Heritage Tourism Development in St. Croix of the US Virgin Islands
An unconventional anthropological approach

By:

Janne Jorgensen Liburd
Anthropologist, Ph.D.
University of Aarhus, Denmark
janne1123@hotmail.com

"Paper prepared for delivery at the 2000 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Hyatt Regency Miami, March 16-18, 2000"

PLEASE DO NOT QUOTE WITHOUT PERMISSION

Introduction

Outlining the dominating discourse of tourism development and its interconnected relationship with heritage tourism, a contextualisation of this approach in St. Croix of the US Virgin Islands will be presented. A case study of a specific site along the new St. Croix Heritage Trail, the Salt River Bay National Historic Park and Ecological Preserve designated as a National Park under the US National Park system in 1992, will demonstrate that an unconventional, multi-sited analytical approach is implicitly fostered in order to facilitate a qualitative understanding of the complex, interrelated processes at stake. Hence, representations of a particular heritage to residents and tourists alike are often produced in uneven encounters and by relations extending beyond the geographic, single-sited place of interest, just as identity, cultural practise, power and knowledge are not formed in and from one source only. Yet, very few anthropological analysis known to this anthropologist have taken into account the predicaments and consequences of such.

Correspondingly, rather than reproducing the contiguous space-focused concept of culture rooting people in particular places, an unconventional, multi-sited anthropological approach sees the local within the global, and vice versa, in the interconnectedness among sites, discourse, practise, meaning and peoples. It will be argued that exploring cultural space construction as practised place in heritage tourism development, a dynamic understanding of interconnected discursive and experiential relationships can be facilitated towards more sustainable modes of tourism development.

Tourism development

Tourism development is a hybrid term consisting of two concepts, tacitly embedding the analytical encounter in a multi-sited approach. First, deconstructing the development discourse focusing particularly on the post-World War II era, attention will be cultivated to the conditions under which development has become ‘evident’; ceasing to exist as an object of attention and therefore seemingly becomes necessary and unchangeable[1]. In this perspective, tourism represents a means to development for so-called Third World countries, indeed *the* means in most Eastern Caribbean contexts, including the island of St. Croix. Located in the realm of economics it will be argued that tourism development has become an uncritical ‘number’s game’ in which more equals better.

Oxford’s Dictionary of Current English (1988: 200) defines ‘development’ as “A stage of growth or advancement” also implying that in most usages, development signifies positive change and progress. Thus, development involves both transformations of the way things were and imaginations of things to come. Much has already been written on this issue particularly pointing to areas of unequal power relations and failed projects. This has some intellectuals asserting that “development stinks” (Esteva 1987: 135) and others declaring the concept of development dead[2]. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in the following, the development discourse does not only persist but indeed gradually renews itself rather than disappearing from our vocabulary.

Thinking of development in terms of discourse makes it possible to maintain the focus of domination particularly towards unveiling the cultural construction of the First and Third Worlds and associated modes of power, knowledge and subjectivity. This

approach can furthermore be read as part of an anthropology of modernity, setting out to illustrate the connectedness of the development discourse, its regimes of truth and power intimately linked to social practises, tourism and sustainable development.

Led by the winners of WWII, notably the US and the United Nations, a will to power and economic prosperity were to transform, i.e. develop approximately two thirds of the world. Indeed, reinventing the perception of evolutionary progress, much of the rhetoric of American President Truman's "fair deal" and "New World Order" represents an ambitious, universal agenda centralised around the idea of development. In the words of Truman (1949):

"More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat to both them and more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people… I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realise their aspirations for a better life… What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing… Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge."

The series of economic depressions in the late 1920s and early 1930s had demonstrated that the market was imperfect. Development did not come about automatically resulting from Western capitalist modes of production. State intervention was called for. Refining this understanding, the Truman doctrine initiates a new approach to classification and management of world affairs particularly, for the underdeveloped areas. More direct and disciplinary practises were institutionalised particularly through the so-called 'aid industry'. Alongside the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank is by far the largest provider of development assistance, committing about U$20 billion in new loans each year[3]. The significant size of economic aid given to underdeveloped countries tends to speak for itself. Peaking in the 1960's following a phase of economic expansion and rising profits, the initial UN aim was set for a five per cent growth rate, providing 0.7 per cent in aid of the donor countries' gross national product. While aid continues to be economically vital for many recipient countries[4] only few donor countries have remained at this level, some forming own bilateral agencies such as the British Overseas Administration (ODA). Interestingly, no anthropologists were involved with the ODA when formed, despite dubious, cooperative activities during colonial times and the World Wars. This sudden absence cannot alone be sufficiently explained in terms of the decolonisation processes taking place. A change towards strategies based on macro-economic theories must be taken into consideration, closely accompanied by a profound critisism of past and current anthropological practises and affiliations. Hence, during the same period of time, the cultural capital attributed to the branch of 'applied anthropologists' within the academia was in rapid decline vis-à-vis its 'scientific' counterpart. This suggesting that the predicaments of areas and norms for producing research are already in and of this world, rather than being detached, neutral products.

Moreover, the 1950s provided ample possibilities for anthropologists working in aid assistance facilitating knowledge about new technologies altering traditional practises and values. Paradoxically, assisting aid technicians and development planners in qualitative understandings of cultural diversity anthropologists helped reproduce stereotypes of traditional, primitive, backward peoples, enabling a determined moral and ethical struggle against what was seen as internal 'hindering' practises for development.

In short, anthropologists have actively participated in a more concise mapping of the Third World by reproducing and refining modes of knowledge within the development discourse. Specifically, the world was ordered in binary oppositional forms namely, the First and Third World, centre and periphery, North and South, and developed and underdeveloped countries and peoples. The latter indicates how people in everyday lifeworlds came to perceive themselves as either developed or underdeveloped, which the intermarriage with tourism, adopted as circumstantial strategy to development will further illustrate.

Following a significant decline in traditional agriculture and plantation economies namely sugar, coffee, bananas, and citrus in the post-war era alongside the advent of long-haul air travel, it was hardly surprising that many Third World governments and leaders embraced tourism as a new source of economic growth and modernisation. Tourism was believed to have the same unequivocal, positive impact as infusion of aid and investment capital, contributing to improved infrastructure, technology and unemployment, creating opportunities for a wide range of industries producing goods and services. Eventually the benefits reaped would tricker down to the masses thus improving the society overall.

Statistics, although not an end in itself, play a major part in this endeavour serving to legitimise and underscore the importance of tourism. Undoubtedly, the rapid growth of international tourism arrivals (Table 1), assumed to be a major foreign-exchange earner has convinced those initially doubting this development scheme.

Table 1. International tourist arrivals (excluding cruise passengers and excursionists)

Date	Number of arrivals
1950	25,282,000
1960	69,296,000
1970	159,690,000
1980	284,841,000
1990	425,000,000

(World Tourism Organisation 1991: 11)

While definitions of tourists pose statistical difficulties, further challenged by incompatibility between models used by some governments and the World Tourism Organisation (hereinafter WTO), Table 1 indicates broad trends illustrating an impressive growth rate; an almost seventeen fold increase between 1950 and 1990 of international

tourist arrivals from some 25,282,000 arrivals in 1950 to 425,000,000 in 1990. While tourism in the Caribbean was not a novel, post-World War II phenomenon, the introduction of daily jet services into the region in the 1960s undoubtedly brought tourism into a new phase, overtaking sugar as the primary industry. In the US Virgin Islands, between 1960 – '70 the number of farms decreased from 501 to only 212, covering but half the acres of the 1960 status (US Virgin Islands Bureau of Economic Research 1990). Castro's Cuba closed to Americans in 1959 and consequently, side by side with other international tourists they went elsewhere in the Caribbean. Visitor arrivals flourished and new accommodation facilities were needed. According to Holder (1993: 21), in the Eastern Caribbean, growth rates of ten per cent were in fact expected which consequently was followed by a substantial increase in demand for imported foods and goods. Looking at statistics from the US Virgin Islands (Table 2), the growth in arrivals, population, number of hotel rooms, visitor's spending, and tourism related imports are illustrated.

Table 2. US Virgin Islands Annual Tourism Indicators

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Total visitor arrivals	N/a	824,000	1,217,000	1,811,000
Total USVI Population*	32,099	62,468	96,569	101,809
Total visitor Expenditures in Millions of dollars	24,7**	122,1	293,5	697,0
Total rooms or units	2,404**	3,599	5,102	4,520
Tourism related Imports in millions of dollars	N/a	78,0	96,0	141,0

(US Virgin Islands Bureau of Economic Research 1996, *US Bureau of Census 1990, **US Virgin Islands Bureau for Hotels and Travel 1962)

The total number of visitor arrivals and expenditures indicate that excursionists and cruise passengers staying less than 24 hours are included, not corresponding with WTO methods and statistics. Although figures may not be comparative to a majority of Eastern Caribbean islands, the US Virgin Islands being among the most 'established' tourist destinations in the region, the significant growth in arrivals, visitor spending and number of hotel rooms nonetheless illustrate general, promising effects of the commencement of jet services for Caribbean tourism.

In Table 2, observe how the total rooms and units available actually decrease between 1980 and 1990 while arrivals are increasing. This is due to major destruction from Hurricane Hugo, which hit the islands in 1989 causing millions of dollars in

structural damage alone. Foreign construction and utility workers travelling to the US Virgin Islands to work were actually included in arrival statistics occupying what was left of the hotels, thus keeping up room occupancy rates. The aftermath of Hurricane Hugo's devastation was felt especially by the tourism industry in the island of St. Croix for several years to follow, illustrating that the tourism industry is extremely vulnerable to natural catastrophes and instabilities in general[5]. Every segment of society was permeated by the destructions of Hurricane Hugo. Smith's (1996) analysis - although on war not natural catastrophes - is informative, describing such events as "*the time-markers of society*" (ibid: 252). In St. Croix, everyday lifeworlds were forever changed by Hurricane Hugo the natural catastrophe chronicling differences in "before Hugo", "during Hugo" and "after Hugo". Virtually everybody has their story about how things were in each of these phases, most people still expressing the need to return to a "post-Hugo" level of economic prosperity. This is a particularly visible pattern represented in the modes of knowledge saturating numerous economic reports and development strategies of the early 1990s, in the wake of which the incentive to heritage tourism development also arose.

Returning for a moment to Table 2, the significant rise in tourist related imports of consumer goods such as perfume, watches, liquor, cameras, china, crystal, jewelry, leather goods and linen illustrate that the import bill is proportionate with tourist arrivals. Thus, if most of these goods are imported, economic 'leakages' are created. Consequently, an increase in numbers is not necessarily a guarantee of increased expenditure benefiting the tourist destination.

Import of foods is another matter of concern when looking at economic benefits of tourism development. With a dramatic population increase in the US Virgin Islands, almost twice that of 1960 inevitably, the import of foods went up. The massive food import by hotels and restaurants, circumstantial to all Eastern Caribbean tourist destinations primarily catering to the tastes and demands of a Western clientele calling for 'choice cut' beef, cheeses, 'Irish' potatoes, vegetables such as broccoli, cauliflower, and apples, pears, grapes, among others unfamiliar to local agricultural produce, they too are consequently imported. To date, only Jamaica and Dominica appear to successfully include local produce in their restaurant menus, attempting to maximize the supply side of the tourism sector thus establishing economic 'linkages' with the tourism industry.

Focusing on fiscal linkages and leakages of the tourism industry, tacitly illustrating the dominance of the number's game, one method frequently applied in assessing the economic impact is known as the 'multiplier effect'. Such appraisals commonly focus on the foreign exchange earned through tourism, its contribution to the gross domestic product and general employment rates. Gauging the impact of tourism filtering through an economy towards indicating the level of economic reliance on the industry, effects appear to be lowest for small islands with small populations. Patullo (1996: 46-47) lists Jamaica at the top end of the scale of tourism's multiplier effect at $1.23, indicating that for every dollar spent by a tourist in average $1.23 is added to the national economy in 1989. At the other end of the scale the British Virgin Islands score only $0.58 and Antigua $0.88. Although the theory of tourism's multiplier effect seems straightforward, arriving at the coefficients cause much debate[6]. Without going into further detail, one objection aired is the lack of contextualised inclusion of leakages, not

balancing the increased expenditure incurred by tourism, illustrated in the above by rising importation of foods and consumer goods. A kindred objection raised by McAfee (1991: 27) points to non-nationals accruing the income made from tourism development. In the island of Antigua, it is estimated to be as high as 80 cents of every dollar earned. Additionally, the tourism industry is accused of creating only low skilled, low paying jobs and inflating land, property and food prices.

However, rather than critisising Caribbean governments for lack of planning and incentives aimed at the local workforce often, the colonial history of Caribbean agriculture and related practises of economic dependency are emphasised[7]. Although crops have changed over time, the practise of one-crop dependency such as banana cultivation in much of the Windward Islands continues, which is incompatible with the demands of the tourism industry. Patullo (1996: 40) quotes a Granadian unionist, summarising the predicaments of neocolonialism and unequal exchange as following:

"The government can't expect farmers to automatically develop linkages with the tourism industry because for 500 years they have been trained in a culture of export agriculture."

Moreover, as the economic benefits of tourism is a most complex matter certainly, it is unwise to generalise about the fiscal effects and benefits, blindly playing into the number's game in which more unproblematically equals better. Nonetheless, addressing tourism development as economic growth appears to be the guiding practise in many Eastern Caribbean islands supported by modernist theoretical "take-off"-thinking (Rostow 1952), eminently reproduced in Butler's (1980) much acclaimed "Tourist area cycle of evolution" (hereinafter TACE)[8]. While the TACE model and dependency approaches have assisted in an understanding of underlying processes and modes of knowledge and power associated with the dominating development discourse, they are open to critisism.

Attractive for its conceptual simplicity, descriptive usage and empirical support in a wide range of settings, the TACE suggests a unilinear, evolutionary tourism development path implying a general, organic change over time. In a 1997 reproduction of the TACE article, now set in the context of sustainable tourism development, Butler (1997: 111) simply duplicates arguments used in the TACE model. Stressing that he does not want to "impute value judgments", Butler describes the transformation of "a specific traditional cottage resort, based on a magnificent white sandy beach… into a 'honky-tonk' amusement-dominated centre". Hence, Butler is barely capable of concealing his evaluating feelings of discontent, luring behind a "romantic" inspired tourist gaze (Urry 1990).

Furthermore, correctly pointed out by Grekin & Milne (1996: 85), changes in technology, markets, micro and macro-economic relations make development paths of tourist destinations unpredictable as they rarely follow the type of linear progression envisaged by the TACE. For instance, direct on-line reservation systems via the Internet of accommodation facilities locally owned and operated makes it possible to increasingly reduce leakages to, and dependency on the tour operating link[9]. Without needlessly repeating well-known critiques of the dependency paradigm, Butler moreover fails to understand the role of local agents focusing explicitly on external factors determining the

path of tourism development, in which local residents are portrayed as passive, powerless victims.

Consequently, rather than perceiving the majority of the Eastern Caribbean population as passively accepting discrimination, an inferior social status, or merely copying or surrendering to tourists' demands, strategic resistance occur at multiple levels of society. While the number's game continues to dominate tourism development practise, the situation is far more diverse and complex than represented in the above as discourse and interrelated modes of power, knowledge and subjectivity are subject to cultural meanings accorded through predicaments of ongoing lifeworlds. Hence, the dominating tourism development discourse does not exist in a vacuum but produced and reproduced at multiple levels, making it subject to change and manipulation, further analysed in the case of heritage tourism development in St. Croix.

Heritage tourism development in St. Croix

Following interviews with more than 70 individuals involved in the tourism sector as well as government officials, a 1996 in-depth study on potential heritage tourism development in the island of St. Croix, the *St. Croix Historic Attractions Feasibility Study* (Tyson & Bacci 1996: 4) underscores findings of:

"A remarkable consensus that the island needs to be developed and promoted as a heritage destination."

First, looking closer at this assessment of the island in need of development, numerous economic reports and strategies preceding the heritage tourism incentive more or less explicitly address economic development through tourism. In 1991, a *Tourism Task Force Report* was submitted to the governor with the intention "to improve the tourism product as well as the quality of life of all living in the territory of the US Virgin Islands" (Farrelly 1991: 1). In 1993, leaving aside the sister islands of St. Thomas and St. John, a *St. Croix Economic Development Task Force Report* was presented to the same governor to overcome "the post-Hurricane Hugo era of economic depression" (Hodge 1993: 1-2). In 1995 another project report entitled *St. Croix' Tourism Revitalization* proposes a general increase in tourism arrivals and corresponding employment, hotel occupancy, retail sales and tax revenues in order to "revitalize St. Croix" (Moore 1995). Playing into the number's game *par excellence*, the casino gaming act of 1995 legalised casino development in St. Croix exclusively contrary to common legislative practise in the US Virgin Islands. The casino bill (Act No. 6069, Bill No. 21-0027, The Virgin Islands Casino and Resort Control Act of 1995: 22) initially states that:

"While casino gaming holds promise as a source of economic development and tax revenue, it is not to be viewed as a panacea for the economic depression on St. Croix, but (…) as a cornerstone in the St. Croix tourism/entertainment market, as a new and additional source to help expand the number of hotel rooms available on the island, and as a stimulus for local business enterprise development and growth on St. Croix."

Following this, with its futuristic imaginations and corresponding rhetoric, casino development is close to reaching an ultimate level of wonders. In detail, it is suggested that added to the existing tourism industry casino gaming will be: "capable of providing a substantial contribution to the general welfare, health, and prosperity of the Virgin Islands and its habitants" (ibid), rather than through policies directly targeting existing problems.

Note how the application of biological and evolutionary metaphors linked to functionalism correspondingly portrays both the economy and society of St. Croix as a living organism that is "depressed" and in need of "revitalization". If one part of this organic whole fails to perform, the "functional prerequisites" (as in Talcott Parsons) of "order" for the system to survive and reproduce over time is endangered (Porter 1995: 68). Such continuity of particular development metaphors and rhetoric has authoritan consequences that provide a device for making sense and creating both order and certainty at multiple levels of society. Tacitly constituting the starting point of "what is" simultaneously a normative and rational sense of "what ought to be done" is conveyed (Fairclough 1992: 194).

The argument of St. Croix in need of development is further put into perspective by referrals to its sister island to the north, St. Thomas. Located only 44 miles apart, dominating perceptions of animosity and divergence between the two islands are profound. Often mentioned by St. Croix residents, Crucians is the "congestion" of St. Thomas. With a population of approximately 50.000 on "only 24 mountainous square miles" in St. Thomas, this is compared to some 75.000 residents on 84 square miles of rolling hills and flat land in St. Croix. In addition to the resident population, the volume of tourism in St. Thomas is a very visible part of everyday life. Cruise ship visits to St. Thomas annually bring in more than 1.2 million cruise passengers on day excursions, compared to an annual total of 229.800 cruise visitors to St. Croix in 1995[10]. Statistics of tourists staying an average of 6 days show a similar picture, St. Thomas totaling 431.100 tourists in 1995 compared to 130.900 in St. Croix. Further verified by the number of shopping areas, recreational facilities, hotels, restaurants and the flow of traffic, the perception of St. Thomas as congested and developed is supported when compared to numbers in St. Croix.

Moreover, during two-and-a-half years of field work focusing on tourism development in the islands, recurring connotations by St. Thomians describing St. Croix and its residents were: "backward", "laid back", "the country side where the culture, traditions and history are"; and that "St. Croix is family run and family orientated". These perceptions are held in contrast to Crucian assessments of St. Thomas and St. Thomians as: "overdeveloped", "for the busy and business minded"; and "a fast pace, 24-hours a day place to be for individuals"[11]. Hence, in an intra-island perspective, on a local geographical scale St. Thomas is the developed 'North' and St. Croix the underdeveloped 'South'.

In other words, complementing the number's game dominance in tourism development some traditional and cultural attributes of hindrance are added, emphasising the underdeveloped, unmodern island of St. Croix and its people. Accordingly proposing

heritage tourism development tacitly indicating that a special kind of investment is needed, something entirely new was (once again) introduced in the island of St. Croix. Hence, heritage tourism development did not simply arise as a consequence of a “decline stage” following the TACE model rather, it can more constructively be seen as a circumstantial strategy pursued in this particular island context capitalising on specific, local attractions.

Following Tyson & Bacci (1996: 1) heritage tourism can be defined as:

“A synergistic socio-economic activity involving the interaction of travellers with the historical, cultural and natural legacies of a particular place and its people.”

Interestingly, focusing particularly on historical and natural sites as well as local culture in St. Croix, the underdeveloped and “laid back” connotations are strategically manipulated and turned into a favourable condition. Again applied to distinguish itself from St. Thomas and possibly creating a new image for St. Croix, underdevelopment is presented as a positive asset, which St. Thomas lost decades ago when construction of mass-tourism facilities were at its peak.

Hence, highlighting the historical sites in St. Croix, including the two towns of Christiansted and Frederiksted they consist of a large physical assemblage of eighteenth and nineteenth century remains associated with Danish colonial rule (1734 - 1917) and the sugar industry. Investigating 367 “rural sites” 195 were determined by Tyson and Bacci (ibid: 5) as having standing remains with potentials as heritage tourism attractions. Of these, the colonial plantation structures are dominant featuring a substantial presence of windmill towers, sugar factories, great houses, slave villages, and water well towers widely distributed throughout the island.

The natural legacies of St. Croix embrace a few diverse and sparsely populated areas of particular natural beauty: from lushly vegetated areas and rolling hills in the western part, locally known as the “Rain forest”, to the dry, desert-like landscapes at the far east end of the island, surrounded by pristine, turquoise blue waters. Hurricane Hugo causing considerable damage to the historical structures and natural landscapes, added to limited institutional mechanisms and funding securing their existence, heritage tourism development is also presented as a means through which assets can be protected and preserved for the present and future enjoyment by tourists and residents alike, to which I will return below.

Also, a cultural component “of a particular place and its people” is added as an integral element in the above definition of heritage tourism. In particular, the island’s “vibrant, diverse culture, which is sustained by a large number of tradition bearers” is emphasised (ibid: 4). The concept of “tradition bearers” emerged when the Smithsonian Institute, cooperating with local researchers for the 1990 Annual Folk Life Festival in St. Thomas they identified more than 70 individuals “whose practise of Virgin Islands culture in any specific form is or was renown or exemplary” (Act no. 5778 of 1992, Section 408b.3 in the Virgin Islands Cultural Heritage Institute 1993-1994). In this perception, when one of the tradition bearers dies, most of them being old in age, correspondingly, a piece of *the* Virgin Islands culture dies with them.

The notion of tradition bearers embodying cultural forms reproduces a conventional idea of culture, and consequently people, naturally rooted in specific places. Evoking a near-perfect image of a now-vanished socio-cultural harmony, this has become part of strategic negotiations and paradoxes of everyday lifeworlds in the multi-ethnic society of St. Croix. Yet, such formalistic and static definition of culture governing human practise within enclosed spatial entities has been questioned in recent anthropological debates (c.f. Olwig & Hastrup 1997; Marcus 1998). Rather, instead of taking cultural forms and entities for granted, which as had significant difficulties dealing with mobility, e.g. migration and tourism, a closer look at the US Virgin Islands context will reveal some of the interrelated and dynamic processes at stake in heritage tourism development.

In the US Virgin Islands, this anthropologist has identified as many as 18 ethnic groups: Crucians, St. Thomians, St. Johnians, British Virgin Islanders, French, Puerto Ricans, Kittitians/Nevisians, Antiguans, Dominicans, St. Lucians, Trinidadians, Grenadians, American Blacks, Continentals/American Whites, Arabs, Indians, Hatians, and Dominicans from the Dominican Republic. Sprauve (1990) suggests an ordering of these into socio-linguistic groups rather than origin of which he defines 15, or simply "Blacks", "Whites" and "Others" or "Natives", "Aliens" and "Others", consistent with current antagonisms. In other words, there is a significant contrast between the limited spatial context geographically defining the US Virgin Islands and the cultural complexity and diversity characterising the population, both in a current and historic perspective.

Once a classic Caribbean planter society, St. Croix has continuously attracted workers from abroad under various imperious forms, notably enslaved Africans and European planters during colonialism. Post-emancipation St. Croix saw a number of Puerto Ricans arriving in the 1920s and 1930s, most of who came to work as cane cutters. The construction of two considerable transnational corporations, Harvey Alumina and Hess oil refinery, alongside a growing tourism industry during the 1950s and 1960s brought in a significant number of continental Americans and thousands of workers from the Eastern Caribbean islands. The latter, far from being a homogenous group of people nonetheless were classified as such by their new hosts, commonly referred to as "aliens" signifying their "bonded" immigrant status[12].

Interestingly, migration to the American Virgin Islands in search of economic betterment represents St. Croix as a developed island in this inter-Caribbean perspective, contrary to the intra-island comparison to St. Thomas in which St. Croix is the underdeveloped counterpart, illustrating that the predicaments of development are indeed fluid cultural constructions that must be interpreted as such.

At the same time, many Virgin Islanders (and West Indians of the Eastern Caribbean) migrated to urban areas of the American mainland and Europe following which foreign-born aliens have outnumbered Virgin Islands natives. Legal documents favouring native Virgin Islands workers over aliens and their children, frequent round-ups of illegal residents blamed for the increase in violent crimes, drug abuse, etc. blemish recent history of the 1970s in the US Virgin Islands, having to deal with a population almost double that of 1960 (see Table 2). Due to insecurities and tenuous conditions accompanying the bonding system, most West Indian workers remaining in this limbo for

years have maintained strong personal ties with their family and home-island than they otherwise might have done if more secure in their migration destination[13]. In short, the practise of ongoing mobility and migrancy within the Eastern Caribbean and beyond represent tight networks of exchanges and support that are embraced in interconnected local and global relationships.

Consequently, there appears to be no consensus about what the 'real' or 'authentic' US Virgin Islands culture is. In other words, a conventional idea of culture as a substance, essence or form continues to be reproduced, rather than conceptualising culture as dynamic modes of human practise and discourse communicating meanings and values at multiple levels within and across geo-political boundaries. Looking closer at a particular site, the Salt River Bay National Park and Ecological Preserve (hereinafter Salt River) some of the multi-sited predicaments of cultural constructions of place, identity and governance in heritage tourism development will be analysed in further detail.

A case study of Salt River

The St. Croix heritage tourism project has been designed as an island wide "Heritage Trail", in which Salt River is but one stop along the north shore of the island. Yet, some of the multi-sited meaning productions at stake are represented in Salt River, including slavery, migration, authenticity, explicit interpretative acts of inclusion and exclusion in both time and space, facing most of the potential heritage tourism sites in St. Croix.

Dated back to the first century AD, archeological evidence suggests that two or three groups of indigenous Amerindian peoples inhabited the Salt River area. On November 14, 1493 during Columbus' second voyage to the New World, the Admiral's party went ashore in Salt River, St. Croix. The encounter between Columbus and the Amerindians of Salt River is the first documented battle on what is presently American territory, in the wake of which European colonialism followed. To the colonial powers of Europe, Salt River became a valuable port, legal and illegal, with the surrounding dry land utilised by sugar cane and cotton plantations. Besides, the natural environment contains nearly 45 acres of mangrove; the largest in the US Virgin Islands, which serves as breeding ground and nursery for a wide variety of fish and invertebrates as well as being a bird sanctuary and nesting site for migrating birds. The area also includes salt ponds, seagrass beds, wetlands of streams and marches. And a submarine canyon is found at the entrance to Salt River containing a variety of marine life, deepwater corals and geologic features attracting local fishermen, yachts and tourists diving for recreational purposes. In short, the flow and exchange of multiple elements, people, power and narratives are included in making up the particular spatial and historical significance of Salt River.

More recently, seen in numerous other cases in St. Croix, dubious but seductive mass-tourism development schemes have been proposed for the Salt River area. In 1985-86, an American corporation holding 74 acres in the Salt River area projected development of a tourist resort, which was to include a 288-room hotel, 300

condominiums, a marina, and possibly a convention centre. Previously, the company had developed similar resorts in the islands of St. Thomas and St. John, both of which remain in operation.

At the same period of time, a social movement, the Columbus Jubilee Committee emerged. Most of its members were continentals, originally from the US mainland. Others were of white colonial descent sharing interest in the protection of Salt River as "a site of unique natural, historical and cultural significance". Further elaborated below, this is in full correspondence with preservation and conservation objectives of the US National Park Service, locally representing interests of the Federal government in Salt River.

Also concerned with preservation and conservation of the historical heritage, until the mid-1980's the US Virgin Islands Conservation Society operated as one unit covering all three islands. As members residing in St. Croix found the St. Thomas based organisation inadequate in dealing with specific concerns of St. Croix, strategically reproducing existing inter-island animosities they formed their own chapter, the St. Croix Environmental Association (hereinafter SEA). SEA immediately embraced Salt River as their flagship of environmental conservation. In the years to follow, both the development company and the Government of the US Virgin Islands were taken to court by SEA opposing that the development permit was issued without substantive feasibility and environmental impact studies. The case ended up in the US District Court in 1992 after several court appeals by SEA.

Subsequent to active networking by especially the two grassroots organisations, a bill was created to establish a National Park in Salt River, signed into Public Law (No. 102-247) by President Bush in February of 1992. As a result of the National Park status, the SEA court case was put on hold until 1994. In brief, the District Court then ruled in favour of SEA, not only against the development company but also against the Land Use Board of Appeals for malpractice. Consequently to this ruling, major scale hotel development in Salt River will most likely never take place since future permissions and hearings will have to revoke already set procedure.

Both SEA and the Columbus Jubilee Committee, subsequently evolving into the Friends of the Park were primarily supported by white continentals residing in St. Croix counting only a few, local black associates. The limited representation and lack of support from the majority of the local black population are critical aspects in park development and heritage tourism in St. Croix. Among others, conflicting meaning production, including the symbolic significance of the Salt River area was evident in various instances. To illustrate, at a public hearing held in May of 1989, only one of 43 participants were against the hotel development plan in Salt River. Likewise, prior to the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' landing a St. Croix Senator made front-page headlines (Avis 1993 Nov. 13, p.1) stating:

"Boycott Columbus fete! 500th anniversary celebration is a bad joke on people! (…) I resent a good-for nothing like Columbus who after raping and killing our people can still be honoured today. Even though he is dead, his name still continues to suppress our people by stopping development in the same area (Salt River) where he committed these horrendous crimes (…) a hotel that would create jobs for our people and stimulate

business in every area, plus add money to our beleaguered treasury is being stopped by the likes of a glorified criminal like Columbus."

Expressing her views about those (whites) opposing the commercial tourism development plans, calling them "glorified criminals" stealing the very livelihood not to mention the land from the local black population, the Senator is speaking into a very sensitive racial discourse. Unproblematically drawing a timeless allegiance between extinct Amerindians and the contemporary black population in St. Croix, a majority of who are descendants of enslaved Africans and yet from different Caribbean islands, the Senator strategically highlights encounterings of oppression by white people.

Further substantiating the racial discourse of whites controlling blacks regardless of time and context, one need only stress the complexion of the majority of inhabitants and business owners in Salt River and its adjacent hillside dwellings. A fenced off, guarded area, it is predominantly inhabited by continentals and other Americans, locally known as 'winter birds' fleeing the cold, northern winters for their tropical paradises in St. Croix. While they tend to be relatively little involved in other aspects of island life, some are active SEA members and in addition, white continentals are operating the only two businesses located in Salt River namely, a yacht building industry and a marina bar and restaurant. Even though the latter continentals are pro-hotel development and vigorously advocating economic prosperity for the island of St. Croix, they are white businessmen born elsewhere and thus easily classified alongside the other group of "suppressing" foreigners.

Paradoxically, the Senator encouraging local black resistance against local whites is favouring commercial tourism development controlled by a foreign-owned company. This moreover runs contrary to a general move within the Eastern Caribbean since the 1980's where emphasis has been put on local ownership and local control of the tourist industry. Holder's (1993: 24) indication of a change in control of the Caribbean tourism industry is illustrated through hotel ownership patterns, changing from a remarkable 90 per cent expatriate ownership in the 1970s, to 40 per cent a decade later. Concentrated in government-owned properties and small hotels, objectives are consolidated around retaining earnings and facilitating jobs for local rather than expatriate personnel. Hence, keeping in mind the ethnic composition of the US Virgin Islands population, the notion of 'local' varies according to circumstantial strategies negotiated within and across racial and ethnic boundaries, which consequently calls for empirical qualifications of the term[14]. While circumventing the versatile classification of local, the Heritage Trail is also aimed at enhancing economic linkages in St. Croix amongst all segments of society, Tyson and Bacci (1996: v) emphasising that:

"Heritage tourism must be community driven and requirement of community participation at all levels."

However, the homogenising concept of community merely eludes the racist rhetoric and corresponding distinctions creating groups of blacks against whites within some segments of the St. Croix society. In the case of Salt River, racism, as expressed in prejudice regarding a person's skin colour can fruitfully be interpreted as a reaction to the

profound different understandings of, among others, the heritage of a colonial history and slavery in the US Virgin Islands. Both interrelated issues are indeed extremely sensitive and complex, which are rather left alone than dealt with by many blacks in St. Croix and the Eastern Caribbean. Gilroy (1993: 188-189) is incisingly suggestive:

"The idea of tradition is often also the culmination, or centre-piece, of a rhetorical gesture that asserts the legitimacy of a black political culture locked in a defensive posture against the unjust powers of white supremacy. This gesture sets tradition and modernity against each other as simple polar alternatives as starkly differentiated and oppositional signs of black and white. It is interesting that in this understanding of the position of blacks in the modern, western world, the door to tradition remains wedged open not by the memory of modern racial slavery but in spite of it."

While the struggle to have blacks perceived as agents of history with cognitive capacities – a continual effect of modern racism - most certainly is ongoing, attempting to invert racial logic and classification, such as the St. Croix Senator advocating black resistance towards the celebration of Columbus' arrival, racial metaphysics are simply reproduced. Only, blacks are appropriated with a dominant culture or biology and whites given a subordinate role. This black and white racist dichotomy all too easily masks conspicuous problems of nationalism, ethnocentrism and homogenisation of culture, which, in this case, is reproduced in the context of National Park and heritage tourism development. Thus, grasping the representations of some visibly conflicting meanings, identities and tourism development interests at play in Salt River, representing but one of the Heritage Trail's desti-nations, it is hardly surprising that the National Park remains a paper park.

Further qualifying an understanding of the current status and executional aspects of Salt River and the St. Croix heritage tourism project at large, the unexplored potentials in the fluidity of place, identity and meaning constructions within National Park boundaries, even if this may initially appear as a contradiction in terms, will be analysed towards a more sustainable mode of tourism development.

The US National Park Service's (NPS) aim of protection and preservation, striving for authenticity and historical verisimilitude, predominantly focus on Columbus' landing within the spatial boundaries of Salt River. Mapping the first encounter of what is presently a belonging of the American nation-state in correspondence with NPS experiences in the continental US, interpretations of the site includes an antecedent tale of Indian cultures, encounter, and proceeding narratives of colonisation, nation building and modernisation. In other words, through a conspicuous construction of a shared national and cultural heritage Americo-centric meanings are attributed to the context of Salt River, which roots and fixes culture and authenticity in space.

Behind the resistance displayed by segments of the black population against the selection of Salt River as national landmark lures a similar nationalist rhetoric associated with roots and belonging. At times romantic and mythic in scope, disregarding differences of language, culture, and identity, dividing blacks of the Diaspora from one another, let alone from Africans (c.f. Gilroy 1993), Africa is centered as the place of

origin, the cultural Motherland from where blacks were displaced by (white) Europeans. While hesitant to write about this given the subject position of this anthropologist as well as the humbling, experiential sensitivity of the issue, calculating the unity and diversity of blacks in the Caribbean and elsewhere, Salt River represents a space of national and cultural displacement.

Moreover, as the site is intended for public displays of an authentic, national heritage, it is consumed by US Virgin Islands residents and visiting tourists alike. Urry's (1990) informative analysis of "tourist's gazes" uncovers how the perception of an authentic experience, or an authentic object, is not limited to external, objective evaluations. Rather, authenticity is about personal and relational perceptions, which are culturally and historically organised. Gazes by tourists as well as residents visiting a particular site are not left to chance but carefully learned through markers framing the sight and focusing attention in a specific direction. Thus, applying authenticity in heritage tourism development as an objective criterion of meaning simply fails to understand the processual dynamics and cultural constructions, which also makes the conceptualisation of authenticity subject to change. Consequently, is it not a matter of exhibitional displays showing 'more resistance' by enduring Caribs, slaves or contemporary politicians, nor of 'white washing' the past, as no common ground has been laid for interpretation of cultural meanings associated with the site in Salt River.

Indeed, following Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) idea of "the invention of tradition", all cultures are in the process of remaking, reinventing, and reorganising elements all the time. Hence, there is a sense in which all cultures become inauthentic[15] and therefore, it is impossible to determine what is 'authentic' in any give culture. Yet, without ending up in fruitless discussions of power, the concept of authenticity continuously saturating the rhetoric of tourism advertisement and acts of preservation deserves renewed attention. While aspects of advertisement are beyond the scope of this paper specifically, this analysis will refocus attention to processes of multi-sited meaning production, preservation and governance in heritage tourism, before turning to interrelated aspects of more sustainable modes of tourism development.

Selecting a particular authentic heritage for preservation and conservation necessarily becomes a matter of continuous, collaborative negotiations amongst all parties involved. When the NPS' *Management Objectives* (1994: 3-6) for Salt River calls for a "living museum" consequently, living experiences of continued mobility from forced enslavement to more or less voluntary practise of the present, notably tourism and migration, must be taken into account. Particularly as these evade specific labels conventionally ordering people, authenticity, culture and space into rigid notions of nationalism and national identity. Accordingly, a living museum in Salt River can feasibly move beyond the archeological and natural resource displays as well as its nation-building purpose shaping the exhibitional content. Particularly as a polyphony of narratives and acts of cultural place construction co-exist within the National Park boundaries. While some were clearly racist, nationalist, and reactionary in scope, rather than promoting a post-modern, uncritical celebration of cultural difference consequently, interpretations and execution evading such racist and nationalist exclusiveness are needed. Moreover, the modern desire to control the images of an authentic national

culture and a national identity can feasibly be centered into inquiry. Supporting this argument, Gilroy's (1993: 223) approach is reconstructive:

"The history of blacks in the west and the social movements that have affirmed and rewritten that history can provide a lesson which is not restricted to blacks. They raise issues of more general significance that have been posed within black politics at a relatively early point. There is, for example, a potentially important contribution here towards the politics of a new century in which the central axis of conflict will no longer be the colour line but the challenge of a just, sustainable development and the frontiers which will separate the overdeveloped parts of the world (at home and abroad) from the intractable poverty that already surrounds them. In these circumstances, it may be easier to appreciate the utility of a response to racism that doesn't try to fix ethnicity absolutely but sees it instead as an infinite process of identity construction".[16]

Briefly turning to the "challenge of a just, sustainable development" and interrelated aspects of governance, sustainable development is defined by the Brundtland Commission as "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987: 8). Moreover, the Brundtland Report (ibid: 261) suggests that:

"Sustainable development can only be secured through international co-operation and agreed regimes for surveillance, development and management in the common interest. But at stake is not just the sustainable development of shared ecosystems and the commons, but of all the nations whose development depends to a greater or lesser degree on their rational management".

Uncovering the relationships between a particular construct of power and knowledge rooted in European modernity, Brundtland's "agreed regimes of surveillance" are always-already defined by the panoptic gaze of international community of the UN[17]. Strategically entangling individuals in impersonal relationships of power, an instance of rational world order is established. Tacitly implying that there is nothing novel about the approach to sustainable development, nor by the dominating development discourse reinventing itself, this serves to emphasise that sustainable development is a Western concept grounded in our perception of subjects and rationality, which does not make it a natural or universally given solution[18]. Without going into further detail, following Foucault (1984), uncovering the hidden relationships of power/knowledge, the meaning of sustainable development is open for an experiment of going beyond those perimeters.

Consequently, normative interpretations of what modes of sustainable development is to be, and become, must be made explicit and in accordance with the cultural values of the interpretative community in which these are rendered meaning. The application of *modes* implies that these are defined substantially in the sense of more or less loosely integrated ideas with some public circulation. It is about the ongoing production and reproduction of meanings, discourse, identity, and knowledge, which are not limited to a strictly formal definition concerned with rules and deterministic *forms* governing practise. In due course, following Porter (1995: 85) clearly inspired by Weber, it is imperative to address the problem of cultural relativism underpinning this issue,

introducing some ethically responsible standards mobilising a culturally critical will. Only thus is one able to judge whether specific practises are likely to be transformative and facilitate the interests and 'needs' of a group of people that would appear to be denied by universal notions and conventional development metaphors.

Critically analysing the challenge of more sustainable modes of tourism development stressing the dynamics of culture, development, governance, the economy, and, of course, tourism, actually *achieving* a sustainable equilibrium becomes nonsensical. Instead, turning to the unfulfilled potentials of sustainable tourism development, it can feasibly be embraced as an *organising* concept in correspondence with Brundtland's principles. Implicitly, sustainable tourism development must incorporate both elements of continuity and change, which involves explicit acts of determining how and what is being sustained for whom.

Consequently adopting a dynamic and multi-sited concept of culture in heritage tourism development in St. Croix, and elsewhere, identity is not defined by spatially confined roots and rootedness either. Rather, it is seen as a process of movement and mediation that can be approached via a conceptualisation of *routes*, which of course are negotiated within the physical space available. A recent initiative by UNESCO embraces this perspective through its "Slave Route" project, in which the St. Croix Heritage Trail has become part. Nobel Piece Prize winner, Weisel, expresses the idea behind UNESCO's project (www.unesco.org/culture/dialogue/slave/html):

"The executioner always kills twice, the second time with silence. Silence meaning there was no general attempt to think out the causes of the transatlantic slave trade, silence meaning that there was no recognition of its unique characteristics, and silence meaning ignorance of contribution made by the African Diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean and the interactions it set in motion".

Emphasising the representation of slavery and colonial heritage communicated in various dicoursive modes, the project takes on multi-sited, experiential dimensions in time and space, potentially bridging conflicting interpretations at interconnected levels. Of pending UNESCO Slave Route programmes and incentives: culture and heritage tourism, a variety of museum exhibitions, surveys of documentary sources, construction of data banks and educational material, as well as festivals and concert tours (ibid: Feb. 12, 2000).

Thus aiming to make reconstructional efforts explicit, collaboration between local stakeholders, social movements, grassroots organisations, and relevant government agencies are clearly needed. The culturally and discoursive interconnected relevance linking Salt River and St. Croix to the rest of the Caribbean, Ghana, Denmark, the US, and beyond moreover calls for more empowering and democratic structures of governance through collaborative institution building than what were executed under the more technocratic elitism of modernism. In due course reapproaching space as culturally practised place, the Heritage Trail at large and the displays in Salt River could feasibly be executed as interactive, multi-sited and participatory, rather than chronological, passive and encyclopedic, towards more sustainable modes of tourism development for the

enjoyment of present and future generations.

Conclusion

In sum, adopting an unconventional anthropological approach, the necessity of a processual conceptualisation of culture was demonstrated. Attention was particularly cultivated to multi-sited predicaments of heritage tourism development, including the dominating development discourse, identity, and cultural constructions of place, which are continuously reproduced at multiple levels. Yet, looking closer at the Salt River National Park as one site along the St. Croix Heritage Trail, the continued dominance of the static idea of cultural wholes, reproducing sentiments of nationalism and a shared, authentic national identity, in spite of experiential aspects of ongoing mobility and conflicting interpretations of preservation and meanings associated with the site.

More constructively, pointing to the unfulfilled potentials, uncovering the hidden relationships of power/knowledge in the concept of sustainable development, it was suggested that it is applied as an organising concept and rendered meaning by the interpretative community in accordance with the Brundtland Commission's widely accepted principles. Consequently incorporating elements of continuity and change furthermore, if Brundtland is to be heard, the conventional, highly selective reading of sustainable development as a continuous endorsement of a free-market economy with environmental constraints, where tourism development remains a number's game with an added green hue, must be rejected. Focus needs to be redirected to the Brundtland Report's much-neglected suggestion of reorganisation and redistribution of consumption patterns (WCED 1987: 67-91). Hence, establishing multi-sited, intersectoral linkages for present and future generations, broadly conceived, in order to improve living conditions and fulfillment of culturally defined needs in St. Croix and elsewhere, heritage tourism development can play an active, integral part in forming ongoing, strategic and collaborative alliances where there otherwise were none.

Facing the twenty-first millennium, these undoubtedly challenging processes call for more accountable engagement by all parties involved, feasibly accompanied by further unconventional anthropological research focusing on the dynamic and multi-sited relationships between people and place.

[1] In short, the overall approach taken in this study is discoursive, recognising the importance of the dynamics of discourse and power relationships to any anthropological study of culture. Being neither true to Foucault's ideas of discourse nor untrue to them, his writings are of significant value illuminating the mechanisms through which a certain order of discourse simultaneously qualifies and disqualifies modes of being and thinking. However, this anthropologist does not fully subscribe to Foucault's approach to discourse analysis rather, they encouraged critical rethinking of the task. This is particularly due to Foucault's structuralistic decentering of the subject and thus any rational intentionality, with the exception of his very latest works before his untimely death in which he allows for a self-constituting subject, reconsidering rationality and autonomy (Foucault 1976, 1986, 1988).
Although this paper will focus specifically on the development discourse in the post-World War II era as it relates to tourism, it would be erroneous to assume that the notion of development did not exist prior to this. Indeed, Coven & Shenton (1995) and Larrain's (1989: 1) analysis show that the belief in development, or economic progress, which appears to be the term commonly applied, can be found throughout the "age of competitive capitalism", from the 1700s onward.

[2] C.f. Gardner & Lewis (1996) *Anthropology, development and the post-modern challenge*, Escobar (1995) *Encountering development*, and Crush (ed.) (1995) *Power of development*

[3] From the www.worldbank.group/org January 27, 1999. Founded in 1944 as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development alongside the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the objectives of (what was to become) the World Bank initially focused on economic aid directed primarily at devastated areas of Europe in the wake of World War II. Heavily influenced by the US and neo-liberal economic thinking, aims and means of aid changed substantially during the Cold War era as it became a political tool strategically applied to control the spread of communism, instigating fairly bold development projects in poor, Third World countries. Note that formally, however, the World Bank has a restricted 'hands-off' approach to public politics (!), leaving that to bilateral, government-to-government agencies.

[4] In 1980-83 foreign aid accounted for approximately U$ 35 billion. And in 1988, the 18 OEDP nations gave a total of billion U$48.1 of which one quarter was multilateral aid, the rest being bilateral assistance (Gardner & Lewis 1996: 10).

[5] Similar stories an be found in most of the Caribbean, whether political protests in St. Kitts following a 1993 election where stones were thrown at the parliament building, Duvalier's dictatorship in Haiti, or St. Lucia's protesting banana farmers blocking off the road to the international airport. The effect on the tourism industry is grave and immediate the safety of tourists being a foremost concern of tour operators, travel agents and governments alike. Hence instant instability, whether real or imagined, often have a long-term impact on the often disloyal tourism industry.

[6] Other models have entered the tourism development discourse, calculating the maximum number of tourists feasibly accommodated by a given destination in order to reap maximum benefits without jeopardising the quality of visitor experience or the ecological environment. This approach is known as 'tourist carrying capacity'. Without going into further detail, the carrying capacity approach is often acknowledged for its attempt to underscore that increased scale alone is a poor index of tourism's economic impact. However, the mathematical model proves problematic having to define itself in reference to the quality of tourist's experiences, which indeed is a most intricate matter to quantify let alone qualify.
Still addressing tourism development within the realm of economic growth, a more detailed approach can be found in Harrison (1992: 11-13). Proposing to compare "Tourist Intensity Ratios" for different countries, annual tourist arrivals are related to population size. Another method applied is the "Tourist Penetration Rate", also known as 'bednights' within the industry, relating total tourists nights to nights spent in the country by all residents. The "Tourist Density Ratio" is similarly focusing on the ratio of tourist nights to the destination area of the region. These measures make it possible to highlight certain features

and differences of specific importance based on length of stay, rather than simply comparing numbers of tourist arrivals. Moreover, they do not attempt to take into account the difficult, however crucially important assessments of socio-cultural features but remain within mathematically measurable entities. However, all three measurements are oblivious to seasonality and concentration of tourist facilities within a country, both being key tourism characteristics particularly conspicuous in small island states as in the Eastern Caribbean region.

[7] C.f. Patullo (1996) *Last Resorts. The cost of tourism in the Caribbean*; Thompson (1997) *The haunting past. Politics, economics and race in Caribbean life*; Perez (1973) *Aspects of underdevelopment: Tourism in the West Indies.*

[8] The tourist area cycle of evolution (hereinafter TACE) identifies seven processual stages of tourism development. An area initially receiving only a small number of tourists, lacking publicity, access and tourist facilities is described as the 'exploration stage', gradually moving into the 'involvement stage' as local involvement and interaction with tourists increase. If the area proves successful, it will evolve into the 'development stage', with well-organised tourist arrangements and attractions including man-made facilities, causing physical changes of the area. Local control and participation dwindles as external organisations take over, bringing in foreign labour. Reaching the 'consolidation stage' with increased tourist numbers arriving, tourism ties into the majority of the area's economy. The flow of benefits and control shifting from internal to external agents cause discontent among permanent residents, leaping the area into the 'stagnation stage' where peak numbers have been reached. Drawing on Plog's (1974) dramatic statement about destinations carrying with them "potential seeds of their own destruction", the area will either have to 'rejuvenate' itself, for instance, through alternatives such as heritage tourism development, or the 'decline stage' will occur in which the area is no longer competitive nor attractive as a tourist destination.

[9] Following Buhalis (2000, personal communication) large integrated tour operators, namely Airtours, Thomson, TUI and NUR control approximately 70 per cent of the leisure packaged holiday traffic.

[10] US Virgin Island Bureau of Economic Research (1996) *USVI Annual Tourism Indicators.*

[11] Interrelated modes of knowledge and subjectivity are reproduced in multiple situations and contexts. Personally, my research was severely questioned by several St. Thomians since, in their view, no significant development ever will take place in St. Croix, as St. Thomas is the focal point of tourism development in the US Virgin Islands. Indeed, the more tolerant of whom told me "to go over there and see for myself, to make up my own mind". In doing so, I could always come back to St. Thomas "when I knew better".
Also, it was with a scent of malice that St. Croix was able to welcome thousands of cruise ships passengers to their shores following Hurricane Marilyn's havoc of St. Thomas in 1996, causing only minor destructions in St. Croix. The projected cruise ship arrivals for St. Croix increased from 78 to 350 due to devastations of other Eastern Caribbean ports, especially that of St. Thomas. However, as St. Thomas quickly recovered, cruise ships were immediately redirected to "the favorite Caribbean port of call", as St. Thomas is known in the cruise industry.

[12] British Virgin Islanders were permitted to enter as "Non-immigrant temporary workers" for one year at a time, permitted one year's extension after which they were required to leave the US Virgin Islands at least for one day before resuming a position. Most workers entering the islands legally, including Eastern Caribbeans required a "bonding letter" from the employer guaranteeing that the worker would not become a public charge, maintain his/her status and return home after a year. The job bonding system was subject to extensive abuses, for instance employers hiring regardless of legal bonds. During the increase in the construction and tourism industries, it became evident that the US Virgin Islands was now depending on the alien work force. The practise of bonding was discontinued in 1959. In addition, a law was passed in the US Congress (Bill no. 91-225) creating a new "H-4" visa permitting alien spouses and children to accompany or join their working relative, probably with little knowledge of the impact the bill would have in the US Virgin Islands (Boyer 1983: 289-296).

[13] The domestic home unit in the various Eastern Caribbean islands accordingly came to include workers abroad, often identifiable through family land and the family house held in mutual perpetuity. Momsen (1993) and Olwig's (1993, 1995, 1997) research are particularly informative on cultural institutions such as family land and the family house in the Eastern Caribbean. Olwig (1993: 156) using Liburd's (1984) research on migration from the island of Nevis since the 1950 estimates that 96 per cent of households have family members living abroad.

[14] Further illustrating the fluidity and need for empirical qualification of 'local', in the 1995 casino legislation for ST. CROIX, aiming at benefiting local Virgin Islanders through ownership of a 200 – 299 room "Tier III Casino Resort" and related employment opportunities, the first proposal setting precedence defining "native" in the US Virgin Islands context went as following (Section 402, the 1995 Casino Bill): "Notwithstanding any law to the contrary "Native Virgin Islander" shall be defined as any person born in the Virgin Islands prior to 1927; any person who is an offspring of parent(s) born in the Virgin Islands prior to 1927; or any person outside the Virgin Islands to Native Virgin Islands parent(s) while parent(s) was studying abroad, employed abroad, or in active military service." In this definition, a native of the US Virgin Islands is qualified through the birthplace of one's ancestor(s) prior to 1927. The year 1927 was selected due to the official transfer of the islands from Denmark on March 31, 1917, sold for 25 million dollars in gold to the US following which island residents were given ten years to choose whether to remain Danish citizens or become Americans. Thus, a person's own place of birth commonly used as criteria for nativity was not initially applied in this legislative definition of a "Native Virgin Islander" and hence potential "Tier III Casino Resort" ownership due to strategic references to Danish colonial and current Territorial ties to the US. Discriminating the majority of 'local' residents of St. Croix, many of who are second and third generation immigrants and US citizens, they strongly objected the casino bill favouring a select few those whose offspring were traceable to the US Virgin Islands prior to 1927. Due to massive protests during a highly emotional debate, legislation was finally amended to include "anyone born in the Territory".

[15] C.f. Crick (1989) *Sun, sex, sights, savings and servility.* Annual Review of Anthropology, vol. 18 pp. 307 - 344.

[16] Gilroy's reference to "the colour line" is from W.E.B. DuBois (1903) much acclaimed publication *The Souls of Black Folk*, in which he argues, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of colour-line" (DuBois 1903, 1994: v).

[17] Foucault (1977: 203) in *Discipline and Punish* adopting Bentham's "Panopticon", which is a circular prison building of cells with a centrally located watch tower in principle subjecting all prisoners to surveillance, describes the practise as following: "He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes a responsibility for the constraint of power; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection". Accordingly, Foucault perceives the panopticon as a combination of abstract schematisation and concrete application which through the diffusion of disciplinary technologies are spreading the process of normalisation, increased rationalisation, organisation and homogenisation, whether to a small group of individuals or entire populations, central to Foucault's critique of modernity.

[18] C.f. Kant in Habermas, J. (1987) *The philosophical discourse of modernity* and Liburd, J.J. (1999) *Sustainable tourism development. Case studies from the Eastern Caribbean*.

References:

Abram & Waldren (ed.)
1998 *Anthropological perspectives on local development. Knowledge and sentiments in conflict*. Routledge, London & New York.

Bass & Dalal-Clayton
1995 *Small island states and sustainable development: Strategic issues and experiences*. International Institute for Environment and Development. Environmental Planning Issues. No. 8.

Benthall, J.
1995 *From self-applause through self-critisism to self-confidence* In: Ahmed & Shore (ed.) (1994) *The Future of Anthropology. Its relevance to the contemporary world*. Athlone, London & Atlantic Highlands, NJ. pp. 1-11.

Bruner, E.M.
1996 *Tourism in Ghana. The representations of slavery and the return of the black Diaspora*. American Anthropologist 98(2) pp. 290-304.

Butler, R.W.
1980 *The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources*. Canadian Geographer, XXXIV, 1 pp. 5-12.

Butler, R.W.
1997 *Modelling tourism development. Evolution, growth and decline*. In: Wahab & Pigram *Tourism, development and growth, the challenge of sustainability*. Routledge, London & New York.

Cissel, W.
1993 *A Summary of the Natural and Cultural Resource Significance of Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve*. U.S. National Park Service.

Crush, J. (ed.)
1995 *Power of development*. Routledge, London and New York.

Fairclough, N.
1992 *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge Polity Press.

Farrelly, A.A.
1991 *Tourism Task Force Report, United States Virgin Islands*. Inter/Action '91. Office of the Governor, Government of the US Virgin Islands.

Ferguson, J.
1997 *Paradoxes of sovereignty and independence*. In: Olwig & Hastrup (ed.) *Siting Culture. The shifting anthropological object.* Routledge, London and New York.

Foucault, M.
1980 *Power/Knowledge*. Pantheon Books, New York.

Foucault, M.
1981 *The Order of Discourse* appendix to *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Pantheon Books, New York.

Foucault, M. 1984
What is Enlightenment? In: Rabinow (ed.) *The Foucault Reader*. Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Fraser, N. 1981
Foucault on modern power: empirical insights and normative confusions. Praxis International vol. 3, pp. 272-287.

Freeman, R.
1993 500th Anniversary of Columbus' Landing Background on the Committee's goals in Orengo, H. (ed.): 1493-1993 500 Years of heritage. Impresos de Puerto Rico.

Gardner, K. & Lewis, D.
1996 *Anthropology, development and the post-modern challenge*. Pluto Press, London.

Gilroy, P.
1993 *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and double consciousness*. Verso, London.

Graburn, N.H.H.
1994 *Tourism, modernity and nostalgia*. In: Akbar & Shore (ed.) *The Future of Anthropology. Its relevance to the contemporary world*. Athlone, London & Atlantic Highlands, NJ. pp. 158-178.

Grekin & Milne
1996 *Toward sustainable tourism development: the case of Pond Inlet, NWT*. In: Butler & Hinch: *Tourism and indigenous peoples*. International Thompson Business Press. pp. 76-106.

Habermas, J.
1987 *The Philosophical discourse of Modernity*. Polity Press.

Hobsbawm & Ranger (ed.)
1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. University Press, Cambridge.

Holder, J. S.
1993 *The Caribbean Tourism Organisation in a historical perspective*. In: Gayle & Goodrich (ed.) *Tourism Marketing and Management in the Caribbean*. Routledge, London & New York. pp. 20-27.

Hughes, G.
1995 *The cultural construction of tourism*. Tourism Management vol. 16 no. 1 pp. 49-59.

Liburd, J.J.
1999 *Sustainable Tourism Development. Case studies from the Eastern Caribbean*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Aarhus, Denmark (in press).

MacCannell, D.
1976 *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. (1989) Schocken.

Marcus, G. E.
1998 *Ethnography through Thick and Thin*. Princeton University Press, NJ.

Marden, P.
1997 *Geographies of dissent: globalisation, identity and the nation*. Political Geography vol. 16 no. 1 pp. 37-64.

McAfee, K.
1991 *Storm Signals*. South End Press & Oxfam America. pp. 110-123.

Olwig, K.F.
1980 *National Parks, Tourism and Local Development: A West Indian Case*. Human Organisation, vol. 39 no. 1 pp. 22 -31.

Olwig, K.F. (ed.)
1995 *Small islands, large questions. Society, culture and resistance in the post-emancipation Caribbean*. Frank Cass, London. pp. 3-7, 100-119.

Olwig & Hastrup (ed.)
1997 *Siting Culture. The shifting anthropological object.* Routledge, London and New York.

Pattullo, P.
1996 *Last Resorts*. Cassell, London.

Price & Price
1995 *Executing Culture: Musee, Museo, Museum*. American Anthropologist vol. 97 no. 1 pp. 97-109.

Rostow, W. W.
1952 *The Process of Economic Growth*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Said, E. W.
1994 *Culture and Imperialism*. Vintage.

Said, E. W.
1996 *Representations of the Intellectual*. *The 1993 Reich Lectures*. Vintage Books, New York.

Smith, V. L.
1996 *The Inuit as Hosts: Heritage and Wilderness Tourism in Nunavut*. In: Price (ed) *People and Tourism in Fragile Environments*. John Wiley & Sons.

Smith, V. L.
1996 *War and its tourist attractions*. In: Pizam & Mansfield (ed) *Tourism, crime and international security issues*. John Wiley & Sons.

Smith & Eadington
1995 *Tourism alternatives. Petentials and problems in the development of tourism*. John Wiley & Sons.

Smithsonian Institution
1990 *Festival of American Folklife*. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

Sprauve, G. E.
1990 *About Man, Betta Man, Fision and Fusion and Creole Calypso and Cultural Survival in the Virgin Islands*. In: Smithsonian Institution *Festival of American Folklife*. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

St. Croix Avis
1993 *Boycott Columbus fete!* Nov. 13, p.1.

St. Croix Environmental Association
1993 *Salt River*. Virgin Islands Council on the U.S. National Park Service: National Historic Site, St. Croix, US Virgin Islands.

Thomson, J.
1993 *Message from the President of the Christopher Columbus Jubilee Committee* In: Orengo, H. (ed.): *1493-1993 500 Years of heritage*. Impresos de Puerto Rico.

Tyson, G. F. & Bacci, M. E.
1996 *Historic attractions and feasibility study, St. Croix, US Virgin Islands*. Dep. of Tourism, Government of the Virgin Islands.

Urry, J.
1990 *The Tourist Gaze*. Sage.

US Virgin Islands Bureau of Economic Research
1996 *US Virgin Islands Annual Tourism Indicators*. May 2.

102nd US Congress
1992 *Public Law 102-247*, Feb. 24.

US National Park Service
1990 *Alternatives Study and Environmental Assessment, Columbus Landing Site, St. Croix, US Virgin Islands*.

US National Park Service
1994 *Management Objectives, Salt River Bay National Park and Ecological Preserve*.

US National Park Service
1994 *Land Protection Plan, Salt River Bay National Park and Ecological Preserve*.

US National Park Service and The Territorial Government of the US Virgin Islands
1988 *Memorandum of Agreement between the National Park Service and the Territorial Government of the U.S. Virgin Islands* MA-5000-8-8006.

US Virgin Islands Sixteenth Legislature
1986 *Act 5229. Bill no. 16-0651*. Government of the US Virgin Islands.

US Virgin Islands Twentyfirst Legislature
1995 *Act No. 6069, Bill No. 21-0027, The Virgin Islands Casino and Resort Control Act of 1995*. Government of the US Virgin Islands.

Virgin Islands Cultural Heritage Institute
1993-1994 *Annual Report to Governor Alexander A. Farrelly*. Government of the US Virgin Islands.

World Commission on Environment and Development
1987 *Our Common Future*. Oxford University Press.

World Tourism Organisation
1995 *World Tourism 1970-1993*. WTO, Spain.

World Tourism Organisation
1995 *International Tourism in the Americas* 1970-1994. WTO, Spain.

Widfelt, AA.
1996 *Alternative development strategies and tourism in Caribbean microstates.* In: Briguglio et.al. *Sustainable tourism in islands and small states. Case studies*. pp. 147-161.

Wilkinson, P.F.
1997 *Tourism policy and planning: Case studies from the Commonwealth Caribbean*. Tourism Dynamics Series, Cognizant Communication Corporation, New York.