boorstin published *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. In this text, he examines mass tourism as a “pseudo-event,” that is, a real-stage production for tourists. He argues that America is being flooded by newspapers and different forms of media to create a “thicket of unreality which stands between us and the facts of life” (Boorstin, 1962; 42), which, in turn, results in “pseudo-events.” Thus, he surmises that tourists never experience local cultures or differences that may be uncomfortable or force reflection on their privilege because they engage in a tourist bubble of inauthentic spectacles. These “pseudo-events” are designed to keep tourists entertained, safe and surrounded by familiar foods/resort experiences (the McDisneyization of tourism) (Bryman, 2004). In the end, tourists are unaware of the cultures outside of the resort and their understanding of local cultures end up being superficial versions of reality.

In 1973, Dean MacCannell, a sociologist, built upon Boorstin's argument when he published *The Tourist* (1973), which explores socio-cultural perspectives of the tourism processes. In his text, he introduced the concept of "staged authenticity." MacCannell (1973) argues that the tourist is unable to find authenticity in modern society and travels in order to experience authenticity elsewhere. When tourists arrive at these "authentic" places, they are presented with a performance. Using a theatrical analogy, MacCannell argues that tourists are always presented with a front stage performance, leading them to believe they have seen behind the curtain. Hence, the host society has the agency to conserve their cultural integrity.

MacCannell's work connects to issues of authenticity in two ways. First, he imagines a tourist that is seeking to gaze upon an unfamiliar landscape that they believe is representative of the "other." Also, the need to experience the "authentic" translates into a consumer demand that the tourist industry fills with various "authentic" vacation experiences. Secondly, MacCannell describes the host community as performing "authentic culture" that tourists expect to see and experience. Thus, the host community participates in fulfilling a demand for the tourism industry by marketing their performances of authenticity. Much of the subsequent research in tourism follows these themes of authenticity and the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on hosts, guests, and landscapes.

John Urry's, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (1990) is considered by many tourism scholars to be one of the most influential texts on tourism during the cultural turn in the social sciences. Instead of building on research

that examines issues of authenticity, Urry examines the spatiality between power and knowledge as embedded in the semiotic construction of difference in the tourist's gaze. The tourist's gaze in contemporary society is used to consume goods, services and pleasurable experiences (Hollinshead, 1999). The gaze is an important tool in organizing the tourist environment in which the "other" is clearly demarcated in these spaces.

Urry's analysis draws on Foucauldian concepts of power, surveillance (tourist gaze), and discipline, which are reinforced and produced through tourism. Urry's research demonstrates that tourists' perspectives about the "other" are not innocent conceptions and that critical tourism research is important for unpacking the power relations involved in tourism. Urry's work in many ways laid the foundation for other scholars to examine the socio-cultural effects of tourism by either critiquing the gaps in his analysis or building upon it.

### *1.3.3 The "Critical Turn"*

In the 1990s, the social sciences experienced a critical turn in which post-structuralist theories became influential in many disciplines. This began with Steve Britton's work entitled "Tourism, Capital and Place: Towards a Critical Geography of Tourism" (1991) in which he argued that geographers have not fully explored how tourism is a major avenue for capital accumulation. Britton's work uses critical theory and political economy research to examine the processes involved in tourism. Britton's research is seen as the starting point of the critical turn in tourism studies that was later used in post-structuralist approaches. For tourism researchers, the critical turn resulted

in a critique of previous works that were seen as reductionist, generalizing host and guest relations, and not examining the power relations involved in tourism processes (Bianchi, 2009). Thus, critical tourism emerged out of the critical turn, which resulted in scholars examining tourism as a cultural and economic phenomenon that is shaped by discourses of subordination, (re)presentation and the (re)construction of places and peoples. Critical tourism is a field equipped to deconstruct power relations that maintain differences between tourists and host societies, because it examines the relations of power through discourse, plurality and social justice.

One of the main aspects of critical tourism research includes the Foucauldian use of discourse, which refers to the “ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning; they constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern” (Foucault 1991; Weedon, 1987: 108). Thereby, discourses are forms of knowledge (which are not necessarily true) that have become normalized because they continue to be reinforced by society’s imagined geographies, silenced histories, and other forms of institutionalized oppressions.

When discourse analysis is applied to tourism research, it argues that tourism discourses are not innocent, but are derived from colonial place-making narratives that rely on the subordination of the global south by the global north. Foucauldian examinations of power views it as emanating from different sources (government,

patriarchy, neoliberal capitalist discourse) so that it “permeates the everyday aspects of everyday life” (Bianchi, 2009; 491). Critical tourism studies scholars use this concept to move beyond mere reductionist forms of power, which runs one directionally and constructs host societies as powerless. The majority of academics acknowledge that all individuals in tourist sites have agency and the ability to also participate in the images used to describe the “other.” Thus, applying Foucauldian concepts of power and discourses to tourism processes reveals that tourism is not simply an act of leisurely activity, but is a cultural phenomenon (Ateljevic, 2001).

Critical tourism also draws on post-structuralist epistemology, which advocates that there are multiple perspectives on tourism processes and activities. Multiple perspectives are acknowledged because the silencing of marginalized groups in the production of knowledge reinforces structures of oppression and produces incomplete research. Hence, when examining tourism processes, the perspectives of hosts, guests, and people not directly involved in tourist activity are considered in order to understand the socio-cultural impacts of tourist activities.

Finally, critical tourism research is a sub-discipline with an explicit political agenda. Ateljevic *et al.* (2007) argues that the “critical turn’ is an explicitly political project, which embodies ‘more than simply a way of knowing, an ontology. It is a way of being, a commitment to tourism enquiry which is pro-social justice, equality and anti-oppression: it is an academy of hope’” (p. 3). One of the aims of critical tourism research is to produce work that supports social justice for marginalized groups.

However, a critique of critical tourism has emerged from the sub-discipline of radical tourism (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2001). Radical tourism research uses structural analyses of power, such as those of Marxist political economy and historical materialism to examine the production of tourist sites as strategies in neoliberal capital accumulation (Bianchi, 2009; O'Byrne, 2001). Britton (1991) argues that "tourism is a major avenue for capitalist accumulation throughout the world; driven by the free market forms of enterprises...globalizing neoliberalism opens new resources for investment in tourism" (p. 44). My research builds on Britton's central thesis by examining CCT as another neoliberal strategy to accumulate capital on the local scale.

Proponents of radical tourism argue that focusing on the cultural and discursive elements of tourism does not engage with the political economy of tourism. Nor does critical tourism research acknowledge the role of the state in creating "good business climates" for corporations to exploit places and labour for the accumulation of capital (Bianchi, 2009; Harvey, 2007; 87). Radical tourism geographers advocate the benefits of a structuralist analysis of tourism in order to understand how tourism is used in neoliberal capitalism as a site to examine class struggle (Bianchi, 2009; Britton, 1991).

Radical geographers, sociologists, and tourism researchers all argue that the cultural turn shifted the focus in research to discursive symbolic meanings and culture when Western society was engaged in neoliberal class restructuring. Examining these processes of class restructuring is important for understanding tourism consumption patterns and cultural marketization. A second critique argues that critical tourism separates culture from the economy and generally makes no connections to how these

areas are interconnected. For example, Ateljevic and Doorne (2003) examine the tie-dye industry in New Zealand, which has its products manufactured in villages in China. This article has been critiqued for its focus on materialist consumption and not the inequalities of the production process (Perron, 1999; Judd, 2006), in which global south labour is exploited to serve consumption needs. Also, the authors' analysis does not explain how rural villages in China and souvenir shops in New Zealand are connected through neoliberal globalization. As Nacotzsky (1997: 94-8) argues "economic activities permeate all aspects of our everyday lives in as much as markets are also embedded in multiplex social relations and shaped by cultural meaning." Nacotzsky and many other radical scholars argue that the economy and social life are interconnected and rely on each other to function in everyday geographies.

A final critique is about the power of discourse, which has been very influential in critical tourism scholarship. Bianchi argues that critical tourism researchers have not fully examined how some discourses are more powerful than others and how they became institutionalized in different places. For example, in the case of my research on Jamaica, the discourse predominately associated with the island is exoticism (Sheller, 2004). And yet, there have been other discourses associated with Jamaica as well, such as discourses of home, family, and tradition but these are not the discourses that are strongest in the Western imagination. This discourse hierarchy is an issue that has not been adequately deconstructed in many discussions about the Caribbean and other tourist landscapes. A radical perspective would examine how these discourses of exoticism are used to maintain neoliberal capitalism in the Caribbean by marketing the "other." Thus, these discourses of exoticism are more powerful in the Caribbean

because it supports the tourism industry, which is protected through law. Moreover, ministries of tourism institutionalize these discourses in the majority of islands in the Caribbean.

#### *1.3.4 Gender*

One of the critiques of Urry's (1990) research on the tourist's gaze and of previous analyses of tourism processes is that there was an absence of gender analysis. Gender is a socially constructed concept that works as an organizing principle that allocates norms, roles and relations (Acker, 2004). Also, gender is a concept that is performative (Butler, 1990) and solidifies itself in hierarchies, relations of power and privilege in society (Kinnard *et al.*, 1994). Thus, I do not view gender relations as working in isolation from economic processes of neoliberal capitalism, but are rather intertwined as an integral component of economic processes.

Additionally, when examining neoliberal shifts to a free-market regime, a gender analysis can demonstrate how these processes affected men and women differently. In the global south, neoliberalization resulted in the shrinking of state-sponsored programs, the closing down of national factories, which led to a massive number of people being laid-off and unemployed (Chatterjee, 2012). Many of the working-class ended up in the informal sector, which in turn made them more vulnerable to the labour exploitation under special economic zones, contractual and temporary work (Chatterjee, 2012). During these neoliberal shifts, there was also the feminization of labour in which more women participated in the public sphere (Peterson, 2003). Consequentially, women's responsibilities in the home have also increased due to the privatization of

social reproductive services such as health care, welfare and education fees (Bakker, 1994).

Women's participation in the informal sector is considered a "contradictory combination of coercion-consent, emancipation-subjugation, class-gender/kinship assemblages" (Chatterjee, 2012; 791; Ong, 2006). Work in the informal sector involves freedom from the home-space and the patriarchy associated with that space. Additionally, because of the precarious nature of the work in the informal sector, women's gender further exposes them to exploitation and violence (Chatterjee, 2012; Ong, 2006). Women's bodies become sites of gendered discourses and social production where women's work becomes associated with ideas about "nimble fingers" and "docility" that reinforces the exploitation and flexibility of women's work (Chatterjee, 2012; Safa, 1981). Therefore, work in the public sphere can be seen as a "double-edged process" in which women may be freer from patriarchal control, but when they enter the workspace they are subjected to capitalist control (Fernandez- Kelly & Wolf, 2001). Examining the oppressions involved in home and workspaces are integral to understanding the intensification of informalization (Harvey, 1990) within globalization and the strategies women use to survive during these economic shifts.

Gender is also utilized in the imagery of tourism marketing material. The imagery usually "privileges the male heterosexual gaze above all others" (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000: 885). The people and landscape depicted in destination imagery are dependent upon the "sensual mythologies of exotic places" (Sharp, 1996: 106). Many scholars have researched the concept of the feminized landscape (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Cohen,

1995), which has been described as being “shaped by the discourses of patriarchy and (hetero) sexuality, and that the language of tourism promotion is scripted for a male heterosexual audience” (Pritchard & Morgan 2000; 885). The feminized landscape is depicted as passive and awaiting male penetration. The male gaze is a “technological, scientific, and national as opposed to feminized nature which is natural, wild and seductive” (Wernick, 1991: 55), thus the feminized landscape is a binary to the male gaze. Tourist destinations, such as the Jamaican landscape, are embedded with feminine and sexualized imagery.

This research will examine how community-based tourism uses feminized images of the Jamaican landscape as passive, exotic, authentic and untouched by Western culture or processes of globalization; thus, supporting CCT’s claims to having held onto “real Jamaican culture” in their communities. Urry’s research did not examine how the tourist gaze is able to reproduce uneven gender relations, expected performativity or how an individual’s gender can affect how they experience tourism processes. Hence, my research will engage with issues of gender and the feminized landscape. In the following section, this research will examine community-based tourism scholarship.

### *1.3.5 What is Community-Based Tourism?*

Since the 1980s, community-based tourism has been part of scholarly debates and state conversations as an ethical (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009) and sustainable (Fennell, 2003) solution in comparison to the destructive tendencies of mass tourism (Rozemeijer, 2001). In academia, community-based tourism (CBT) has been described

as a process that “centres on the involvement of the host community in planning and maintaining tourism development in order to create a more sustainable industry” (Hall, 1996; 51). In addition, CBT includes cultural and environmental conservation as well as communities that are the direct beneficiaries of this business (Blackstock, 2005).

CBT is not only an inclusive form of tourism development, but it also appeals to new type of tourists who have been researched by tourism scholars. These new tourists have been defined as “international leisure travelers who are increasingly motivated by the quality of destination landscapes, in terms of environmental health and of the diversity and integrity of natural and cultural resources. A growing proportion of tourists, including most of those bound for overseas vacations, want an authentic destination experience that gives them the opportunity to learn” (Ayala, 1996; 13). In addition, these new tourists are seen as educated and wealthier than previous tourist types. Also, new tourists are described as “critical consumer tourists” who want their vacations to be environmentally sustainable (Krippendorf, 1987). Other scholars discuss a tourist who wants to experience “real travel” (Weiler & Hall, 1992) or the “new hybrid tourist” and “post-tourist” who wants to travel without destroying the environment and wants to learn and experience culture (Poon, 1993; Urry, 1990). These tourists do not want to experience the staged performances or “pseudo-events” offered at resorts, but want to experience authentic cultural experiences (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1974). CBT targets the expectations of new tourists and tourist geographies are reconfiguring to fill this new market demand. Finally, new tourists’ are also changing the way academics understand tourism processes and the construction of tourist sites.

There have been many arguments made for the benefits of CBT development. Academics argue that CBT can be used as a tool for pro-poor development (Roe & Urquhart, 2001) and “peace-through-tourism” (Lankford *et al.*, 2008). Also, CBT allows for greater community participation and control over community development, which supposedly allows for more community members to access the socio-economic benefits of CBT (Blackstock, 2005; Roe & Urquhart Khanya, 2001; Torres & Momsen, 2004). Advocates argue that CBT can empower communities when the community has control over how their communities are “toured.” In addition, although they are sharing aspects of the culture with visitors, they still maintain the ability to keep certain aspects private. CBT fosters community pride because they are the “experts” in their community who are educating these tourists (Torres, 2011; Blackstock, 2005). Pride in one’s community can also result in economic and social investment to improve the appearance of buildings, invest in schools, and maintain community groups (Blackstock, 2005).

Critics of CBT argue that the transformative possibilities of CBT are not as clear as proponents state. Critics argue that economic improvement does not necessarily equate to social and political empowerment (Blackstock, 2005; Girard & Nijkamp, 2009). Hence as a political project, CBT further supports neoliberal rhetoric that argues the system of capitalism is the only option for future development (Bianchi, 2009). CBT is described as another buzzword such as “sustainability” and “responsible tourism,” which are vaguely described by private and national leaders alike (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). Finally, CBT has been criticized for idealizing the community as a harmonious group, when in reality, only a selected few (local entrepreneurs) are driving change in the community (Blackstock, 2005; Ireland, 1993; Silk, 1999) and these changes are never

done for the collective good. I have kept in mind all of these issues while analysing my data.

Despite all of the (Anglo-American) research done on community-based tourism operating in regions across the globe, not much attention has been paid to Jamaica's community-based tourism, which is one of the first CBT sites in the Caribbean. CBT in Jamaica has quite strong structures, networks, and public-private and community partnerships. For example, the CCTN/VAB program is endorsed by the Countrystyle Community Tourism Network, National Best Community Organization, the Ministry of Tourism, and works with Community-Based Organisations, Parish Councils and many other groups. This research examines how women's everyday geographies are integral to how the CCTN/VAB program operates on a local level and affects how women understand their place in this community endeavor. My research explores the rural parishes of St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland and how the CCTN/VAB program is situated in neoliberalization processes, cultural renewal, and alternative place-making. More research is needed to understand the complex processes involved in the CCTN/VAB program and to ensure that it is understood as more than just a sustainable form of development.

#### **1.4 Summary and Outline of Thesis**

Tourism studies research is a sub-discipline that has scholars from various disciplines contributing to literature such as psychology, sociology, and economics. But when tourism studies is understood through a geographical lens, we are able to understand how tourism processes operates across scales, space and time, which

proves that tourism is a global phenomenon. A geographical lens demonstrates that tourist sites/sights are connected to power relations, which are reinforced through cultural signifiers that train the tourist gaze and normalizes these practices of exploitation and “othering” (Urry, 1990). The tourist gaze can create “pseudo-events” or stage authenticities, but scholarship has shown that hosts are able to control this gaze by protecting what they consider private and construct sites for economic profit (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1973).

Tourism is a part of globalization because it involves the movement of people, capital and commodities. It participates in place-making because it projects the imaginary geographies of destinations. Tourism is also part of the structure of capitalism, imperialism and neocolonialism because it enforces the exoticised imageries of destinations from its colonial place making (Sheller, 2004). It is connected to capitalism because it enforces the export-orientated economy as a form of capital accumulation and maintains a dependency of the global south on the global north for tourism to maintain their economy (Sorenson, 2003; Loomba, 1998). Community-based tourism is one of many niche tourisms that are creating new tourism geographies in villages and homes.

These new geographies are in part influenced by new tourist motivations that have been described in tourism studies as the “new tourist” (Poon, 1993) or the “post-tourist” (Urry, 1990). These tourists are looking for authentic cultural experiences that reduce the environmental impacts on the host country and community. These new tourists seek authentic experiences, and in response, the industry has encouraged the

development of alternative tourism opportunities offered by local communities. New tourism geographies have also emerged because capitalism is currently destroying (Harvey, 2005) the environment and local relations in a steady downward direction. If these tourism destinations (especially countries that rely on tourism for their GDP) want to continue tourism, they have to opt for sustainable tourism products and diversify the tourism products that they currently offer. The process of diversification also speaks to capitalism's broadening and deepening processes, which find new sites to accumulate capital (Prudham, 2007). It is within this context that critical tourism studies wants to examine the power relations, multiple experiences, and structures of capitalism that have affected the socio-economic abilities of marginalized groups. Therefore, critical tourism is a political project whose research aim is for social justice and to be an academy of hope (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007).

It is within this literature that I wish to examine the CCTN/VAB program operating in Treasure Beach, St. Elizabeth and Beeston Spring, Westmoreland. This research will examine how these communities engage in sustainable community development, envision women's role and participation, adapt to tourist demands for the authentic and participate in neoliberalization processes. Furthermore, this research will explore how the CCTN/VAB program engages in alternative place-making in Jamaica and the effects tourism entrepreneurship has had on community development.

To begin, I will review my methodology and methods (Chapter 2) employed during fieldwork. Chapter 3 discusses Jamaica's political economy, which was influential to the CCT's tourism entrepreneurship framework. Chapter 3 also examines

how the CCTN/VAB program participates in the neoliberalization of Jamaica. In Chapter 4 and 5, I turn to the analysis of my own data. Chapter 4 analyzes women's everyday geographies and the socio-economic impacts the CCTN/VAB program has had on these women's lives. Chapter 5 examines how the CCTN/VAB program engages in neoliberal discourse, creates new tourism geographies and uses authenticity marketing. Finally, in Chapter 6, I discuss common themes from my findings and possible future research directions for community-based tourism in Jamaica and the Caribbean region.

## **Chapter 2: Methods and Methodology**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Studying Jamaica requires having a firm understanding of the island's colonial history, race relations, economy and its relations with western countries since independence or its "post-colonial" era. Further, as a researcher with Caribbean heritage from a Canadian university who acknowledges the social construction of the Caribbean and its people as exotic, I have attempted to avoid contributing to such a discourse. Thus, my research design drew from areas of feminist and post-colonial methodologies in order to avoid creating a research project with exploitative undertones.

This chapter is divided into nine sections; Section 2.2 discusses my methodology by exploring concepts such as situated knowledge, reflexivity and my positionality. Section 2.3 examines the research design and briefly describes the rationale for the research methods I used. In Section 2.4, I focus on the research locations including a map of the fieldwork sites; while, Section 2.5 explores semi-structured interviews as a method to illuminate the everyday geographies of women. In Section 2.6, I discuss how I selected my research participants and in Section 2.7, I briefly explore my use of participant observation. The final Sections (2.8 and 2.9), briefly discuss my ethics protocols and the measures taken to ensure the research participants' confidentiality.

### **2.2 Methodology**

This project was designed to center women's perspectives on community-based tourism, which is a gap in tourism studies' literature that has been discussed in Chapter

One. Centering on women's perspectives was a political act to recognize the validity, presence and importance of women in affecting and influencing Countrystyle Community Tourism (CCT) in Jamaica (Rose, 1993). In order to allow women's perspectives to be the focus for this thesis, I drew on various debates in feminist geographies that discuss the importance of situated knowledges, reflexivity and positionality.

### *2.2.2 Situated Knowledges*

Feminist debates on knowledge construction began with criticisms of positivism and scientific methods (Hill-Collins, 2000; McDowell, 1992). Positivist epistemology places importance and value on producing objective research in academia. Positivists argue that objectivity allows researchers to create "grand" theories about nature and society. For example, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, social science research done about men had been seen as being representative of the entire human experience. One feminist critique to this epistemology has been that it is patriarchal to ignore the different aspects of structural positions and identities that influence how people experience the world. For these and many more reasons, critiques of positivism have led to the development of alternative epistemologies and research methods (Gilbert, 1994).

Many feminist researchers have critiqued the importance of objectivity and have argued that the relationship between the researcher and their participants needs to be visible in the research process (Haraway, 1989; Rose, 1993; McDowell, 1992). In opposition to objectivity, Haraway developed the concept of situated knowledges, which

is an alternative epistemology that recognizes the partiality of knowledge held by the researcher and their participants. Haraway is a proponent of feminist objectivity, which refers to “making a person’s positionality known and realizing that all knowledges stem from a particular combination of researcher and place” (Harraway, 1989; Jensen & Glasmeier, 2010; 23). Thus, the purpose of feminist objectivity is to make the relationship between the researcher and participants visible by acknowledging the situated knowledges involved in the research process.

In addition, black feminist academics have argued that positivist methodology requires an absence of emotions and personal values from the research process, which does not validate the knowledge of African-American women. Instead, Hill-Collins (2000) argued that “lived experience is a criterion of meaning for [social science] research” (p. 222). I also subscribe to this argument especially with research that works with marginalized populations who continuously have their perspectives ignored or are spoken for by people in positions of power. Hence, my methodology draws upon academic debates that argue that researchers need to recognize and analyze how their positionality is affected by concepts such as neoliberal ideology, western perspectives on gender, race and class (Ibid). Another issue researchers must also acknowledge is how their beliefs may affect research participants and the phenomena under study (Jensen & Glasmeier, 2010). For example, by simply researching CCT, I inadvertently participated in discursive practices of authenticity being used to promote CCT. Thus, one facet of my methodology subscribes to the notion that all knowledge is situated in a person’s various subjectivities. Also, I believe that no research can truly be objective in

a positivist sense of the term because the researcher carries their various subjectivities throughout their project.

### *2.2.3 Insider and Outsider Status*

There have been many debates in gender studies, geography and other disciplines about the advantages and disadvantages of insider and outsider positionalities in the research process. Previous debates have argued that having one of these positionalities has potential benefits for researchers in accessing their communities of study. On the one hand, researchers such as Hill-Collins (1990) have argued that researchers who study groups that they belong to will receive insider knowledge and more insightful data from the research participants. For example, as a black feminist, Hill-Collins argues that research on African-American women must recognize the importance of experience and narrative as a form of valid knowledge. Hence, she draws on her personal connections to African-American communities to better conduct research with these women (Hill-Collins, 2000). It is also important to note that the research I produced and drew upon are in no way attempting to essentialise blackness. I recognize that blackness as with other races/ethnicities are multi-faceted and express themselves in a variety of ways. On the other hand, scholars like Fornow and Cook (1991) argue that when researchers do not belong to their group of study, they will produce less biased research about the community. Their research is argued to be less biased because they would not be influenced by cultural norms and can simply observe behaviours. These scholars also argue that they will be able to obtain more information because their participants would be more willing to share certain information with a researcher who is not attached to their community.

I subscribe to Mullings' (1999) argument that the insider/outsider dichotomy is too rigid and that in the real world we change positionalities and draw on different subjectivities depending on time and place. Mullings uses the concept of positional spaces because it better describes how positionalities are always in flux. For example, while in the field, I constantly was negotiating my North American identity and my Caribbean heritage with different interview subjects who were interested in or connected to different aspects of my identity. Another point that Mullings (1999) and other academics have made is that possessing similar identities with your research participants does not guarantee that researchers will have an "in" with the community. This has been proven in various studies with researchers returning "home" to conduct their research but finding that their shared race, ethnicity and nationality did not account for the socio-economic differences that continuously marked them as the other in their communities of origin (Gilbert, 1994). And yet, their shared nationalities allowed these researchers access to their research participants' cultures and customs that helped them better construct their research designs for the social phenomenon under study. These researchers have a variety of positional spaces to move between while conducting research in the field.

In light of the various aspects of my methodology, my methods reflect my commitment to producing research that will validate women's perspectives on CCT. In order to obtain data on community-based tourism, women, and their everyday geographies, I used multiple methods to include the many actors and influences that form community-based tourism. The purpose of utilizing multiple methods for this thesis was also to reduce discrepancies in interpretation and create a more inclusive narrative

of CCT. The methods used included my primary method of semi-structured interviews and participant observation. In the following section, I discuss my research design.

### **2.3 Research Design**

My fieldwork was conducted on the island of Jamaica, which is a part of the Anglo-Caribbean located within the Greater Antilles. The two fieldwork sites were in the south and southwest parishes, in the communities of Beeston Spring, Westmoreland and Treasure Beach, St. Elizabeth. I conducted my research from June 14, 2013, to August 10, 2013, spending four weeks in each of these research locales. In order to contact key informants in both communities, I planned to use a mix of snowball sampling through my family's networks, cold calling and emails. Before I left to undertake fieldwork, I had the opportunity to take out a one-year membership with the Countrystyle Community Tourism Network (CCTN), which gave me access to a list of key informants at each of my research sites. I attempted to contact my research participants ahead of time because I had no prior contact with them and I wanted my role as researcher to be explicit in order to find appropriate interview subjects. In order to incorporate various perspectives on CCT, I sought out interview participants outside of the list provided for both locations. This was done to reduce sample bias in which interviews were only conducted with people associated with CCTN or with Diana McIntyre-Pike (the President of CCT in Jamaica). These interview subjects were solicited at social events and organization meetings in both communities.

For this research project, I used two methods to investigate issues of authenticity, neoliberal processes and women's everyday geographies. The methods used included semi-structured interviews, as well as participant observation in order to

create meaningful relationships with community members, which helped me gain insightful information about the communities. I also examined secondary sources from the *Jamaica Gleaner*, *Jamaica Observer* and Treasure Beach's community-based tourism website (treasurebeach.net ) to consider the multiple discourses being used to promote community-based tourism in Jamaica and also for international audiences.

Semi-structured interviews were my primary method of data collection. I interviewed a total of seventeen people drawn from both research sites and a final interview with the President of CCT. For each community, I conducted interviews with six to seven women that I thought fit one of the two categories designed to obtain participants that have different perspectives on CCT. This will be further discussed in Section 2.4 and the methods used to analyze my data can be found in Appendix D.

Participant observation was also used during my fieldwork because certain circumstances required me to witness the "performance" of authenticity at one of my research locations. Although participant observation was not initially planned because I had thought CCT would be easily observable in Beeston Spring, it allowed me to observe the transformation of space for tourist tours and tourist-local interactions.

(These methods will be further discussed Sections 2.5 and 2.6)

## **2.4 Fieldwork Sites**

My research was conducted in a nation that has been independent since 1963 and has been operating tourism since its colonial era. In this section, I will describe my research sites as well as the rationale for selecting these sites for my thesis.

#### *2.4.1 Jamaica*

Jamaica is an interesting site to examine alternative tourism geographies because it has spent the majority of its post-colonial era promoting itself as the “ideal” resort tourism destination. In the 2000s, the Jamaican government, private investors and the tourism industry began investing in niche tourism. Niche tourism is a specialized sector that offers various forms of tourist experiences such as ethnic (Notzke, 1999), heritage (Scher, 2011), and community-based tourism (Salazar, 2012). Therefore, the community-based tourism operating in Jamaica’s rural communities is a form of niche tourism. Economically, niche tourism also results in market segmentation that allows for the diversification of the tourism product and an opportunity for foreign investment. It is important to note that mass tourism also continues to be supported by the tourism industry because it continually appeals to leisure-seeking tourists.

#### *2.4.2 Research Sites Rationale*

In this section, I will discuss the rationale for having selected Beeston Spring, Westmoreland and Treasure Beach, St. Elizabeth. As Figure One illustrates, my field sites are located in the south and southwestern parishes of Jamaica. First, both of these locations have dissimilar physical environments, which offer unique community-based tourism experiences for both local and international tourists. For example, Beeston Spring is located in the mountainous ranges in Westmoreland with a variety of greenery: shrubs, trees (fruit and non-fruit bearing) and vegetation. Treasure Beach is located on the coast at St. Elizabeth where it rains very little and this creates a desert like environment. In this environment, many cacti species exist as well as any other

vegetation that can survive well in these harsh conditions.



**Figure 1: Map of Jamaica  
(Price, Z. 2014)**

Second, both communities were chosen because they are two of the six communities participating in the Villages as Businesses program (VAB) that offers training and funding opportunities to implement community-based tourism. The VAB program was developed in May 2011 through collaborations between Countrystyle Tourism, National Best Community foundation, state funding, private investments and Jamaica’s Social Investment Fund’s Rural Economic Development Initiative (REDI). Newspaper articles and community-based tourism promoters have described the VAB program as an opportunity to experience “real Jamaican culture” and an alternative to the “tourist trap” offered at resorts (Reid, 2012). The Ministry of Tourism has supported VAB program, stating, “it will complement the Government of Jamaica’s emerging thrust towards community-based tourism and encouraging provision of assistance to

Countrystyle Community Tourism Network" (Aguilar, 2013). In 2012, the Ministry of Tourism, CCT and various other actors began the process of drafting a policy on community-based tourism.

Also, both of these sites have been popularized in local newspapers as successful examples of community-based tourism in Jamaica. For example, Beeston Spring has been mentioned in leading newspapers such as the *Jamaica Gleaner* and *Jamaica Observer*. Beeston Spring has been described as the "best of the best" in community-based tourism ("Exploring the Viability," 2010). Likewise, Treasure Beach has been commended in newspapers for winning various national and local Best Community competitions and as a popular community-based tourism site for other communities to emulate. These sites were selected for comparative purposes because Treasure Beach is one of the longest running community-based tourism sites in Jamaica, dating back to the 1970s, whereas Beeston Spring's community-based tourism has been operational since 2009.

Finally, they were chosen because they both have different capacities for hosting community-based tourism. Treasure Beach has an independent website which acts as an information hub that helps tourists select places to stay in the community and activities to do while staying there. This website is continuously updated with information about Treasure Beach events, pictures and includes a public forum. The community also has Treasure tours a private company operating there, which act a booking agent for guest houses in the area and they offer tours around the island. In addition, Treasure Beach has the capacity to offer accommodations from camping

grounds to villas. The community is much larger than Beeston Spring; it is comprised of six miles of beaches, over 40 guest houses and a variety of businesses operating out of the community.

Beeston Spring is a smaller community, which offers organized day tours exploring its settlement history, beekeeping, and medicinal herbs. Beeston Spring may not have the carrying capacity of Treasure Beach, but it has become a popular community tourist site for those seeking an “authentic” Jamaican experience. This community is currently dependent upon the Countrystyle Community Tourism Network for attracting tourists and booking home-stays in the community. In comparison to Treasure Beach where tourists can contact guest houses and plan activities directly, Beeston Spring remains in the “infant” stages of community-based tourism development. It is a unique community in comparison to the massive Sandals<sup>1</sup> resort, which is located at the bottom of the nearby mountain. This community is also located within the same parish as Negril, which is another famous resort area in Jamaica. Hence, these sites were chosen because of their different physical environments, connection to the VAB program, their media popularity and their ability to host distinctive types of community-based tourism.

## **2.5 Semi-Structured Interviews: Rationale and Sample Strategy**

Many academics have advocated the benefits of semi-structured or unstructured interviews as a research method (Valentine, 1997; Rose, 1993; McDowell, 1992; Pratt, 2003) because of its ability to explain “the contradictions of their [research participants]

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<sup>1</sup> Although Sandals is not the focus of this research project, it is one of the largest resort tourism businesses in the Caribbean and especially Jamaica. In addition, Beeston Spring was a desirable research site because it is located in the parish that my family is from so I was able to stay with family during this portion of my field research.

experiences and ....describe the mundane details of their lives” (Bryman, 1988; Valentine, 1997; 111). Unlike structured interviews and questionnaires that are designed to be standardized, semi-structured interviews are “conversations with a purpose” (Eyles, 1988; Valentine, 1997; 111). Hence, using semi-structured interviews as a research method speaks to my methodology’s intention of valuing the everyday geographies of women as valid knowledge that can illuminate social phenomena.

One of the reasons I was drawn to this particular method was its ability “to be tailored to individual circumstances and this conversational structure means that these interviews can vary depending on the interests and perspectives of the interview participants” (Valentine, 1997; 113). As a result, each of my interviews followed particular themes and a few questions were asked in every interview but the order, new questions and the detail of the questioning depended on the individual I was interviewing. Also, this method was chosen because I believed that it would be seen as less intimidating for research participants and it did not assume a particular literacy level because all of the questions were asked aloud (including the main points from the consent form). The interview protocol can be found in Appendices A and B.

Before I entered the field, I had planned to use snowball sampling through my family networks in Jamaica. The research participants who were selected for interviews were locals who live in the communities for the majority of the year. I also expected to use cold calling techniques in Treasure Beach because none of my relatives were familiar with or knew anyone from Treasure Beach or the surrounding area. Cold calling

and emails were to be also used to get in touch with key informants, such as the President of CCT Diana McIntyre-Pike.

My initial sample strategy changed after I contacted Diana McIntyre-Pike via email on May 30, 2013. During our correspondence, McIntyre-Pike recommended I sign up for a one year membership with CCTN for a one time fee of US \$25.00, which would give me updates and additional resources about community-based tourism. This membership gave me access to a list of people in Treasure Beach for me to contact. In order to reduce any sample bias posed by interviewing only McIntyre-Pike's selected list, I ensured that I sought my own interviews with other women in the community through community organizations and snowball sampling from there. I also engaged in informal (non-interview) conversations with local restaurant workers, shopkeepers, and the general public to gain their perceptions of community-based tourism.

## **2.6 Selection of Participants**

Semi-structured interviews with seventeen participants were used as the primary method for this research project. All of these interviews were recorded and notes were also jotted down during the interviews to ensure multiple records. These interviews were conducted with seven to eight women in each community. In addition, I interviewed the main spokesperson and Village coordinator in Beeston Spring. Furthermore, I interviewed Diana McIntyre-Pike who is the President of CCT and the main spokesperson for community-based tourism in Jamaica.

When interviewing the women in both communities, I used two categories to group the participants. In the first category, three to four women were selected because

they are directly involved in community-based tourism operations such as being a female entrepreneur or an executive in community organizations. In the second category, three to four women were selected because they were not involved in community-based tourism. These categories enabled me to gain a wide perspective of community-based tourism. In order to compensate the participants, I took the majority of them out for lunch, except for those with certain positions of authority, whom I interviewed at their office; I sent a thank you card and told them if they needed a contact in Canada they have one. I am currently in the process of providing contact information to create an exchange program at Treasure Beach to help rebuild or construct buildings for the schools in the community. In terms of “giving back” to the communities of study, I am also attempting to raise funds for the Treasure Beach Women’s Group who were fundamental in allowing me to get in contact with many of the women in Treasure Beach. In the following section, I will discuss participant observation.

## **2.7 Participant Observation**

I had anticipated observing tourist activities and noting any sort of performativity or markers of authenticity displayed by local people. When I arrived in Jamaica, it was not their tourism season and there were not many tourists around in either location. In Treasure Beach, many of the tourists travelled in tour buses to go to Pelican Bar (a bar that is located on the ocean) or doing the popular activities in the community including relaxing with the locals at bars, in hammocks and going on walks. During the period of my stay, there were even fewer tourists in the area, which was beneficial because many of my interviews and informal conversations could be organized quite easily (as there were less conflicting schedules). In order to learn more about the community, I went to

community meetings at the Treasure Beach Women's group where I met many women involved in voluntary work.

In Beeston Spring, due to its carrying capacity and resources, tourists are unable to stay in the community for very long (one to two nights at the local residents' homes that have been licensed for home-stays). The majority of community-based tourism involved a tour that stopped at different homes in the community. Thus, in order for me to note what any of the tourist activity would involve, I had a tour organized for myself to see what community-based tourism would look like in Beeston Spring. Hence, I employed participant observation in Beeston Spring to supplement my other methods at this research site. I also created a field diary in which I reflected upon key events that occurred throughout my fieldwork and I also brought a small note pad with me throughout the day to jot down any interesting occurrences or frames of analysis that might be useful for my research.

## **2.8 Ethics Protocol**

This project was approved by York University's Ethics Review Board before collecting any data for my fieldwork. All of my research participants were informed before each interview about the purposes of the project and their rights as research participants. Prior to starting all interviews, the research participants were given as much time as needed to read and ask any questions about the consent form.

Confidentiality has been ensured throughout this project by giving each participant a pseudonym (see Appendix C). The challenges associated with conducting this research include accessing research participants who were not directly involved in

community-based tourism. In order to alleviate this issue, I attended group events and established a relationship with them before asking for their services.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

In this chapter I have addressed my methodology, research design, research site rationale, methods and ethics. I see my analysis of interviews and participant observation as revealing the many layers and complexities involved in conducting community-based tourism. Semi-structured interviews gave me an insight into how the local women of each community understand and participate in CCT. These interviews also link conceptualizations such as neoliberalization, class divides and gender roles to how women themselves perceive of structures of oppression operating locally and nationally. Both methods were used to uncover the uneven effects of CCT operating in these communities and issues around class power relations. In the following chapter, I will discuss the history of Jamaica's political economy and the importance this development has had on local women.

## **Chapter 3: The History of Jamaica's Political Economy and Countrystyle Community Tourism**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Jamaica's economy and politics have been shaped by its colonial history as a source of goods and services to the West. During the 1980s, the implementation of structural adjustment policies further integrated Jamaica's into the free market. To understand the role that the Countrystyle Community Tourism Network's partnership with the Villages as Businesses program (CCTN/VAB) has in neoliberal processes and the effects it has had on women's everyday geographies, this chapter starts by exploring the political economy of Jamaica. Examining the neoliberalization of Jamaica's political economy provides the context in which to examine how women navigate public and private spaces to provide for themselves and their families.

To begin, I examine neoliberalism as a global discourse and practice. Then, I discuss Jamaica's 1970s financial crisis, which rationalized the implementation of neoliberal policies. Afterwards, I analyze Jamaica's destructive (roll-back) and creative (roll-out) moments in neoliberalization (Peck & Tickell, 2002). Next, I examine Countrystyle Community Tourism Network's (CCTN) structure and tourism products. In addition, the CCTN/VAB program will be explored as a creative moment in the neoliberalization of Jamaica. Lastly, I will discuss tourism as a socio-cultural phenomenon and the tourism alternatives offered by Countrystyle Community Tourism (CCT).

### 3.2 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a political program that advocates laissez-faire economics, deregulation, privatization, free trade, open markets and economic liberalization in both macro and micro economic relations (Larner, 2000). Neoliberalism has been conceptualized as manifesting itself in three ways. First, neoliberalism can be understood as policy reforms for economic liberalization. Second, neoliberalism is an ideology that “is seen as part of the struggle for dominance over ideas and minds of the social formation” (Mitchell, 2008; 391). This quotation refers to neoliberalism being used as a universal discourse to understand economic relations that are enforced on multiple scales. Third, neoliberalism creates “institutions and practices [technologies of governance] that encourages individuals to conform to market norms” (Mitchell, 2005; 391; Ong, 2006). Consequentially, Ong (2006) argues that neoliberalism infiltrates everyday lives where different “sites or spheres are reorganized to promote the ‘optimization of life’ and the ‘entrepreneurialization’ of these” (Ong, 2006; 414). This discourse coerces individuals to modify their behaviour to reflect market practices such as individualism, entrepreneurship and creativity. These traits are seen as practical and logical ways to care for themselves and their family in today’s neoliberal society. Neoliberalization can cut across various aspects of social life such as healthcare, communities and associations. Thus, neoliberalism is discursive because it is able to infiltrate individuals’ everyday geographies and influence how they govern themselves. It also important to note that neoliberalism is also a practice that can be used on various scales.

In the 1970s, neoliberalism was operationalized in the restructuring strategies by politicians such as President Augusto Pinochet (Chile), President Ronald Reagan (USA) and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (UK). Neoliberalism is a dominant discourse because of its ability to dehistoricise and desocialise geopolitical history. This process assumes that all nations can accumulate capital in a free-market, ignoring that certain countries are disadvantaged because of colonial histories of exploitation (Loomba, 1998; Lerner, 2000; Sorenson, 2003). In the global south, neoliberal reform is enforced by international loaning agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and US AID. Once implemented, processes of neoliberalization involve roll-back processes which are destructive because they reduce the welfare state and increase women's social reproduction responsibilities. Neoliberalization also has roll-out periods, which are the creative moments found for capital accumulation such as those of community-based tourism.

### **3.3 The 1970s and the Financial Crisis in Jamaica**

In 1972, the Peoples National Party (PNP) was elected into office led by Prime Minister Michael Manley. His campaign slogan was "Better Must Come: It's Time for a Change" which was created in response to Jamaica's high unemployment, huge balance of payments deficit and domestic inflation since independence in 1963. In order to deal with these issues, Manley's government implemented democratic socialism to focus on improving the national economy. The PNP invested 40 percent of state funding towards literacy, health and education, which resulted in the rise of the black middle-class (Mullings, 2012).

There were many explanations for the events that caused the financial crisis in Jamaica. These events included high oil prices due to the energy crisis, which reduced demand for Jamaican exports. This climate resulted in Jamaica (and many other countries outside of the region) borrowing money from international banks to deal with budgetary gas. Antrobus (1989) has argued that this dependency on foreign exchange made Jamaica vulnerable to crisis. But, this account does not explore the reasons why Jamaica is dependent on foreign exchange. A postcolonial perspective of this crisis recognizes that its origins traced to the colonial era. Colonialists designed Jamaica's economy to be export-oriented, increasing its vulnerability to global changes (Loomba, 1998; Sorenson, 2003; Hall, 2001). This colonial design also established the socio-economic power relations, which made poor-black women vulnerable to the structural adjustment program in the 1980s (Mullings, 2012).

Mullings (2009) argues that before independence (1944-1962) Jamaican society's race and class relations were polarized in ways similar to those of post-emancipation. For example, until the 1920s in Kingston, black Jamaicans remained in unskilled and domestic labour positions, whereas the middle-class was dominated by mixed race, Jews, Chinese, Indians and Syrians in the commercial sector and the professions were undertaken by a small group of whites and Jews (Mullings, 2009). This dynamic was created by colonialists who placed minority groups in positions of power within Jamaica's economy and politics. Colonialists were able to establish this race and class system in Jamaica because of the institutionalized racism that restricted black people's opportunities. For example, Smith (2006) argues that black people's oppression is intimately connected to the system of capitalism. This connection is

traced to colonialism when black bodies were commodified because they were the chattel slaves used in Trans-Atlantic slavery. Black people's oppression exists in the historical-present (McKittrick, 2007) in which black bodies are still seen as commodifiable and therefore occupy the lowest rungs in the capitalist system. Hence, black Jamaicans socio-economic barriers were institutionalized during the colonial era.

This institutionalized racism was illustrated in the 1950s and 1960s when Jamaica's Creole elite sustained the modernization of the country. The Creole elite did not use economic resources to develop employment opportunities or invest in social welfare that would benefit the majority of the black population. Instead, the oligarchy reproduced the racial and gender hierarchies of the plantation system (Mullings, 2012; Smith, 2005). This created a deeply polarized society where non-blacks had access to wealth and the majority of blacks only had access to poor education, health and housing options. (Mullings, 2009; Clarke, 2006). Thus, when Manley was elected in 1972, he aimed to redistribute resources to benefit the poor in Jamaica and coined the term "new tourism," which involved bottom-up tourism development that promoted domestic tourism. Additionally, Jamaican history demonstrates that it is a nation that is polarized based on race and class relations. These relations have deepened and continue to do so during the destructive and creative moments of neoliberalization in Jamaica.

### **3.4 Roll-back 1980s**

By the 1980s, Jamaica had accumulated debt from inflation and the energy crisis of the 1970s (Taylor, 1993). This resulted in the country having to negotiate international loans, which required the deregulation and liberalization of the economy.

This economic restructuring period was led by Prime Minister Edward Seaga, leader of the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP). Apart from breaking the PNP winning streak (1972-1979), this change in government also resulted in a shift in political philosophy from democratic socialism to neoliberal discourse. It is in this period between the 1980s to late 1990s that neoliberal discourse was institutionalized and the destructive processes of roll-back neoliberalization took place. Additionally, Jamaica's neoliberalization reflected the global restructuring that was based on measures created by the US Treasury and Federal Reserve, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Mullings, 2009). Hence, neoliberalism is a discursive practice that became a global phenomenon that was being operationalized on multiple scales including the global, national and the individual.

Seaga's national campaign slogan, "cash to care" was followed through with the signing of three IMF agreements in 1981, 1984 and 1985, which were all based on performance targets. Additionally, these loans had performance targets that required national restructuring for the purposes of privatization, reducing investment in the welfare state and liberalizing trade. These requirements further integrated Jamaica into the global market place, but at the same time reaffirmed neocolonial economics whereby the island's economy would be dictated by an external force (Mullings, 2012; Loomba, 1998; Sorenson, 2003). The structural adjustment program attached to these loans started the destructive process of the neoliberalization of Jamaica, which were multi-scalar.

On a national scale, the 1980s saw an investment in the Ministry of Tourism and a reduction of bauxite production. In 1982, the JLP divested itself of the hotels that the PNP had bought in the 1970s (except for two). In 1986, the government suspended the Hotels (Initiative) Act and Resort Cottages (Incentive) Act which gave hotels tax breaks. Jamaica also reduced national spending on social welfare in overall health, education, public infrastructure and the social care for the sick, young and the elderly moved from the state to individual citizens (Antrobus, 1989; Mullings, 2009). For example, in the 1980s, there was a 35 percent drop in government spending in health and in 1988-93, spending on social and community services fell from 28 percent to 22 percent as user fees in education and health became implemented (Mullings, 2009; 21). These shifts have reprivatized social reproduction, which requires the deinstitutionalization of state programs and commodification of social reproduction (Bakker, 1994; Mullings, 2009). For instance, public hospital user fees increased by 87 percent in 1984, which created a barrier for the poor. Meanwhile, the rise of private hospitals created a stratified healthcare system (Mullings, 2009).

At the scale of the individual, the destructive moments of neoliberalization “transformed the relationship between labour and the state in the reproduction of Jamaica’s social order” (Mullings, 2009; 21). Mullings’ argues that for women to deal with the pressures of unemployment, increased food prices, inflation and user fees for social necessities, they have used a spatial fix. A spatial fix is an example of Caribbean cultural economics whereby diaspora family members sent remittances home to deal with the budgetary gap created by neoliberalization. Therefore, women have had to use

various cultural economics such as occupational multiplicity (to be discussed in Chapter 4) and the spatial fix to endure the rising costs of social reproduction.

### **3.5 Roll-out Creative moments**

The creative moments in neoliberalization involve national and global strategies for new sources of capital accumulation. In Jamaica, creative moments started in the late 1990s and continue to date. They include the reinvigoration of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) and the CARICOM Single Market Economy in 2006, which works to create regional economic integration of the Anglo Caribbean. Newstead (2009) argues that CARICOM works to smooth out regional space for the free movement of goods, capital and people.

Another creative moment in the neoliberalization of Jamaica includes the Ministry of Tourism promoting niche tourisms already operating on the island. This moment was driven by the stagnant tourism development in the 1990s due to another financial crisis caused by high rates of inflation and non-regulated loan lending (UNWTO, 2002). The economic crisis of the 1990s removed Jamaica's foothold in the tourism market giving other islands the opportunity to advance as the ideal Caribbean destination (Ibid.). The crisis also resulted in reduced amounts of foreign investment because the country's issues with high inflation made it a financial risk. Furthermore, during the 1990s, the Caribbean Tourism Organization recommended that the region should create an environmental policy to protect tourism's natural resources (Ayala, 1996). This recommendation was followed by UNTWO and the World Heritage Center promoting sustainable tourism development.

In addition, these shifts in tourism development were tied to new tourist demands for environmentally sustainable tourism and culturally authentic experiences (Urry, 1990; Poon, 1993). As a result, the Jamaican government looked toward sustainable tourism development as an opportunity to diversify the tourism product (Torres, 2011). In general, the tourism industry has a variety of traits that would be useful in development and poverty reduction (Roe & Urquhart Khanya, 2001) and these include but are not limited to job creation as a labour-intensive industry, and bringing wealthier tourists to the markets of the poor (Roe *et al.*, 2002). Considering these changes, Jamaica launched its *Master Plan for Sustainable Tourism Development* in 2002, examining sustainable tourism opportunities on the island. Objectives for community-based tourism include supplying seed capital of US\$ 50,000 to US\$ 100,000 for community-based ventures and encouraging community-private-public partnerships (WTO, 2002).

The CCTN/VAB program was launched in 2009, which is an example of a community- private- public partnership. The CCTN/VAB program is also a creative moment in neoliberal Jamaica and has developed in a global climate of creative tourism entrepreneurship, sustainability tourism, and providing authentic cultural experiences for visitors. The CCTN/VAB program was created by the National Best Community Organization and the Countrystyle Community Tourism network, which was funded by the Jamaica Social Investment Fund's-Rural Economic Development Initiative. This program targeted six villages located in six parishes to develop their local tourism business by providing services to allow communities to generate income from them.

These businesses can include providing community tours in heritage, culture, cuisine, and nature conservation.

The CCTN/VAB program helps develop community tour experiences that would go well with the Jamaica Tourist Board goals of tourism diversification, enhancing Jamaica's heritage, cultural and environmental assets, while providing sustainable tourism development. The Permanent Secretary, Jennifer Griffith, stated that the CCTN/VAB program "will complement the Government of Jamaica's emerging thrust towards community-based tourism and encouraging provision of assistance to Countrystyle Community Tourism Network" (Aguilar, 2013). These tours are also being offered to local and international tour operators and the local accommodation sector.

The CCTN/VAB program is a collaboration among private, community and public organizations for the purposes of capital accumulation in sustainable development.<sup>2</sup> It aims to be the main medium for promoting Caribbean countries as one marketplace and not-for-profits such as the International Institute for Peace through Tourism that supports tourism initiatives that promote "peace-through-tourism" (PTT). Thus, the CCTN/VAB program is one of the creative moments in the neoliberalization of Jamaica.

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<sup>2</sup> The CCTN/VAB program has been endorsed by the following: National Association of Jamaicans and Supportive Organizations (NAJASO), International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT), Sandals Foundation, Western Hospitality Institute, Northern Caribbean University Morris Entrepreneurship Centre, Spanish Court Hotel, Kingston, Goblin Hill Villas at San San Portland, Jamaica Creative Co-operative, Dominica Ministry of Tourism & Legal Services, UWI Centre for Tourism and Policy Research, BREDS Foundation, Treasure Beach, Jakes Village Treasure Beach, Hamilton Knight and Associates, LetsDoItinTheCaribbean.com (PanaCarib), International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT) - Jamaica National Building Society, Mandeville Hotel, Sunset Resort & Villas – Treasure Beach, My Jamaica Travels, Leisure for Pleasure Vacations and tours, I am Jamaica, Glamour Destination Management, FIT Consultancy Limited, Jamaica Standard Products Limited, National Best Community Foundation (NBCF), Marigot Community Tourism Committee, Inc Dominica - Charles Town Maroon Council, Beeston Spring Community Development Committee, UNIA Resource Citizens Association, Axe and Adze Community Development Committee - Hanover Homecoming, Round Hill Hotel Hopewell Hanover, Albert Town Citizens Association, Belmont Cherry Hill Nature tour, and Dominica Association of Local Community Authorities (DALCA) Inc

In the following section, I will discuss Countrystyle Community Tourism Network's structure.

### **3.6 Countrystyle Community Tourism network**

Before Diana McIntyre-Pike and the late Desmond Henry coined the term "Countrystyle Community Tourism" (CCT) in 1978, community-based tourism was operated by Ceceline McIntyre who was a Jamaican tour operator. During the 1960s, McIntyre conducted community tours of the fishing villages in Negril, which was before this area became a popular tourist site. Negril was popular with nature lovers and gave local people the opportunity to access revenue from tourism. Resort tourism had developed into an elitest activity that many locals could not afford to purchase, and an industry that does not intersect well with the local economy.

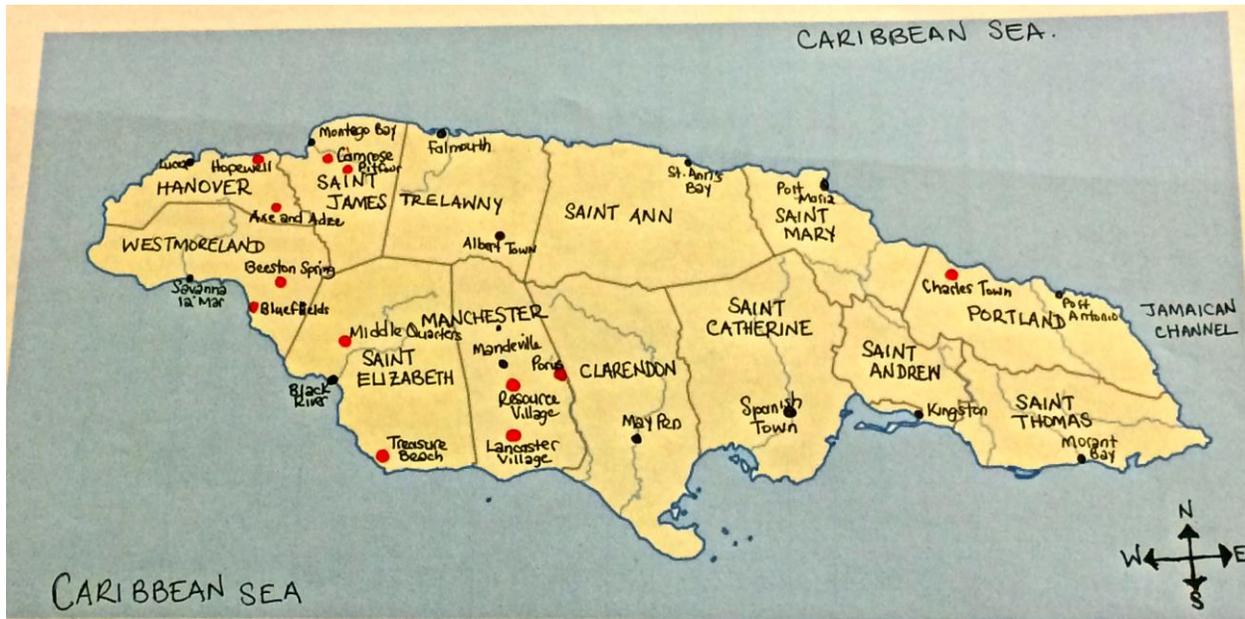
It was within this context that activists and politicians called for a new tourism that was bottom-up and that allowed communities to participate in tourism development. Hence, CCT emerged from this context and promotes community-based tourism in rural communities. The main hub for community-based tourism is the Astra Hotel located in Manchester, Jamaica. This was the hotel was own by the McIntyre family before it was closed in 2012; it had been considered the "home of community tourism" in Jamaica. In 1988, CCT collaborated with the Central and South Tourism Organization to create the community-based tourism (CBT) program to train communities to offer CBT in their villages. Community members and local entrepreneurs were taught hospitality, environmental conservation and business management skills. This program has been adapted but continues to be used today to train local entrepreneurs to host community-

based tourism. Today, CCT promotes sustainable development through tourism and it embraces eco-tourism, heritage tourism and cultural tourism. This business promotes itself as being more than a form of niche tourism and as being embedded in the community's way of life.

CCT has formed a team of consultants of over 25 people who are invited to different countries and communities to discuss the potential of community-based tourism as a sustainable form of development. It is a business that has created a network with thirteen villages in Jamaica that include Albert Town, Axe-and-Adze, Beeston Spring, Bluefields, Charles Town, Hopewell, Lancaster Village, Resource Village, Treasure Beach, Camrose, Porus, Pitfour, and Middle Quarters. These villages are located in rural parishes or on the periphery of popular tourist sites, a map is provided below in Figure 2. In addition, CCT offers study tours where people from other countries can come and learn about CCT's operations in Jamaica. Dominica and St. Lucia became part of a Caribbean chapter of CCTN/VAB program in 2012. The CCT also has another chapter operating in South Africa and both of these chapters have been on study tours. The CCTN is associated with the not-for-profit organization, the International Institute for Peace Through Tourism (IIPT), which has the goal of supporting tourism development to facilitate global peace.

The CCTN offers a variety of tour options that are flexible in prices and cater to a variety of tourist experiences. The CCTN offers village experience tours, home-stays, themed tours and customized vacations. Tours can also be done in conjunction with all-inclusive accommodations with visits to other areas on the island, and tourists are

encouraged to make a contribution to Community Tourism Trust Fund (ComTRUST). ComTRUST was set up in memory of the late and former Minister of Tourism, Desmond Henry.



**Figure 2: Map sketch of Countrystyle Community Tourism Network in Jamaica (Price, Z. 2014).**

This is an opportunity for the villages participating in the CCT program to create their own capital base to fund community projects such as creating buildings and programs for their individual community.

CCT offers a variety of regular tours in the central and southern parishes for both international and domestic tourists. Examples of tours include the Jamaican Roots Experience, which is a day tour to both Porus and Beeston Spring villages where tourists have the opportunity to learn about Jamaica's heritage. The Jamaican Taste Experience involves learning how to cook Jamaican cuisines, cooking demonstrations, eating at someone's home, and food tasting. The Jamaican Nature Experience consists

of visiting any of the villages and participating in a country-walking tour. The South Coast Adventure tour allows tourists to visit heritage locations such as Black River, YS Falls, Middle Quarters and Treasure Beach. The Beeston Village tour involves touring the 142-year Moravian church, the bee farm, the Brown household gardens and ends with a Mento band performance.<sup>3</sup> The Manchester Rastafarian Community Experience includes visiting Porus village and spending the day with Prince Matthew and his family while learning about Jamaica's Rastafarian history; this tour offers a combination of health, heritage and eco-tourism. Then, there is the Marvelous Mandeville experience, which occurs at the home of community-based tourism by taking a tour of the community, coffee factory and stopping at the Reliance Shopping Centre.

The north coast tours include Hopewell and Axe-and Adze Community Experiences, which both offer day tours and heritage tourism. Lastly, the Montego Bay Community Experience is a tour hosted by Sonia Kong-Quee and her family where tourists visit the Western Hospitality Institute and tour the facilities, tour Pitfour village and dine at the Jerk Centre. The prices for these tours range from US \$50 to \$90 per person for a group of one to twenty-five people and transportation is not included. Currently, CCT President Diana McIntyre-Pike is looking for state sponsored public liability insurance.

### **3.7 The Socio-cultural Aspects of Tourism**

Jamaica has been burdened with a social construction that describes it as an exotic fantasy island, which derives from Western imagined geographies of Jamaica

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<sup>3</sup> Mento Music is a form of traditional Jamaican folk music, which uses the banjo, single hand drum, harmonica, and fiddle.

and the Caribbean; constructions that are connected to the region's colonial history. In addition, the social construction of the Caribbean is another example of the historical-present in which the history of the past continues to shape present and future relations (McKittrick, 2007). For example, the colonial place-making of the Caribbean landscape has been constructed in Western artistic and literary imaginations as a "microcosm of earthly paradise---including the temptation and the corruption that goes along with being new Edens" (Sheller, 2004: 28). Additionally, colonial place-making has been constructed under an imperial gaze (Kaplan, 1996), in which the place and its inhabitants continue to be seen as oppositional to the West (Said, 1979). Examples of the imperial gaze abound in place-making stretching through St. Christopher's journal entries of Jamaica in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in which he describes the region as full of resources, to today's Virgin commercials of Jamaica with Usian Bolt running across an empty but very picturesque landscape.

As these examples demonstrate, the exotic narrative and construction of the other has occurred since Jamaica's colonial "discovery" in 1494. More importantly, narratives of an exotic paradise have become deeply embedded in the landscape and its inhabitants (Sheller, 2004). These narratives are damaging because they objectify "exotic" bodies as part of the landscape and allure of experiencing the island. Exotic narratives are also problematic because they portray islands like Jamaica as passive, empty and temporally static with no identity apart from being a place of voyeurism.

Today, Jamaica's mass-tourism industry continues to perform the imagined geographies of the colonial period. Jamaican tourism is successful because of its ability

to create a strong cultural market of Caribbean culture that is for sale to both tourists and foreign capital. Sanchez-Taylor and O'Connell Davidson (1999) argues that this cultural market can be seen as repackaged racism, in which Jamaicans are inadvertently becoming commodified as exotic, raw and other, thereby drawing on historical discourses of Jamaica's colonial place-making. Also, resorts in tropical climates create sites of "placelessness" in which the experiences had in resorts can be had anywhere with a similar climate (Meethan, 2003). As Boorstin (1964) argues, tourists remain in the resort bubble in which they do not engage the actual peoples of the island or question their privilege. And yet, the exotic imagery used by the tourist industry is integral to the economy and in turn, affects the everyday geographies of individuals living there. Therefore, the commodification of Jamaica's culture, landscape and peoples are needed in order to sustain its main national profit source.

CCT may be a small organization, but the foundation of its marketing campaign is based on the cultures and lives of rural Jamaicans. CCT is able to provide alternative tourism experience that provides a cultural experience outside of the resorts and in places where tourists are encouraged to participate in community development by volunteering their time, money or expertise. Thus, CCT participates in socio-cultural processes of tourism just like resort tourism, but the commodification that takes place is based on the cultures and everyday lives of residents. The issues and opportunities that arise from CCT operating in communities will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I discussed how Jamaica's political economy was structurally disadvantaged because of its dependency on global exchange. During colonialism, Jamaica was a colony designed to provide goods and services to the West, which made it dependent on the other countries for its economy to function well. Due to this structural disadvantage, the Jamaican government negotiated international loans to deal with gaps in their budget and accumulated debt. During the 1980s, neoliberalism was institutionalized and it resulted in roll-back destructive processes. These roll-back processes drastically reduced the welfare state and increased women's responsibilities in social reproduction.

Since the late 1990s, Jamaica has been undergoing roll-in processes of neoliberalization in which the national focus is seeking out creative moments of capital accumulation. I identified national attention to niche tourism such as community-based tourism as well as the CCTN/VAB program as creative moments in neoliberalization. The CCTN/VAB program is an initiative that follows global trends in tourism for diversifying the tourism product and creating more flexible tourism products based on tourist desires. In the last section, I explored tourism as a socio-cultural phenomenon. Resort tourism was explained as using imagined geographies to market Jamaica as an exotic paradise, which is an example of the historical-present. Whereas, CCT was described as providing a tourism experience grounded in the history and culture of rural Jamaicans. And yet, both resort and community-based tourism participate in the commodification of Jamaican culture; however, they do so in different ways. In the

following chapter, I will discuss how women negotiate public and private space when the CCTN/VAB program is operating in their communities.

## **Chapter 4: Women's Everyday Geographies**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In both Beeston Spring and Treasure Beach, women are actively participating in all areas of Countrystyle Community Tourism (CCT) operations. Women are seen working in the service sector and providing casual labour for large tour groups. They have also played a large role in CCT entrepreneurial opportunities such as operating a guest house and vending or running a small business. In fact, women's everyday geographies are integral to CCT because their social reproduction maintains both residents and the physical landscape of the community that provides the foundation on which CCT operates.

Although many women participate in CCT, my data have revealed that CCT produces uneven effects. As a mechanism in the neoliberalization of Jamaica, CCT reinforces gender roles due to the type of entrepreneurial opportunities produced. Furthermore, CCT deepens class divisions in which middle-class privilege allows for greater income generation than of working-class women. Additionally, there are more employment opportunities for working-class women but they are limited to the service and informal sectors. These employment opportunities do not enable economic mobility because these jobs are precarious due to their low paid and seasonal nature. To investigate these issues in further detail, I will first discuss the theory of everyday geographies and then explore family structure to demonstrate the socio-economic importance of women in Jamaican culture. To explore the uneven effects of CCT, I use three themes: the cultural economics of work and occupational multiplicity; creative

entrepreneurship, guest houses, and home-stays; and women's groups, social reproduction, and the changing geographies of care. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to illuminate women's participation in CCT processes.

#### **4.2 Theorizing Everyday Geographies**

Women throughout the world participate in activities such as caring for relatives, working and volunteering; all of these activities are done through their everyday geographies. Everyday geographies are defined as the "spatial structures of production and reproduction in masculine societies...in which the everyday is where patriarchy is (re)created and contested" (Rose, 1993; 17-18). By examining women's everyday geographies, I am looking at the politics of the "assignment of place in socio-spatial structures which indicates the roles, capacity for action, and access to power in the social order" (Harvey, 1990; Rose, 1993: 18). In the structure of patriarchy, women's roles in society are designated as a passive caregiver, mother, wife, and is located within the home or in other words, private space. By understanding women's subjugated position within patriarchy, my research examines how women negotiate public and private space. Additionally, by exploring women's movement across space, I can see how gender norms are constraining and are opening socio-economic opportunities for women's advancement in society. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss different family structures in Jamaica. I argue that it is the structure of households that empower women and forces them to participate more readily in public space.

The family structures in Jamaica and in many islands in the Caribbean are important to note because they explain why women have more authority over the family unit. To begin, women's social reproduction maintains the needs of all the members in the household; many working-class Jamaican households headed up by women (Handa, 1996). Many female-headed houses are used by working-class Jamaicans, which consist of female relatives such as mothers, daughters, aunts, cousins or grandmothers. Additionally, this structure provides many socio-economic benefits like providing a form of social security for female elders to retire and have the benefit of family to take care of them (Handa, 1996). Also, when women have romantic relationships, which may or may not result in children, they may choose to stay in their female-headed dwelling because it provides stability in their lives (Ibid.). Thus, many working-class women use a female-headed household structure because it provides financial stability in which women provide both social reproduction and participate in public space in order to contribute to the household income. Also, it is important to note that a female-headed household structure neither guarantees stability nor is free from violence. These factors are dependent on the personalities and circumstances of the individuals residing in the home.

In both Treasure Beach and Beeston Spring, many of the poorer households are female-headed, but husbands and male relatives may reside in the household. I still refer to these homes as female-headed because women tend to deal with the finances and are aware of the family's needs. Also, in both communities, middle to upper-class families predominantly maintain a nuclear family structure with both the husband and wife participating in higher paid trades and occupations. But in cases where middle-

class women are widowed, single, or divorced, many of them reside on their own because they can afford to do so.

My research focuses on women regardless of class differences because women are still responsible for the social reproduction of the family; whether this labour was hired out or physically done by the women residing in the home (Peterson, 2003; Bakker, 1994). Also, I focus on women because they have suffered the negative consequences of structural adjustment policies, tourism development (Kempadoo, 1999; Harrison, 1988), micro credit (Faraizi *et al.*, 2011), and the privatization of social reproduction (Peterson, 2003). These economic shifts have made women more vulnerable to poverty, violence, labour exploitation, and the social determinants of ill health. Thus, by examining women's everyday geographies, it gives me a bottom-up perspective on how community-based tourism is impacting the community and household.

But one may ask, what are the men doing in the community? At both research sites, men participate in trades such as bee keeping, carpentry, running taxis, and finding seasonal employment. Since the implementation of Jamaica's structural adjustment policies, working-class men have also been pushed into the informal sector because of reduced employment opportunities as factories in St. Elizabeth close down. Despite all of these events, the social reproduction of men's labour is supported by women whether it is done by wives, lovers, aunts, mothers, or female relatives.

Therefore, women's everyday geographies are the taken-for-granted activities in homes and communities that support social, cultural, and economic shifts in society

(Rose, 1993; Dyck, 2005). In addition, women's everyday geographies can demonstrate how the local is shaped by wider processes of power at various scales from the global to the body. Also, examining everyday geographies and global processes better contextualises the forces that influence women's lives. I locate my research in the ongoing issues of global flows of capital and people that have created increased interconnectedness in different parts of the world (Dyck, 2005; Brenner, 1999). These connections have resulted in the stretching and reconfiguring of the household, home and family over time and space (Massey, 1994). By focusing on women's everyday geographies, this research explores a geography that supports the geographies of women, children, the elderly, and men. Now that I have discussed the theory behind everyday geographies and the importance of female-headed households, I will move on to the themes of my analysis.

#### **4.3 The Cultural Economics of Work and Occupational Multiplicity**

This theme explores the types of income generating opportunities CCT provides for working-class and middle-class women at both research sites. I will also examine how cultural economics of occupational multiplicity and neoliberal logic work together as a practice and rationale for creative entrepreneurship under CCT. In Jamaica, many of its peoples have employed occupational multiplicity, which is a cultural economics used in various countries in the global south. Occupational multiplicity entails individuals seeking various employments such as seasonal, informal, formal, and entrepreneurial possibilities for poverty alleviation (Comitas, 1973). This strategy has been used since Jamaica's colonial era and for many of today's working-class, this strategy has increased during the destructive and creative moments of neoliberalization.

The practice of occupational multiplicity also parallels neoliberal discourse, which advocates that individuals use creative entrepreneurship, industriousness, and flexibility in order to care for themselves and their families. Freeman (2007) argues, “the contemporary pursuit of neoliberalism- the primacy of the market that puts into perpetual contingency, or flexibility, relations of production and consumption on a global scale-operates within a fundamental Caribbean dialectic of reputation and respectability that permeates most dimensions of West Indian life” (p. 3). Thus, neoliberal discourse and practice falls in line with the cultural economics already used on the island (Freeman, 2007). In the following paragraphs, I will discuss how the practices of cultural economics and neoliberal logic operate together in CCT processes to provide income generation opportunities for women. This theme also examines the uneven effects of CCT, which have deepened class divides and reinforced traditional gender roles.

#### *4.3.1 Class*

First and foremost, it is important to note that the types of economic opportunities available to women within CCT are dependent on their class. In general, working-class women’s highest level of education is their high school diploma and employment opportunities are limited to the service sector. Employment opportunities include but are not limited to domestic work, cooking, sewing uniforms, renting out rooms, and caring for children. Middle-class women usually have a post-secondary education and are in occupations such as teachers, pharmacists, secretaries, and event planners. Additionally, middle-class women have access to capital through their employment,

knowledge, and connections (business and retirement) overseas, which allow them to generate a larger income from CCT. Business opportunities include building a guest house, running a tour company, and opening a small business. Although, female sex work was not mentioned by participants, young unemployed men in Treasure Beach have been noted for having holiday romances with women overseas who then support their lifestyle of buying motorcycles and name-branded clothes. It is safe to assume that sex work is a viable option for women in both communities. Thus, class is an important factor in the entrepreneurship and employment opportunities available to women. I will now discuss how occupational multiplicity is used by working-class and middle-class women in both communities.

In Treasure Beach, the main form of employment for working-class women is to work at a guest house or supportive services such as restaurants and small shops. For example, Sara, a mother and working-class resident of Treasure Beach, states that “if you have 95 percent of women in Treasure Beach almost 90 percent of them work at guest houses or want to work with tourists and it could be a transition thing from their parents to grandparents back to their children” (Sara, *interview*, July 11, 2013). For Sara, her employment at a guest house has brought subsequent employment opportunities for her father, mother, cousins, and nieces to do yard work and help Sara with the domestic work. This guest house provides employment opportunities for her aging parents and younger family members who are beginning to join the labour market. Other women in the community also utilize their family and friends networks in order to find employment.

In addition, guest house employment is viewed as respectable form of employment for women to have because they are actively working and generating income for the household. And if a relative is not one of “their bright (smart) children” (Meryl, *interview*, June 23, 2013) it is a reasonable form of employment for working-class women. But as previously mentioned, employment at guest houses are quite precarious because it is low-paid seasonal work in a nation whose social care is continuously minimizing.

In the community, approximately 70 percent of Treasure Beach women find some sort of seasonal employment with a guest house. The remaining women are retired, own a guest house, or participate in volunteer work. Additionally, women work outside of the community in places such as Santa Cruz, Black River, Kingston, or Montego Bay. Other research participants found employment not only through family networks but because the community is quite small and employers may already know which residents are seeking work. Also, if an employer is aware of her personal circumstances, they have been known to seek out specific women in order to offer her an employment opportunity. Furthermore, working-class women employ a more flexible form of entrepreneurship where the selling of goods is organized around community events or sold at the Treasure Beach Women’s Group (TBWG) community centre. Their entrepreneurship is flexible because they do not have the capital, connections, or the time to create a sustainable small business.

In Beeston Spring, employment opportunities for working-class women in CCT are limited because of the type of community experience tours it provides. Out of a

population 2500 people, only 20 percent are actually involved in CCT. This 20 percent includes leather crafters, carpenters, beekeepers, home-stay hosts (to be discussed in section 4.4), dancers, Mento bands and organic farmers. Middle-class women are usually actively involved in the community tour in which they provide a tour of their business or hobby and have a designated tour stop at their business. Working-class tour participants are usually small-scale farmers, vendors and casual labour. Other residents in the community are employed at hotels or work as teachers, clerical staff, shops and restaurants. Beeston Spring also has a high rate of unemployment and issues with drug abuse especially among unemployed male youth. Therefore, the economic opportunities available within CCT are small scale because the community experience tour does not use many workers and requires rural citizens to turn the everyday lives into a viable tour experience. The act of creating a tour requires time and spare capital that many working-class women in the community do not have.

#### *4.3.2 Gender Roles*

In addition to providing employment opportunities for working-class women, community-based tourism provides a climate that reinforces gender roles. In both communities, women's creative entrepreneurship emerged out of traditional gendered activities. For example, women are most often seen selling baked goods, crafts and arts, whereas men drive taxis, host tours, play in the Mento band or work a trade. Thus, women are engaged in activities associated with the home-space and men are employed in active work that occurs in public space. However, gender norms can be reinforced in business opportunities owned by women. For instance, one participant operates a tour company that is traditionally a male-dominated occupation and she

works behind the scenes coordinating tours. She does not offer tours herself but employs men to drive the buses that offer these tours. Thus, this participant is reinforcing gender norms in the community by employing men to do active outdoor work. In addition, women also own fishing boats and taxis that they lease out to men, which are other ways to generate income opportunities for the middle-class.

Working-class women's entrepreneurship emerged out of skills associated with their gender and the flexibility associated with their class such as cooking, baking and creating home supplies such as curtains and cushions while working other jobs. For example, one participant washes clothes for tourists because tourists have limited time and there is only one laundromat in the community. The participant explained, "I say to myself (Sara) these tourist need someone to wash dem clothes if they are traveling in the bush and up and down....so I started telling people about my services and now I get people wanting me to wash dem clothes" (Sara, *interview*, July 11,2013). Sara is finding employment opportunities outside of her full-time job to earn additional money. But if community-based tourism is given more money from various NGO and government funds, will flexible entrepreneurship opportunities for women like Sara be displaced by formal businesses? And will there be further regulation of flexible employment opportunities? Right now, it appears to not be affecting small entrepreneurial ventures, but only time will tell.

Middle-class women living in Beeston Spring have also used CCT as an opportunity to generate additional income for their households. For example,

Margaret is a middle-class mother and wife residing in Beeston Spring who uses occupational multiplicity because she works as a graphic designer, a secretary and caterer. These roles are in addition to her voluntary work with the Community Development Committee, Home Economics group, local school and church. Not only does she serve in these various roles in her community, she also participates in community-based tourism by offering home-stay opportunity for tourists. When asked why she participates in so many activities and jobs she replied: “I have to support my family, plus most of the work I do is part-time or seasonal. So, I take the work where I can and when I can. You know” (Margaret, *interview*, July 30, 2013). Hence, community-based tourism operates alongside the many roles and occupations women hold in their community. Other women in both research sites have opened new businesses centered on community-based tourism such as becoming a caterer for large tour groups, creating a small laundry business out of their home. However, one of the most popular income generators is opening a guest house or a home-stay business.

My research has identified that middle-class women in both communities earn more money from CCT-focused businesses because their class privilege relies on surplus capital, knowledge, expertise and time to invest in creating business opportunities for themselves. While working-class women are offered more job opportunities, these are seasonal and low paid which exposes them to further labour exploitation. Also, for working-class women, these employment opportunities do not allow for socio-economic mobility because of the increasing costs of social reproduction and the precarious nature of their employment.

#### **4.4 Creative Entrepreneurship, Guest Houses and Home-Stays**

The second theme of my analysis will discuss how guest houses and home-stays are other examples of the occupational multiplicities used by women. Additionally, I will discuss how class positions are reinforced in this entrepreneurial opportunity. In both Treasure Beach and Beeston Spring, the majority of large guest houses or home-stays are operated by middle-class women. In Beeston Spring, they have one official guest house opportunity in the home of a local middle-class family (see Figure 4). The two other guest houses, which are used occasionally, are located in the village coordinator's home and the home in which the Home Economics group runs their meetings. This building belongs to an overseas resident who lends their home for community group meetings and home-stays. As of the summer of 2013, Angie, a Beeston Spring resident and mother, was considering to build a series of small cabins on her property to host home-stays. If she is able to do so, the accommodation sector in Beeston Spring will greatly increase.

The opportunity to run a home-stay in Beeston Spring is greatly dependent on access to running water and because it is a mountainous community, they have issues with water pressure. Many residents collect water at the spring, rainwater, or purchase water. Therefore, access to running pipe water is also a form of class privilege because many community members cannot afford to install pipe water for their homes much less for a home-stay. Additionally, running water is one of the accommodation requirements for residents to operate a home-stay.



**Figure 3: Two Seasons Guest house  
(Two Seasons Guest house. (2010). [www.2seasonsguesthouse.com](http://www.2seasonsguesthouse.com). Treasure Beach)**

Thus, the Beeston Spring community home-stay opportunities are too expensive for working-class women to operate. Furthermore, home-stays are opportunities only accessible to middle-class women and women from overseas.

In Treasure Beach, there are 47 registered guest houses, thirty of which are considered large guest houses or villas (minimum four bedrooms) built by returnees and women from overseas (see Figure 3 below). There are also two small hotels and fifteen smaller guest houses that have two to three bedrooms and a few of which are operated by middle to upper-class women. Whereas, working-class women do not have the capital to build separate guest houses in Treasure Beach, many choose to rent out one of the rooms in their homes for guests to stay in.



**Figure 4: Beeston Spring Home-Stay location**  
(Price, Z. (2013). [Photograph]. Beeston Spring Home-Stay location

During event tourism, such as the Calabash festival, almost the entire community rents out their homes to tourists. Unfortunately, these accommodations are not always approved by tourism authorities and women run the risk of fines when operating non-approved guest houses. Mary, a returnee to Treasure Beach, stated that running a guest house may be a reflection of Jamaican culture.

Maybe in other societies but definitely in Jamaica the women are the leading force in terms of employment, in terms of being employed, in terms of feeding their children. This is a fishermen's town that's what the men are qualified to do for the most part. So when its windy, they can't go but the child still needs to eat therefore she is always the one who has to initiate has to be creative in terms of how am I going to feed the children. Umm, I would imagine that in these homes that are rented where guests are allowed to come in its more than likely that women has to make that decision (Mary, *interview*, July 12, 2013).

Hence for working-class women, operating small guest houses out of their homes is a matter of necessity due to the precarious nature of their employment and because of their responsibilities within the female-headed family structure.

The ability to build and operate profitable guest houses is reflective of class privilege. For example, when I spoke to community members and guest house workers about the gender of guest houses owners, I was told that about 75 percent of the guest houses were owned by women. Consequentially, although the majority of guest houses are operated by women, most of them are middle- to upper-class, from out of parish or returnees mostly from the UK, Canada and the US. This group is buying prime real estate and has access to greater returns in community-based tourism. Whereas, poorer women's guest house opportunities are available mainly from event tourism and peak-times in the tourism season. In addition, despite class differences, women are initiating these business opportunities by looking at their homes and hosting abilities as opportunities to generate extra income. Thus, for working-class women, the home space has been commodified in order to facilitate the opportunities becoming available through CCT (Rose, 1993).

And yet, for middle-class women, they do not usually build guest houses out of necessity. My data have revealed that women had various motivations to open guest houses or home-stays and they were not the only opportunities to generate capital during the tourist season. For example, Marsha an out of parish, guest house owner stated that:

In 2005-2006, I was looking for land to construct at least two bedroom unit for my post retirement, anticipating that I may need to have a caregiver live with me in my

old age. The price of land in Kingston is prohibitive. My brother and his family were vacationing in Treasure Beach (he loves the St. Elizabeth parish, having attended Munro College) and saw the “land for sale” sign. The price was reasonable – an acre and a quarter for a lot less than it would cost in Kingston. Having bought the land, I then had to determine what to build. The idea of a guest house came up as it would provide the accommodation for me and a caregiver and an income at the same time (Marsha, *interview*, July 2, 2013).

Thus, for Marsha the guest house started as a retirement plan but then, she saw it as an opportunity to generate income before retirement. Whereas, Lorna a retired Jamaican from overseas described her motivations in the following way:

I was retiring after living in the United States after living there for about 40 years and I came home to technically build my retirement home. Then I got here and it seemed well umm... do I just want to come...I'm a very active person...do I want to just come and sit down. No, I can't do that. So let me get something that has a few rooms and maybe it will work .... So it its has grown tremendously from my point of view because when I first started, I didn't see it as a major income generator for me. Its not when someone comes into it as a business to make money and to live... there's a little difference...so I'm a little bit more relaxed about the pace umm...I'm coming from a background of management but not in this industry so everything was new to me and I simply used the experience that I had from traveling and business experience in terms of management and labour and so on to carve my way into the industry (Lorna, *interview*, June 17, 2013).

For Lorna, opening a guest house was a way to keep her busy during her retirement and to provide her children with a legacy. However, community-based tourism centered businesses are not major income generators because tourism is a small seasonal industry. Outside of the tourist season, these guest houses remain empty and are occasionally cleaned and maintained by employees. Many middle-class women work other jobs or are enjoying their retirement. For working-class women, operating guest houses out of their home is a temporary business opportunity that provides much needed income after the tourist season ends. As one participant stated:

Tourism is seasonal. The work is very insecure and the low paid. So you find that people will have jobs for 3 months and then after that they don't have anything...so it's not a...tourism on a whole it benefits the country, the government and the big hotels. Yes but when it comes to the local people it doesn't benefit much. You know it does provide jobs periodically. People but you... after the tourists are gone, you still have the bills to pay, you still have the children and you still have things (Nancy, *interview*, July 10, 2013).

Hence, operating a guest-house or home-stay are business opportunities in which middle-class women generate a larger income than working-class women. Once again, this demonstrates that the neoliberalization of Jamaica maintains and improves middle-class position. For working-class women in Treasure Beach, guest houses provide additional employment opportunities and a chance to rent one of their rooms especially during event tourism. In Beeston Spring, home-stay opportunities are limited to the middle-class because they are the only ones who can afford to install running water and make the other necessary additions to pass the accommodation inspection. In the following section, I will discuss my third theme of women's groups, social reproduction and changing geographies of care. It is within this section that I will discuss the vending and skill training opportunities available for working-class women.

#### **4.5 Women's Groups, Social Reproduction and the Changing Geographies of Care**

The third theme of my analysis will discuss the role of women's groups in both communities and how these groups participate in CCT. Additionally, I will explore how women's groups extend the geographies of care to provide skill-training and vending opportunities for working-class women. I also analyze the efforts made by these groups to maintain the physical landscape of the community. In the following, I will discuss the

various groups women participate in, and then examine the main women's groups in Treasure Beach and Beeston Spring.

Women are active members in the various groups operating in both communities. In Treasure Beach, women's roles in the community include participating in Citizen's Alert group and the Bredrens (BREDS) Treasure Beach Foundation. They are also active in school and church groups as well as the Community Development Committee (CDC). In Beeston Spring, women play an active role in Community Development Organizations. This council interacts with the Community-Based Organizations (CBO) and Parish Council to discuss infrastructure issues and development opportunities in the community. Three out of five of the 2013 CDC executive members were female. Women also participate in the Jamaican Agricultural Society, which is a group for both large and small-scale farmers. Additionally, Beeston Spring women are very active in church groups, school associations and women's groups.

Women's groups offer a space outside of the home to socialize and also organize around improving conditions in the community. Furthermore, women's groups engage in CCT in two ways: they provide skill training for the marketplace and vendor opportunities. In addition, women's groups extend the geographies of care to maintain the landscape, which is used to win National Best Community prizes and other local competitions. The prize monies are then pooled to invest in community projects such as skill training programs, ambulances and public building repairs.

In Beeston Spring, CBOs are overseen by the Beeston Spring CDC. The CBOs that fall under the CDC's jurisdiction includes the Beeston Spring Organic Farmer's

group, NABS Bee Farm, Sports, Culture, three School Parent-Teacher Associations, six Churches, a Youth Group and the Home Economics Group. The CDC is responsible for handling donations, grants, and prize monies and splitting it among the CBOs.

However, the CDC has been accused of not being transparent in their monetary handling. Residents feel as though the monies won from their prizes for Best Parish Community in 2010, 2009, 2008, and 2007 have been mismanaged and have not been fully invested in the appropriate community projects. Group members of the Home Economics group have argued that their group needs more supplies:

Yes, there are many opportunities but there are not a lot of resources. We only have two sewing machines but we'd like to have six so we can teach the younger ladies how to sew. Young men to come to my father's place and learn how to do leather slippers or leather shoes and we don't have the resources. Leather is hard to get...yeah...it's just the resources (Margaret, interview, July 30, 2013).

Thus, money mismanagement has led to groups not having the resources to purchase new supplies, which then limits the crafts made and skill training that occurs in this group.

The Home Economics group is a women-led group with volunteer executives from various class backgrounds. This group is composed of 30 or more women whose purpose is to teach women how to cook traditional Jamaican meals, sew and create craft works. These skills are not only essential to the running of the household, many of which are female-headed, but also offer the economic opportunity for women to sell goods in the towns of Whitehouse or Savanna-la-mar. This group participates in CCT's Jamaican Taste Experience tourism package where tourists village hop to taste local cuisines in each community. The Home Economics group serves lunch and group members display their crafts and baked goods for sale. This is an opportunity for

women to apply the skills learned in these groups for CCT and offers an additional opportunity to sell their goods. Also, the Home Economics group provides women with cultural advice for health issues, such as advising new mothers to give their children coconut water if they have diarrhea (Shirley, *interview*, July 20, 2013).

The Treasure Beach Women's Group (TBWG) is part of the Greater Treasure Beach Community Development Committee that consists of three organizations that function in the community: TBWG, BREDS Treasure Beach Foundation and the Citizen's Alert Group. Treasure Beach's CDC has not been accused of money mismanagement by research participants, but the CBOs have been accused of not providing the services that working-class residents require. For example, one participant has argued that the TBWG needs to create more scholarship programs to reduce the price of education fees instead of so many community beautification projects (Nancy, *interview*, July 10, 2014). Despite of this complaint, these three groups worked together to win the National Best Community competition in 2012 that had a monetary prize split among the groups.

The TBWG's mission is: "to promote the advancement of women and the Treasure Beach community as a whole, through education, income producing projects, and awareness of women's health and women's issues" (TBWG, 2013). This group was established in September 2000 through a collaboration between the Bureau of Women's Affairs and the United States Peace Corps. The TBWG is a group of 60 or more women whose group members include residents, returnees, business owners, operators the executive of this group are all volunteers. The TBWG annually offers free

medical clinics, which provide healthcare for residents who cannot afford the hospital fees and residents who find it difficult to leave their homes for medical care. Thus, the TBWG extends women's social reproduction to include the entire community and provide additional care for vulnerable residents in the village.

TBWG engages in CCT because it operates a small-craft shop attached to the TBWG community centre to sell crafts of more than 80 local artists and is listed as a place to visit on the Treasure Beach website. In order to sell in their shop, TBWG retains 20 percent of the sales price, which usually entails increasing the price by 20 percent. Operating a craft shop follows TBWG's goal to "be an incubator for small businesses, for women in the community who want to start new businesses" (Mary, *interview*, July 12, 2013). As one of the main hubs for community development in Treasure Beach, this goal of creative entrepreneurship continues to keep people's minds focused on self-improvement or economic potential. Thereby, one of the ways TBWG engages in CCT is by offering a space for artists to sell their work.

Additionally, following the goals of TBWG, this group offers various workshops educating women about different entrepreneurial opportunities. Mary, for instance, described the summer 2013:

The first thing we're starting is cheese making and soap making with goat milk and goat cheese. We did a workshop, two workshops in May with some overseas people who came and taught us how to make the cheese and how to make the soap. And so we're now looking to see how we can get funding to stock up on the materials we need to do that and be able to do that because this is something that can generate income for the group because our big problem is money to keep up our operations going (Mary, *interview*, July 12, 2013).

The TBWG is generally seen to be positively impacting the community. Mary a resident originally from another parish who actively participates in TBWG states:

Women's group are very active as you probably interviewed other people and they can tell you that they have achieved wonderfully, and achieved in the short time that they have been here. The women in the community and not just young...youth...programs are put on to educate them in various aspects of life. They have a lot of crafts. We have the gift shop and everything is made here in Treasure Beach that's the aim. So it get people interested in skills that will help them...it will be a lifetime skill...something that will generate an income for them so the women's group impact people life in a positive way (Mary, *interview*, July 12, 2013)

The second way women's groups participate in CCT is by maintaining the physical landscape of their communities. For example, both groups organize community clean up and environmental awareness days. These clean-up days are not only important to the environment but they allow community members to be active in the maintenance of their community. When these communities win Parish Best or National Best Community prizes, it is due to in part the effort of these women's groups in the cleaning, painting and the general beautification of the community. Thus, both of these groups provide skill training and vendor opportunities, which are particularly useful for working-class women whose entrepreneurship is flexible. Women's groups are also of social importance because they extend the social reproduction of home to care for residents and the physical landscape. As Lorna stated "we [TBWG] really are of economic importance to the community and as you know when you take care of the women in a society like this you take of the family, you take care of everybody" (Lorna, *interview* June 17, 2013).

## 4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the various ways that women's everyday geographies support CCT, which I have argued is a creative moment in the neoliberalization of Jamaica. Additionally, this chapter examined the uneven effects produced by CCT processes, which have resulted in the deepening of class divides and the reinforcement of gender roles. I began this argument by defining women's everyday geographies as the movement of women between the spatial structures of reproduction and production within patriarchal structures. I then explored three themes and in the first of these, cultural economics and occupational multiplicity, I identified that women are culturally engaged in various income generating opportunities. It became apparent that while CCT offers income potential, middle-class women benefit more from this than working-class women. Additionally, CCT income opportunities reinforce gender roles as entrepreneurial opportunities emerged out of the gendered activities associated with women such as baking, laundry, and catering.

The second theme examines one of the main entrepreneurial efforts under CCT, namely guest houses and home-stays. Once again, CCT offers middle-class women and women overseas more income potential because they have the capital and time to create larger guest houses, whereas, working-class women rent rooms out of their homes especially during event tourism. In Beeston Spring, working-class women do not participate in home-stays because they are too expensive to operate. Thus, I concluded that neoliberalization is working well for middle-class women in these communities and for women who have the ability to move between places such as

women from overseas and out of the parish. In this way, CCT is contributing to a deepening of class divisions in the community.

The last theme was that of women's groups, social reproduction and the changing geographies of care, which explored the extension of social reproduction to the entire community. These groups also participate in CCT, which provides opportunities for women to sell their goods and crafts. Furthermore, women's groups also maintain the physical landscape of the community and their efforts in doing so contribute to the winning national prizes. The pooling of these prize monies is then used to invest in community projects. Hence, CCT is working in ways that benefit all community members.

This chapter therefore explained the various ways that women participate in CCT operating in Beeston Spring and Treasure Beach, through their everyday geographies. These geographies are usually invisible in their contributions to the communities' development but they are analytically significant in understanding the uneven effects of CCT in these two communities. In Chapter 5, I will discuss how the landscape of the community is objectified in order to market CCT's experience as authentic. Additionally, I will explore the new tourism geographies created, the renewal of cultural activities and the positive affective geographies that have emerged since the operation of CCT.

## **Chapter 5: Authenticity, Landscape and New Tourism Geographies**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I continue my examination of the uneven effects produced by Countrystyle Community Tourism (CCT) processes by analysing how the landscape of the community is marketed as an authentic tourism experience in a community whose landscape and residents are maintained by the social care of women. The community landscape is also feminized in the sense that they are spaces connected to ideas of home and cultures, which are conceptualizations attached to private space within the structure of patriarchy (Rose, 1993). In order to examine the uneven effects created by the commodification of the community landscape, I will analyse the logic used to market CCT. Then, I will demonstrate how the authenticity of CCT experiences is reinforced by the objectification and commodification of the community's spatial design and performance of culture. Lastly, this chapter will conclude that despite the processes of commodification, CCT is able to create new tourism geographies. In addition, I will explore the reviving of cultural activities in each research site as well as the creation of positive affective geographies derived from emotions of pride and hope in one's community and culture.

### **5.2 The Logic of Countrystyle Community Tourism**

CCT's success has been demonstrated in the many ways it has expanded its organization internationally, regionally and nationally. Examples include the existing CCT chapter in South Africa, the creation of a CCT Caribbean chapter in 2012, and the launch of the Villages as Businesses program in 2009. Additionally, the CCT President

and her team are often invited by various businesses seeking consultation on how to create tourism opportunities. As the President of CCT, Diana McIntyre-Pike has been working over the past 35 years to promote CCT as a path to sustainable community development that produces authentic tourism products for the marketplace. McIntyre-Pike has won numerous awards for responsible tourism, such as the Order of Distinction from the government of Jamaica for her work in Tourism and Community Service, and Best Personal Contribution Virgin Holidays Responsible Tourism Award in 2008. McIntyre-Pike is also a member of the International Institute for Peace Through Tourism, which recognised CCT's work for promoting "peace-through-tourism" (PTT)

CCT has gained international and regional recognition because of its ability to promote its tourism product as an authentic community experience that enables sustainable community development. I argue that this marketing strategy is rationalized because it uses neoliberal rhetoric such as that of creative entrepreneurship to explain that their tourism product is a plausible solution for poverty alleviation by training local entrepreneurs to create market-ready tours. These tours allow rural Jamaicans to access the tourism industry, which offers community members income generating opportunities (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). Also, CCT uses a PTT framework that relies on community involvement in order to produce a tourism product that is sustainable and beneficial to communities' culture, heritage and environment. Both neoliberal discourse and a PTT framework are used to rationalize CCT's niche in the tourism market.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, neoliberal discourse emerged in the 1970s, which promoted ideas for *lassiez-faire* economics on a global scale and on the scale of the body it advocated that market mentality be used in daily life such as individualism, entrepreneurship, and flexibility (Larner, 2000). Thus, McIntyre-Pike is using the language of neoliberal discourse to rationalize CCT's goals as a practical solution for community development because it further integrates the local into the free market. Under McIntyre-Pike's framework, individuals look to improve their own communities through creative entrepreneurship, which does not critique the state's responsibility to care for its citizens. It is important to note that McIntyre-Pike's use of neoliberal discourse does not contest the system of capitalism but supports this logic in order to advocate for an inclusive tourism development (Britton, 1991; Harvey, 2005). In the following paragraphs, I will describe how McIntyre-Pike uses neoliberal discourse to justify community-based tourism as an avenue for sustainable community development.

Diana McIntyre-Pike argues that sustainable community and tourism development require a shift in mindset from locals, visitors, and governments regarding the possibilities of tourism development. For example,

When we go, we tell them about the program and they get highly motivated because Jamaican and Caribbean people are very *creative* people... and they will say I never know the church that we had could make money. I never knew there's graveyard tourism, I never knew we could have farm tourism and make money off of it. These are the things people are willing to pay for. They come and stay on a farm and pay for the experience of staying with the farmer. Everyday... we tell them about the five day program now which is the intense training where they learn about environmental awareness, how to not cut down that tree because it's valuable and people want to look at it and the plants... the nutrition in the plants the nutritional value of everything. Everything has a value (Diana McIntyre-Pike, *interview*, July 31, 2013).

Diana McIntyre-Pike's concept of a "mindset change" thus results in the commodification of rural Jamaicans' daily activities. The commodification of these activities that were previously seen as belonging to the private sphere illustrates capitalism's broadening and deepening processes that seek out new geographies for capital accumulation (Prudham, 2007). The marketization of Jamaican rural life is explained as filling new tourists' motivations for authentic cultural experiences, which benefits the community by providing them with an income, opportunities for donations and investments from visitors (Hall & Tucker, 2004). Thus, McIntyre-Pike's end statement that "everything has a value" rings true because there are niche tourisms available in all areas of life. It is up to the individual to employ creative entrepreneurship to attain these opportunities.

McIntyre-Pike's argument is also pragmatic because she contextualizes the flaws in Jamaica's current tourism product as limiting the imagination of tourists and Jamaicans of potential tourism opportunities. In her interview, she stated:

It's the way that we promote it [tourism]; other countries don't promote it that way, think about it why do people go to Canada? Why do people go the US? Why do people go to the UK? Etcetera...They don't go down there for one niche market, they want to go to old churches and have fun, so we have failed our Caribbean people by not going that route. Our forefathers used to do that you know, in the 50s he used to promote the whole island. We have failed because we have concentrated our tourism product on just sand and sea and I won't talk about the other Ss but we have done a disservice to our people and we are not showing them the art and the craft and so on (Diana McIntyre-Pike, *interview*, July 31, 2013).

Here, McIntyre-Pike makes connections between Jamaica's current tourism products that draw on discourses of exoticism and the colonial-place making of Jamaica (Sheller,

2009). McIntyre-Pike also promotes CCT as a flexible tourism product that understands that tourists have many travel motivations. For instance, she notes:

Well let me tell you something, visitors are interested in everything. They're interested in going to businesses, you have people going into schools...how people make this and that, how people develop their business, they want to understand the lifestyle of the people...[community-based tourism] is expanding and is being promoted as responsible tourism worldwide. (Diana McIntyre-Pike, *interview*, July 31, 2013).

Therefore, the tourist here is understood as not just simply interested in resort tourism, but as an individual, who take an interest in a variety of experiences, provided they are given various tourism options (Hall & Page, 2002). In all three quotes, McIntyre-Pike describes community-based tourism in neoliberal terms, which includes individuals needing to use creative entrepreneurship, industriousness, and flexibility in order to operate community-based tourism in their villages.

Furthermore, McIntyre-Pike is able to successfully promote her organization because she uses a PTT framework, which is designed to provide sustainable tourism and community development. The design for this framework began in the 1970s when there was a movement for “new” tourism as opposed to the resort tourism operating in the Caribbean (Pattullo, 1996). It argued for a bottom-up tourism development that improved and sustained countries economically, environmentally, and culturally. This movement carried on into the 2000s, when it now advocates for a form of tourism that “enhances cultural pride, helps people appreciate their own and foreign culture, creates friendships between hosts and guests, educates others through interaction and through understanding tourism can promote peace” (Lankford, Grybovych and Lankford, 2008). These goals are accomplished through the building of social capital in communities,

which is done by creating a climate for citizen co-operation, providing new networks, identifying resources and having communities be responsible for the development of tourism in their communities (Ibid.).

A PTT framework advocates that communities should create networks with NGOs, other communities, tourism professionals, and even other countries, ensuring a flow of knowledge to combat any issues, and help create viable solutions for (maintaining a) sustainable tourism development (Ibid.). This process requires the repackaging of old markets and creation of new ones to ensure that community-based tourism does not become another resort bubble. Lastly, the community needs to be aware of the role of peace in preserving culture, heritage, and the environment – all key aspects of community development and the betterment of residents, which in turn creates a favorable image of community-based tourism product (Ibid.). The goals identified in PTT are part of the structure of CCT. The arguments for PTT and neoliberal discourse are used to rationalize community-based tourism as a form of sustainable development. In order to create their niche in the market, CCT also promotes its tourism package as an authentic cultural experience. In the following section, I will discuss how CCT commodifies each community by using authenticity discourse to objectify these communities' rural spatial design and performance of culture.

### **5.3 Authenticity, Heterogeneous Spaces and Performativity**

Before examining how communities are commodified to provide “authentic” cultural tourist experiences, I will discuss the theory behind authenticity research. The

study of authenticity as a form of tourist motivation was first introduced by MacCannell's (1973) work on staged authenticity. But authenticity is a concept that is vague and difficult to ascertain because the concept is often confused with both tourist experiences and toured objects, which are two types of authenticity research (Wang, 1999). Tourist experiences refer to the tourist believing they have had an authentic experience. Whereas, a toured object refers to the physical environment or culture that is understood as authentic, thereby contributing to an authentic experience for tourists (Wang, 1999). The second issue for studying the concept of authenticity is that there are a variety of approaches to authenticity tourism research. These approaches includes objective, constructive, postmodern and existential.

From an objectivist approach, authenticity is reliant on the physical site or culture being toured. This approach is used by Boorstin's (1964) examination of mass tourism, which he argues are "pseudo-events." These sites are deemed inauthentic because they commodify cultures and standardize the experiences to be had in these places. Objectivist authenticity is also used by MacCannell (1973; 1976) in his examination of tourist motivation as seeking out authentic experiences outside of their lives that they believe have become shallow and inauthentic because of modernization. In addition, he argues that these tourists travel to places that are off the "beaten track" because they believe it will give them an authentic experience with the cultural "other." Unfortunately, these tourists are presented with staged performances. These staged performances are controlled by the host society and are an opportunity for toured societies to preserve some of their cultural activities from the marketplace.

A constructionist approach perceives authenticity as complex because reality is constructed through an individual's various subjectivities and unique interpretations of events and experiences (Wang, 1999). A postmodern approach argues that authenticity does not exist nor has it ever existed. Thus, tourists travel fully aware that tourist sites are constructions and have come to enjoy the "genuine fakes" available in travel (Ibid.). Lastly, an existential approach argues that an authentic experience enables one's true self to no longer be constrained by their everyday lives. Tourism offers tourists a new context to have new experiences and discover their authentic selves (Wang, 1999). Hence, for this research, the approach that is most useful in understanding Countrystyle Community Tourism is an objectivist analysis.

As previously mentioned, an objectivist approach to authenticity requires places and cultures to be objectified in order for an authentic tourist experience to occur. For example, on the community website and brochure Treasure Beach and Beeston Spring communities are objectified as sites of authentic Jamaican culture. By objectifying these communities as authentic, they can be commodified as tourism experiences for the market place (Cohen, 1995). For example, the Treasure Beach website describes the community as "a string of sleepy fishing villages located off the beaten track on Jamaica's desert south coast, a community-based tourism destination involved and active in sustainable local development, laid back, friendly and proud to be Jamaican" (Treasure Beach, 2006). Along with this description are quotes from tourism reviews such as the American Way and the Lonely Planet describing the community as "Indeed, to visit Treasure Beach...is to time-trip back to the days before corporations took over Caribbean tourism" (American Way, 2010)... and "Treasure Beach is a gem for travelers

in search of the off-beat. You won't find a more authentically charming and relaxing place in Jamaica" (Lonely Planet, 2010). The combination of these descriptions and images construct a tourism experience that is removed from the glitz of resort areas and the stresses of life.

Additionally, these descriptions construct a tourism experience that escapes modern society's time crunch and saturation by technology. This is an interesting contrast to resort tourism marketing that uses forms of escapism, romance and fantasy island (Sheller, 2004). CCT engages with the social construction of an exotic Jamaica in a different way. It is more anthropological and the tourist is able to find untouched villages, experience authentic Jamaican culture, and build relationships with residents (Wang, 1999; Meethan, 2003). This marketing strategy uses authenticity discourse because the activities that occur in the community are related to Jamaica's laid back lifestyle and culture, which tourists can also experience once they purchase it.

In Beeston Spring, this community uses images and videos to showcase the many projects taking place in the community. The village of Beeston Spring is presented as simply a community in rural Jamaica and not a tourist site. It invites tourists to participate in their community development through donations, or investing their time or money while on vacation. Thus, both sites are marketing community landscapes that are attached to the everyday geographies of residents and intersect with the culture, history and future development of these villages. Furthermore, objectivist authenticity is demonstrated in both Beeston Spring's and Treasure Beach's

use of heterogeneous space and performance of Jamaican culture, which is commodified for the marketplace.

Edensor (2001) argues that tourist spaces are organized in ways representing the type of tourist experiences that will occur in those spaces. For example, he described heterogeneous space as one that lacks defined boundaries and explicit forms of securitization such as CCTV cameras or roaming security guards. A heterogeneous tourist space consists of an intermingling of local businesses, guest houses and small hotels and none of these use high concrete walls or fences to keep locals from interacting with guests in their communities. This type of space design usually attracts guests who are looking to learn more about local cultures and avoid the resort tourism experience. Heterogeneous space design is also a form of objective authenticity because the community and culture are objectified as the authentic components needed to provide an authentic tourism experience. As a result, tourists simply need to purchase a day tour or spend a few nights in the community to have a culturally authentic experience. In the following paragraphs, I will describe how Treasure Beach and Beeston Spring are examples of heterogeneous tourist spaces.

In Treasure Beach, the village has a variety of intermingling small hotels, guest houses, businesses and plazas. As Figure 5 depicts, hotels and guest houses in Treasure Beach are not separated by high walls or hidden in a separate cove. This is not to say that the hotels and guest houses do not have fences around their property; rather, there are low wall fences or chainmail where local residents can see the accommodations and possibly engage in conversation with the guests. There are

usually no visible forms of security, but many guest houses hire overnight security officers to watch over the property when guests are there. Also, the community does not usually have random peddlers selling goods, unless they have travelled from a neighboring community. Community practices discourage peddlers from harassing guests on their property or in the community. Police travel through the community ensuring safety for all.



**Figure 5: Map Sketch of Treasure Beach (Price, Z. 2013)**

Treasure Beach also has small melon farms, goat farms and unused land that are located near the main road. Not surprisingly, there are many signs throughout the community to emphasize the cleanliness of the place (Figure 6). Guest houses, hotels and large private homes line the main roads and are well maintained (Figure 7). Other smaller homes are located on the side roads that are not well maintained, this being an example of class differences (Figure 8). Also, many of the guest house owners are not

from Treasure Beach, but come from places like Kingston, Canada, America and returnees who have seen the income potential (discussed in Chapter 4).



**Figure 6: “Spruce Up Jamaica, Nice Up Yuh Self”**  
(Price, Z. (2013). [Photograph] Treasure Beach: Tourism Sign)

Treasure Beach’s community culture is also an object of authenticity because their culture lends authenticity to the experiences to be had in the community. Their culture is demonstrated in the everyday geographies of the residents in which tourists are able to participate in the locals’ daily lives and learn about these communities. In addition, Treasure Beach also participates in explicit forms of cultural performances during event tourism such as the Calabash festival, the Breadbasket festival and cultural nights.



**Figure 7: Treasure Beach Guest House on the Main Road (Price, Z. 2013).**



**Figure 8: Treasure Beach Residents' Side Road (Price, Z. 2013).**

Beeston Spring also employs a heterogeneous space design as seen in Figure 9. The map of the community illustrates that community tours operate alongside the main road, which has access to the local experiences of the residents. These private areas include the various churches, schools, community centers and residential homes. There are also no large buildings or fences to obscure the tourists' view of residential homes or schools. The only object obscuring the view is the vast amounts of underbrush and trees growing in this mountainous community.



**Figure 9: Map Sketch of Beeston Spring (Price, Z. 2013)**

Beeston Spring is also a younger community-based tourism site, thus the tours and community experiences offered are limited. For example, while Treasure Beach is a site where the main activities are relaxing, walking, and talking to locals, Beeston Spring is different because there are no tourists wandering around. Despite two research participants who claimed tourists are able to wander about the community, the majority claimed to only see tourists in the community exclusively through the community experiences tour. This can be due to the physical landscape of the community where there is no sidewalk except for in the bush that has many steep hills and narrow curves. The physical landscape also requires cultural knowledge in order for tourists to remain safe. For instance, if a person walking around a sharp corner hears a car horn, it is the driver's way to warn oncoming traffic that they are around the corner.

Since community-based tourism is still in its early stages in Beeston Spring, it only participates in community experience tour packages because it does not have an accommodation sector large enough to host tourists who simply wish to vacation in the community. The community experience tours offer tourists the opportunity to purchase a home-stay option for one to two nights. On the community experience tour, the tourist stops at different local resident's homes where they teach them about their occupations or hobbies that reflect the activities of the community. The first stop of the tour was the bee farm at Mr. Saunders' home, where they set out a display to explain bee farming. There was also the opportunity for tourists to purchase honey directly from their business.

Then groups were taken on a plant tour and a local resident showed the various herbs and plants growing on their property, including peppermint, yam, almonds, aloe and Chinese plums. Tourists have the opportunity to taste the various plant materials while the tour guide explains its nutritional properties. Afterwards, the tour visits the Church (the first Moravian Church in the community), and ends at Rena's bar (Figure 10) where the Mento band plays while tourists purchase drinks. Currently, Beeston Spring neither has the funds to build a guest house nor do they receive enough guests for them to break even. This community is in the early stages of CCT and thus uses facilities available to them to conduct tours in their community.

The cultures in both communities are also objectified in order to provide an authentic tourism experience. In Beeston Spring, the guest is presented with a more explicit performance, where the businesses of locals are put on display for guests to

learn and purchase from. Performance is conducted in a variety of ways: the Mento band playing in the background at Rena's bar, the bee farm display and sometimes the Home Economics group serves lunch and displays crafts for sale.



**Figure 10: Rena's Bar in Beeston Spring (Price, Z. 2013).**

The cultural performance at Treasure Beach is less explicit because it is much longer practiced. Treasure Beach has been operating as a community-based tourism site for the past 45 years and has a large accommodation sector that has tourists continuously visiting the community. Thus, community members are familiar with seeing tourists in their community and have learned how to engage with tourists, build relationships and share their culture. For example, one participant stated:

People are friendly, they will go into fields I've seen them, you'll see someone reaping the melon and the tourists will just stop to look and the next thing the person is invited "would you like a melon?" and they start to talk and the tourists end up with a few melons and mangoes and things like that and so this makes friends easily. And they start to talk "how do you grow this?" "What does this taste like?" We have a huge amount of fruits here and they never seen but they are willing to taste and to try and to see so that's community tourism...when people involved themselves peoples lives and some tourists help people especially the people that I deal with (Nancy, *interview*, July 10, 2014).

In this quote, Nancy argues that local residents' behaviour and attitude towards tourists helps to create a more authentic and meaningful experience for them. Additionally, Treasure Beach prides itself on the relationships that it has built over the years because guests return annually and speak favorably about experiences to friends. These relationships have also resulted in donations to the TBWG, which was used to build the TBWG community centre and has funded the Treasure Beach ambulance.

In both communities, the marketing strategies rely on objectifying the landscape of the community as well as the culture of local residents. By objectifying these aspects as authentic, these communities can create tourism products with a particular niche in the tourism market. Authentic community experiences reinforce principles of PTT because both communities offers an experience grounded in the local culture, opportunities for local-guests interactions and relationship building. CCT is also demonstrating PTT because in each aspect of the tour or stay, tourists are educated on how host communities are working to conserve natural resources. Once again, CCT produces uneven effects during the commodification of rural communities.

Subsequently, practicing community-based tourism offers host communities an opportunity to rediscover aspects of their heritage and culture. In the following section, I

will discuss the impacts that CCT has had on new tourism geographies and cultural renewal.

#### **5.4 Alternative place-making and cultural renewal**

CCT creates new tourism geographies as well as positive affective geographies based on community hope and pride. These new tourism geographies offer spaces for capital accumulation and market an authentic experience to be had in the rural landscape of Jamaica. This marketing strategy is in contrast to previous imaginary geographies of Jamaica and the Caribbean (Sheller, 2004). In particular, Jamaica prides its self on being the ideal resort destination, but the discourses used to socially construct the island exoticises and commodifies the people and landscape (Ibid.; Cohen *et al.*, 1995; Sanchez-Taylor, 1999). CCT also participates in processes of commodification, but it is unique in its use of the rural landscape, which is far removed from Western imaginations of Jamaica. It is also unique in its ability to create new tourism geographies and positive affective geographies. In this section, I will explore the new tourism geographies created by CCT, the revival of cultural activities, and the formation of positive affective geographies.

McIntyre-Pike's description of CCT as a form of poverty alleviation has a further political angle in which it engages in post-colonial efforts to create a counter-narrative or an alternative geography of Jamaica, which seeks to (re)present its people and their island in the discourse of their choosing (Notske, 1999; Aitchison, 2001; Hall & Tucker, 2005). For example, Jordana, a Beeston Spring resident, described CCT in the following way:

This is a really new, and exciting time for tourism, it's really a kind of core movement. I know the large hotels are not interested in this type of experience because what has happened is that they continue to pen up people in the hotel. You have sand, sea and sun and that is where it stops. Now when the guests come here, it first and foremost gives the guests an opportunity to visit different areas in Jamaica. So you know we have things like bed and breakfast where the tourists come in tonight and have breakfast and then move to another community the next day so it gives the guest that kind of um to intermingle with at least five communities. If you are here for five days and enjoy the beauty of the land. So to me it is a great movement and even the people in the deep rural will have a chance of tasting piece of the tourist pie because normally to taste piece of the tourist pie you would have to go to large hotels and work and God bless the little that you would be getting from the tourists and the hotel (Jordana, *interview*, July 31, 2013).

As the quote above demonstrates, community-based tourism is about tourism markets, but it is also about exposing tourists to other experiences that can be had on the island- and creating new tourism geographies. As Jordana stated, CCT can be seen as a movement where community members can really have a hand in shaping the tourism that operates in the rural landscape, not only for the monies generated but also for how rural Jamaicans want their lives and culture to be understood by outsiders. These new tourism geographies empower residents because they are actively involved in the development process. They are new because the CCTN is among rural communities that are not associated with resort tourism, tourist sites or sights. For instance, Beeston Spring is located in the mountainous ranges and at the base of this mountain is the Sandals Resort in Whitehouse. Although, the tourism interactions between these two sites have been minimal, previously CCT tourists did not know about Beeston Spring, it was just part of the mountainous landscape. With CCT, this rural geography is now a site of tourism; a space that can be further explored.

McIntyre-Pike claims that community-based tourism is not a challenge to resort tourism on the island, but rather, offers tourists choices regarding how they want to spend their money. But I disagree with her assessment. CCT may not be an economic competitor yet, but it does offer new investment opportunities for corporate sponsors and philanthropists to further accumulate capital. Therefore, CCT maps new tourism geographies that may become more popular as investments in the Villages as Business program takes shape in the next five years (Reid, 2014).

Not only does CCT impose new tourism geographies on the rural landscape, it also fosters cultural renewal. In order for Beeston Spring to participate in CCT, the members of the CDC have had to research more about the village's history; one participant stated with excitement that they did not know that Beeston Spring was once owned by a governor of Jamaica. Thus, members in the community are excited to learn more about their individual community's heritage and culture. CCT has also caused the renewal of many cultural activities in both communities. For example, in Beeston Spring, many of the boys are learning Mento from the older community members because they noticed how much tourists enjoyed the small show at Rena's bar. The Home Economics group is another example of girls coming together to learn needlework that they then sell to tourists, and also learn how to cook traditional foods such as duckanoo,<sup>4</sup> and green banana and mackerel. Those are dishes that many young women had stopped wanting to learn; once CCT gained popularity, they wanted to garner these new skills. However, cultural renewal continues to reinforce gender roles because there are no male members in the Home Economics group or female members in the Mento band.

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<sup>4</sup> Duckanoo, which is also known as Blue Draws, is a pudding-like dessert wrapped and boiled in banana leaves.

Also, community members in Beeston Spring are now becoming more involved in training initiatives offered, such as those by Team Jamaica, in which they take courses to lead their own tours of the community.

The reviving of cultural activities are also seen in Treasure Beach where the community plays host to a Calabash festival, Breadbasket festival and stages a cultural night where vendors are able to sell their arts and crafts to visitors. At these events, Junkanoo dancers<sup>5</sup> and Maroons are invited to share the cultural roots of Jamaica with the community and guests. Community-based tourism is also able to lend authenticity to their community experience because it uses women's social reproduction. The majority of CCT's success comes from the efforts of women's work in improving community programs, street and building beautification.

The cultural renewal initiated in Beeston Spring is part of the process of commodification in which residents have become active agents in their cultural exploitation (Cohen, 1995). In fact, learning about one's culture in order to participate in CCT is not seen as exploitation but a resident using creative entrepreneurship and initiative to care for themselves within neoliberal capitalism. Despite the commodification taking place, CCT has inspired the formation of affective geographies coming from emotions of pride and hope. Residents are feeling pride for their communities from winning various National and Parish Best Community Competitions, and grant monies, which recognizes work of the community residents. CCT also inspires feelings of hope because the monies earned from these competitions

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<sup>5</sup> Junkanoo dancers are part of street parade in which dancers wear costumes and dance to drums and cowbells.

result in tangible community developments such as funds toward the Treasure Beach ambulance and summer school programs in Beeston Spring. These tangible results validate CCT claims that it can provide a path to poverty alleviation in the minds of many residents. Thus, CCT is seen as having the ability to provide a brighter future of employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for residents and their children. As Mary stated: “the future of community tourism is very bright in Treasure Beach” (Mary, *interview*, July 12, 2013).

## **5.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have argued that CCT’s marketing strategy uses neoliberal discourse and a PTT framework to promote CCT as a sustainable form of community development and poverty alleviation. This logic is used to rationalize CCT’s niche in the tourism market as offering an authentic Jamaican experience. I then discussed how CCT’s authenticity campaign relies on the objectification of each community’s culture and physical landscape. Thus, based on CCT’s marketing logic, tourists who are genuinely interested in learning about new cultures are able to purchase an authentic tourism experience from these communities. Culture was explored as being performed explicitly in Beeston Spring, whereas, in Treasure Beach, such a performance was implicit.

In relation to alternative place-making and cultural renewal, CCT’s ability to create new tourism geographies was seen as empowering residents because they were able to participate in how their community was marketed in CCT. In addition, CCT also forms positive affective geographies deriving from feelings of pride and hope as it offers

opportunities for residents to learn more about the place that they call home. Hope was inspired when investment in community projects demonstrates the feasibility of CCT offering a future for them and their children. Therefore, the creation of new tourism geographies and positive affective geographies have once again demonstrated the uneven effects of CCT operating in these two communities. In the final chapter, I will discuss the common themes throughout this thesis and suggest future research directions.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

### 6.1 Discussion of Findings

Throughout this thesis, I have examined the tourism processes involved in Countrystyle Community Tourism (CCT) operating in Beeston Spring and Treasure Beach, Jamaica. In Chapter 1, I identified how CCT operates within the structure of neoliberal capitalism and offers communities educational tools to create market-ready tours to add to the community-based tourism market in Jamaica. I see CCT as a temporary solution to the neoliberal economic restructuring that is forcing more people into the informal sector, which makes their lives even more precarious (Chatterjee, 2012). I have argued that CCT is one of the creative moments in the neoliberalization of Jamaica. CCT has resulted in uneven economic opportunities for working-class and middle-class women. Middle-class women's class privileges allow them access to greater income generation from guest houses and home-stays. In addition, women who have the ability to move across places have financially benefitted from CCT. For working-class women, however, the opportunities provided by CCT are limited to small craft operations or one-room guest house opportunities, neither of which enables upward mobility. In order, to combat this precariousness, a working-class feminist consciousness needs to be further developed in order to deal with these systemic problems (Ibid.).

As a result, CCT deepens and reinforces class divides between women in which working-class women's opportunities are limited to the service sector and flexible guest house operations. Furthermore, CCT has reinforced gender roles because the

entrepreneurial opportunities such as selling crafts and running a guest house emerges from the spaces and activities assigned to women within the structure of patriarchy (Rose, 1993). Thus, CCT operating in both research sites has contributed to the reconfiguring of women's everyday geographies by offering working-class women more opportunities in public space. But because of the precarious nature of employment, these opportunities further expose them to labour exploitation.

This thesis also examined how CCT promotes its tourism product as an opportunity for sustainable community and tourism development through tourism entrepreneurship. My data revealed that CCT's argument uses the neoliberal language of creative entrepreneurship, pragmatism, individualism, and flexibility of communities and individuals in relieving communities' poverty by employing tourism entrepreneurship. CCT's logic is further legitimized using a "peace-through-tourism" (PTT) framework, which advocates community involvement in tourism development, as well as active cultural, and environmental preservation. In particular, PTT argues that by educating communities and guests, these actors can understand that tourism can promote peace (Lankford, Grybovych & Lankford, 2008).

I have also discussed how CCT's success is based on its ability to objectify and commodify the rural landscape of these communities as authentic tourism experiences. Authenticity is also premised on residents' ability to perform, whether it is Beeston Spring's explicit cultural performances during the community tour or Treasure Beach's implicit performances that have been refined over the many years tourists have vacationed in their communities. The use of an authentic discourse to market CCT is

also problematic because it paints a landscape that ignores the role of women in the maintenance of their community landscape.

And yet, my data have revealed that despite uneven development and a culture of commodification, CCT has been able to create affective geographies of pride and hope. Residents in both research sites have pride in their communities because they were educated about their individual community's heritage in order to prepare for CCT. Subsequently, the winning of National and Parish Best Community competitions have also made residents want to actively participate in the maintenance and beautification of their communities' landscapes. These prize monies and CCT's income generation through tourist donations have resulted in the pooling of money at the community level. This money is split between the many groups operating in these communities. For many residents, seeing the development in their communities, whether it is the improvement of infrastructure or the development of educational programs, gives them hope that their communities have a bright future for them and their children. Based on my data, it is clear that CCT has resulted in various reconfiguring and shifting geographies on the local scale.

I would like to return to my research questions, the first of which asked: how are discourses of authenticity being used to market community-based tourism operating in Treasure Beach and Beeston Spring, Jamaica and whose interests do these discourses serve? While I have shown that class divides continue to be reinforced in the interest of capital accumulation for the middle-class, the pursuit of CCT also serves the interests of the Jamaican government's goal of tourism diversification. Additionally, there are

opportunities for private businesses to invest in CCT once the CCTN/VAB program has developed market-ready tours. But I would argue that despite evidence of positive affective geographies of pride and hope, CCT does not serve the interests of the entire community. For instance, Beeston Spring has problems with money mismanagement at the Community Development Committee level, which comprises middle-class residents. And in Treasure Beach, the employment opportunities created by CCT force working-class women into further precarious positions particularly with the rising costs of social reproduction. Although, CCT promotes itself as a form of poverty alleviation through tourism processes, it does not enable working-class women's socio-economic mobility, but only forces them to seek out employment in the service sector. Also, CCT community projects have been unable to alleviate the major financial burdens of social reproduction such as education fees, elder care, health care, accessibility to healthy foods, and child rearing.

My second research question asked: how are women's everyday geographies appropriated when community-based tourism is marketed as an authentic travel experience and do women resist the appropriation of their everyday geographies? The data analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 revealed that women's participation in women's group activities such as the Calabash festival or the Environmental Awareness day have been used by CCT to market these communities as authentic representations of rural Jamaican culture. Thus, it is women's participation in the social care of their communities that are used in CCT marketing. Additionally, in both research sites, women were not resistant to the appropriation of their geographies because they believe in the affective geographies, in which the improvement of their communities will

result in the betterment of their families' lives. My third question asked: how does community-based tourism participate in place-making and alternative imaginaries of the Anglo-Caribbean? The answer to this question is that CCT may not be an active competitor in the imaginaries of the Anglo-Caribbean yet, but for those communities that participate in CCT, it has changed how they view tourism and has empowered them to actively contribute to the promoting of their community, which derives from concepts of home, culture and family.

## **6.2 Suggestions for Future Research**

Future research needs to continue to examine community politics and internal power relations involved in CCT. My research was limited to a few semi-structured interviews and participant observation. More research is needed to study how national and regional politics effects of CCT. Additionally, labour politics need to be further investigated, particularly for the working-class to consider how much people are making and the length of their hours. A longitudinal study of CCT would be useful for tracking how this organization changes and expands over the years. Future research examining the flow of capital in this organization and the development diaspora business networks are required. Also, research examining how residents understand capitalism and structures of oppression would be useful for understanding the construction of political identities and the various subjectivities that participants identify with when relating to community space or the home-space.

Lastly, the potential expansion of CCT in the next few years is also an area of interest. Although CCT is a small organization in comparison to resort tourism in the

Caribbean, the climate for its expansion is ideal. For example, tourists are increasingly motivated to learn more and be a part of the community development. The niche tourism ventures have also been targeted in various reports including the *Master Plan* (2002) as objectives for further development. Also, many Caribbean nations are looking toward niche tourism opportunities in various industries. These events are creative moments in the neoliberalization of Jamaica and the Caribbean that have created a climate ideal for CCT expansion.

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## **Appendix A: Interview Questions for Research Participants**

### Gender and Home

1. How long have you lived in Beeston Spring/ Treasure Beach?
2. In general, which area of the community do you live in?
3. Do you have any children?
4. Who lives in your household most of the time?
5. How do you keep your work life separate from your house life?
6. What is your role in the household? What are your responsibilities at home as opposed to while you are at work?
7. Do you or any of you family members participate in community-based tourism? What do you do? What do they do?
8. Is community-based tourism your main source of income? What other jobs do you have?
9. Are there job opportunities in community-based tourism that are more appropriate for men and women?
10. Do you interact with many tourists while at home? If yes, are they friendly interactions? If not, are there areas in the community tourists do not go to?
11. How do you maintain your property for community-based tourism? (ex. painted your house or mowed the grass)
12. Are there issues in the community that community-based tourism can or cannot address?
13. Are there people in the community who do not support community-based tourism? Why do you think they do not?
14. Tell me how you feel community-based tourism has impacted your community.

### Authenticity and Community-based Tourism

15. What is community-based tourism?
16. In your opinion, what is the difference between community-based tourism versus resort tourism?
17. Why have you chosen to work in community-based tourism?
  - a. Would you have rather worked in resort if you had the opportunity?
  - b. What are the most popular attractions in your community?
  - c. Do you think community-based tourism is preserving your culture? Why or why not?
18. Are there any rules the community follows to maintain the community for community-based tourism?
19. How does community based tourism compare from when it first began in the community to now?
20. How are decisions made in the community in regards to community-based tourism?
21. How do you feel about having the government and other institutions financially support community based tourism?
22. What do think of the publicity your community has received in recent years?
23. What do you think the future of community-based tourism will look like?

**Appendix B**  
**Interview Questions for Diana McIntyre-Pike**

1. What got you started in Community-based Tourism?
2. How does Countrystyle Community Tourism (CCT) differ from resort tourism?
3. In previous interviews, you've mentioned the idea of a mindset change could explain this concept?
4. Are you promoting the rebranding of Caribbean tourism?
5. Can tourism initiatives occur in any setting? Such as the workplace and different industries?
6. How do you advertise CCT?
7. How does CCT change the relationship between hosts and guests?
8. How are CCT initiatives being institutionalized on a national and regional scale?
9. Can you describe the type of tourism product CCT offers?
10. How has tourist motivations influenced the type of tourism packages your organization offers?
11. Tell me about the Pick-A-Project and Adopt-A-Village programs offered by CCT. Do you actually allow a tourist to adopt a village?
12. How many tourists are you hosting in CCT per year?
13. Are there enough tourists interested in CCT to make this a sustainable project? Are the dollars really there?
14. Are the diaspora a key market for CCT tourists and investors?
15. Tell me more about the networks you have created with the diaspora.
16. What are the future plans for CCT?

**Appendix C**  
**Research Participant Pseudonyms**

Participants	Basic Information
1. Lorna	Treasure Beach returnee, married, mother and guest house owner.
2. Marsha	Treasure Beach guest house owner from out of parish, single and works full time in another parish.
3. Mary	Returnee, divorced, works various jobs Treasure Beach and participates in the Treasure Beach Women's Group
4. Sara	A Treasure Beach resident who works at guest houses and mother of three.
5. Nancy	Treasure Beach returnee, married, retiree, church volunteer and Treasure Beach Women's Group volunteer.
6. Margaret	Beeston Spring resident, mother of one, volunteer for the Home Economics group.
7. Shirley	Resident of Beeston Spring, member of the Home Economics group, mother and student.
8. Angie	From Beeston Spring, mother of two, married, and a business owner.
9. Anna	Beeston Spring resident, returned from out of parish, mother of two, and business owner.
10. Jordana	A Beeston Spring resident who has returned for her retirement.
11. Carol	Participates in Beeston Spring community tour, mother of two, and has a full time career.
12. Lily	From Beeston Spring, mother of one, married and part business owner.
13. Astil	Village coordinator for Beeston Spring, single, manager for the Mighty Mento band, and tradesman.
14. Meryl	Returnee to Treasure Beach participates in the Treasure Beach Women's Group and is retired.

Participants	Basic Information
15. Dana	New resident to Treasure Beach, business owner, and a member of the Treasure Beach Women's Group.
16. Sasha	Young woman from Beeston Spring and participates in the Home Economics group.
17. Diana McIntyre- Pike	President of Countrystyle Community Tourism, from Mandeville, Manchester and is a tourism consultant.

## **Appendix D Data Analysis Procedure**

In this Appendix I will examine the steps taken to identify the themes that have emerged from my data. In order to analyse the data obtained through my field work diary, semi-structured interviews and participant observations I used a thematic analysis, which focusses on finding patterns within the data (Guest *et al.*, 2011). My data analysis began during my fieldwork where I wrote in my journal daily about the various activities and conversations I had at each research site. In addition, while I wrote I thought of the various descriptive codes that could summarize some of the themes coming from my fieldwork such as “women’s employment opportunities” and “class positionings” (Saldaña, 2012). My field work diary was also composed of questions to myself such as: what assumptions were residents making about the benefits of Countrystyle Community Tourism (CCT)?

When I returned to Canada, I started to transcribe the seventeen interviews I had conducted. When I finished transcribing my interviews and field notes I printed these off to begin pre-coding. During the pre-coding process, I highlighted provoking statements that I later incorporated into the codes used for this research (Saldaña, 2012).

Afterwards, I uploaded these files onto Dedoose, which is a program that allows its users to code qualitative data. I coded my interviews using some of the themes that I noted in my field diary as well as themes that emerged after I had read over the transcripts. In the end, I had twenty-five codes that were later recoded into nine thematic codes which were family structure; women’s employment and income generation; class differences and residential status; gender roles and entrepreneurship;

contextual information; community culture; physical landscape; positive aspects of community-based tourism (CBT); and the negative aspects of CBT.

These codes were organised into categories in order for me to further examine the connections between the codes and then to develop the themes that would be later be used in my thesis. The categories used to further group the codes were women's everyday geographies and authenticity. I also had two subcategories, which included neoliberal rhetoric and 'peace-through-tourism' logic. The first two categories were used to form the analytical chapters of this thesis and the subcategories were used to describe the logic behind CCT and its successful marketing as authentic. From these categories I ascertained the main themes that had emerged from these data, which I used to organise my chapters. The themes were entitled the cultural economics of work and occupational multiplicity; creative entrepreneurship, guest houses and home-stays; women's groups, social reproduction and the changing geographies of care; the logic of CCT; objectivist authenticity; new tourism geographies; and affective geographies. Thus, my data analysis moved from empirical coding to develop the concepts to theorize whether and how CCT produces uneven effects in both communities. These uneven effects represent neoliberal capitalism's broadening and deepening processes to find new sites for capital accumulation (Prudham, 2007).

In conclusion, the data used in this research were organized using a thematic analysis. The codes used for this thesis underwent three cycles that allowed for more descriptive and accurate themes to emerge from the data. The analysis of the interview

data led to theoretical concepts which explained the complexity of CCT processes as producing uneven effects in both communities.