The Effects of Tourism in Jamaica

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The Effects of Tourism on Jamaican Culture
Natalie Kearns

A First Look at Jamaica

As I stepped out of the airport and onto the tour bus that would take us to our specified hotels, I took in my surroundings. Not even two feet out of the airport and there was an open bar Margaritaville where nearly every tourist wandered. Red Stripe here, banana daiquiri there— it was all so tropical and exciting.

Then I boarded the megabus that would take visitors like myself to their respective resorts. We all piled on agitating for a window seat. My mom got to the window seat first, but she let me sit there instead. This was my first real tropical vacation, after all, and she wanted me to take in all the beautiful sights.

Driving down the main road, which conveniently lies a mere 10 feet from the coastline, I saw beautiful sights alright. Crystal-clear, blue-green waters, subtle waves lapping at the rocky beaches, palm trees, and exquisite resorts were out the window to my left. But, turning my head only 90 degrees offered me a drastically different scene. I was unprepared to see sandy, trash-ridden land surrounding tin, wood, or bare cinderblock homes clustered together only two or three feet apart. Roofs were made of tin or dried palm fronds strung together with scrap rope-like materials. Some of the houses, if they constituted a house, had no doors or window coverings and looking into the huts I could only see blackness.

I found myself shifting my head left and right constantly trying to take in the situation that unfolded in front of my eyes. Only a 30 foot distance and strategically built buildings separated a beautiful all-inclusive resort from the impoverished living conditions right outside the resort’s front gate.

I immediately realized that I was in for an entire week of experiencing the extremes of privilege and poverty. During my seven days on the island, I was able to enjoy myself while in the confines of my all-inclusive resort. It was only when I ventured outside of the resort’s grounds that I was again shocked and forced to acknowledge the poverty of the island surrounding beautiful resorts. I have been intrigued with Jamaican culture and identity and possess a desire to understand how such extreme conditions can function so closely together since that week in “paradise.” It has made me question—has tourism to Jamaica created a platform for an “authentic” culture to develop that allows poverty to persist across the street from beach resorts or has it enabled the tourist industry to erase Jamaican culture in order to sell what they want to be “authentic”?

-Natalie Kearns, Jamaica 2014
Introduction

From my eye-opening experience after landing on the island of Jamaica, I was curious and interested in researching to see if tourism to Jamaica affected the culture, population, and history of the island. My main question centered on whether or not tourism has created an opportunity for a culture to develop that ultimately allows poverty to persist in conjunction with large tourist resorts. What I have found after my efforts demonstrates that a culture tourists deem acceptable to visit was created after actual Jamaican culture is successfully erased, discredited, and ignored.

To get a well rounded idea of tourism happening in Jamaica, I will look at Jamaica’s history starting when Columbus discovered the island on behalf of Spain. I explore how the island came to be occupied by outsiders and how a racial hierarchy developed across the island leading, ultimately, to tourism developing on the island. All of these elements are important when trying to understand the tourist influence in Jamaica.

In addition to a well developed account of Jamaica’s history, I use theorists such as Lanfant, Urry, and Bruner to explain ideas of place, identity, and authenticity. These theorists’ concepts and discussions can be used to interpret how ideas about place, identity, and authenticity are questioned as tourists enter into interactions with local communities and geographical locations.

To connect my initial interest of how multi-million dollar resorts and poverty can exist within reach of each other in Jamaica, I will use my examination of Jamaica’s history and the theories discussed above to explain tourism by conducting a content analysis of images tourists see when researching Jamaica while surfing the internet. Using a methodical system to collect
images from websites, I analyze the pictures for themes of place (physical location), identity, and authenticity with an end goal of providing an explanation of how poverty persists on the island of Jamaica while the tourist industry is expanding.

**History of Jamaica**

Jamaica was first discovered by the Europeans in 1494 when Christopher Columbus arrived on what is today Jamaica. Columbus found indigenous peoples called Arawaks as he searched the newly discovered land. In spite of the indigenous Arawaks inhabiting the island, Jamaica’s island territory suited Columbus’ mission of expanding the Spanish rule. Columbus invaded Jamaica, claiming the island as a newly achieved Spanish asset.

Soon after discovery, by the advice of Columbus, Spanish settlers began to arrive in Jamaica bringing with them African slaves by way of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. With the Spanish invasion, the Arawaks who originally inhabited the island quickly died from old world diseases including smallpox and measles and from violence with the Spanish over land. After acquiring the island, the Spanish did not use Jamaica as a place to inhabit and build community, but rather as a base to get closer to the gold and silver in the Americas and take part in the extractive resource trade. During the time period from 1494 when Columbus first invaded the island up to the year 1655, the Spanish never saw the island as an acceptable place to live. Columbus and the Spanish settlers merely used the land to increase Spain’s wealth by exploiting the island’s extractive resources and to grow export crops such as sugar all on the back of their African slaves.

In 1655, the British Admirals William Penn and Robert Venables captured Jamaica from the Spanish. Once in British control, British settlers quickly decided to colonize Jamaica to
benefit Britain’s trade and economy. The settlers built and used a port, dubbed Port Royal, as an operational trading base to ferry in, and export out, goods. Port Royal opened up Jamaica’s borders to other European settlers from countries like Ireland, Scotland, and Barbados looking to exploit the island as the Spanish succeeded in doing before the British invasion. With these settlers came new agricultural products that brought the settlers profit by exporting the crops back to England and elsewhere.

Slaves, shipped in from Africa, were the primary tool for exploiting the land that made up Jamaica’s plantations (Holder, 2013, pg 44). Unlike what is learned in history class, men, women, and children were all captured and forced to make their trek across the Atlantic Ocean to Jamaica. If the Africans caught were considered too old or too young, they were in danger of being killed on the spot, but nonetheless nearly every African captured was deemed an acceptable slave (Diptee, 2010, p 7).

The sugar industry, brought originally from Barbados, was to be the most prosperous crop for the settlers at the expense to the island’s fertility and the expense to the countless slaves forced to work on the plantations that produced the sugar. Sugar became Jamaica’s single export that got shipped out of Port Royal to the rest of the world. These sugar plantations covered Jamaica’s extensive 4,244 square miles of fertile land (Holder, 2013, pg 44).

In 1670, Jamaica became the largest producer of sugar in the entire Caribbean on the back of a vast number of enslaved Africans. With the boom of the sugar industry on the island, the demand for slaves drastically increased. The estimated numbers of people living in Jamaica in 1670 was 8,000 whites and 9,504 black slaves (Holder, 2013, pg 44). Jamaica remained the largest producer of sugar until 1789 when nearby Haiti pulled into the production lead. By
1789, though, Jamaica’s population of whites grew to about 25,000 whites compared to 210,894 black slaves (Holder, 2013, pg 44).

Such extreme growth demonstrates that sugar production was still an important part of the Jamaican economy widely dependent upon the captive men, women, and child slaves. Continued industry growth and development was demanded by the plantation owners due to Haiti’s competition causing slaves to endure the impossible conditions even more (Holder, 2013).

Since sugar was the lifeblood of the newly formed Jamaican society, extreme measures were taken to make sure sugar production was as productive as possible. Slaves were pushed to work strenuous hours and in hazardous work conditions. The average off season workday schedule included being woken up at 4:00 a.m. by a ringing bell with white overseers yelling or cracking a whip. Before their day of intense work started, the slaves had to attend morning roll-call. Tardiness was not tolerated. Being late to roll-call ended in a whipping. After roll-call the sugar plantation slaves had to complete their routine, morning jobs such as feeding the animals, cleaning their huts and stacking firewood, before heading to the brutal sugar cane fields. Once in the fields, the slaves worked endlessly until sunset. At sunset their nightly chores commenced which included the cleaning and feeding of plantation animals. Once the nightly duties were complete, the slaves were released to go back to their huts to sleep. During the sugar season, this daily routine was doubled. This was accomplished by creating two rotating shifts of slaves, with each rotation anywhere from 12 to 20 hours long. Such hours and the use of two rotating shifts allowed for the fields to be worked continuously (Bakan, 1990, pg 21).
Slavery on the island of Jamaica, though just as brutal as in the rest of the world, had some very different elements to the system. Almost all slaves were allowed little plots of land on the outskirts of the sugar plantations. These plots were locations where sugar cane couldn’t grow, and therefore, they were deemed worthless to the plantation owner. Since the land was virtually worthless, the owner would allow slaves to use the land. This small freedom, though, was not a generous gift but rather a way to reduce the costs of having to feed slaves. The farming done by the slaves on their own plots of land constituted the main source of food for the slaves. They had to feed themselves and provide themselves with basic nutrition in order to survive. Masters would only provide items, such as saltfish that the slaves couldn’t produce on their own (Bakan, 1990, pg 23).

Since the land was given to the slaves because it was hard to cultivate crops, slaves had to be adaptive and learn to grow many different kinds of produce. Slaves learned to grow sweet potatoes, arrowroot, plantains, and coconuts. Plantation owners also allowed the slaves to raise a small number of cows, chickens, and pigs to supplement their diets. The masters recognized that an extremely malnourished slave is an unproductive slave. It was in the plantation owner’s best interests to allow slaves to grow their own food on pieces of worthless land rather than having to provide everything for them. Jamaican slaves tending to their own gardens and farms began to identify as provision farmers, as they grew provisions necessary to sustain themselves (Bakan, 1990, pg 23). Their knowledge of how to grow different crops later aided the Jamaican slaves when their freedom was granted.

The Emancipation Act was finally sent as a bill to the British Parliament in 1833 by Lord Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies. The purpose of the act aimed to free all slaves on the
island since slaves throughout Britain were to be emancipated too. The support for the emancipation of slaves was a sweeping trend across the globe, and the idea came to Jamaica as well since the island was controlled by the British. Strong resistance from plantation owners kept the bill in discussion for many years, but the bill was finally passed in 1838. The official emancipation of slaves in 1838 on the island of Jamaica brought extreme turmoil to the plantation owners. The plantation owners were furious because without slaves and forced labor, nobody wanted to work the sugar cane fields. Less sugar exported meant less money coming into Jamaica and into the plantation owners’ pockets. Plantation owners saw ruin in their future as the slaves were freed.

Even though the slaves were emancipated and set free, they were not welcomed into society as equals. The racial hierarchy that was cultivated as the island developed was still firmly in place. White plantation owners were much higher on the racial hierarchy than the newly freed slaves. At the first mention of emancipation, plantation owners strongly resisted the bill and tried to ensure such a law did not pass. Once the Emancipation Act was passed, plantation owners saw ruin in their businesses without the forced labor they once had control over. The plantation owners now had to think of a way to make sure the sugar cane fields still got worked.

Plantations began offering wages to the newly freed slaves to come back and work on the sugar cane fields, but many if not all were reluctant. The newly freed slaves were finally allowed to focus on their own farms instead of being forced to work on the plantations. This reluctance and the chance to work for themselves on their own plots of land brought with it a
massive labor shortage for the plantation owners growing sugar throughout the island just as the plantation owners’ feared (Bakan, 1990, p 24).

This didn’t sit well with the powerful plantation owners and even in some parts of the government. The British Parliament, after granting the Emancipation Act, attempted to help the sugar industry and plantation owners by offering compensation awards to help support the dramatic decrease in labor. The monetary awards were meant to pay down debts and supplement the loss of profits as Africans abandoned work on the plantations they were previously forced to farm. The compensation awards, though, proved insufficient.

Many sugar plantation owners still lacked the funds needed to continue operations. Sugar plantations declined from 670 properties to 513 leading to 400,000 acres of land abandoned by plantation owners due to the labor shortages (Bakan, 1990, pg 28). In contrast to the plantations, the little farms managed by the newly freed slaves didn’t receive any support from government officials. The plantation owners received more attention and money therefore perpetuating the racial hierarchy that already existed throughout the island. The slaves had to figure out their futures on their own without further assistance from the government. But they persevered against the lack of support and introduced many new crops to the historically single crop island.

With the dramatic decrease in sugar plantations across Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean, global sugar production declined. This decline in sugar production created a sugar crisis which means that sugar demand greatly exceeded production ability. Given the decline in slavery the sugar industry in Jamaica and the Caribbean could no longer support the economies in the Caribbean, and countries including Jamaica had to find a new market to explore.
During 1871, an American Captain Lorenzo Dow Baker introduced bananas into the Jamaican agricultural market. Baker first brought bananas to Port Antonio, Jamaica from the Canary Islands. When Baker brought bananas to America from Jamaica, the popularity of the fruit was enough to convince United Fruit Company to invest in steam boats, buy land in Jamaica, and export bananas back to America and other countries. Though the sugar crisis was a tough blow to the Jamaican economy and would prove to last well into the 1900s, the banana industry was seen as Jamaican plantation owners’ next golden future or so they thought (Bakan, 1990, pg 30).

Agricultural shifts on the island from sugar to bananas occurred because of the sugar crisis which threatened the Jamaican economy and because popularity of bananas in other regions of the world were quickly increasing. As banana production in Jamaica expanded, business between Jamaican banana producers and United Fruit Company increased the export economy in Jamaica after the sugar industry crashed. The banana industry, though, did not pan out to be as lucrative as the sugar industry once was- it did not bring the financial and economic gains Jamaica so drastically needed.

James Wiley in his book Banana: Empires, Trade Wars, and Globalization claimed that the banana industry failure on the island is linked to the fact that Jamaica was a British colony with a well established government. With this well established government in place, the government tends to not be as easily corrupted by outside influences.

In addition to Jamaica having an organized government, Jamaica already had beginning stages of infrastructure on the island. The infrastructure which includes roads was deemed acceptable to transport banana crops to ships waiting at the ports instead of building railroads.
The lack of railroads, though, caused bananas to reach ports after the bananas would ripen and rot leading to lost profits. But most importantly, Jamaica lacked remote areas for banana crops to grow. Bananas required isolation to grow, and the island was built around the support for sugar cane fields. The island just wasn’t capable of supporting the new industry (Wiley, 2008, p 75).

Baker recognized Jamaica needed another market to invest in, and he realized his current banana export business partnered with United Fruit Company could expand in a different direction. Baker and United Fruit Company decided to ferry people, as tourists, from America and other parts of the world to visit and experience the tropical land of Jamaica.

Baker’s idea of travelling to Jamaica sounded lucrative for himself and his partnership with United Fruit Company, but first some major hurdles had to be crossed before Jamaica’s land and beaches were deemed acceptable to the white westerners coming for recreational purposes. The settlers and blacks already living on the island typically lived farther inland where the fertile land was found. The settlers rarely went to the beaches due to the lack of sanitation and disease. The island during the early years was dubbed “the white man’s grave” due to the many Spanish and British settlers catching yellow fever, malaria, and other diseases. Jamaica desperately needed to be cleaned up and needed to dispel its nickname if Baker’s idea of tourism was to happen (Holder, 2013, p 49).

The image of the “white man’s grave” was detrimental to Baker’s tourism dream. But, nonetheless, around the 1880s, Jamaica began to be promoted to prospective tourists as a lovely place to visit. Baker and roughly 60 United Fruit Company steam boats began bringing tourists to Jamaica (Holder, 2013, p 50). High mountain views, clear air, and invigorating
adventures were offered as a way to relax and experience Jamaica. Such mountain retreats were the focus during attempts at sanitizing Jamaica’s beaches. As more people took Baker and United Fruit Company’s steam boats to the island, infrastructure was put in place around the coastline and beaches to ensure travel was safe for visitors. Roads and drainage systems were the main focus. By adding infrastructure such as roads and drainage systems, beaches were experiencing less waste flowing directly onto and into the coastline.

In 1890, the Jamaican Hotels Law was passed in order to further promote the tourism industry in Jamaica. United Fruit Company, among others, began investing in building facilities necessary for the visiting white tourists. Newly built infrastructure on Jamaican lands included hotels built along the coastline and beaches of the island. Paved streets, market squares, transportation from ports to hotels, and more were built to make the visiting tourist’s stay more enjoyable (Gmelch, 2003, p 5-6). With the new infrastructure in place and increased interest in the island, Jamaica’s allure created an ample opportunity to attract visitors.

The next opportunity Jamaica took to bring more tourists to the island was The Great Exhibition of 1891. It was held in Jamaica’s capital, Kingston. The event was supposed to encourage Jamaican tourism and set the standards for tourism across the island. The exhibition displayed Jamaica’s selling points such as their main agricultural crops including sugar, rum, coffee, cocoa, cigars, cigarettes, and tobacco. New roads, bridges, railways, sewage systems, and other important infrastructure were built to accommodate the massive number of visitors estimated to attend the event. Despite the hard work and dedication that went into hosting the Great Exhibition, it turned out to be less of a success than originally planned. Jamaica’s exhibition was estimated to be the largest exhibition ever held in history, but the event was not
as financially profitable for the island as hoped. The visitors in attendance for the opening day were estimated to equal 8,000 people. By the closing day on May 2, 1891, a total of 302,831 visitors were counted (Holder, 2013, p 51). Despite the numbers in attendance of the event, the exhibition lost more money than the event brought in. This loss brought Jamaica’s financial standing drastically lower than it was before the exhibition opened. The only real success the Great Exhibition of 1891 achieved was the demonstration of different Jamaican cultures, produce, and goods (Tortello, 2002).

The idea of modern, or mass, tourism was officially established on the island of Jamaica around 1944. World War II was coming to a close, finally ending in 1945. With the end of the war, the American economy soared and families were once again reunited. Because the economy was experiencing an economic boom, the American middle class drastically expanded allowing families for the first time to have a disposable income. Families were able to buy their own homes instead of renting, buy cars, and experience new technological innovations such as air conditioning. The post-war boom allowed Americans to enjoy themselves and experience leisure for the first time, including vacationing (Moffatt, 2015).

During this same time period, Jamaica felt an increased influx of tourism to the island. This was due to increased ability to travel as the economy stabilized. A new vacation package was also introduced to the tourism market that sparked tourists’ interest. The popular vacation package that Jamaican resorts began to offer was the “all-inclusive” resort. The Caribbean Tourism Organization (CTO) defines an all-inclusive resort as “resorts or vacations where all or most hotel guest services are included in one pre-paid package price. This includes airport
transfers, accommodation, all meals, drinks and snacks, alcoholic beverages, entertainment, sports facilities, water sports, government taxes and gratuities” (Holder, 2013, p 53).

Along with the new all-inclusive resorts, the introduction of long haul airplanes in the 1960s helped expand the tourism industry in Jamaica and other parts of the world (Gmelch, 2003, p 5). Long haul airplanes made the world seem smaller by creating a way for tourists to travel even faster across the world. What once took tourists from Europe three weeks to sail now only took eight hours by air. Travel agencies and other businesses created solely to promote tourism immediately developed to take advantage of the newly available transportation.

The Caribbean, in general, was heavily promoted as an “exotic” region in efforts to increase tourism. Promotions included pictures of beautiful beaches, tropical climates, and a chance to experience “paradise.” In 1959 the Caribbean had 1.3 million tourists, but by 1965, after long haul jets had been around for a few years, the tourism count was closer to 4 million visitors. By 1985, tourism to the Caribbean region rose to 10 million visitors, and by 2000 over 17 million visitors flew to the Caribbean (Gmelch, 2003, p 8). Jamaica, like many other Caribbean countries, mainly depends on the tourist industry to maintain its financial and economic standing, and the trend shows that tourism to the Caribbean is continuing to increase.

Tourism has been in Jamaica for many years, and its presence has brought both opportunities, struggles, and also many changes to the island. The inequalities and racial hierarchy that developed as African slaves were brought to the island to work on plantations has continued today for the local Jamaican population. How tourists have affected Jamaican
culture along with the long history of Jamaican development is worth noticing. If tourism to Jamaica has altered the local Jamaican culture, then does that make current Jamaican culture inauthentic? Is authentic culture even real, or is it a creation of what the tourists think, want, or have grown to expect as they travelled across the country to the tourist destination of their choice. As tourists travel to Jamaica, do they go to experience “authentic” Jamaican culture or do they go to experience a chance to live a day of “paradise” under the sun, on the sand, and with a fruity drink in their hand?

**Authenticity**

Raj, Griffin, and Morpeth define tourists in search of “authentic” culture as “people who, in their leisure time, are to varying degrees seeking enjoyment, are culturally motivated, are wishing to gather new information and experiences, and want to satisfy their human need for diversity” (2013, p. 13). From this definition it can be understood that authenticity is a very complex notion influenced by many different factors. The importance of understanding how culture is influenced and created is relevant when trying to discern what constitutes an authentic culture. Theorists Marie-Francoise Lanfant, Edward M. Bruner, and John Urry use their own ideas and interpretations to explain their understanding of “authentic” culture in tourism. Though the three theorists differ, they all converge in three similar aspects throughout their arguments place, identity, and authenticity. Place, identity, and authenticity operate in a parallel fashion but influence one another simultaneously as well. Since the elements of place, identity, and authenticity are all equally important and closely connected, their ideas can be used to try to understand how tourist-local interactions are deemed authentic even after the tourist industry has been established within a given country.
While discussing how tourists decide where to visit, Bruner explains the importance of the tourist destination, or “place.” Bruner says tourists are “on a quest to find authentic peoples and authentic culture” when they decide to travel to a different country (Bruner, 1989). One of the biggest tasks for a tourist is to actually make the decision to go on a trip. Tourists seek to “experience” a life and place far different from what they know. Bruner argues that the tourist must choose which country to visit given the resources that are available to them. Tourists today can find any degree of vacation and adventure based on their ability and willingness to pay for it. Bruner also states that, “tourism translates experience into image and object, that is, into photographs and souvenirs” (Bruner, 1989). The tourist place is turned into a commodity, which in turn, becomes an object that people strive to collect and consume. Ultimately, they physically transform the surroundings to meet their preconceived expectations of the culture and society.

As tourists enter a place, “the place becomes determined by external forces and reconstructed from a tourist point of view” (Lanfant, 1995, p 5). Lanfant’s claim coincides with Bruner’s statement that tourists see the point of vacations, though not necessarily consciously, as consuming the place they are paying money to visit. As more and more tourists travel across the world, they bring with them already formed images, ideas, and expectations of what they will actually experience. Tourists research what amenities resorts offer, the type of excursions and adventures that will be available, the images of the places they plan to visit, and they read promotional materials such as brochures, travel books, and travel websites. Every piece of material they read, watch, listen to, or look at influences the tourist’s preconceived ideas of what they will be experiencing once they land in the destination location.
In large part, the tourist industry is also responsible for places changing over time. The industry must keep demand high, so it promotes whatever is popular at a specific point in time. For example, if indigenous Mayan dancing is popular, more travel packages and tourist excursions featuring Mayan dancing appear for purchase. Therefore the available activities in any given place will ultimately have an effect on how the local people live, find jobs, and function together every day. The local population must be capable of adapting to changing tourist expectations. Such forced adaptability captures the idea that racial hierarchies still exist in countries like Jamaica. The local Afro-Jamaican population must cater to the white peoples’ interests and expectations.

Similarly, in his book Mayas in the Marketplace, Walter Little explains how “the number of vendors in Antigua [marketplace] on a given day fluctuates greatly because of competition, tourists’ itineraries, and vendor’s out-of-market activities” (Little, 2004, p 94). Though how vendors sell at the market depends on multiple factors, the number of tourists visiting the market affects the vendors’ selling choices the most. Many visitors, argues Little, come to the marketplace on Saturdays and Sundays and therefore more vendors are available on those days. As tourists embark on the strategically advertised adventures, tourists believe and assume the cultural adventures they are experiencing are historically “authentic.” Yet, as Little demonstrates, tourism influences how, what, and when the native Maya work.

Another prominent theorist concerned with how tourism affects a society and country is John Urry. In Urry’s book, Consuming Places, he emphasizes the idea that places are built and reconstructed to ultimately be consumed by the visiting. Ourists. This consumption is done both visually and physically by virtually everyone who is involved in the tourist transaction including
the tourists, investors, local societies, governments, among many more parties. These parties create a tourist destination by growing, exploiting, depleting, and even exhausting the country’s resources.

To help understand exactly how tourists affect the countries they travel to, Urry developed an idea of the “tourist gaze” (Urry, 2002, p 131). Urry found that there are many different types of tourist gazes. The varying forms of gazes Urry categorizes demonstrates how tourists observe and interact with places, people, or activities. The gazes, then, alter the surrounding space, transforming the people, physical location, and culture into a commodity to be consumed by being observed by and interacting with the tourists. The gaze starts the moment a tourist reaches the country and stays with each and every visitor throughout their vacation. According to Urry, “Increasing numbers of such [tourist destinations] come to suffer from the same pattern of destruction” (Urry, 2002, p 134). The destruction he mentions is caused by traveling tourists and the tourist industry market. Tourists and market demands erode local cultures and reshape the norms of a society to fit tourists’ ideal adventures.

Little explains how tourists’ “perceptions are tempered by tourists’ practices of surveillance, which is a convention of tourism itself” (Little, 2004, p 65). Such surveillance is accomplished by studying and reading maps, guide books, and by viewing people from a distance. Little uses the term “high place” to explain the distance between locals and tourists (Little, 2004, p 65). A “high place” may include second floor balconies of a resort, restaurants, and other multi-floor buildings. High places distinguish the tourist’s zone from the local’s zone and make the tourist place “manageable” (Little, 2004, p 65). If the tourist destination is not easily understood or made “manageable,” then tourists will be discouraged from walking
around and experiencing the available culture. Therefore, the place wouldn’t be an acceptable place for tourists to visit. They will interpret the place as unsafe, confusing, or undesirable. To ensure such opinions don’t develop, countries invest and promote activities, businesses, and behaviors that more approximate what the tourist expects when they visit.

One of the tourist gazes Urry describes is called the romantic gaze. Romantic tourist gazes involve visual consumption and awe. The foliage, resorts, excursions and attractions, restaurants, busy city centers, local vendors along streets, beaches, wildlife, and everything in between catches the tourist’s eye. They are there to consume, visually and physically, the country and its resources. The new sights fulfill a romanticized idea of the country. The tourists are finally able to compare what they have been imagining to what is actually available in the country (Franklin, 2003). Urry’s gaze theory can be used to question what and how tourists take in their surroundings, or gaze at the place, while they are on vacation. Since a tourist harbors a romantic gaze, they may only be seeing what they want to see or what they believe to be authentic. Tourists will notice pristine beaches and coastlines, palm trees swaying in the breeze, beautiful flowers, delicious local cuisine, and other vacation related images and ideas that align with their idea of exotic, tropical, paradise. Racial inequalities of the local population compared to tourist investors and the tourists themselves may not be as easily noticeable because the image contradicts the romanticized image of the vacation place.

Lanfant states that, “tourism allows new identities to emerge- identities corresponding to the new plural-ethnic and plural-state configurations which are forming” (Lanfant, 1995, p 4). This simply means that as tourists and locals come together in a vacation setting, at least two ethnicities and at least two cultures collide creating a type of hybrid identity. As two or more
different societies come together in interactions, “outside and inside lines are blurred” (Lanfant, 1995, p 4). Tourists and locals are both in a sense vulnerable because these interactions cause both parties to identify individual traits that they possess as their own and categorize traits that are different from what they normally enact. In such a vulnerable state, interactions are manipulated and both parties begin to act out behaviors that are believed to be expected from them. By acting out what is expected, individual identities in both parties are altered.

Bruner, too, speaks of a level of vulnerability that occurs between two differing groups of people interacting together. He explains that experiences are personal and that each experience shapes current and future actions. People understand others based on an individual’s own experiences and self-understanding. Self-understanding stems from how individuals have grown up in a culturally constructed environment. In other words, the society people are raised in affects how they interpret the world and people around them. Everyone is actively constructing the environment they engage in.

When tourists come together in the same space as a local population, both parties are thrown into a social limbo. They begin to act out believed or perceived behaviors attempting to fulfill their identity as either a tourist or a local. It is said that “cultural change, cultural continuity, and cultural transmission all occur simultaneously in the experiences and expressions of social life” (Turner, V., Bruner, E., 1986). Bruner, then, argues that interactions are always influential. This is especially so when considering the interactions that take place between tourists and locals. Both use pre-constructed ideas of how the other should walk, talk, dress, look, and act.
Little notes that Maya women are, “distinguished as an attraction by noting that when women are on the street they use colorful and clean outfits” in order to exhibit an idea of authentic Maya identity (Little, 2004, p 203). If tourists visiting don’t see Maya women dressed in their “authentic” colorful garb, the locals are not acting out the tourist’s expected behavior putting the tourist in a situation of not understanding or enjoying the encounter.

Such expected interactions also allow for local poverty to be ignored by visiting tourists. The poverty points out a detrimental image to their preconceived idea of the place. Instead of recognizing the poverty and racial inequalities that exist on the island and be thrust into an interaction they deem uncomfortable, they avoid it altogether. Local populations sense the avoidance and act in behaviors that allow the tourists’ to turn their attention to the beautiful images of their vacation. This giving in to others’ expectations of what tourists believe to be appropriate behavior is then inevitable and becomes infused within the local society especially when money is at stake.

Another kind of gaze Urry discusses can be used to understand how tourists affect a host country’s local identities. Tourists engage in a “spectatorial gaze” that involves them seeing or experiencing locals in their visible everyday activities (Urry, 1995, p 191). However, such activities are limited to the resort workers cleaning hotel rooms, serving the endless supply of meals and drinks, and engaging guests through enthusiastic conversations or resort performances. Occasionally tourists can also perform their spectatorial gaze outside the resort walls, but it often is carried out in tourist attractions built specifically for tourist entertainment. Rarely does a tourist get to glimpse how locals interact freely with their fellow countryman or in their own neighborhoods and homes. The tourists see what they are expecting or want to see.
Resort management, government, and the tourist industry try to direct or dictate how locals in a country are to act toward their visiting tourists.

So how do flexible ideas of place and identity allow for an authentic culture to develop and persist through time and space? Lanfant, Bruner, and Urry’s arguments explain in great detail that a physical location and identities of those involved in interactions are vastly influenced by virtually everything that goes on in a specific place or point in time. The authentic culture that tourists travel across the world to witness is shaped by the tourist’s interpretation and actions, industry demand, local interpretation and actions, and everything in between. As Bruner so expertly stated, “reality is best understood as the result of interpretations and social constructions that allow it to continue” (Bruner, 1989). These different perspectives and expectations come together during interactions between tourists and local populations to construct an “authentic” tourist reality outside tragic historical developments, racial inequalities, and perpetuated poverty. Tourists’ see the exotic destination through a narrow lens and see the paradise they believe to be “authentic.”

Content Analysis

After the thorough explanation of the historical expansion of Jamaica, and using theorists’ perspectives on tourist influences on places, this thesis shifts to analyzing what tourists see, learn, and interpret after looking at resources available on the internet about Jamaica. This will be accomplished by conducting a content analysis.

Let me first explain what content analysis means. Content analysis is, “an empirical (observational) and objective procedure for quantifying recorded “audio-visual” representation
using reliable, explicitly defined categories” (Van Leeuwen, Jewitt, 2001, p 13). In a content analysis, there must be a clear hypothesis and methodical process of collecting data. Without explicit intent and procedures, analysis on the information gathered may lack necessary consideration of other important factors.

With my current understanding of how tourists influence place, identity, and authentic culture provided to me by the theorists Lanfant, Bruner, and Urry, I believe that the images tourists see while researching Jamaica influence what they perceive as Jamaican culture. Tourists’ preconceived ideas of Jamaica, then, travel with them as they visit Jamaica. Tourists influence Jamaicans to create a new or hybrid “authentic” culture and allow for poverty and racial inequalities to persist throughout the island of Jamaica.

To explore my hypothesis, I decided to use three search engines on the internet, type in a phrase about tourism in Jamaica, and use the website results to download pictures related to vacationing in Jamaica. According to ebizmba.com, an online guide for companies interested in expanding their business presence on the internet, Google, Bing, and Yahoo! are the top three most popular search engines, respectively. In all three search engines, I typed the same phrase “Jamaican Tourism.” Google, Bing, and Yahoo! all listed about 2,740,000 results available.

To keep data collection as unbiased as possible, I decided to pick the first, third, fifth, and seventh websites from each search engine after typing in my selected phrase. Google’s results provided me with visitjamaica.com, tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g147309-Jamaica-Vacations, lonelyplanet.com/Jamaica, and mot.gov.jm/content/Jamaica-tourist-board-jtb. Bing offered visitjamaica.com, cometojamaica.com, tourismja.com/tourism-in-jamaica, and wikitravel.org/en/Jamaica. Lastly, Yahoo!’s first, third, fifth, and seventh results included
visitjamaica.com, tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g147309-Jamaica-Vacations, jamaicatourism.net, and jtbonline.org/pages/default.

Even though I attempted to sample 12 different websites from three different search engines, my method resulted in some of the same websites coming up repeatedly. Visitjamaica.com was the first website on each search engine’s result list. Tripadvisor.com was another popular website that came up more than once. The Jamaican Tourism Board website was listed as a result multiple times, though different search engines provided me access to different sections of the website.

The websites I compiled to do my data collection had similar themes of activities available throughout Jamaica, but they did not have all of the same content. The websites could be broken down into two main types - travel guide websites and informative websites. The travel guide websites consist of information and pictures that promote the activities and marketable image of Jamaica. The informative websites include Jamaican tourism information, Jamaican news, policies and legislative news, and more.

Visitjamaica.com appears to be the primary website that is available to market directly to tourists planning to visit Jamaica. Content on the website includes activities available, what different locations across the island have to offer, travel guide information, and even a link to book a vacation. It is the ultimate Jamaican vacation travel resource. Tripadvisor.com/Jamaica, Lonelyplanet.com/Jamaica, cometojamaica.com, and jamaicatourist.net included much of the same information aimed at enticing tourists to visit the island.

Mot.gov.jm/content/Jamaica-tourist-board-jtb is a website that provides information to tourists about tourism in Jamaica, entertainment, Jamaican policies and legislation, and aims to
keep Jamaica the premier Caribbean destination and is run by the Jamaican Tourist Board (JTB). Another search engine result I found was tourismja.com/tourism-in-jamaica. This website is directly linked to the JTB’s website and offers much of the same content plus a section containing Jamaican news updates. Just like the first informative website result, this website is run by the Jamaican Tourist Board as well.

Wikitravel.org/en/Jamaica is the only website result that was a mix between the two types of websites. It is a tour guide website and an informative website revealing tourist attraction information and informative historical and current facts about the island. I gained further knowledge of each website after I collected my sample of pictures to ensure I selected the pictures in a random fashion.

Once I had my search engines and systematic website collection done, I revisited the websites to download pictures of Jamaica that were available on the sites. On each website, I downloaded the first three pictures I came across. Some websites, like visitjamaica.com and cometojamaica.com, had an abundance of pictures right on the home page of the website. Others, such as jbtnline.org or wikitravel.org, had relatively few pictures available to download. I had to scroll down the pages or even click off the home page to find the three pictures that my data collection procedure required.

Since a few websites repeated, I decided to use the first set of three images and the second set of three pictures and so on for every time a website repeated. That way I was still able to use the first, third, fifth, and seventh websites systematically but still be able to draw enough pictures needed to conduct a viable content analysis.
Appendix one includes all 36 images that were collected from the four websites selected from the results of three different search engines. The picture content ranged from views of the ocean and palm trees, pictures of people being active, resorts, maps, and more. From these pictures I was able to distinguish several themes. Table 1 demonstrates all of the themes I extracted out of my sample of pictures.

Themes Found in Dataset of 36 Pictures Sampled from Google, Bing, and Yahoo!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme Found in Picture</th>
<th>Number of Pictures in Sample (36)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ocean/Beaches</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuisine/Beverages</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activies with People</td>
<td>12 total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White People</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican People</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can’t Tell Ethnicity</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Word “Jamaica”</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Marley Reference</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

The most common theme among the images was how often the beach and ocean were emphasized. Out of 36 pictures, 16 pictures were of pristine beaches, crystal clear water, and iconic “paradise” images. Below is an example of the kind of beaches Jamaica is advertised and known for:

Search Engine #2: Bing, Seventh Website: http://wikitravel.org/en/Jamaica, #22
The next theme that was noticeable while looking through the compiled pictures involved images of people partaking in activities available on the island of Jamaica. Though the beaches are spectacular and have a large influence on attracting tourists, Jamaica must have adventurous and exciting excursions for tourists to do in order for the tourists to truly feel like they are experiencing Jamaica. The picture to the left, was a picture found on Search Engine #1: Google, First website: http://www.visitjamaica.com/, #3. Since Jamaica is known for its abundant produce and products on the island, such as rum, tourists come to Jamaica looking to taste and try real Jamaican products. Jamaican rum is available in restaurants, all-inclusive resorts, and even in gift shops found in the airport for tourists to purchase.

Other activities that the pictures revealed included a family snorkeling in the ocean, tourists climbing up Dunn’s River Falls in Ochos Rios, tourists sunning themselves on the beach, people getting married, dancing, horseback riding, boating on a river, and even competing in sporting events. All of the activities look like typical tourist attractions, but I noticed a very peculiar piece of information that never occurred to me before doing this content analysis. In all 12 pictures that involve people being active in Jamaica, there were no obvious Jamaicans present except in one particular picture.

In this picture shown below, two statues of Jamaicans are depicted. This was the only picture out of the 36 that had an easily identifiable Jamaican person. As the picture shows,
these local Jamaicans preserved in metal are not designed to commemorate a specific person from Jamaican history but rather stand there as a generic image of Jamaican people. It is as if Jamaican people aren’t depicted to have distinguishable culture that is worth capturing in a sculpture or picture.

Search Engine #3: Yahoo!, Fifth Website: http://www.jamaicatourist.net, #33

Most of the pictures showed Caucasian people, five images to be exact. One picture, the picture of Dunn’s River Falls, contained many races but mainly Caucasian people. There were five pictures, including the picture above about Jamaican beer and liquor, where images contained people with a race not easily identified. The people in the pictures are cast in a light that makes it too difficult to tell if they are supposed to be Jamaicans performing a usual local activity or if it is the tourists engaging in the activity.

Yet another large theme I found involved pictures that contained the word Jamaica digitally placed within the photograph. Eleven pictures had the word
“Jamaica” somewhere in the picture. The picture shown above was sampled from Search Engine #1: Google, Third Website: http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g147309-Jamaica-Vacations.html, #4. This is just one of the pictures with the word Jamaica photoshopped directly into the picture.

Some pictures had Jamaica in a description laid across the picture like the one shown above. Others had it in their comments directly next to the pictures. None had a billboard or a sign that was naturally found at the location being photographed. I wondered, then, how people were supposed to know if these pictures were actually of Jamaica or not other than the explicit labeling done by marketers and website makers.

Additionally, four pictures portra references to Bob Marley, two pictures include Jamaican cuisine, and two pictures show maps of Jamaica were among the collection of pictures I gathered. This list of themes is not an exhaustive list, nor is the number of search engines, websites, and pictures I collected a sample size large enough to be wholly
generalizable. Even though this limitation exists, I believe the findings I have discovered contain some answers to my proposed hypothesis.

**Interpretation of Findings**

Deciphering the images in a tourist location is difficult as explained by Lanfant, Bruner, and Urry and my findings from my content analysis. To further complicate my attempt at understanding the effect tourism has on Jamaica, I found that Jamaican culture is virtually erased in order to promote an “authentic” culture that the tourist industry wants to promote.

According to Bruner, tourists turn a vacation place, like Jamaica, into a commodity that is used and consumed (Bruner, 1989). Coupled with Lanfants’ claim stated before, tourists’ interactions with local populations create a type of hybrid identity and culture while they are in a location consuming the place causing places like Jamaica to be subject to powerful forces of change. Urry, then, adds to the complexity of the study of tourism by stating the tourists hold a tourist gaze that alters what they observe, whether it be the physical location, identities, or what is believed to be authentic traditions and culture.

The numerous themes found while analyzing the pictures, whether a strong theme or a less prominent one, helps support my belief that pictures seen by tourists before they visit the island of Jamaica help erase the average day-to-day place of the island, Jamaican identity, and Jamaican culture. The sizable theme that portrayed ocean and beach scenes demonstrates that Jamaica is thought of as a “paradise” full of romanticized ideas of what life is really like in Jamaica without really showing Jamaicans living out their lives on the island. It is as if everyone in Jamaica is solely there to relax and enjoy the beautiful weather, sun, and coastline.
Where are the pictures capturing the local populations that are serving the tourists while they are in “paradise”? Where are the regular grocery stores, traffic backups, garbage trucks, and daily activities found in most towns and cities? While I was vacationing, the resort offered literally everything I could have wanted in order to keep me on the resort grounds. I had no real reason to venture off into the local streets, and for most of my vacation I didn’t leave the resort.

When I decided to finally go on an excursion, all of the excursions were strategically placed on the coastline or in tropical forests away from town centers. Just like the pictures found on the websites, resorts and tourist attractions in Jamaica do everything they can to hide the day to day workings of local Jamaican people. It keeps poverty out of the lime light, and instead, on the picture-perfect beaches that tourists travel to Jamaica to see.

But just because strenuous efforts are made to ensure tourists’ encounter their ideal image of “paradise” while visiting the island of Jamaica, it doesn’t mean that poverty and racial inequalities don’t continue to exist all around them. If local Jamaicans, government, and tourist industry investors were successful at hiding the racial hierarchy and poverty that still exists on the island I wouldn’t have noticed the tin huts along the road while riding the megabus to my all-inclusive resort.

The tourist interactions with the island along with the tourism industry promoting Jamaica to be a fantasy vacation spot to experience “real Caribbean life” forces Jamaicans to work in less than acceptable conditions in order to achieve this coveted image. Local populations must live in poverty or close to poverty in order for tourists to receive the
affordable vacation they paid for and expect. Everyday real struggles and Jamaican ideals, beliefs, and actions are hidden from public view.

Inequalities across the island are not a public national concern because tourism still remains the leading market in the Jamaican economy. As long as money is coming into the country from tourism, Jamaicans will have to do anything they can to deliver the “authentic” Jamaican experience of sun, sand, and sea even if that means their real Jamaican identity, history and culture is erased.

Another discovery I found from analyzing the pictures was that local Jamaicans weren’t advertised on the websites or even in pictures associated with vacationing in Jamaica. The words “culture” and “tradition” were found nearly on every website within captions or photoshopped directly onto the pictures, yet actual Jamaicans were not included within any of the pictures.

Looking back through my own vacation pictures, I realized that I didn’t find any pictures containing the local Jamaicans I came in contact with at the resort or out at an excursion. One or two pictures caught some of the resort workers in the background doing their jobs as bartenders or servers in the buffet, but not one Jamaican was the main focal point of my vacation picture. I couldn’t find one Jamaican doing an “authentic” activity such as dancing, fishing, singing, wearing “tradition” clothing, or anything particularly special. All of the Jamaicans I interacted with were working towards giving me the ultimate Caribbean vacation.

The lack of Jamaicans in pictures claiming to promote Jamaican culture and tradition and the lack of “authentic” interaction while I was on the island demonstrates that people from local Jamaican towns are not an acceptable image of Jamaican identity and culture. The only
picture that actually shows a local Jamaican from my dataset is the picture provided in the above section showing the Bob Marley Museum and the picture containing the statues. In the image with Bob Marley, there is only a drawn picture of Bob Marley, the famous reggae musician on an archway into the museum. It doesn’t contain a photograph of the musician while he was alive, just a rendition or idea of one furthering the claim that Jamaican culture is minimized and erased until it reflects what is easily sold to tourists.

The statues photographed are of generic Jamaicans and are even pictured naked. They don’t wear any specific hair dressings, clothing, or hair styles. No jewelry or dance pose was made. The two statues are just standing there providing evidence that Jamaican people are not part of the desired marketable package offered to tourists who are researching Jamaica as their next vacation.

This displays a surprising fact that local Jamaican people are not valued as the image of identity and culture for the island of Jamaica even though the so-called exotic Jamaican identity and culture is one of advertiser’s main selling points to attract tourists. The only identity that was continuously celebrated as a “real” Jamaican identity while I vacationed in Jamaica was that which mimicked the “Yah Mon!” Rastafarian image. One of the excursions my friends and family actually wanted to do, and unfortunately got me to do too, was visiting Bob Marley’s tomb.

Using the Rastafarian image and “Yah Mon!” catchphrases that Jamaica claims as unique and “authentic” only emphasizes the generic identity Jamaicans have come to be known. Listening to the locals talk to each other, I never heard them use “Yah Mon” amongst themselves unless they were talking to or about a tourist. This kind of speech is performed for
tourists to be seen as an “authentic” speech pattern, yet it is not really how the Jamaicans speak to one another.

Then using the Rastafarian identity linked to Bob Marley is another attempt at giving Jamaicans a unique culture that interests tourists. With these two coupled together in a tourist setting, tourists can claim they are seeing or experiencing a day in the life of a Rastafarian when in reality it is far from it. Rastafarianism, is much deeper and has more rigor than a famous musician and some colors.

From the content analysis of the multiple different websites compiled and pictures downloaded, it is found that tourism to Jamaica isn’t really concerned with experiencing authentic culture or traditional Jamaican experiences. Tourism to Jamaica means having fun in the sun, observing the natural beauty of the ocean, beaches, and tropical forests, splashing around in the oceans and pools, and sipping fruity rum drinks.

Jamaica doesn’t offer the cultural tourism and doesn’t emphasize colonial history that other destinations have to offer. The lack of Jamaican cultural offerings as tourist attractions could be for many reasons possibly including a simple but profound idea that Black culture just isn’t interesting, profitable, or important to non-Black people. Jamaica’s appeal rests on the expectation that arriving on the island will be an escape from everyday life, a chance at achieving a natural “paradise.”

**Conclusion**

I established a clear understanding of how Jamaica came to be the tropical destination it is known for today by following Jamaica’s historic development. I then used three prominent theorists, Marie-Francoise Lanfant, Edward Bruner, and John Urry, to understand how tourists
effect, create, and influence a tourist place, identity, and “authentic” culture. Lastly, I put this research into play by conducting a content analysis on images found on the internet to advertise tourism to and in Jamaica.

The results of my efforts show that tourists do influence how Jamaica is advertised to tourist and, ultimately, how tourists influence the place, identity, and authenticity in Jamaica. Jamaica is popular because of the location and promise of “paradise.” It is not known as a vibrant cultural center. It can be seen that by having a predetermined idea that life in Jamaica is “paradise” and providing different resources and materials that value the things tourists expect and want to see while on vacation, Jamaicans must erase their Jamaican roots to ensure tourists continue to experience the vacation package they were sold.

Pictures advertised and available to tourists reflect the idea that Jamaica is the place to go to have a fun time, drink, and use the island as a playground. This is why all-inclusive resorts and high volume tourist excursions are still being built while Jamaicans live in roped together tin huts only a few feet away. Poverty and racial inequalities found on the island are cast in shadows compared to the “fun in the sun” atmosphere that Jamaica is known for.

Now that my eyes are open to the true influence of tourists on place, identity, and authentic culture of vacation places, I am moved to continue looking for reasons why such a phenomenon continues to happen in tropical locales. I am also curious if interactions between tourists and local populations result in the influence of the country’s place, identity, and authentic in other tourist destinations like Europe and other non-tropical places. I know I will forever be looking at the differences present while I vacation in the future, and I hope to develop an even more informed understanding of the implications of tourism.
References


<http://economics.about.com/od/useconomichistory/a/post_war.htm>


Appendix 1

Search Engine #1: Google, First website:  http://www.visitjamaica.com/

#1

NOW THAT'S WHAT I CALL ALL RIGHT
FROM LONG SANDY STRETCHES TO CRYSTAL CLEAR WATER AND SECRET COVES, OUR BEACHES ARE WHERE YOU "MAKE MEMORIES TO LAST A LIFETIME. JUST TAKE A LOOK"

#2

Cuisine
Look forward to trying something new and delicious. From spicy jerk and seafood, to exotic fruit and our famous rum.

#3

LOCAL LIQUOR AND BEER
We take a lot of pride in our rums and beer, which we have become famous for. See where it all started, our local breweries and what you should try when you get here.
Search Engine #1: Google, Third Website: http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g147309-Jamaica-Vacations.html

#4

![Jamaica TripAdvisor](http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g147309-Jamaica-Vacations.html)

#5

**#1 Montego Bay**

![Montego Bay](http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g147309-Jamaica-Vacations.html)

#6

**#2 Ocho Rios**

![Ocho Rios](http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g147309-Jamaica-Vacations.html)
Search Engine #1: Google, Fifth Website: [http://www.lonelyplanet.com/jamaica](http://www.lonelyplanet.com/jamaica)

#7

![Image](Introducing_Jamaica)

#8

![Image](Bob_Marley_Museum)

#9

![Image](Dunns_River_Falls)
Search Engine #1: Google, Seventh Website: http://www.mot.gov.jm/content/jamaica-tourist-board-jtb

#10

#11

Carnival Cruise at Ocho Rios Cruise Ship Terminal

#12

Burwood Beach
Search Engine #2: Bing, First Website: http://www.visitjamaica.com/

#13

NOW THAT'S WHAT I CALL ALL RIGHT
FROM LONG SANDY BEACHES TO CRYSTAL CLEAR WATER AND BEAUTIFUL COCONUT PALM TREES, WHERE YOU MAKE MEMORIES TO LAST A LIFETIME. JUST THINK COOK

#14

Jamaica Travel Channel
A journey through Jamaica is full of fascinating sites and people. Come explore with us.

Explore

#15

Family Holidays
Way up on family fun. With so much to do, Jamaica has something for every age to enjoy.

Explore
JAMAICA: Described by Christopher Columbus as the fairest island that eyes ever beheld, experience an unforgettable vacation in one of our unique resorts. Roll over resort areas for more information.

Get Married in Paradise

Travel Planner - Turquoise water, white-sand beaches, lush tropical landscape and glorious sunsets - think of Jamaica and a natural setting for romance comes to mind. It should come as no surprise that this island ranks as the #1 choice in the Caribbean for destination weddings and honeymoons.

All-inclusive or Pay-as-you-go?

Travel Planner - Jamaica is home to many chain all-inclusive resorts but if this type of accommodation isn’t for you there are also a wide selection of conventional pay-as-you-go hotels as well as private villas to create your dream vacation.

#19

![Image of a beach and resort area in Jamaica.]

#20

![Image of a beach with palm trees and a clear blue sky.]

#21

![Image of a tropical beach with palm trees and clear water.]

#22

![Jamaica](Image)

#23

![Waterfall](Image)

#24

![Map of South America](Image)
Search Engine #3: Yahoo!, First Website: http://www.visitjamaica.com/

#25

NOW THAT'S WHAT I CALL ALL RIGHT

IF YOU'RE LOOKING FOR A TRUE ADVENTURE, THERE'S LITTLE MORE REMARKABLE AND BEAUTIFUL THAN HIKING THE BLUE MOUNTAINS PEAKS. COME AND EXPERIENCE OUR JAMAICA

#26

Events and Culture

Our calendars are bursting with events, customs, traditions and all kinds of entertainment. Start planning so you don’t miss a thing.

Explore

#27

Active and Relaxing

Whether you’re looking to pick up the pace outdoors or wind down beneath some shady palm trees, Jamaica is waiting for you.

Explore
Search Engine #3: Yahoo!, Third Website: http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g147309-Jamaica-Vacations.html

#28

#29

#30
Search Engine #3: Yahoo!, Fifth Website: http://www.jamaicatourist.net/

#31

EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO KNOW
FOR THE PERFECT HOLIDAY EXPERIENCE

#32

#33

ISLAND ADVENTURES

TREASURE ISLAND... AN ART VOYAGE THROUGH KINGSTON

Treasure Island... An Art Voyage Through Kingston
By Karin Wilson-Edmonds

Last Saturday when I returned to my home after a whole day of journeying through the capital city, I perhaps felt as did those navigators of old, very victorious, exhausted, and brimming with treasure. The past Saturday, I ventured out with a group of art enthusiasts on the maiden Kingston Art Trek. Our mission: to visit a cross-section of Kingston's galleries. The creation of Jamaica Cultural Enterprises (JCE), a new tour company specializing in cultural tours of Jamaica, the Kingston Art Trek is designed to help participants discover a wide range of local art and artists. It also turned out to be an education on the history and landmarks of Kingston, as well as a great opportunity to meet fellow art aficionados.

JCE's Karen Hutchinson was a tour guide par excellence. Highly informative, knowledgeable, and enthusiastic, she added to the experience.

47
Search Engine #3: Yahoo!, Seventh Website: http://jtbonline.org/pages/default.aspx

#34

UL STAGING OF IAAF TRACK MEET: The National Stadium was the place to be on May 9, for the Jamaica Athletics

#35

#36

**All images downloaded on May 28, 2015 and cited to the referenced websites**