Confronting Caribbean heritage in an archipelago of diversity: Politics, stakeholders, climate change, natural disasters, tourism, and development

Peter E Siegel, Corinne L Hofman, Benoît Bérard, Reg Murphy, Jorge Ulloa Hung, Roberto Valcárcel Rojas & Cheryl White

Published online: 03 Dec 2013.

Submit your article to this journal

Confronting Caribbean heritage in an archipelago of diversity: Politics, stakeholders, climate change, natural disasters, tourism, and development

Peter E. Siegel[1], Corinne L. Hofman[2], Benoît Bérard[3], Reg Murphy[4], Jorge Ulloa Hung[5], Roberto Valcárcel Rojas[6], Cheryl White[7]

[1]Montclair State University, Montclair, New Jersey, [2]Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands, [3]Université des Antilles et de la Guyane, Martinique, French West Indies, [4]Heritage Resources National Parks, Antigua, [5]Museo del Hombre Dominicano, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, [6]Ministerio de Ciencias, Tecnología y Medio Ambiente, Holguín, Cuba, [7]Newmont Merian Gold Project, Paramaribo, Suriname

The Caribbean archipelago is a series of independent island nations and overseas departments, territories, colonies, or commonwealths of developed countries. About 250 generations of human occupation in the Caribbean have produced a blend of traditions sometimes called a "cultural kaleidoscope." Eight thousand years of shifting cultural identities are recorded in archaeological, architectural, documentary, and ecological records, and in memories and oral traditions known as "heritagescapes." Caribbean heritagescapes are increasingly threatened by a combination of socioeconomic needs of modern society, ineffective governmental oversight, profit-driven multinational corporations, looters, and natural environmental processes. Balancing the needs of society against the protection and management of heritage requires careful thought and measured dialogue among competing stakeholders. Here we review the status of heritage in the Caribbean and offer a way forward in managing a diminishing supply of heritage resources in the face of current socioeconomic demands, and the unique legislative environments of independent island nations and overseas possessions of developed countries.

Keywords: heritagescapes, stakeholders, contested memories, heritage consideration, Caribbean

Introduction

> The Archaeological [sic] heritage of the Caribbean has suffered the assaults and rigours of the climate, a lack of professional technical resources for both investigation and for conservation, and irreparable losses linked to development and the growth of infrastructures; for all these reasons, Caribbean archaeology has had to struggle in recent years in a race against time (Sanz 2005: 46).

The Caribbean archipelago consists of more than 7000 islands, islets, and cays extending from the north coast of Venezuela to the Florida peninsula in the United States (FIG. 1). In terms of cultural heritage, linguistics, and archaeology, northeastern South America is included with the Caribbean. Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana, and portions of Venezuela and Brazil have been viewed collectively as the "island of Guiana," and explicitly linked to issues of heritage and archaeology of the Caribbean (Duin 2011; Rivière 1984: 2; Rostain 2012).

People have occupied the Caribbean continuously from approximately 6000 B.C. to the present. Traces of human occupation are in archaeological and architectural records and in ecological histories. Current residents maintain ideas and perceptions of the past in memories, oral traditions, religious beliefs, festivals, dress, and food. Geopolitically, the Caribbean today is characterized by a mix of independent nations and overseas departments, territories, commonwealths, or colonies of developed countries. Because of the unique trajectories of history and colonialism and competing visions of the past, heritage is studied, interpreted, assessed, and managed in a variety of ways across the region. We consider the multivalent and often contested qualities of Caribbean heritage and the natural and cultural processes that conspire to erase it. In doing so, we address a series of fundamentally interrelated issues. First, we consider heritage as a form of cultural memory and identification that shifts as

Correspondence to: Peter E. Siegel, Department of Anthropology and Center for Heritage and Archaeological Studies, Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ 07043. Email: siegelp@mail.montclair.edu

Figure 1 Map of the Caribbean basin.

societal values and stakeholders change. Stakeholders include the public, governmental or non-governmental organizations (NGOs), developers, academics, and descendant communities. Each of these interest or stakeholder groups may have seemingly irreconcilable differences regarding heritage resources. Second, we assess challenges in Caribbean heritage management. This involves investigating competing views of the Caribbean past and relating them to the perspectives of specific stakeholders and to the current state of heritage legislation in the region. Third, we suggest a plan for Caribbean heritage preservation and management, especially in the context of pressures from increasingly global economies and multinational agreements.

Heritage as cultural memory and identification
Dictionary definitions of heritage include: "property that descends to an heir; something transmitted by or acquired from a predecessor, such as legacy, inheritance, tradition, or something possessed as a result of one's natural situation or birth (birthright)" (Merriam-Webster 1991: 566). These broad definitions may apply to individuals, families, communities, towns, cities, nations, and blocks of nations. As Carman (2002: 11) observes, heritage is "at once

global and local" (also see Schofield and Syzmanski 2011; Tilley 2006: 18–20). It is also possible to characterize heritage as "cultural" compared to something that is exclusively "natural." If natural heritage signifies a landscape or environment that has not been imprinted with traces of humanity or culture then it may be an ideal or elusive concept (Amend *et al.* 2008; Bender 2006; Brown *et al.* 2005; Rössler 2005; Taylor and Lennon 2011). Distinctions between culture and nature have been played out in World Heritage assessments "where cultural heritage resided mainly in great monuments and sites, and natural heritage in scientific ideas of nature and wilderness as something separate from people" (Taylor and Lennon 2011: 546). Historical ecology explicitly investigates the synergy between human culture and the physical environment (Balée 1998; Balée and Erickson 2006; Crumley 1994; Redman 1999; Rostain 2012). Heritage enters into this when we understand that people look to their past, real or imagined, as it may be inscribed on the land or in the sea, and which is a powerful device for cultural identification (Anico and Peralta 2009; Jones 2007; Taylor and Lennon 2011; Tilley 2006). David Crouch notes that "there is a…merging of landscape and heritage…Perhaps, too, landscape becomes heritage;

heritage becomes landscape: each emerge through doing, thinking and feeling" (Crouch 2011: 522).

"Heritagescape" is a landscape and/or seascape imbued with tangible and immaterial vestiges of ongoing human actions that are linked to cultural memory. Our view of heritagescape is similar to other discussions of "cultural landscape" (Anschuetz *et al.* 2001; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Bender 2006; Johnson 2012; Thomas 2001; Tilley 2006), but it relates specifically to issues of identification, management, and conservation of heritage resources that are embedded in or reside on the landscape.

Our discussion of heritagescape builds on other treatments of the topic (Di Giovine 2009; Garden 2006, 2009). Mary-Catherine Garden (2006: 394–395) introduces heritagescape "as a means of interpreting and analysing heritage sites as unique social spaces that offer an experience of the past … both as individual places and also in terms of their relationship to other heritage places." Garden offers a method by which distinct "heritage sites" may be assessed, compared, and interpreted within overlapping public and scholarly domains, thus bridging the "gap between theory and practice within the discipline … [and providing the] potential to inform day-to-day management and policy decisions" (Garden 2006: 408).

Michael Di Giovine (2009) also develops the concept of "heritage-scape," explicitly following and expanding Arjun Appadurai's (1997: 32–47) model of "global cultural flows" in terms of five interrelated dimensions called ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes. Di Giovine (2009: 70) views the heritagescape as those places collectively which have been evaluated by UNESCO and deemed to be "imbued with global meaning … beyond the world's traditional boundaries," and as such are afforded unique regulatory and management oversight that transcends national borders. It is the management and policy aspects of heritagescape presented by Di Giovine (2009) and Garden (2006, 2008) that are most relevant for our discussion of politics, stakeholder interests, and impacts on Caribbean heritage resources.

We do not live in a static world and depending on national agendas, economic considerations, environmental factors, and views of local communities, ideas about how heritage is perceived, defined, and managed change with shifting societal values and needs: the "habit of viewing heritage sites as 'frozen' or 'static' has stood in the way of developing a fuller sense of the heritage site as a landscape" (Garden 2009: 273; Tilley 2006). In the Caribbean the intersection of divergent ethnic and national backgrounds results in competing values and interpretations of the past and differences about how material and intangible traces of the past

should be assessed for heritage preservation and management (FIG. 2). Caribbean communities do not have monolithic perceptions about how to view or value heritage. In some cases, one group's revered past is another's oppression. In this regard, Sharon Macdonald refers to "unsettling, competing or contested, memories, narratives and heritage" (Macdonald 2009: 93). Conflicting views of the past have real implications for how that past is treated or whether some stakeholders even want to consider it.

Issues in Caribbean heritage management

The Caribbean was the focal point for the first cultural encounters between the New and Old Worlds. Colonization processes and colonial interactions are documented throughout the region and worldwide to this day. The Caribbean Sea functioned as an aquatic highway for human mobility and the exchange of goods and ideas during the whole of its precolonial history. These networks most likely amplified the dispersion and colonization rates of Europeans across the region after Columbus' arrival in 1492. The Caribbean today is a multiethnic cultural mosaic. Spanish, French, English, Dutch, and American stakeholders reflect this diversity, which has implications for heritage management (FIG. 2). Natural disasters and economic development threaten the cultural resource base. Archaeological remains constitute resources that are important to current resident populations who value them as tangible or intangible heritage. Among other things, heritage provides a sense of belonging and plays an important role in identity formation.

Our goal is to assess how nations in the Caribbean address the challenges of protecting their cultural heritage. Each nation confronts a unique set of local challenges, issues, and sensitivities, ranging from the identification of heritage resources to the balance between real or perceived requirements of physical development (i.e., construction) and real or perceived requirements of cultural patrimony (i.e., heritage consideration) (Sanz 2005). For example, do developers catering to the tourist industry consider heritage to be something that might contribute to their profit margin? If not, how can we as heritage managers promote preservation to politicians and developers as something good to do and in fact something that is good for business?

If sensitivity about the past can be imparted to developers early in planning, it might be possible for them to work with—not against—heritage managers in the design stages of a resort and to build in areas where heritage resources are absent. Heritage consideration may require a portion of the developer's budget to pay for heritage surveys, archaeological and architectural investigations, laboratory
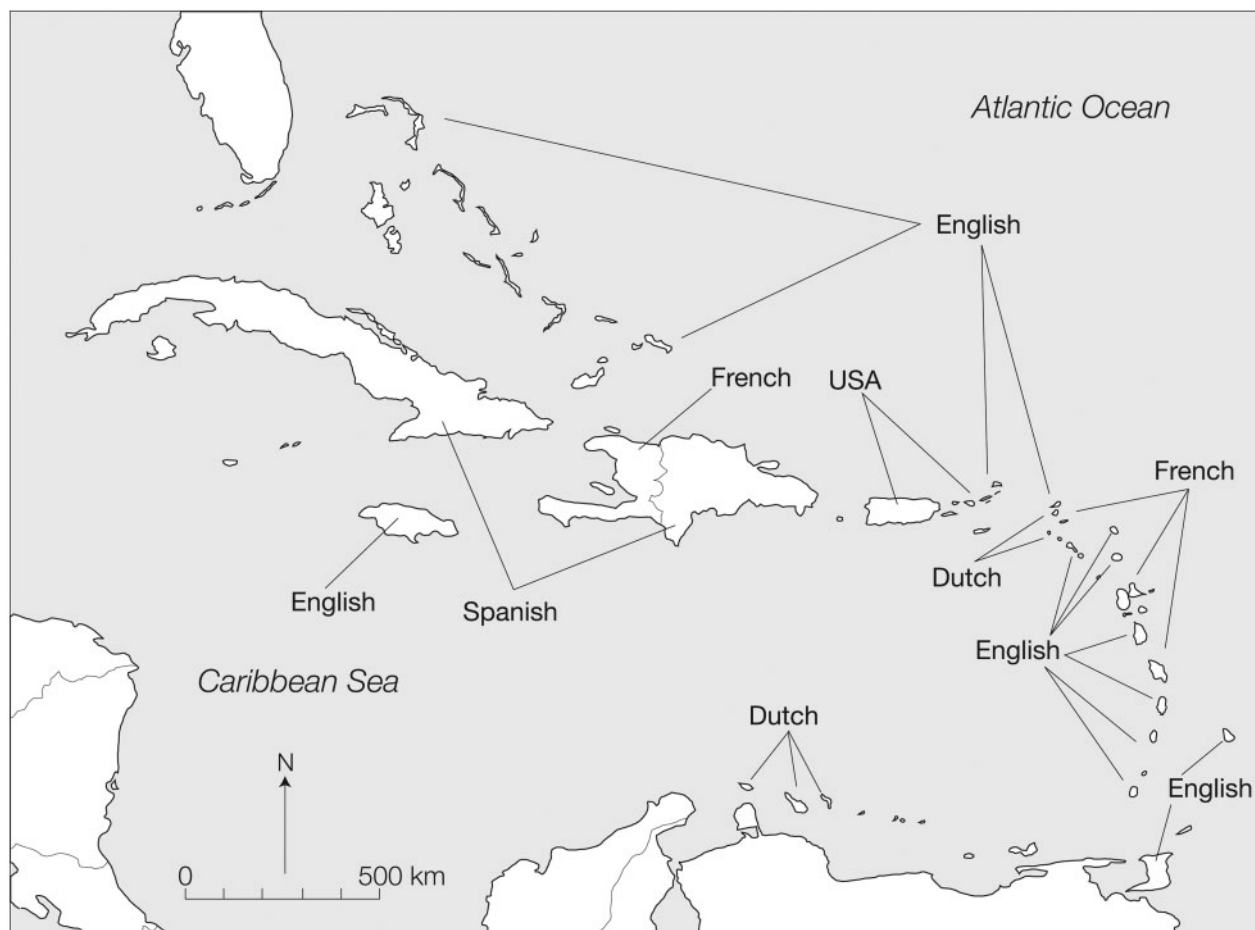
Figure 2 Map of the Caribbean showing its geopolitical complexity.

analyses, curation of artifacts and documents, report preparation and dissemination, and public outreach/ community engagement. Legislators, however, need to provide guidelines for best practices in heritage management and facilitate dialogue across stakeholder groups.

Sadly, many heritage resources in the Caribbean have already been destroyed and more continue to be destroyed each year owing to weak or nonexistent legislation (Sanz 2005). Legislators and the publics-at-large for many of the island nations simply do not acknowledge that there can or should be a thoughtful balance between real or perceived needs in economic or infrastructure development versus considerations of patrimony. The exasperated and sometimes passionate voices of eyewitnesses to national "patricide" (sensu Keegan and Phulgence 2011) emphasize the importance of implementing strong heritage legislation now to protect or even consider dwindling supplies of nonrenewable vestiges of the Caribbean human past.

There is considerable variability in how different Caribbean nations think about their individual patrimonies, which by extension relates to competing notions of national and ethnic identities. One might reasonably ask why it is important to protect, conserve, manage, or even to consider things of the past when things of the present are increasingly dire wherever one looks. As noted recently by Paul Lewis (2011: 101), one of the government ministers on St. Vincent stated, "We can't eat culture!"

Multiple Visions of the Past

One theme in many discussions of Caribbean heritage concerns relative values placed on the past by different interest groups. For Bahamian heritage, there is a chronological progression with emphasis on Precolumbian to European colonial to African heritage sites (Pateman 2011). An interest in preserving African heritage sites came about following independence and the "emergence of an Afro-Bahamian middle class" (Pateman 2011: 2). Prior to independence the focus on heritage was defined by ruling white elites, who privileged the materialization of British colonial dominance as worthy of preservation. In his review of "Englishness," Appadurai has defined an "internal colonialism … through which a hegemonic idea of Englishness was created … [and which] makes the discourse of multiculturalism … strangely hollow" (Appadurai 1997: 146). With the passage of the *Bahamas Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Act* in 1998 the multivalent qualities of heritage were formally recognized and afforded equal opportunity under the law for identification and protection.

Trinidadians, who experienced a similar history of British occupation and oppression, reacted to their past by taking an overtly antipreservation approach to colonial architecture, especially in the capital city of Port of Spain (Shaftel 2008). Trinidad gained independence from England in 1962. "Seen through the prism of independence politics [the British buildings in Port of Spain] became symbols of an unpleasant past, with negative associations with slavery and colonialism" (Shaftel 2008: D8). As such, much of this historical architecture has been demolished and replaced with nondescript "soulless, global architecture" (Abu-Khafajah *et al.* 2012: 23) and other symbols of "emerging and sustainable" progress sponsored by the Inter-American Development Bank (Foster 2011). So here is a twist to heritage management. If the heritage we are considering relates to an abhorrent past of colonial oppression, then there may be an incentive not to preserve or protect it, but rather to demolish it through neglect and eventual removal. Reg Murphy recounts the same sentiment for Antigua and Barbuda: "most Antiguans and Barbudans view…the relicts of the colonial past as a painful episode in their history …and…that Britain became a world power on the backs and blood of their ancestors" (Murphy 2011: 74). He notes that most people in the country associate heritage with the pleasures of music, food, and carnival, and not with the British. In this case, some might think of Afro-Caribbean traditions as the good heritage and the colonial past as the bad heritage; by obliterating the bad heritage society can move on so that the past becomes an increasingly faded memory and eventually nonexistent. As Diane Barthel-Bouchier (2013: 13) observes, "people use heritage for a wide range of social purposes, many of which include furthering group advantage."

People who relate to a specific past are thought of as special interest groups and may feel a sense of ownership of that past. Ownership may take a variety of forms, including ownership of land with heritage resources, artifacts and primary documents, treatment of archaeological sites or historical structures, and interpretations or presentations of the past. "Competing interests of the various stakeholders" bear directly on how heritage resources are viewed and managed, or not (Keegan and Phulgence 2011: 143).

The developer-descendant community relationship is the classic structural opposition in the struggle over heritage. Aside from profit motives, developers frequently justify their work as providing a service or product that is in demand by some sector(s) of society. Developers see their work as representing growth and progress. Developing or "improving" land to some might be the eradication of cultural memory

Figure 3 This structure is an example of a distinctive vernacular architectural style that would unlikely be considered under UNESCO heritage guidelines. It is located in Pueblo Viejo de Azua, southwestern Dominican Republic. Photograph by E. Prieto Vicioso.

to others. Depending on the specific geopolitical context, stakeholders align themselves with one side of the structural equation: improvement and growth versus preservation and protection. Thrown into this mix, unfortunately, are profit-driven consulting archaeologists or architectural historians who might "write off" an important heritage resource if they were hired by a developer to render a professional opinion about the site in advance of a proposed project in that location.

This ethic is played out in the real world of heritage management, where properties might be significant in the context of local or national criteria but may not meet the threshold for nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage List (FIG. 3) (Meskell 2012; Sanz 2005). Moreover, according to UNESCO there is a dearth of archaeological research that reflects the full range of human occupation in the Caribbean, no coherent vision for research and conservation policies, and few institutional frameworks to support private and public initiatives in promoting heritage awareness (Sanz 2005: 53–54; UNESCO WHC 2004: 17). There is a need to articulate, assess, and debate regional and thematic definitions of cultural heritage that transcend national borders (Sanz 2005: 52). This position may be further enhanced if heritage consideration resonates with the strategic objectives of international private sector developers. If resource managers in the Caribbean address heritage from a crossdisciplinary perspective then what may emerge are paradigms that link to issues of global environmental degradation, land rights adjudication, natural resource extraction, and land management. These issues intersect with international discourses shared by several agencies, and place cultural heritage management at the crux of multi-stakeholder agendas.

Local and national governments fall on either side of the development-heritage protection opposition,

Figure 4   In efforts to promote tourism and development on St. Lucia, archaeological sites are afforded very little consideration. Here, recreational horseback riding is trampling precolonial human burials in the Lavoutte archaeological site.

depending on whether or not they take seriously their own heritage beyond money-making events like carnival. If governments have absolutely no legislation requiring that heritage resources be considered in development planning then they become active partners with multinational corporations, local developers, and their own public works agencies in destroying their past before it is identified.

Every year significant heritage resources are destroyed in the Caribbean owing to a combination of financial avarice by developers, interest by local and national governments in bringing "progress" and income to their parts of the world, and lack of concern by decision makers as to the importance of cultural memory (FIG. 4). In addition, Caribbean heritage resources are impacted by environmental events and processes including hurricanes, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tectonic movements, sea-level changes, and coastal erosion (FIG. 5) (Cooper and Boothroyd 2011; Hofman *et al.* 2012; Ryzewski and Cherry 2012; Barthel-Bouchier 2013: 53–127; Rowland 1992). Heritage awareness across the Caribbean is expressed variably. In our view, the only way heritagescapes will be afforded systematic consideration is through the enactment and enforcement of appropriate heritage legislation.

Heritage Legislation in the Caribbean

There is considerable variability in how heritage management in the Caribbean works, or does not. Often heritage policies exist, but they are not implemented by agencies or regulatory personnel. For example, Kevin Farmer (2011: 114, 118–119) reports for Barbados that "legislative control is exercised by the central government through its various agencies … [and] archaeological sites are … protected in accordance with the Preservation of Antiquities Act… [However] this Act for the Preservation of Antiquities, though mentioned in the

A

B

Figure 5   The early ceramic age Aklis archaeological site on St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands is being impacted by rising sea level and subsequent coastal erosion. Artifacts and human remains are eroding from the site into the sea.

Town Planning Act, does not exist in reality." Farmer details a rigorous process in relation to heritage resources that developers must follow in permit applications, with oversight from the Antiquities Advisory Committee. However, "there is no Antiquities Advisory Committee … in place to ensure development plans are in accordance with the regulation laid down in the physical development plan … [P]lanning guidelines specifically state the need for consultation with the Antiquities bureau— such a bureau has not been established."

Many islands are in an in-between situation, with laws, regulations, and government agencies charged with protecting or considering heritage resources, but enforcement is limited. As we see it, one of the major challenges facing heritage preservation and management in the Caribbean is the disjointed and island-centric geopolitical context. The French West Indies are overseas territories of France so their legislation and oversight come from the motherland, where the *Valletta Treaty* (or Malta law) applies. The same is true for the Dutch Caribbean where Bonaire, St. Eustatius, and Saba have been extraordinary communities of the Netherlands since 2010, and where the Malta law is on course to be implemented. Likewise, Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands fall within

Figure 6 Hofman leading community-heritage engagement and public outreach efforts at the Anse à la Gourde archaeological site, Guadeloupe, French West Indies.

the jurisdiction of the United States so federal antiquities laws apply there.

The large islands of the Greater Antilles face challenges of integrating management of heritage-scapes across broad expanses of terrain. Cuba, the largest island, is divided into a network of provinces and municipalities, each of which has a history museum and a heritage office with staff that provide outreach to communities regarding aspects of local heritage and history (Torres Etayo 2011). However, most of these museums/offices are not staffed with trained personnel who can provide regulatory oversight in matters of heritage management.

The remainder of the Caribbean consists of small island nations with limited resources or the where-withal to implement heritage management in any systematic manner. Frequently, heritage protection on these islands hinges on isolated individuals driven by their own dedication and sense of responsibility to heritage resources. Efforts by these individuals or local NGOs generally lack institutionalized support, resulting in unsustainable programs. Local NGOs typically do not have trained staff with state-backed authority to insure that developers, public works departments, and multinational corporations comply with legislation. In her review of Caribbean heritage in relation to the global strategy of the World Heritage Convention, Sanz (2005: 53) observes that ''urgent action should be taken to integrate the preservation of heritage in national policies and development strategies and to ensure inter-sectorial and inter-ministerial cooperation (cultural, natural, tourist and development entities, as well as the private and public sectors).''

A Plan for Caribbean Heritagescapes

In evaluating issues and challenges confronting heritage resources from a pan-Caribbean perspective, we identified fundamental interrelated factors that must be acknowledged by competing stakeholders if there is to be any hope for systematic preservation

and management of these resources in the face of development and environmental pressures. This discussion should not be viewed as a wish list prepared by disengaged academics with no sense of the on-the-ground reality of Caribbean politics and policy, economics, and society. Most of us have spent decades working in many of the Caribbean nations and Hofman and her team in particular have devoted considerable effort in promoting grassroots community-heritage engagement projects (FIG. 6). We speak from the vantage of a long-term commitment to Caribbean heritage preservation and management when offering a combination of bottom-up and top-down perspectives as a way forward (Di Giovine 2009; Merriman 2004). This perspective begins with education and concludes with government-mandated curation.

Education

The mosaic of cultural influences across the Caribbean has become increasingly global since the 15th century. Colonialism, beginning with Spain and continuing with France, England, the Netherlands, Denmark, and more recently, North America, has resulted in fragmented and Eurocentric views of social and economic issues generally and history and heritage specifically. Colonial powers bestowed and privileged their respective histories on the islands they occupied. Officially sanctioned slavery and exploitation discussed by Murphy (2011) may be gone but the colonial enterprise is still thriving. This is seen most blatantly in the educational system in the French Antilles, where very little attention is devoted to issues of local heritage. Children are taught that their history and heritage are rooted in France, a practice promoted by the French national educational program (Bérard and Stouvenot 2011).

Education, starting with young children, provides a foundation for an enlightened and informed citizenry. Educational systems developed for each of the island nations that include units on their local and global heritage, addressing Precolumbian, colonial, and postcolonial eras, will go far in promoting a deep and refined understanding and appreciation for the importance of heritage. These units would commence with the youngest school children and continue through to graduation, when they are ready to enter the work force or go on to higher education. Units would be progressively more sophisticated in accordance with cognitive development. This goal assumes that appropriate history or social studies teachers have instilled the importance of heritage themselves, which further assumes that boards of education and curriculum-development leaders recognize Caribbean heritage as something worthy of formally engaging with and systematically teaching children. Some students

who eventually become public servants and legislators might remember what they learned in school as they grapple with public policy and permit applications in relation to the heritagescape. Otherwise, models of colonial imposition will be knowingly or unwittingly perpetuated and newly minted legislators will likely be ambivalent at best when it comes to the preservation and management of heritage.

On four of the Dutch Antillean islands, Jay Haviser and Grant Gilmore have been attempting to introduce the importance of archaeological heritage to children through organized and sustainable programs at Bonaire Archaeological Institute, St. Maarten Archaeological Center, St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research, and Saba Archaeological Center (Haviser and Gilmore 2011). Recently, Cuba initiated a heritage management program at the Colegio San Gerónimo, Havana University (Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad de La Habana 2012). Some residents of other islands have earned advanced degrees in heritage or archaeological studies from institutions usually outside of their countries, returned to their homelands, and are now trying to sensitize local people and governments about the importance of heritage preservation and management.

Legislation

Legislation, backed by enforcement and requiring that heritage resources be considered early in the planning stages of proposed development projects, is crucial in communicating the importance of heritagescapes to developers. Development projects include those sponsored by local or national governments, local private developers, or foreign multinational corporations.

In the Caribbean, there are varying degrees of private sector and host government legal regulations that dictate when assessments of cultural heritage are required. Archaeologists and historical preservationists who intend to usher developers through the regulatory process must first make an effort to understand and work in step with the multiple stages of operations, from exploration to construction. Moreover, because heritage legislation is poorly formulated in many developing countries (White 2010), multinational private sector projects ought to adhere to international best practices. Standards set by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) World Heritage Programme, and the World Bank Group's International Finance Corporation (IFC) are all intertwined with private sector development operations and host-government regulations. IUCN's World Heritage Programme is consistent with the *1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.*

The ICOMOS *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage* stipulates that "developers…ensure that archaeological heritage impact studies are carried out before development schemes are implemented" (ICOMOS 1990: 13). To enhance the effectiveness of the ICOMOS mandate, heritage managers may reference the IFC Performance Standard 8 on Cultural Heritage (IFC 2012). Performance Standard 8 complements Performance Standard 1 (Assessment and Management of Environmental and Social Risks and Impacts) and Performance Standard 7 (Indigenous Peoples). Each provides guidelines to promote socially responsible business policies in communities affected by private business development (IFC 2012). Performance Standard 8 provides project sponsors with procedural guidance in evaluating and treating cultural heritage, including unanticipated finds during construction and maintenance operations. The ICOMOS and IFC guidelines provide checks and balances for multinational developers and other signatories, and they are measures of accountability and socially responsible development.

Only after archaeological or architectural surveys have been completed, reports written and approved, artifacts and documents catalogued, and collections submitted for permanent curation should applicants be issued permits to proceed in development projects. Archaeological and architectural investigations should not be underway in the midst of construction work. If archaeological sites or historical buildings are identified within areas to be impacted by construction then additional focused fieldwork may be necessary to evaluate the significance of cultural resources. If archaeological or architectural properties are deemed significant in terms of local or pan-Caribbean heritage criteria then discussions should be undertaken between interested parties/stakeholders, project applicants, and regulatory agencies. If a project design can be modified to avoid affecting heritage resources, then a management plan may need to be developed, approved, and implemented insuring that the resources will not be impacted during construction or vandalized later. If the project design cannot be modified, then additional investigations may need to be conducted, adequately documenting the resource and collecting sufficient information before the applicant may proceed with the proposed development project. Some may view our discussion of heritage legislation and enforcement as a utopian ideal never to be realized in practice. If so, then a self-fulfilling prophecy of no change will result in a rather dismal prognosis for Caribbean heritagescapes in the future. For this legislative process to work there needs to be in place a regulatory agency with trained staff, qualified and

Table 1 Heritage regulatory agencies in the Caribbean

Country	Heritage regulatory agencies/groups
Trinidad and Tobago	National Trust Council; National Archaeological Committee (Reid and Lewis 2011)
Curaçao	National Archaeological Anthropological Museum and Monuments Bureau (Haviser and Gilmore 2011)
Bonaire	Bonaire Archaeological Institute (NGO) (Haviser and Gilmore 2011)
St. Maarten	St. Maarten Archaeological Centre (NGO) (Haviser and Gilmore 2011)
Saba	Saba Archaeological Center (NGO) (Haviser and Gilmore 2011)
St. Eustatius	St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (Haviser and Gilmore 2011)
Barbados	Antiquities Advisory Committee (Farmer 2011)
Saint Lucia	Saint Lucia Archaeological and Historical Society; Saint Lucia National Trust (NGOs) (Branford 2011)
Grenada	Ministry of Agriculture; Grenada National Trust (NGO)
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	Minister of Culture; SVG National Trust (Lewis 2011)
St. Kitts and Nevis	St. Christopher National Trust; Nevis Historical and Conservation Society (NGOs) (Ahlman and Scudder 2011)
French West Indies	Direction des Affaires Culturelles (Bérard and Stouvenot 2011)
Antigua and Barbuda	National Parks Authority; Development Control Authority (Murphy 2011)
Anguilla	Department of Environment; Anguilla National Trust (John Crock, personal communication 2012)
British Virgin Islands	Heritage Conservation Group (NGO) (Peter Drewett, personal communication 2012)
U.S. Virgin Islands	State Historic Preservation Office (Righter 2011)
Puerto Rico	Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña; State Historic Preservation Office (Siegel 2011)
Dominican Republic	Secretaria de Estado de Cultura (Prieto Vicioso 2011)
Haiti	Bureau National d'Ethnologie and Institut de Sauvegarde du Patrimoine National, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication (Kathleen Deagan and André Delpuech, personal communication 2012)
Jamaica	Jamaica National Heritage Trust (Richards and Henriques 2011)
Cuba	Comisión Nacional de Monumentos (Torres Etayo 2011)
Guantánamo Bay, Cuba	U.S. Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Department of Defense (Larson 2011)
The Bahamas	Antiquities, Monuments, and Museums Corporation (Pateman 2011)

locally based consultants who can carry out heritage investigations, funding to pay the consultants, and appropriate curation facilities for storing artifacts and documents.

Regulatory agencies and staff

Most Caribbean island nations have government agencies or organizations that function in an oversight capacity for heritage protection and management (TABLE 1). Common problems, however, include poorly enforced regulations and the lack of qualified staff to serve as overseers (Sanz 2005; Siegel and Righter 2011). It is understandable that many island nations, especially small ones, just do not have resources and trained personnel to insure that developers, public works government agencies, and multinational corporations comply with legislation. Cooperation among states may help.

There has been discussion in the past about panregional organizations in the Caribbean as mechanisms to address heritage issues (Sanz 2005). According to the 1981 *Revised Treaty of Basseterre*, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) "will promote co-operation among the Member States [and] … establish the Economic Union as a single economic and financial space" (OECS 2010: 6). The OECS currently includes Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, the British Virgin Islands, Anguilla, and Montserrat (FIG. 7). The first

phrase in the OECS preamble begins "Recalling the links of their common history and the need to build on that history for the benefit of their peoples…" (OECS 2010: 4). Language in the treaty addresses environmental sustainability and protection of "the region's natural (including historical and cultural) resource base" (OECS 2010: 38). References to a shared history, building on the shared history for the benefit of the people, and legislation in relation to environmental policy link heritage to this treaty. Materializations of heritage such as archaeological and architectural properties are inscribed on the land and in the sea. Historical ecology (mentioned above) explicitly links human culture (past and present) with the physical environment. Therefore, environmental policy should consider the imprint of past cultures within the broad domain of resource management and protection.

How would heritage regulatory oversight be implemented across such a broad regional expanse represented by the OECS? A centrally located heritage regulatory agency could be established, on Antigua, for example. This agency would be staffed with one or more trained archaeologists, one or more trained architectural historians, and a director. Permit applicants would be required to submit maps and photographs depicting existing conditions of the proposed project area and surrounding landscape so that review staff could decide whether archaeological or architectural surveys were necessary.
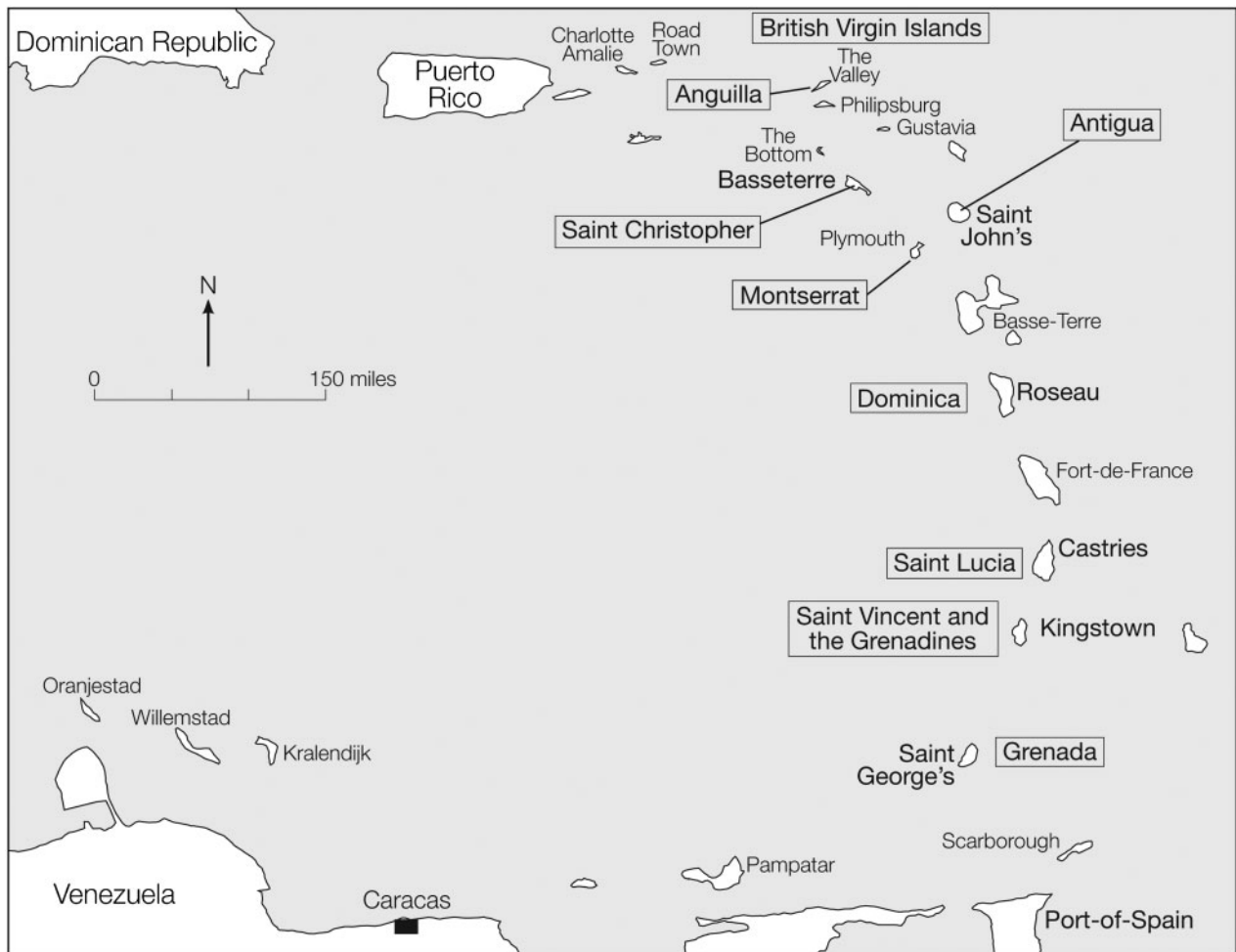
Figure 7 Map of the Lesser Antilles, showing the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (names of member states in boxes).

Who would pay for this full time heritage agency? Each of the nine member states would need to submit one-ninth of the funds necessary to keep the agency in operation. Member states could assess fees or taxes on development projects and tourists coming to their islands. Tax schedules listed on bills submitted to tourists staying in resorts or going out for fine dining might specify something like "heritage tax," perhaps in the amount of about one percent. It would be important then that the revenue be deposited into an OECS-administered fund earmarked for the agency.

Funding heritage management projects
Who performs heritage investigations and who pays for the work? On Barbados, Farmer (2011: 122) suggests that a government funded Antiquities Bureau be established, which will be "capable of conducting multiple excavations…and contain[ing] in-house staff to meet all of its statutory require-ments… [that] will allow for an effective and efficient management of the archaeology and … [be] able to respond quickly to queries and development plans." We are in agreement with Farmer that an Antiquities Bureau should be created to assess permit

applications. However, it seems unrealistic to expect the government to pay for a bureau that conducts the necessary heritage investigations in advance of development projects. We would be surprised if legislators are willing to allocate funds for a full-time staff of archaeologists, "surveyors, landscape geographers, GIS technicians, [and] geologists" to conduct heritage studies (Farmer 2011: 122). The onus for conducting the necessary investigations prior to proposed development should be on the permit applicant, whether it be a local developer, multinational corporation, or public works agency. The Barbados Antiquities Bureau could maintain a list of consultants based in the Caribbean who were qualified to conduct various kinds and levels of heritage studies. The applicant could then contact consultants and solicit technical and cost proposals. Ideally, technical proposals would be reviewed and approved by the government heritage-regulatory oversight staff. Then, once a proposal had been accepted, terms agreed upon, and a contract signed, it would be the consultant's job to carry out the investigations as outlined in the proposal. The next

issue for Caribbean heritage consideration is the availability of qualified consultants.

Heritage consultants

Qualified, locally based consultants capable of conducting all levels of heritage studies are needed across the Caribbean. Studies range from small archaeological and architectural surveys to complex excavations and documentation of architectural resources. Academics, whether local or foreign, cannot be relied upon; they are restricted by teaching schedules and generally do not have the infrastructure, resources, or staff to carry out heritage investigations from beginning to end, including producing reports in a timely manner.

The availability of qualified local heritage consultants is directly linked to education and legislation. If heritage educational programs are established that start with school aged children and if heritage legislation is enacted and enforced, then there will be a market for heritage consultants. If there are employment opportunities for heritage consultants, then university students may be encouraged to pursue anthropology, archaeology, architectural history, and heritage studies at the undergraduate and graduate levels. This form of capacity building will result in sustainable communities of locally based heritage practitioners. It is unlikely that there will be enough continuous work available on many of the small islands to sustain heritage consulting firms. Consulting firms based on specific islands may have market territories that include a range of nearby islands. The challenge for these firms will be to move equipment and personnel to project areas as needed. In their cost proposals, consultants would need to anticipate expenses for shipping, travel, and per diems. When projects are completed, depending on the investigation, there will be a variety of artifacts and documents. Thus, there should also be careful consideration about how to curate these materials.

Artifact and document curation

A major problem for heritage management in the Caribbean is how to adequately curate materials and documents associated with archaeological and architectural studies. It is a mistake to think that once the final report has been submitted and approved that there is nothing more to do. To the contrary, catalogued artifacts, excavation forms, maps, drawings, photographs, and primary documents must be stored in a climate-controlled facility so that they do not deteriorate, a particular concern in the humid tropics. Along with regulatory oversight, the importance of proper curation facilities for collections resulting from compliance projects must be emphasized to legislators. It is inappropriate to think that consultants should provide repositories for collections

and documents generated on behalf of clients. Using the OECS model, there could be a facility constructed at the headquarters of the heritage-regulatory agency for curating collections and documents. One of the government employees would be a professionally trained curator who would insure that consultants submitted collections in an approved manner. Related to curation is the submission of final reports. Multiple copies of a report should be submitted and housed in multiple agencies and local libraries so that government staff, interested individuals, and researchers can access them easily.

Our plan for heritage preservation and management in the Caribbean is founded on creating appropriate educational units in schools at all levels, ranging from primary through high school, and administrative support from local and national governments. We used the OECS model because it is a logical way to group small islands with similar interests, challenges, and concerns, and considers economies of scale when attempting to manage heritage and enlighten legislators. It makes sense for the large islands of the Greater Antilles and Trinidad to address heritage issues individually, perhaps with appropriate technical assistance from international organizations like UNESCO. Before closing we want to consider a topic that is often invoked as a way to make heritage profitable: heritage tourism.

Heritage Tourism

Heritage tourism has become a large, sustainable industry worldwide. When people travel they often want to learn about and be entertained by local culture (Barthel-Bouchier 2013: 153–175; Di Giovine 2009). As Murphy (2011) observes, this is sometimes fulfilled by carnival festivities. However, he also notes that in Antigua the historical character of English Harbour attracts many tourists and there are other similar destinations in the Caribbean (e.g., Viejo San Juan and the Caguana and Tibes archaeological parks in Puerto Rico).

Heritage can be engaging for descendant communities as well as for people with no personal connection to that past. In their zeal to attract tourists, it is important for heritage developers not to pander to base voyeuristic tendencies or create cartoons of the past (Scher 2002, 2011). Jay Haviser (2004, 2005) discusses this issue in connection with African diaspora heritage and the danger of further exploiting Africans by trivializing their Afro-Caribbean heritage with theme park-like settings, similar to Disneyland. In so doing, heritage is "seen as just another profit-making product, like the sun and sea" (Haviser 2004: 3). Haviser (2005: 32) argues for ethical standards "surrounding the use of African Diaspora heritage for cultural tourism purposes." These are good points and ones that should

apply to Precolumbian heritage as well. However, we are not sure how ethical standards would be implemented. Perhaps by taking a scholarly perspective on the heritagescape, multiple lines of evidence could be marshaled to present balanced interpretations to tourists in engaging, unsensationalized, and unpatronizing ways. Laia Pujol and Erik Champion (2012) review research into virtual reality and the concept of "presence." "Presence … [is] defined as the capacity of the technology to make the user feel transported into a remote place and be able to efficiently interact with it" (Pujol and Champion 2012: 83). In the context of heritagescapes and tourism it may be feasible to introduce virtual reality technologies as delivery systems of cultural or heritage presence. However, as discussed above, stakeholders may have competing views on what aspects of cultural presence should be highlighted. Pujol and Champion (2012: 98) seem to anticipate this tension: "since virtual heritage evaluation is … of perceived culturally encapsulated forms of culturally significant reality … the premise [of] … cultural presence … must include recognition that the experience is mediated by digital technology, immersed in a social context, and that it allows for ambiguity."

Returning to the developer-heritage management opposition, there may be room for dialogue between stakeholders about heritage tourism. If heritagescapes are considered early in planning it may be possible to incorporate them into the designs of development projects. Ultimately, heritage should be promoted to multiple publics and not exclusively to tourists with money to spend. The local community base whose heritage may be represented needs to be respected and engaged.

Heritage and Community

Heritage is intimately linked to community. Yet communities are diverse, frequently consisting of multivocal constituents. Every human group has a past in which fundamental values and notions of identity are centered. Important issues for community organization and structure that connect past to present include in- and out-migration of ethnic groups; commingling and merging of ethnicities that produce new social identities; and social, economic, and political inequalities. Individual, group, and historical memories link people to each another and to the land (Shackel 2003, 2008).

We do not view the concept of "community" as a bounded, self-contained entity, but rather as a mosaic of interacting and continually evolving social and ethnic structures (Tilley 2006: 17). Snapshots of the mosaic at different points in time provide a framework for investigating historical changes in the community. This diachronic perspective facilitates an examination of the larger regional, and perhaps

global, context that undoubtedly figured strongly in the changing complexion of the community. In- and out-migration and ethnic mingling are prevailing themes in Caribbean history, from 6000 B.C. to today (Hofman and Hoogland 2011). Migrations and inter- and intragroup relations constitute an important framework for any aspect of cultural heritage in the Caribbean, at multiple scales ranging from the local municipality, to the larger region, to an entire nation, to the archipelago, to the surrounding mainlands, and in the postcolonial era, to the entire world. One challenge for heritage practitioners and community members is to recognize, respect, and act on the multivocal and multiscalar qualities of heritage and heritagescapes.

Conclusions

If our plan is dismissed as an unrealistic utopian ideal never to be realized then we have failed in our goal to elevate the status of heritage preservation and management in the Caribbean beyond the efforts of energetic individuals, NGOs trying to preserve or address high-profile already-known heritage resources as they become threatened, and earnest heritage leaders discussing issues of common concern at periodic conferences. "Magnanimous" developers or multinational corporations occasionally throw crumbs of money or time to archaeologists who scramble trying to salvage whatever data they can before heavy equipment moves in. Usually, developers do not care about the heritage they obliterate and in Appadurai's (1997: 34–35) terminology the "financescape" thus becomes disjunctive in relation to the heritagescape. For developers, time relates directly to the bottom line and the profit margin. The past only gets in the way and as Sanz (2005: 46) intimates, Caribbean heritage resources eventually may lose the race against time.

By about 8000 years ago people began occupying the Caribbean, first Trinidad and over the millennia the rest of the islands. As people established homes and roots and raised families in new settings, notions of connectedness to place resulted. For many, "home" may have multiple connotations: place of current residence, annual territory, place of birth, ancestral origin, or some combination of all of these. Over approximately 250 generations—spanning the pre- and postcolonial occupations—a myriad of influences produced dynamic blends of traditions, something that Samuel Wilson (1993) calls "the cultural mosaic," Peter Rivière (1984: 102) calls the "cultural kaleidoscope," and Warren DeBoer calls (1990: 84) "a kaleidoscopic mosaic." Eight thousand years of shifting cultural identities are associated with richly textured heritagescapes imprinted in the archaeological, architectural, and ecological records of the Caribbean islands and the surrounding sea.

The premise of heritage preservation and management is that ethnic groups, larger cultural formations, and nations do value their past. However, the needs of modern society are constantly changing and new developments such as roads, houses, schools, shops, office buildings, places of worship, factories, hotels, treatment plants, etc. are necessary. Balancing the needs of modern societies against the ethics of heritage preservation and management requires careful thought and measured dialogue among stakeholders.

Acknowledgments

Peter E. Siegel (Ph.D. 1992, State University of New York at Binghamton) is Professor of Anthropology at Montclair State University. Prior to joining the faculty at Montclair he worked for 14 years for John Milner Associates, a heritage management firm. He has conducted archaeological and ethnographic investigations throughout eastern North America, the Caribbean, and lowland South America.

Corinne L. Hofman (Ph.D. 1993, Leiden University) is Vice-Dean and Chair of Education in the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University. She is Professor of Caribbean archaeology and directs the Caribbean Research Group at Leiden. Her multidisciplinary research focuses on mobility and exchange in the precolonial and early colonial Caribbean and on heritage issues.

Benoît Bérard (Ph.D. 2003, Université de Paris I) is Associate Professor of Caribbean archaeology at the Université des Antilles et de la Guyane, where he is head of the history department and vice-director of the "Archéologie industrielle, histoire et patrimoine de la Caraïbe" EA 929 laboratory. He has conducted excavations and research programs on various islands of the Lesser Antilles, including on West Indian Amerindian cultures and on the heritage of West Indian French creole populations.

Reg Murphy (Ph.D. 1999, University of Calgary) is the Secretary General for the National Commission for UNESCO Antigua and Barbuda, Director of Heritage Resources National Parks Antigua, and Associate Researcher with the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, University of Pittsburgh. He is an archaeologist and construction/restoration specialist.

Jorge Ulloa Hung (Ph.D. 2013, Leiden University) is the founder of the Cuban journal El Caribe Arqueológico *and serves on its editorial board. He is Professor of Social Science and Humanities in the Technological Institute of Santo Domingo (INTEC) and manager of archaeology in El Museo del Hombre Dominicano. He has worked on numerous archaeological projects in Cuba and the Dominican Republic.*

Roberto Valcárcel Rojas (Ph.D. 2012, Leiden University) is a Research Archaeologist in the Departamento Central Oriental de Arqueología, Cuban Ministry of Science in Holguín and serves on the editorial board of El Caribe Arqueológico. *His research interests include Cuban and Caribbean precolonial and colonial archaeology and Cuban religious heritage.*

Cheryl White (Ph.D. 2007, University of Florida) is a Social Responsibility Specialist with the Newmont Merian Gold Project in Suriname. Her work includes international development of tribal peoples in order to conduct social science research for multi-stakeholder groups and she advises on social management for sustainable development. Her area of specialty is Suriname tribal Maroons and she has several publications on Maroon archaeological research in the circum-Caribbean and on general heritage issues.

References

Abu-Khafajah, S., E. Konwest, and D. McGill. 2012. "Approaches to Material of the Past in Jordan: Highlighting the Seventh World Archaeological Congress," *Anthropology News* 53: 22–23.

Ahlman, T., and K. Scudder. 2011. "St. Kitts and Nevis," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 65–72.

Amend, T., J. Brown, A. Kothari, A. Phillips, and S. Stolton, eds. 2008. *Protected Landscapes and Agrobiodiversity Values*. Gland, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature.

Anico, M., and E. Peralta, eds. 2009. *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*. London: Routledge.

Anschuetz, K. F., R. H. Wilshusen, and C. L. Scheick. 2001. "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9: 157–211.

Appadurai, A. 1997. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ashmore, W., and A. B. Knapp, eds. 1999. *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Balée, W., ed. 1998. *Advances in Historical Ecology*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Balée, W., and C. L. Erickson, eds. 2006. *Time and Complexity in Historical Ecology: Studies in the Neotropical Lowlands*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Barthel-Bouchier, D. 2013. *Cultural Heritage and the Challenge of Sustainability*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Bender, B. 2006. "Place and Landscape," in C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands, and P. Spyer, eds., *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: Sage, 303–314.

Bérard, B., and C. Stouvenot. 2011. "French West Indies," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 80–89.

Branford, M. E. 2011. "Saint Lucia," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 90–95.

Brown, J., N. Mitchell, and M. Beresford, eds. 2005. *The Protected Landscape Approach: Linking Nature, Culture and Community*. Gland, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature.

Carman, J. 2002. *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction*. London: Continuum.

Cooper, J., and R. Boothroyd. 2011. "Living Islands of the Caribbean: A View of Relative Sea Level Change from the Water's Edge," in C. L. Hofman and A. van Duijvenbode, eds., *Communities in Contact: Essays in Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Ethnography of the Amerindian Circum-Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 393–405.

Crouch, D. 2011. "Review of *Conversations with Landscape*, K. Benediktsson and K. A. Lund, eds.," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17: 521–522.

Crumley, C. L., ed. 1994. *Historical Ecology: Cultural Knowledge and Changing Landscapes*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

DeBoer, W. R. 1990. "Interaction, Imitation, and Communication as Expressed in Style: The Ucayali Experience," in M. W. Conkey and C. A. Hastorf, eds., *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 82–104.

Di Giovine, M. A. 2009. *The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Duin, R. S. 2011. "*Plus d'une Langue* (No More Language/More than a Language): Archaeology, History and Ethnography in the Guiana Highlands," in C. L. Hofman and A. van Duijvenbode, eds., *Communities in Contact: Essays in Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Ethnography of the Amerindian Circum-Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 439–453.

Farmer, K. 2011. "Barbados," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 112–124.

Foster, B. 2011. "Port of Spain Chosen for the Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiatives of the Inter-American Development Bank," *Trinidad and Tobago Government News*: (http://www.news.gov.tt/index.php?news=7471).

Garden, M.-C. E. 2006. "The Heritagescape: Looking at Landscapes of the Past," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12: 394–411.

Garden, M.-C. E. 2009. "The Heritagescape: Looking at Heritage Sites," in M. L. S. Sørensen and J. Carman, eds., *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. London: Routledge, 270–291.

Haviser, J. B. 2004. "Welcome to Slavery Land," *Caribseek Kaleidoscope* 18: 15, (http://kaleidoscope.caribseek.com/Articles/publish/printer_18.shtml).

Haviser, J. B. 2005. "Slaveryland: A New Genre of African Heritage Abuse," *Public Archaeology* 4: 27–34.

Haviser, J. B., and R. G. Gilmore, III. 2011. "Netherlands Antilles," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 134–142.

Hofman, C. L., and M. L. P. Hoogland. 2011. "Unraveling the Multi-Scale Networks of Mobility and Exchange in the Pre-Colonial Circum-Caribbean," in C. L. Hofman and A. van Duijvenbode, eds., *Communities in Contact: Essays in Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Ethnography of the Amerindian Circum-Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 15–43.

Hofman, C. L., M. L. P. Hoogland, H. L. Mickleburgh, J. E. Laffoon, D. A. Weston, and M. H. Field. 2012. "Life and Death at Precolumbian Lavoutte, Saint Lucia, Lesser Antilles," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 37: 209–225.

International Council on Monuments and Sites. 1990. "International Charters for Conservation and Restoration," *International Council on Monuments and Sites*: (http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/charters.pdf).

International Finance Corporation. 2012. "IFC Performance Standards on Environmental and Social Sustainability," International Finance Corporation, World Bank Group: (http://www1.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/topics_ext_content/ifc_external_corporate_site/ifc+sustainability/publications/publications_handbook_pps).

Johnson, M. H. 2012. "Phenomenological Approaches in Landscape Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 269–284.

Jones, A. 2007. *Memory and Material Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keegan, W. F., and W. Phulgence. 2011. "Patrimony or Patricide?," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 143–151.

Larson, B. J. 2011. "United States Naval Station Guantanamo Bay, Cuba," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 15–25.

Lewis, P. E. 2011. "St. Vincent and the Grenadines," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 96–111.

Macdonald, S. 2009. "Unsettling Memories: Intervention and Controversy Over Difficult Public Heritage," in M. Anico and E. Peralta, eds., *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*. London: Routledge, 93–104.

Merriam-Webster. 1991. *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.

Merriman, N., ed. 2004. *Public Archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Meskell, L. 2012. "The Rush to Inscribe: Reflections on the 35th Session of the World Heritage Committee, UNESCO Paris, 2011," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 37: 145–151.

Murphy, R. 2011. "Antigua and Barbuda," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 73–79.

Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad de La Habana. 2012. "Inicia labor docente Colegio Universitario San Gerónimo de La Habana," (http://www.habananuestra.cu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=899&catid=45&Itemid=74).

Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. 2010. *Revised Treaty of Basseterre: Establishing the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States Economic Union*. Castries, St. Lucia: Organization of Eastern Caribbean States.

Pateman, M. P. 2011. "The Bahamas," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1–8.

Prieto Vicioso, E. 2011. "Dominican Republic," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 35–45.

Pujol, L., and E. Champion. 2012. "Evaluating Presence in Cultural Heritage Projects," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18: 83–102.

Redman, C. L. 1999. *Human Impact on Ancient Environments*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Reid, B. A., and V. Lewis. 2011. "Trinidad and Tobago," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 125–133.

Richards, A., and A. Henriques. 2011. "Jamaica," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 26–34.

Righter, E. 2011. "U.S. Virgin Islands," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 58–64.

Rivière, P. 1984. *Individual and Society in Guiana: A Comparative Study of Amerindian Social Organization*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rössler, M. 2005. "World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Global Perspective," in J. R. Brown, N. Mitchell, and M. Beresford, eds., *The Protected Landscape Approach: Linking Nature, Culture and Community*. Gland, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature, 37–46.

Rostain, S. 2012. *Islands in the Rainforest: Landscape Management in Pre-Columbian Amazonia*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Rowland, M. J. 1992. "Climate Change, Sea-Level Rise and the Archaeological Record," *Australian Archaeology* 34: 29–33.

Ryzewski, K., and J. F. Cherry. 2012. "Communities and Archaeology Under the Soufrière Hills Volcano on Montserrat, West Indies," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 37: 316–327.

Sanz, N. 2005. "Archaeology in the Caribbean and the Global Strategy of the World Heritage Convention," in N. Sanz, ed., *Caribbean Archaeology and World Heritage Convention. World Heritage Papers* 14. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Center, 45–63.

Scher, P. W. 2002. "Copyright Heritage: Preservation, Carnival and the State in Trinidad," *Anthropological Quarterly* 75: 453–484.

Scher, P. W. 2011. "Heritage Tourism in the Caribbean: The Politics of Culture After Neoliberalism," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 30: 7–20.

Schofield, J., and R. Szymanski, eds. 2011. *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place*. Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate.

Shackel, P. 2003. *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Shackel, P. 2008. "Memory Studies in Historical Archaeology," *SAA Archaeological Record* 8: 10–12.

Shaftel, D. 2008. "In Trinidad, A Painted Lady in Distress," *The New York Times,* 13 November: D1, D8.

Siegel, P. E. 2011. "Puerto Rico," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 46–57.

Siegel, P. E., and E. Righter, eds. 2011. *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Taylor, K., and J. Lennon. 2011. "Cultural Landscapes: A Bridge Between Culture and Nature?" *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17: 537–554.

Thomas, J. 2001. "Archaeologies of Place and Landscape," in I. Hodder, ed., *Archaeological Theory Today*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 163–186.

Tilley, C. 2006. "Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage," *Journal of Material Culture* 11: 7–32.

Torres Etayo, D. 2011. "Cuba," in P. E. Siegel and E. Righter, eds., *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 9–14.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, World Heritage Centre. 2004. "International Seminar on Archaeological Sites of the Caribbean Likely To Be Considered for Inscription on the World Heritage List," UNESCO/World Heritage Centre, Fort-de-France, Martinique: (whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/66-report.doc).

White, C. 2010. "Maroon Archaeology *Is* Public Archaeology," *Archaeologies, Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 6: 485–501.

Wilson, S. M. 1993. "The Cultural Mosaic of the Indigenous Caribbean," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 81: 37–66.