

The Empire Pushes Back:
Decolonizing Archaeological Practices through a Critical Ethnography in Carriacou

by

Annie Christina Caruso

A dissertation accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Anthropology

Dissertation Committee:

Alison Carter, Co-Chair

Philip Scher, Co-Chair

Ana-Maurine Lara, Core Member

Akiko Walley, Institutional Representative

University of Oregon

Winter 2025

© 2025 Annie Christina Caruso

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Annie Christina Caruso

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

Title: The Empire Pushes Back: Decolonizing Archaeological Practices through a Critical Ethnography in Carriacou

This dissertation explores the intersection of postcolonial theory and archaeology as it relates to the process of collaboratively investigating Indigenous Caribbean heritage within an Afro-Caribbean community. The dissertation uses ethnographic methods informed by Decolonizing theory to discover ways that archaeological methodologies might be augmented to include cultural methods and forms of community engagement. The study, conducted on the island of Carriacou, examines the possibility that archaeologists may sometimes limit the type or nature of collaborative projects due to a site's assumed cultural and historical classification. The identification of sites based on the perceived ancestry of site's inhabitants can limit archaeologists' ability to create inclusive collaborative projects with diverse descendants in postcolonial contexts like the Caribbean. Research on Carriacou provides a case study illustrating how groups develop relationships with their past, and how these affinities may transcend the racial or ancestral boundaries assumed by investigators. The dissertation aims to improve archaeological practice by suggesting the inclusion of additional trainings or personnel that enhance relationships with local communities and contribute to closer collaboration between archaeologists and stakeholders. The dissertation concludes that the addition of qualitative research methodologies to archaeological investigations can improve local/team collaboration and contribute to decolonizing practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would never have gotten across the finish line without the unflagging support of Dr. Valerie Joseph- I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for her generous encouragement and mentorship because it made all the difference. I would also like to acknowledge the important mentorship and guidance of Dr. Ana-Maurine Lara, who encouraged me to “step into my power” through the act of writing and who also inspired me to make this dissertation the work of love. I am incredibly indebted to all of the many interlocutors who helped to make this study possible, especially to those of Carriacou and Dominica. Earning the necessary trust and respect of my Kayak colleagues to be able to tell this story has been one of the greatest honors of my life. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the Kayak community leaders and heritage protectors who have unfortunately passed before this dissertation was completed, including Mr. Winston Fleary, Mr. Cosnel McIntosh, and Mr. Stephen Alexander. Their feedback was absolutely integral to this study. I would like to also give special thanks to Allison Caton and Dr. John Angus Martin for the indispensable local knowledge and assistance that they generously imparted to me while in the field. I am also grateful for the true solidarity that I shared with my fellow graduate student colleagues at the University of Oregon over the years. Their empathy and tireless pursuit of social justice made an enormous impact upon my life. I extend thanks to my committee for their hours of patient mentorship and service. Finally, I give my deepest heartfelt thanks to my partner, Derek Sibert, and to my mother, Rebecca Randall, for their unwavering support and loving encouragement over the many years that it took to finish this dissertation. I simply could not have done it alone. Lastly, the fieldwork necessary for this project was supported in part by funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Cheryl L. Harper Memorial Fund, as well as the University of Oregon’s College of Arts and Sciences, Global Studies Institute, and Department of Anthropology.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the people of Carriacou.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	8
2. LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORY, AND METHODS	19
3. CARIBBEAN IDENTITIES, INDIGENEITY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY	79
4. WHO PROTECTS HERITAGE? ISSUES OF STAKEHOLDERSHIP	114
5. WHY PROTECT HERITAGE? WHAT IS AT STAKE.....	160
6. HOW IS HERITAGE PROTECTED (PART I)? ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECTS IN CARRIACOU.....	194
7. HOW IS HERITAGE PROTECTED (PART II)? THE REMOVAL OF HUMAN REMAINS	217
8. CONCLUSION.....	252
APPENDICES	
A. SUGGESTIONS FOR DECOLONIZING PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN A CARIBBEAN CONTEXT	267
B. INTERLOCUTOR DATA AND MAPPING	273
C. GRENADA NATIONAL HERITAGE PROTECTION ACT.....	278
D. THE GRENADA NATIONAL MUSEUM BILL	281
REFERENCES CITED.....	299

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Figure 1	155
2. Figure 2	247
3. Figure 3	260

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is based upon a critical ethnographic investigation of a Euro-American operated archaeology project¹ conducted on the small Caribbean island of Carriacou. The goal of this study was to investigate ways in which to further decolonize archaeological practices from local perspectives.

I first visited Carriacou in 2003 as a project participant while finishing my undergraduate studies in archaeology. I was thrilled to be spending my spring break on this small Caribbean island conducting a survey of pre-Columbian sites, a project which aimed to document such sites so that they might receive increased investigation and heritage² protections in the future. At this early stage in my education, I was aware that archaeology had its debates, such as the case of Kennewick Man.³ But on the whole, I saw my chosen discipline as a force for good, a positive tool for knowledge production and heritage protection.

The biggest culture shock I received during our short trip to Carriacou wasn't due to any differences between our team of Americans and Europeans and the island's Afro-

¹ This archaeology project will remain anonymized throughout the dissertation; it will henceforth be referred to as the "Archaeology Project" and be abbreviated as the "AP."

² Put simply, the term 'heritage' indicates "the contemporary use of the past" (Hudepohl 2008:2). In the context of archaeology, this word may be used to reference tangible objects themselves (i.e., artifacts), as well as the "process through which the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present (Skeates 2004:9-10). This concept will be further explored in the following chapter.

³ This case involved contested Native American remains in which American archaeologists sued the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers to retain possession of them for scientific study.

Antillean residents (who refer to themselves as Kayaks), but resulted after I was confronted by very some different views that certain community members had about archaeology and its practitioners. I was confused when our teams were accused of both trespassing and looting during the course of this short trip.⁴ I was distressed that there were those who thought that we were causing harm. It was at this point when I started to consider seriously the impact that archaeologists and their research had upon local and descendant communities.

I went on to complete a master's degree relating to the archaeology of the ancient Near East. As part of this training, I participated in an Israeli-led excavation in the Galilee region. During this experience, we were instructed to remove and discard human remains from Islamic period burials, since the academic excavation directors were only interested in Israelite materials. An Israeli colleague and I loaded these remains into buckets so that Palestinian laborers could then dispose of them along with other excavated earth. A few years later, while working in southeast Turkey, our Euro-American team retained audience with the region's governor in order to discuss the potential "resettlement" of 200 Kurdish farmers living on the ancient tel that our excavation director wished to excavate. I was deeply bothered by these experiences, and felt as though I had been complicit in *something*. Our work clearly had political implications, but I didn't have the words for it yet.

⁴ This situation will be further described and contextualized in Chapter 6.

I ended up leaving my first PhD program as my thinking on these issues sharpened. I wanted to refocus my research upon the impacts of archaeological practices upon source and descendant communities out of a deep desire to improve the discipline. Whether in Carriacou, Israel, or Turkey, I sensed that we, as archaeological practitioners, had the power to decide which materials would be preserved and how, not to mention the shape of the narratives to later be crafted in their interpretation. I wanted to investigate the power dynamics behind archaeological practices and discourse, interrogating who has power, who has less power, and which parties were potentially being marginalized through such processes.

After leaving my PhD program with my master's degree, one of the co-directors from the Archaeology Project (AP) in Carriacou invited me back to the island to serve as support staff in 2007.⁵ Since the 2003 survey, the AP had had two full excavation seasons. I bunked with the project participants from the U.S. and England, but became distracted by what seemed to be growing tensions between the AP participants and Kayak residents. When I entered another PhD program some years later, I wanted to go back to Carriacou to conduct research on how the AP had been received by Kayak residents over the years so I could better understand those tensions that I had observed firsthand. I retrained in cultural anthropology and ethnography and finally found the words that I had been missing in decolonizing archaeological discourses, words that I knew to be true because they reflected my previous experiences in archaeological practice: "looking under the

⁵ This involved assisting with childcare for one of the co-directors of the project. During this period, I lived and socialized with the study abroad students who were part of the field school. In addition, I also volunteered on the project from time to time when not conducting childcare.

surface of archaeology anywhere in the world reveals that issues of power, control, and knowledge in regard to things of the past are invariably entwined with issues of power, control, and knowledge in regard to things in the present” (McNiven and Russel 2009:424). Moving forward, I knew that I wanted to contribute to the *decolonization* of the discipline.

I thus proposed to both the AP leadership and the Carriacou Historical Society board to arrive in Carriacou during the AP’s seventh field season in 2014 to conduct a critical ethnography of the project set within its host community. I had three very broad objectives for this pilot research: 1) identify any neocolonial archaeological practices, past and present, in Carriacou, 2) learn about any efforts to decolonize these practices, and 3) use local feedback to construct recommendations for future reforms.⁶ Conducting such decolonizing research in tandem with the AP’s field season made sense for many reasons. An archaeological “field site” nicely comports with what Mary Louise Pratt (1991 & 1992) refers to as a “contact zone,” a “social space where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other... [often] in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths” (Pratt 1991:34). This is especially fitting for visiting archaeologists in a Caribbean field site, where practitioners have a different nationality, ethnicity, or even class status than local community members.

⁶ I shared these project objectives with both the AP and CHS ahead of time before they granted permission for the research.

In order to address the objectives of this pilot project, I drafted a list of interview/research questions:

- What was the nature of the relationship between the AP participants and the Kayak public? Was the project welcomed in Carriacou?
- What were the research objectives of the AP and how well did they reflect the initiatives of the CHS?
- How has the project changed over the years?
- Were there any existing tensions? If so, how, and why did they develop? What had gone well over the years, and what hadn't?
- What was the level of local participation in the AP? How much of a say did they have in its design, operations, interpretation, etc...?
- What were the power dynamics between the visiting researchers and Kayak communities?
- Did Kayaks see it as benefiting them?
- How did Kayaks relate to the pre-Columbian culture that the archaeologists were investigating?
- What is at stake for the various stakeholders involved in this case study (archaeologists, residents, local heritage managers, local and national ministry officials)

I lived at the same hotel as the archaeologists to conduct participant observation amongst their teams and to interview their researchers; at the same time, I also conducted participant observations within the communities of Carriacou while recruiting CHS

officers and other residents for interviewing. The findings from this pilot project would dictate the more specific trajectory of the overall dissertation research.

After just two days on the island, the AP leadership had a preliminary meeting with board members of the Carriacou Historical Society to discuss the 2014 field season. The archaeologists came back to the hotel earlier than expected, and were perturbed. I observed this, took detailed fieldnotes, and tried to learn what had transpired. The picture that soon emerged was that a kind of “falling out” had occurred between the AP leadership and a contingency of the CHS board. In the space of one short meeting, the former felt as though they had received more criticism from CHS representatives than in the past few seasons combined. While it is true that tensions with the community had waxed and waned over the years,⁷ there seemed to be an unprecedented level of “push back” coming from certain officers, including the CHS president and the co-Vice President. From my observations as well as in the words of AP leadership, it appeared that a breaking point had been reached.

Although the board was not unanimous, certain officers accused the archaeologists of profiting from their heritage while not giving back to the community. There had been no adequate long-term storage plan for the nearly 8,000 lbs. of excavated materials that the AP had left at the museum, and it had become a burden. They demanded that the archaeologists take responsibility for this material and help them pay for storage. They also demanded that all excavated material that had been removed from the island be

⁷ Interview, 8/11/14; Interview, 9/16/14.

repatriated, which included Native remains.⁸ Clearly some of these tensions had been simmering for a while and they now came out in a torrent. The archaeologists were insulted and disgusted by their treatment. Because of this as well as other unrelated factors, the AP leadership was considering pulling the plug on the project for good. All three co-directors were claiming that they never wanted to come back to Carriacou, and many of their frustrations from working there over the years emerged as well. After the 2014 season ended the way that it did, AP leadership tried to make sense of what had happened and why; in fact, one of the co-directors intimated that they hoped that this very study would elucidate “what went wrong.”

At that point, the ethnographic research clearly had its focus: how and why did it come to this? Although this schism and its immediate aftermath was painful and confusing for AP leadership, these events revealed a plethora of issues through which to examine the topic of archaeological decolonization and issues related to Critical Heritage Studies, for Gillot et al. (2013) warn us, “heritage is not a consensual object: it is an arena of contestation and negotiation” (4). An archaeological site is, after all, an arena where heritage is re/constructed between practitioners, source and descendant communities, and even wider stakeholder groups.

The AP has not resumed since 2014 but I continued interviewing past field season participants and reinterviewing the leadership. I returned to Carriacou in 2015, 2017, 2018, and 2019 to continue speaking with Kayaks about the AP, archaeology, visiting

⁸ I was not present at this meeting, but have spent years reconstructing who was there and what was said through many interviews with interlocutors from various factions.

researchers in general, their identities and heritage, heritage preservation, and challenges facing the communities. Because I wanted to apply a decolonizing lens from the outset, I did not view my role as ensuring equal representation of all stakeholders in the telling of this story. Early on, I understood that archaeologists have the power to write history and create authorized discourses about the cultures of others. The AP researchers had had ample platforms where they had the ability to represent themselves and their work, the lifeways of Carriacou's Native peoples, as well information regarding Kayak communities, particularly those pertaining to heritage preservation on the local and national level. The source community's voices, on the other hand, were entirely missing in the discourse created by the AP. Therefore, this space, this dissertation, would privilege the perspectives of Kayaks- a space for them to "talk back" about how *they* viewed the AP, Carriacou's Native peoples, and their identities and heritage.

Dissertation Overview

Chapter 2 begins with a literature review and the theoretical background for archaeological decolonization. Some of the most significant and relevant content for this case study comes from the presentation on decolonizing research practices. The last section of the chapter addresses methods.

Chapter 3 addresses Caribbean identity formation and issues of Indigeneity. Kayak identity is presented as being distinct from Grenadian and, at its core, "place-based." I discuss the myth of Native Extinction in the Caribbean that comes from colonial

propaganda, and how it is still pervasive within archaeological discourse. In the latter part of the chapter, I discuss the AP specifically, and how its practitioners' notion of "population replacement" is a form of Native erasure. AP researchers have assumed that pre-Columbian history is not part of Kayak heritage, and this is critiqued for serving to weaken Kayaks' stakeholder claims over such materials and undermine their identities. Pre-Columbian material culture is recast as Kayaks' "place-based heritage" (PBH).

Chapter 4 begins by outlining the key stakeholders of this ethnography, which include the AP researchers, Kayak residents and the Carriacou Historical Society, the Ministry of Carriacou, and the Grenadian government. What defines each group as stakeholders is discussed, i.e., the "stakes" of each broad group, both in terms of *having a stake* in Carriacou's heritage preservation, as well as what is *at stake* for each group. In the second half of this chapter, I discuss which stakeholders actually have the most *power* to preserve Carriacou's heritage and by which mechanisms are they empowered. I conclude by arguing that the AP has more relative power than Kayaks when it comes to the heritage preservation of their pre-Columbian sites, and that the interests of the AP best align with national government actors. I then argue that these two factors have served to exacerbate tensions between the AP researchers and Kayak heritage preservation professionals.

Chapter 5 addresses *why* the heritage of Carriacou needs to be preserved according to perspectives held by those of two key stakeholder groups of this study, Kayak residents and the AP researchers. Both stakeholder groups writ large are motivated to preserve

Carriacou's heritage because they believe it is under threat. There are both similarities and differences as to what each group believes to be placing this heritage at risk. The archaeological practitioners identified many factors to be threatening Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage, including natural and anthropogenic erosion, as well as the lack of adequate local and national heritage management programs. Although many Kayak interlocutors identified similar threats, some also claimed that outsiders coming to Carriacou and removing their place-based heritage also posed a significant threat. This chapter addresses the issue of looting on the island, as well as a long history of amateur archaeological practices. A key finding in this chapter is that certain Kayaks view some archaeological practices to be on a similar continuum as looting, and therefore have identified it as a threat to their place-based heritage.

Chapter 6 continues with the theme of "archaeology posing a threat to Kayak heritage" and provides a deeper explanation for how this perspective developed in Carriacou. The island has attracted many amateur archaeologists over the years, and these are regarded as looters within the community. The removal of Carriacou's PBH off island is seen as particularly upsetting for Kayaks, and further exacerbates local fears over perceived sense of loss of Kayak heritage and its management. I then turn to the inaugural season of the AP, during which their teams were accused of trespassing and looting by residents. For certain Kayak residents, the AP's first season was a continuation of a familiar and painful theme: outsiders coming onto their family held land to illicitly take their pre-Columbian heritage, their place-based heritage, largely without their informed consent.

Chapter 7 discusses one of Kayaks' largest concerns about the AP- that its researchers have been removing their PBH off island. Such materials include all of the Native human remains recovered by the AP. Kayak views on the excavation and removal of these remains are presented and contrasted with the archaeologists' perspectives. In this chapter, I argue that the researchers' decision to take these remains off island and not repatriate them (to date) has left Kayaks feeling used, exploited, and cynical about the AP. I further argue that the removal of these remains precluded the AP researchers from gaining widespread community support and led to certain Kayak community members attempting to push them out and end the project.

Conclusion: The conclusion argues that the falling out that the AP leadership had with the CHS actually represented the latter pushing the AP out. I argue that this rupture represented Kayak efforts to decolonize their heritage preservation. The AP leadership's reactions to this are presented, and it is evident that they did not understand what had happened. Many of the additional issues that the CHS had with the AP over the years are presented. I conclude by arguing that the AP was ultimately pushed out because it was not locally perceived as being of, by, or for the people of Carriacou.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORY, AND METHODS

Introduction

This chapter introduces the historical developments as well as the theory, methods, and praxis which closely inform this study's approach to archaeological decolonization, ultimately locating this research within broader scholarship.

As the *what* and the *how* makes little sense without the *why*, this chapter begins with a brief discussion of colonialism and imperialism before addressing the topic of decolonization. After briefly speaking to political decolonization, I introduce the topic of sociocultural decolonization, which is most pertinent to this present analysis. In this section, I begin broadly by arguing why the decolonization of knowledge production and research practices are crucial before narrowing the discussion to anthropology and its subfield of archaeology. In these sections, I present the historical and contemporary anthropological and archaeological research practices that decolonial critiques most often address. At this juncture, both lay and initiated audiences should have adequate information to understand the context in which decolonizing archaeological practices have been developed. Despite the critiques presented here, it is important to note that archaeological practices of the Global North are neither monolithic nor inherently “bad” despite the critiques presented in these sections.

The following sections address *how* archaeological practices may be decolonized, beginning with relevant ideas “on paper” followed by these theory-informed actions put into practice. Various ethical codes for archaeological best practices are briefly presented as well as additional relevant theoretical developments within academic archaeological discourse.⁹ Forms of Indigenous archaeologies are the first robust decolonizing practices presented in alignment with the ethical orientation of this dissertation. Forms of public and community-based archaeological practices are then addressed. A presentation of these two broad approaches to archaeological decolonization serves two purposes: 1) their underlying values have closely informed this present research design, but 2) they also best contextualize aspects of the Archaeology Project (AP) at the center of this case study, which was both developed as a form public archaeology and involves the excavation and expatriation of Native human remains.

What follows segues from theory to the methods and praxis used in the course of this research. Forms of activist archaeology are presented to contextualize the explicit goals of the study, to gather and bring marginalized source and descendant community members’ perspectives on heritage¹⁰ preservation into the archaeological discourse of Carriacou’s past. This project is then situated within forms of archaeological

⁹ Michel Foucault argued that discourse is a form of expertise with underlying power-knowledge relations that “not only reflects social meanings, relations, and entities, it also constitutes and governs them” (Smith 2006:14).

¹⁰ Heritage typically implies “the contemporary use of the past” (Hudepohl 2008:2). Here, heritage implies both tangible material and the intangible values placed upon it (Skeates 2000:9). Within archaeology, heritage may indicate material objects as well as the “process through which the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present (ibid.:9-10). See also the discussion of archaeology as a form of heritage management below.

ethnography, and is followed by a detailed accounting of its research design and methodologies.

Colonialism, Imperialism, and Neocolonialism

Colonialism

Before addressing the theoretical approaches to decolonization taken in this study, the nature of colonialism must first be addressed. Colonialism is an extremely vast and complicated subject, and it is well beyond the scope of this dissertation to present all of its complexities. However, it is crucial to address certain characteristics, effects, and legacies of early modern European colonialism, as well as of American and European neocolonialism and imperialism, that are pertinent to the history and lived experiences of the Caribbean interlocutors at the heart of this story.

In simple terms, colonialism entails expansionistic regimes of accumulation forcibly dominating and economically exploiting other peoples and their land (Lloyd and Wolfe 2016). Speaking from a Caribbean perspective, poet and activist Aimé Césaire described this process as “thingification” (1970:168), a term that well suits the objectification and dehumanizing treatment of those exploited and brutalized by colonial regimes.

Colonialism did not begin with in the early modern period, but the scale and impact of European and American colonialism and imperialism in this period cannot be overstated. Just prior to World War II, over 84.6% of the world’s land surfaces had been subjected to colonialism (Loomba 1998:15). The wide range of peoples and territories involved is

suggestive of the fact that colonialism is not a singular event nor is it a unified concept, but a heterogeneous and evolving set of processes. There are many forms of colonialism, each contingent upon the time, place, and peoples involved. Not every process resulted in settler colonialism, a permanent large-scale colonial presence like in North America. European colonialists never became the majority demographic in much of the Caribbean due to an initial small-scale plantocracy that increasingly waned following the abolition of slavery in the mid-19th century. Today, Grenada's peoples largely identify with their African heritage as descendants of ancestors trafficked by English colonialists.¹¹

Despite being contextually contingent, forms of European colonialism have a distinct logic produced by a blend of European chauvinism, Christian supremacy, nationalism, and Enlightenment epistemologies and ontologies (Lloyd and Wolfe 2016).¹² These varieties are characterized by the doctrine of Eurocentric diffusionism in which Europeans were seen to naturally progress toward advancement due to superior intellectual prowess, virtue, maturity, and aptitude for innovation, while non-Europeans were seen as stagnant, irrational, ahistorical, and childlike (Blaut 1989 & 1999; Said 2013 [1979]). This logic stemmed from, created, and reified hierarchies along intersectional lines, with the land-holding Christian European cis-heteropatriarchy at the top. According to this world model, European superiority was understood to diffuse through colonial rule, "civilizing" so-called "savage" subjects. European domination was therefore

¹¹ The colonial history of Grenada and Carriacou, the contexts of this ethnography, will be further addressed below.

¹² As the scientific process started to take shape and a higher value was being placed upon empiricism, Enlightenment values also emerged in 17th-18th century Europe. Although Enlightenment philosophy is "both ethnocentric and Eurocentric," it elevated notions such as liberty, tolerance, rationality, and progress (Trigger 2006:103). In this case, cultural progress was understood to result from rational thought and be the driver of social change (ibid.:101-102).

rendered as inevitable and correct, with colonial subjects seen as “repaying” European colonial powers for the gifts of Christian salvation and/or civilization through their natural and human resources (ibid.).

Colonial logic both naturalized European supremacy and was also used to justify the subordination and dehumanization of Native, African, and other non-European peoples, paving the way for colonial atrocities such as chattel slavery, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.¹³ The Triangular Trade (also known as the Tran-Atlantic Slave Trade), in which Europeans 1) traded manufactured goods for kidnapped Africans to auction in the Americas, 2) used enslaved peoples’ labor to harvest sugar, coffee, tobacco, and indigo to 3) sell back in Europe, involved the torture and trafficking of over twelve million Africans (Loomba 1998:4). European colonialism is also responsible for the decimation of New World Indigenous peoples through enslavement, disease/biological warfare, and systematic massacre. In addition to physical genocide, Europeans also committed acts of cultural genocide to further facilitate their domination. Colonialists attempted to systematically eradicate Indigenous and African lifeways, including social structures, Native languages, religious practices, and connections to ancestral lands. This was enacted through Christianizing programs, family separation, assimilation, relocation, and a host of colonial ordinances banning and severely punishing the practice of ancestral customs (Césaire 2001).¹⁴

¹³ Genocide is often misunderstood as the utter annihilation of a people in a discreet amount of time. However, as American Studies professor, activist, and member of the Lower Brule Sioux tribe Nick Estes argues, it is better understood as the *attempted* annihilation of a people, which may be a centuries long project. With this framework, genocide implies resistance (Seder 2021).

¹⁴Despite these atrocities, colonial processes ought not be depicted in a binary manner or in terms of oppressors and oppressed, victors and victims. Despite being subjected to acts of physical and cultural genocide, Native and African peoples in the Americas resisted, survived, and managed to preserve ancestral

The European colonial logic that was used to justify these atrocities remains deeply embedded in contemporary society and modes of thought. Perhaps the most persistent example is the concept of race. The phenotype of lighter skin combined with notions of European supremacy morphed into the concept of “whiteness” over time. This “superiority” was further reinforced by forms of pseudoscience, where it helped to create the intractable myth of race as a real biological category (Gould 1996). Lighter-skinned Europeans were portrayed as the most physiologically and behaviorally evolved of the human species, while peoples with darker skin and physical characteristics deemed “non-European” were portrayed as less evolved, genetically closer to non-human primates, and more corrupted and corruptible (ibid.). Thus, colonial logic produced white supremacy and the forms of racism connected to it (Tuck and Yang 2012:4 footnote). This includes forms of colorism, which poet Alice Walker explained as “prejudicial or preferential treatment of same-race people based solely on their color” (1983:290; see also Norwood 2015), wherein lighter skin is favored over darker skin.

European colonial logic has also left a deep impact on the natural environment, global economic systems, and how the two are seen together. Colonial processes largely destroyed Native economies, disrupted local ecosystems and forever altered ancestral landscapes in the service of whichever extractive economic system was imposed.

Eurocentric diffusionism was shot through with Enlightenment ideology, and therefore

traditions. This is no less true if one’s survival is negotiated through assimilation, adaptation, concealment, or syncretism. More than just survive, peoples abused and marginalized by colonial power structures have been able to thrive and revive traditional lifeways. Native revival movements in the Caribbean will be discussed further below.

the belief in the duality of human and nature inspired notions that the natural environment should be “tamed” (like Indigenous peoples should be “civilized”), reshaped, and harnessed for economic gain (Adams 2003:22-23). Capitalism itself can be conceptualized as a colonial technology (Tuck and Yang 2012:4, footnote). By design, European domination siphoned resources from colonized spaces, enabling the development of European capitalism and industry (Loomba 1998:4). This economic imbalance has never been fully restored; to this day, there exist deep economic inequalities between the Global North, where colonial empires emanated, and the Global South, which colonial powers sought to control.

The above processes and dynamics are also overlaid with more recent neocolonial and imperial arrangements, which have served to perpetuate inequities stemming from historical forms of colonialism. Colonialism undergoes a dramatic makeover in the post-WWII era. As the sun begins to truly set upon the collapsing British Empire, the United States becomes the global superpower. Colonialized peoples seek nominal political independence, yet the asymmetrical power dynamics between these emergent nations and colonial powers often remained intact, though changed. What is now termed neocolonialism coincided with the rise of monopoly industrial capitalism and is less about physically controlling other territories than about exerting economic and cultural control over other spaces (Spivak 1991:1). Neocolonialism goes hand in hand with imperialism, which can be considered a form of capitalist colonialism spanning world markets (Loomba 1998:4-5). Imperialism is the political and economic domination of a politically weaker party through so-called “soft power” (ibid.:6-8). No formal colony is

required for imperialism to occur, but an imperial power may decide to launch military actions in other sovereign spaces if it is deemed to further its ideological or economic interests. Examples of this include Manifest Destiny in the United States as well as its 1983 invasion of Grenada to demonstrate regional power in the Caribbean during the Cold War (further addressed below).

This brief overview of colonial, neocolonial, and imperial processes by no means captures the totality of such complex systems. Instead, it introduces the concept of decolonization, which is a direct response to the above processes, and lays the groundwork for specific themes, critiques, and recommendations featured in this case study.

Decolonization

Introduction

Decolonization has political implications and sociocultural connotations. This study primarily focuses upon the latter, although political decolonization is also briefly addressed because it too pertains to the history of Grenada and themes raised by this study's interlocutors. In general, decolonization entails the "process of disengagement from the whole colonial syndrome" (Hulme 1995:120; see also Loomba 1998:19), yet that "syndrome" is highly complex, contingent, and often subtle. Before discussing what decolonization has to do with archaeology and how it may be conceptualized, I briefly

address political and cultural decolonization, including the importance of applying this concept to knowledge production and research practices.

Political Decolonization

Political decolonization indicates a territory gaining administrative independence from an external colonial power. In the period following WWII, dozens of overseas territories sought independence from various European colonial powers such as the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Britain, France, and Portugal. Colonial powers did not make restitution to former colonies for the billions of dollars-worth of resources extracted (not to mention local lives and lifeways destroyed), and so many formerly colonized spaces have struggled to recover environmentally, politically, and economically from generations of colonial oppression and exploitation. Inability to “compete” in global capitalist markets pressured newly independent nations, especially those of smaller size, to maintain a close political and economic relationship to former colonial powers. Therefore, becoming “independent” did not inoculate these emergent nations from foreign meddling or neocolonial and imperial incursions.

To illustrate, Grenada joined the British Commonwealth the year it gained independence from England in 1974. What is now simply called the Commonwealth is an excellent example of neocolonialism, as it was formed to maintain an informal empire and pursue British neocolonial interests under the guise of “easing” former colonies into political decolonization (Srinivasan 2005; see also McIntyre et al. 2007 & Paragg 1980). The

Commonwealth was created from the ashes of the British Empire, with the Queen serving as its head. In the institution's own words, the Commonwealth provides "policy advice on political, economic and social development issues" to its 54 members nations, most of which are small former British colonies who are perceived as having a "shared inheritance in language, culture and the rule of law" (Commonwealth Secretariat 2021). In other words, diverse spaces all colonized by the Crown were conceptualized as all having a "colonial heritage."

To conclude, colonial, neocolonial, and imperial mechanisms have created or continue to perpetuate asymmetrical power dynamics on political and economic levels between historical colonial powers and the affected communities. With "[m]any people living in both once-colonized [sic] and once colonizing countries... still subject to the oppressions put into place by colonialism" (Loomba 1998:13), it is clear the colonialism is not a thing of the past.

Sociocultural Decolonization

While forms of neo/colonialism and imperialism clearly disrupted targeted other cultures at the political level, such processes also dramatically altered additional sociocultural practices. The critical examination of colonialisms' impact upon sociocultural dynamics became formalized under the rubric of postcolonial studies beginning in the mid-20th century, having emerged from forms of anti-colonial activism and diverse set of critiques advanced by figures such as Aimée Césaire, Franz Fanon, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha,

and Edward Said (Ashcroft et al. 2006; Loomba 1998; Moore-Gilbert 2000). As a result, it has become increasingly common for decolonial analyses to be applied to various complex sociocultural phenomena, including healthcare (e.g., Mutare Fashu Kanu 2021; McGibbon et al. 2014), social work (e.g., Coates and Hetherington 2016; Razack 2009), and museums (e.g., Lonetree 2012; Wintle 2013 & 2016). The diagnosis to decolonize such systems will vary depending on context, but broadly includes the identification, mitigation, and/or struggle against forms of neo/colonial domination and their legacies.

Such decolonizing analyses address the various consequences of neo/colonial and imperial processes, typically highlighting flows of power between various groups or sectors. However, as neocolonial dynamics clearly illustrate, large-scale power over populations does not always manifest through sheer force; control can also be achieved through hegemony.¹⁵ Hegemony is a subtle form of domination executed by cultural processes. As hegemony does not operate in a top-down manner, it often allows dispersed power sources within a society to perpetuate colonial systems and logic. Hegemonic processes hide in plain sight and can be difficult to tease out because they need not be consistent, consciously orchestrated, or monolithic (Hall 1986). As these processes dictate what is popularly accepted as normal and natural, they impact individual's ontologies and epistemologies- in other words, what one believes can be known about the world and how one creates knowledge about it. What results is the cultural lens through

¹⁵ Cultural hegemony was conceptualized by Italian activist Antonio Gramsci while incarcerated by Mussolini's fascist regime. Gramsci expanded Marxist thought in theorizing that state and civil society apparatuses with differential power worked together to maintain ruling class interests (Hall 1986; Kurtz 1996), whether domestic or international. Gramsci argued that state and civil institutions such as schools, the media, and religious institutions are imbued with social authority because they have won the consent of the society at large, functioning to socialize the public to accept the interests of the ruling class as both good and inevitable (Cole 2020), even when against its own interests (Guest 2020:49).

which reality is experienced and interpreted. Quite clearly, these processes are constitutive to academic fields of inquiry, shaping researchers' assumptions, hypotheses, methods, theoretical frameworks, and interpretations. No disciplines tasked with investigating aspects of culture (including archaeology) can therefore be decolonized until these foundational orientations are examined first. I therefore begin with a brief discussion of decolonizing knowledge production and research practices before addressing that of anthropology and archaeology.

Decolonizing Knowledge Production and Research Practices

It is especially critical to develop decolonizing practices for sites of knowledge production (such as research) and resulting discourse (Akena 2012; Diversi and Moreira 2016; Friere and Ramos 1970; Hale and Stephen 2014b; Thambinathan and Kinsella 2021).¹⁶ Much of the educational institutions, academic disciplines, and research practices of the Global North were developed through colonial projects and thus remain inextricably linked to colonial ideologies and Enlightenment values (Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Trigger 2006). As a result, social science research practices remain largely “structured by the limits of Western ontologies that delegitimize Indigenous ways of being and knowing” (Fortier 2017:20).

¹⁶ This concept is most closely linked to the work of philosopher and literary critic Michel Foucault, who theorized on the relationships between language, knowledge, and power (e.g., Foucault 1971 & 1972). Discourse is an organized framework for understanding the world based upon a set of rules which dictate “what the criteria for truth are, what sorts of things can be talked about, and what sorts of things can be said about them” (Baldwin and McCrackin 2014:30). Discourse is more than ‘the way’ certain subjects are discussed, but also encapsulates “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault 1972:49; see also Reynolds 1999). Foucault argued that social scientists such as anthropologists believed themselves to be merely describing human subjectivities, yet they are actually constructing them *through* their discourse (Foucault 1971; McNiven and Russell 2009:424).

In her groundbreaking work *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999), Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith begins:

From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary... The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity (1).

After working extensively among Native North Americans, archaeologist Charles Riggs (2010) has recognized this dynamic, observing that “[o]ften, scientific research is at odds with respect for other cultures” (Riggs 2010:85). Smith (1999) urges readers to acknowledge that research is not a “distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions (5).

Smith (1999) then goes on to carefully outline how Indigenous peoples are harmed by non-Native researchers’ assumption that they have the right to penetrate Indigenous spaces to ‘discover,’ claim, classify, extract, and control Indigenous resources, identities, and histories- all in the name of scientific progress (see also Denzin and Lincoln 2008b:4), a process which Native archaeologist Joe Watkins calls “scientific colonialism” (2003:282). This ethos of entitlement and extraction, Smith argues, rests upon the

fundamental colonial classification of Indigenous peoples as ‘other’ and ‘lesser-than’ (1999). Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2003) has asserted that colonial conquest created the construct of the “Other” (14), thus transforming subaltern¹⁷ and Native peoples into “legitimate objects of research” (9). Decolonizing scholars Marcelo Diversi and Claudio Moreira have thus posed a broad yet foundational question: “Who gives the authority to invade people’s lives to do research?” (2016:27).

Researchers wishing to move beyond the colonial history and historical inequities created by their respective disciplines need to carefully consider their field’s accepted epistemologies and ontologies, as well as the assumptions behind a presumed authority to investigate other cultures. Practitioners must first understand that conducting research is not a neutral or inherently benign process but involves critical issues of power, including control and representation. The following section addresses issues pertaining to the decolonization of anthropology and archaeology more specifically, including the practical steps that researchers wishing to embrace decolonizing practices may take.

The Beginnings of Decolonialism within Anthropology and Archaeology

The discipline of anthropology evolved in the mid-19th century from collections of accounts written by European colonialists and missionaries about those non-European peoples they sought to learn about in order to ultimately dominate and/or convert to

¹⁷ Italian activist Antonio Gramsci coined the terms hegemon and subaltern, the latter which indicates a group subordinated by various power dynamics, including cultural hegemony. In postcolonial discourse this term has indicated “the subordinate positions of former colonized peoples who remain marginalized primarily on the basis of race and class” (McEwan 2009:59).

Christianity (Guest 2020:43). The way in which the earliest phases of the discipline were used demonstrates the importance of decolonizing knowledge production, as anthropological research provided “governments and their bureaucracies with ways for understanding, classifying and surveying Indigenous populations (Smith 2004:21; Biolsi 1998, Cowlishaw 1992). Building upon Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism,¹⁸ Rolph Trouillot (2003) argues that anthropological information is harvested about “Other” to both know and manage Indigenous and subaltern peoples (19). Historian and Native activist Vine Deloria Jr. (1969) famously critiqued anthropologists who “studied” Indigenous peoples for facilitating colonial oppression, claiming that “behind each policy and program with which Indians are plagued, if traced completely back to its origin, stands the anthropologist” (81). As explained below, the management of “the Other” has morphed into managing Others’ heritage within archaeology, which also may involve shaping related policy.

Early evolutionary frameworks created by those such as Edward Tylor, James Frazer, and Henry Morgan applied Charles Darwin’s theory of biological evolution to other cultures encountered through colonial expansion, creating the concept of unilineal cultural evolution (Guest 2020:43). This framework ranked cultures from simple to complex, from “savage” to “civilized,” with Europeans placed at the top (ibid.). Anthropological practices not only historically maintained but also reinscribed colonial hierarchies and categories, especially the notion of the “Other” (Fabian 2014; Said 2013; Sarukkai 1997). Due to its origin in colonial systems, anthropology has perpetuated this colonial binary as

¹⁸ In his seminal postcolonial work *Orientalism*, Palestinian literary scholar Edward Said argues that the West generates knowledge *about* the “Orient” in order to have authority *over* it (Said 2013 [1979]:393).

mediator between the “West” and the “Other” while attempting to hold a monopoly over discourses on Native and other subaltern cultures (Boast 2011:60; Marcus 1995:101; Trouillot 2003:8). For these reasons, Indigenous anthropologist Shannon Speed describes her field as “the most colonized and colonizing of disciplines” (2019:8); anthropologist Peter Pels further argues that “the anthropology of colonialism is also the anthropology of anthropology” (2008:281).

The decolonization of anthropology has been discussed at length (e.g., Jafari Allen and Jobson 2016; Mogstat and Tse 2018; Pels 2008; Sillitoe 2016), and it is important to note that anthropologists of color including Talal Asad (1973), Diane Lewis (1973), and Faye Harrison (1991) were among the first to apply decolonization to the discipline by raising essential questions of power, representation, and the politics of knowledge production (Jafari Allen and Jobson 2016; McGranahan and Rizvi 2016). These considerations, combined with poststructuralist critiques, have led anthropologists to problematize established truth claims and vestigial Enlightenment categories, calling into question academic authority, positivistic philosophies, and the feasibility of a ‘science of culture’ on both ethical and epistemological grounds (Barrett 1996; Trouillot 2003). As the postmodern turn brought more dialogical, multivocal, and relativistic approaches to ethnographic methods and the interpretations of culture (Barrett 1996:151-153), decolonizing approaches began addressing the discipline’s complicity in neo/colonial and imperial projects and sought to radically reallocate power and resources to those historically marginalized by these processes.

Archaeological Decolonization

Historical Background

As archaeology was too a product of Enlightenment traditions and colonial and imperial projects (Gosden 2012; McNiven and Russell 2005; Schmidt and Patterson 1996, Trigger 1984 & 2006), many of the same issues and critiques outlined above also apply. What became known as archaeology slowly transitioned from amateur collecting by upper-class European hobbyists to a more codified scientific discipline in the 19th century (Trigger 2006). This process took place from the 17th through 19th centuries, where an “ethos of antiquarianism” that inspired European elites to procure and display exotic “curiosities” from around the world transitioned into an “ethos of science” that motivated scholar-adventurers to collect “specimens” to stock newly established national museums (Colwell- Chanthaphonh 2008:4). Importantly, these practices “went hand-in-hand with a goal of discovery, marked by the quest to map and to claim the last unknown regions of the planet,” with archaeological research at times even serving as cover for colonial expansion (ibid.). By the early 20th century, colonialism had facilitated the spread of long-term European-led expeditions around the world aiming to both bolster European supremacy by “tracing the origins of Western civilization to earlier ‘high’ cultures and reconstructing ‘lost’ civilizations and the reasons for their collapse” (ibid.:5).

Moreover, archaeological interpretations have been complicit in reifying notions of European superiority by placing a majority of non-European cultures at the bottom rung

of typologies within frameworks of unilinear cultural evolution (Díaz-Andreu García 2007; Trigger 2006). In line with ethnologists of the era, early archaeologists also attempted to organize cultures throughout world history and to divide the conquering and conquered peoples into hierarchical schemas; the past cultures of Native and subaltern peoples were portrayed as primitive, ignorant, ahistorical, barbaric, or endangered and thus needing to be saved by social scientists (ibid.). These interpretations also functioned to further justify notions of European supremacy and colonial expansion as they “ordered the past of countries where they found themselves in terms of a hierarchy of ‘progress’ with themselves at the pinnacle” (Byrne 1991:210). Such views prevented early European practitioners from seeing Native and subaltern peoples as part of their own past, “rather, they were considered to be a distorted image of the remote European... [and] as a source of information with which to understand the prehistoric past in Europe” (Díaz-Andreu García 2007:278).

From a 21st century perspective, it is easy to identify the problems with past paradigms that once held sway. Faith in both social and scientific progress might cause one to dismiss these views as grossly outdated. However, this history is fundamental to this study for many reasons, first and foremost because it produced the grotesque alchemy that transformed non-European peoples into the “Other” and their ancestral remains into “specimens” requiring study by Euro-American practitioners. These processes remain at the heart of decolonial critiques of archaeological practices, which are explored further in the following section.

The Researcher and the Researched

Archaeological practitioners have overwhelmingly been mid to upper class white males from the Global North (Hamilakis 2010). Over two decades ago, feminist archaeologist Janet Spector queried, “what are the ramifications of the fact that until fairly recently academic knowledge has been produced almost exclusively by white, middle-class men of European descent, socialized in cultures that discriminate on the basis of race, sex, and class?” (2000:134; see also Watkins 2003). Clear consequences of this include epistemologies, theoretical approaches, practices, and interpretations overwhelmingly informed by such subjectivities. Although women, Native peoples, and historically marginalized communities have increasingly joined the ranks of both academic and contract archaeology over the past half century, there is still much work to be done (Odewale et al. 2020).

The fact remains that much of the archaeological research on the past cultures of the Global South is still conducted by scholars who are *from* the Global North. Feminist archaeologist Joan Gero once critiqued this ongoing colonial-era binary between Euro-American scholar-explorers and the unknown “Other,” describing fellow colleagues as akin to modern-day explorers and discoverers (1984:342). This export of Euro-American practitioners is not only due to the educational opportunities and credentialing systems in the Global North, but also in light of the “favourable [sic] climate created by economic aid and military alliance[s]” (Byrne 1991:270) between powers of the Global North and subaltern nations. This dynamic has been known to perpetuate power asymmetries

created by colonialism (Reidpath and Allotey 2019; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Trouillot 2003), meaning that it is important for archaeological research teams to have a diverse representation of practitioners to continue the work of further decolonizing the discipline.

Furthermore, Euro-American institutions continue to *train* the preponderance of archaeologists who lead research projects in Indigenous and subaltern contexts around the world (Skeates et al. 2012b:5; Trigger 2006).¹⁹ As one's research questions, methodologies, and interpretive frameworks "are all structured and constrained by the state society that underwrites archaeological endeavor" (Gero 1984:342), Western epistemologies and preservation values have increasingly been projected into in other cultural contexts around the world as a result (Atalay 2006; Bruchac 2014; Isaacson and Ford 2005; Smith 2004 & 2006; Trigger 2006).²⁰ Though it has become more common for Native and subaltern peoples to matriculate from archaeological programs in order to return to conduct research in their home countries/ancestral lands (Murray 2011; Nicholas 2010b; Watkins 2003), this education still largely occurs in the Global North where Euro-American ways of knowing the world continue to dominate (Atalay 2006; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Murray 2011).

¹⁹ Not all archaeology around the world is conducted by those from the Global North. Many countries have established their own brand of archaeological practices. Certain nations, such as Cuba, Mexico, Turkey, and China have robust localized archaeological training programs and do not permit foreign archaeologists to excavate without robust collaborative partnerships with local practitioners.

²⁰ Bruce Trigger (1984 & 2006) has referred to this dynamic as "imperialist archaeology," arguing that historically imperial powers such as Britain and the US sought impose their archaeological brands where they exerted the most cultural influence (Byrne 1991:269).

Alienation and Dispossession of Heritage and Identity

These issues are all the more crucial when considering what archaeologists actually do: they investigate material remains in order to construct “authorized heritage discourses”²¹ about past peoples, which usually belong to cultures that are not their own. These expert narratives have informed what larger culture groups certain peoples belonged to, what material assemblages set populations apart from each other, and which populations lived where and when, especially in the culture history tradition.²² Archaeological knowledge has been used in dictating Native identities, cultural categories, and ancestral claims, which has a host of political implications beyond determining claims concerning cultural resources and human remains (Murray 2011; Thomas 2001; Watkins 2000 & 2004). Archaeologists also often excavate, which is a destructive and irreversible process (Renfrew and Bahn 2000; McGuire 2003:vii). If local cultural preservation laws are underdeveloped, unenforced, or non-existent (which may be the case in subaltern spaces) researchers may be able to remove excavated materials, including human remains, back

²¹ Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) is core concept to the emergent interdisciplinary field of Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) (discussed further below), which concerns the sociopolitical constructions of heritage and problematizes hegemonic, dominant Euro-American traditions concerning how heritage is defined, used, and managed (Harrison 2010:8-9; Smith 2004 & 2006). The CHS manifesto argues that “[n]ationalism, imperialism, colonialism, cultural elitism, Western triumphalism, social exclusion based on class and ethnicity, the fetishising [sic] of expert knowledge have all exerted strong influences on how heritage is used, defined and managed” (Smith 2012b) around the world. Credentialing from institutions in the Global North confer sociopolitical capital as well as “structural and disciplinary power of professionalization” to academic archaeologists (Hamilakis 2010:21; McGuire 2003; Smith 2004 & 2006); this expertise and prestige bolster practitioners’ authority to create AHD, which “frames, constrains, or (de-)legitimizes debates about the meaning, nature, and value of ‘heritage’” (Smith and Waterton 2012:154). AHD reflects who has the *power* to write history and manage cultural heritage in a particular way, “construct[ing] a way of thinking about heritage that privileges the cultural symbols of a particular social group (the white, middle, and upper classes), and limits the rights to identify and champion heritage to specific groups of expertise (archaeologists, architects, and art historians)” (ibid.:155).

²² A culture historical approach emphasizes grouping and characterizing past peoples based upon material culture (Trigger 2006). This school of archaeological thought can be traced back to the late 19th century during a period of “growing nationalism and racism, which made ethnicity appear to be the most important factor shaping human history” (ibid.:211).

to their home institutions often in the Global North (Lonetree 2012).²³ Once these materials are interred or accessioned at such institutions it can be a complicated and prohibitively difficult process to get them repatriated (Mihesuah 2000; Scarre and Scarre 2006).²⁴

While such physical removal represents one form of separation, there is also at risk of Native and subaltern histories becoming conceptually disassociated through dominant archaeological interpretative paradigms, which largely reflect Western ways of seeing the world (McNiven and Russell 2009). Part of this disassociation occurs through the “thingification” (Césaire 1970:168) of heritage material, spiritual items, and even of human remains. They become reframed as “archaeological resources” within a body of physical evidence known as the “archaeological record,”²⁵ “a concept which [archaeologists] themselves created” (Nicholas and Hollowell 2010:60) and have privileged access to due to their training and certification (McGuire 2003:viii). Academic appropriation renders these materials into data- grist for the academic mill, resources which now function to professionally benefit researchers and their institutions. As it is still common for non-local or Native archaeologists to be the primary investigator (PI) of Indigenous and other subaltern pasts, these materials and their interpretations run the risk become the shared or sole intellectual property²⁶ of the PI (Murray 2011; Nicholas and Bannister 2004; Smith et al. 2004; Pyburn and Wilk 2000; Watkins 2003). Because the

²³ Archaeological ethics are further explored below.

²⁴ This issue is further explored in the following ethnographic chapters.

²⁵ The archaeological record includes the physical remains related to human activities.

²⁶ Intellectual property signifies “intangible personal property in creations of the mind” (Dratler 1994:1-2; see also Nicholas and Bannister 2004:327).

“products” of archaeological research may generate both direct and indirect financial compensation, archaeologist Claire Smith notes that this final issue is of particular import for practitioners working in “economically disadvantaged countries” (Smith et al. 2004:527).²⁷

While subaltern and Indigenous material heritage and human remains run the risk of becoming data owned by a university or researcher, they may also become further estranged from their host and descendant communities if relabeled as public, global, or world heritage²⁸ (de Figueiredo 2018; McGuire 2003; Smith and Waterton 2009; Watkins 2003; Zimmerman 1998). The preamble to the European Association of Archaeologists code of practice states that *archaeological heritage*, defined as “all remains and objects and any other traces of mankind from past epochs,” (Council of Europe 1992) is the heritage of all humankind (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:164). Such declarations reimagine Native and subaltern peoples’ sites, remains, and material culture as belonging to everyone (Watkins 2003), reaffirming “the principle that, absent the subject themselves, no contemporary community-specific interests can trump the interests of humanity or society as a whole” (Wylie 2020). This transformation has been understood as another form of neocolonial dispossession by descendant communities (Meskell 2013;

²⁷ Some archaeologists have chosen to try to remedy this dynamic by offering Indigenous leaders some financial compensation from their archaeological publishing (e.g., Smith et al. 2004:527).

²⁸ The cosmopolitan organization UNESCO operates “within modernist principles of progress and development” and strives for a kind of “global governance envisioned by the League of Nations” (Meskell 2013). UNESCO and its program of World Heritage is conventionally considered an organization that safeguards heritage of value to the entire world (Harrison 2010). However, this program has been critiqued for reifying Western ideals of heritage preservation (ibid.) and for further disconnecting Native sites, customs, and histories from their already marginalized source communities (ibid.). Such apparatuses of globalization can be seen as colonial powers merely shapeshifting; “[t]herefore, ‘globalization’ in Indigenous eyes reflects a deepening, hastening and stretching of an already-existing empire” (Alfred and Corntassel 2005:601).

Watkins 2003),²⁹ and recall the analysis of Native and scholars of color Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang: in extractive colonial systems “all things Native become recast as ‘natural resources’” (Tuck and Yang 2012:4), raw materials able to be prospected, harvested, appropriated, utilized, and/or consumed. Indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) highlights the oxymoronic nature of such acts:

It appals [sic] us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations (1).

This sentiment articulates the insult to injury that has occurred as some *living* source and/or descendant peoples are extracted from and then marginalized and/or rendered invisible.

The control over Indigenous and subaltern human remains go to the heart of decolonizing critiques of archaeology. As Aboriginal advocate R. F. Langford explained to Australian archaeologists:

²⁹ This argument has had political and material consequences for Native peoples. A prime example is the case of Kennewick man in which American archaeologists sued the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers to retain possession of Native human remains for scientific study. Academic archaeologists argued, as expert witnesses in court, that the remains’ date (approximately 9,000 years old) indicated that they no longer merely belonged to contemporary regional Native groups, but to all of humankind (See Owsley and Jantz 2006; Thomas 2001; Watkins 2003 & 2004; Zimmerman 1998). Other academic archaeologists including James Chatters quickly denied Native claims by concluding “that Kennewick Man was unrelated to contemporary Native Americans based mainly on cranial morphology” (Nicholas et al 2016:1; see also Chatters 2000), a conclusion which recalls debunked craniometric pseudoscience (see Gould 1996). The Asatru, an ethno-religious neo-Nazi-linked group, used this problematic archaeological interpretation to claim that Kennewick man was “Caucasian” and proved an ancient European presence in North America (Scher 2004; Thomas 2001:118).

The Issue [sic] is control. You seek to say that as scientists you have a right to obtain and study information of our culture... From our point of view we say that you have come as invader, you have tried to destroy our culture, you have built your fortunes on the land and bodies of our people and now, having said sorry, want a share in picking out the bones of what you regard as dead bodies. We say that it is our past, our culture and heritage, and forms part of our present life. As such it is ours to control and it is ours to share on our terms (1983:2; see also Murray 2011).

As this quote demonstrates, archaeological “resources” may be parts of a living heritage, which exists on a past/present/future continuum. Furthermore, heritage cannot be separated from contemporary identity formation (Harrison 2010).

There has been much discussion of archaeological knowledge’s role in past and present identity formation (e.g., Jones 1997; Shennan 2003a). While post-processual archaeologists³⁰ have argued that “the past is a positive source of identity for subordinate groups, be they based on ethnic, gender, or political criteria” (Bernbeck and Pollock 1996:138), AHD created through archaeological research may pose a threat to those same groups. The stakes of associating archaeological knowledge with contemporary identities

³⁰ Post-processualism in archaeology is characterized by the basic assumption that archaeological practices are inherently political, and that archaeological knowledge exists within a social context (McGuire 2008:3). Such approaches tend to challenge archaeological authority and hegemonic discourses, while placing a strong emphasis upon reflexivity, relativism, and multivocality (Earle and Preucel 1987; Smith 1994; Trigger 2006:471). This movement was heavily influenced by the introduction of postmodern concepts into the discipline (Atalay 2006:290), including a skepticism of universal truth claims (Boast 2011). Post-processualism developed as a response to processual archaeological practices, which tend to utilize positivistic research paradigms, rely upon systems theory, and deploy evolutionist, functionalist, ecological interpretive frameworks (Preucel 1995:147-148; Trigger 2006:386). Post-processualists made deliberate attempts to engage with and produce higher level social theory while criticizing processual archaeology for inadequately keeping pace with other social sciences (Trigger 2006:443).

have increased as practitioners increasingly extract and analyze ancient DNA (aDNA) to reconstruct where and when past peoples lived and migrated (e.g., Downes 2021; Piscitelli 2019). This lab-based science has been used to “test” past peoples’ identities on a genomic level, operating to confirm or refute archaeological hypotheses on the issue. Such testing has been used to scientifically demonstrate Native descendancy, bolstering stakeholderhood pertaining to contested human remains (Phillips 2019).³¹ Nevertheless, this process may just as easily negate such claims. Relying upon scientific methods to demonstrate or “prove” Native ancestry, or testing “how Indigenous” a person may be privileges Western over Indigenous ways of knowing and is especially problematic in cases where Native human remains were unethically removed or dispossessed through archaeological intervention.³²

Moreover, aDNA testing does little to mitigate anthropology’s fraught role in reifying notions of race, which is now understood as a social construct not based in actual biology (Byrd and Hughey 2015; Gould 1996; Roberts 2011).³³ This research frontier has important implications for descendant communities, including Native claims to tribal membership, ancestral territories, and/or dispossessed human remains, exacerbating existing problematic notions of race behind the colonial notion of blood quantum

³¹ In the case of Kennewick Man, ancient DNA analyses supported a shared ancestry with the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, one of the groups to initially claim the remains (Nicholas et al. 2016:1). However, these tests were done against the expressed wishes of the tribe and only after they lost the federal court case that allowed scientists to retain custody of the remains (Zorich 2015).

³² The nexus between archaeological research, AHD, contemporary identity, Indigeneity, and how it impacts claims over contested human remains is further explored in subsequent chapters relating to the case study.

³³ It is important to note that sociologist and civil rights activist W. E. B. Du Bois argued that race was a social construct and not a biological fact as early as the late 1800s, (Appiah 1985; Foner 1970) nearly a century before biologists would largely agree (Gould 1996).

(Nicholas et al. 2016; Schmidt 2011; Villazor 2008). Because aDNA testing is also able to “impact the social, political, and legal situation that living groups find themselves in, and... contradict or offend beliefs about their ancestors and origins” (Kaestle and Horsburgh 2002:107), some Indigenous archaeologists are calling for “genetic autonomy” (e.g., Nicholas et al. 2016).³⁴ Even in the absence of such consequences, archaeological knowledge forged through such testing or AHD may be used to both legitimize and delegitimize group identities (Shennan 2003b:10), and has been critiqued when used to define or constrain Native and subaltern heritages (Nicholas et al. 2016).

Native Erasure

In addition to potential appropriation, an additional critique of archaeology involves the erasure that occurs when Native and other marginalized peoples are missing from archaeological discourse. While early 20th century ethnological and archaeological reports claimed that Native peoples were critically endangered and thus needed to be “saved” by social scientists (Trigger 2006; Díaz-Andreu García 2007), both early and even some contemporary archaeological discourses espouse harmful falsehoods of Native extinction (e.g., Keegan 1996; Keegan and Carison 2008; Rouse 1993). This latter mythology has serious implications for archaeological stakeholder-ship- in cases where archaeologists do not acknowledge the existence of descendant communities, any potential claim descendant groups may have to archaeological resources is rendered

³⁴ Despite potential benefits from genetic testing, screening, and treatment, certain Indigenous groups such as the Navajo of the American southwest have decided to bar all genetic research among their living members based upon religious reasons as well as a distrust of how researchers might weaponize their genetic information against them (Schwartz 2020).

moot. Such an outlook may operate to reinforce archaeologists' claim to heritage resources and human remains, reinforcing the view that they are the natural and logical stewards of such materials (Smith 2004; Zimmerman 1998). For these reasons, decolonizing any system or practice, including those of archaeology, requires identifying such dynamics and evaluating how one directly (and indirectly) benefits from the erasure of Indigenous peoples (Tuck and Yang 2012:9). These issues are extremely relevant for Caribbean archaeology, and, as will be argued in the following chapter, function as an impediment to decolonizing archaeological practices in the region.

Heritage Management

Since the advent of Cultural Resource Management³⁵ in settler societies such the U.S., archaeology has increasingly been described in terms of heritage and its management (see Breglia 2006b; Butler 2006; Carman 2002 & 2005; Howard 2003; King 2008; Messenger

³⁵ Although other nations have their own version of Cultural Resource Management (CRM), I am focusing here upon CRM in the United States. CRM may be defined as government mandated research design protocols "used to protect, preserve and/or conserve cultural heritage items, sites, places and monuments" (Smith 2004:1). Much of CRM legislation directly impacts archaeological practice, helping to create a series of set standards dictating where and how excavation takes place and how archaeological data are analyzed and reported (Trigger 2006:544). With its roots in Antiquities Act of 1906 requiring excavators to obtain a permit to work upon federal or tribal lands (King 2008:16; Skeates 2000:22), CRM was vastly expanded in the second half of the 20th century due to pressure from Indigenous activism (to be discussed further below). Pertinent laws to emerge from this era are 1) The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, which requires archaeologists to conduct social impact assessments considering the consequences of proposed actions upon lifeways and value systems (King 2008); 2) The Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979, which provisions against the unauthorized excavation of archaeological resources at least a century old on Native American or federal land (ibid.); 3) The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, which has a section that requires archaeologists working on federal land or using federal funds consider their projects' effects and consult with pertinent groups in advance (ibid.), and a 1992 amendment that encourages greater tribal participation regarding traditional cultural properties (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:11); and 4) The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990, which requires federal agencies and museums receiving federal funds to repatriate Native remains and items of cultural patrimony to eligible groups and that pertinent excavations that inadvertently encounter human remains halt for a probative time period (Trigger 2006:379).

and Smith 2010; Murray 2011; Smith 1994, 2004 & 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009; Zimmerman 1998). This framing stems from certain realities of the profession such as overseeing archaeological sites, advocating for the preservation of the archaeological record, and/or serving as science communicators to broader publics. However, this nomenclature assumes that heritage needs to “be managed,” and in a certain way. As briefly addressed in context of AHD (above), those within Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) have highlighted the ways in which mainstream heritage management practices (including archaeology) are hegemonic, reflective of elite Euro-American cultural values through which Indigenous and/or subaltern peoples may become further marginalized (Campbell and Smith 2012). According to the heritage management model, communities with vested interests in archaeological work are recast as *stakeholders*, a more corporatized language which reflects “official use in law and policymaking” (Carman 2011:497; Merriman 2004). While this language reifies the authority of archaeological heritage managers, it may also serve to diminish sole Native claims to material culture by lumping them with other interest groups like hobbyists, amateur collectors, or public taxpaying constituents.

Heritage Management, Stewardship, and Archaeological Ethics

Archaeology’s increasing entanglement with heritage management is not incidental- it has become enshrined as a core ethical principle. Although formalized archaeological ethics in the U.S. were initially created in the 1960s to encourage professional standards and accountability to other scholars, such codes were expanded following a surge of

cultural resource management legislation that “authorized archaeologists to *manage* and *protect* archaeological resources for the state” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:8, my emphasis). To this day, the concepts of stewardship and conservation of the archaeological record are central to many professional codes of ethics (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008; Zimmerman et al. 2003). Archaeologists portrayed as the natural stewards of archaeological resources have had important consequences for both heritage management and decolonization. Here, stewardship indicates conserving, protecting, and managing archaeological resources for the benefit of all (SAA n.d.), and carries “an implicit presumption of privilege justified by appeals to intellectual and scientific authority” (Nicholas and Hollowell 2010:60). This primacy often limits public access to sites, excavated materials, and the research processes, which may be argued as another form of neocolonial dispossession by Native and/or subaltern communities (ibid.).

Going further, the ethics statement of the largest and most central professional organization of archaeologists in the United States with over 7,000 members, the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), urges its members to act as “both caretakers of and advocates for the archaeological record for the benefit of all people” (SAA n.d.). Therefore, the entanglement of heritage management and ethics is further demonstrated through forms advocacy³⁶ for the archaeological record, which may include lobbying or providing consultation for heritage preservation initiatives in their home nations or the international contexts in which they work (King 2008; Murray 2011; Smith 2004 &

³⁶ See below for a more robust discussion of forms of archaeological activism.

2006). In a presentation on ethics, archaeologist Kelley Scudder (2007) argued that “[i]t is essential that we work with in the development of regulations and guidelines to effectively manage archaeological resources. Legislation is an essential element of archaeological research” (114-115). But whose world view and values inform such policies? In this situation, it is worthwhile to consider that Scudder is an American archaeologist operating in various Caribbean islands within the British West Indies where there exist important disjunctures between colonial heritage management and Afro-Antillean preservation values (Scudder-Temple 2009). In light of these considerations, archaeologist Anne Pyburn (2007) cautions her colleagues that their expertise does not mean that they are able to shape heritage management policy that is best for a particular local situation (178).

Such heritage management roles assumed by practitioners from the Global North are pertinent to discussions of decolonization because it may result in the modification of another culture’s system to be more reflective of Western heritage management standards (Smith 2004). This may or may not be in alignment with localized values or may only appeal to government officials having differing heritage management agendas from less powerful grassroots actors.³⁷ When considering archaeological decolonizing, it is crucial to remember that “[h]istorically, archaeology has served the needs of the nation-state and those in positions of power and privilege. Archaeologists often work as technicians of the state, under a system of ‘governmentality’”³⁸ (Nicholas and Hollowell 2010:60; see also

³⁷ This issue will be explored further in the ethnographic chapters.

³⁸ Foucault crafted the notion of governmentality, a mentality premised upon the authority of liberal modernity and positivistic epistemologies that is utilized as a tool in governing processes regulating others’ conduct (Foucault 2019; Smith 2004:9).

Gero 2008). This role may be critiqued as technocratic, where archaeological knowledge is rendered into “a technology of government... whereby the knowledge, techniques, procedures and so on of a particular discipline become mobilized in the regulation of population” (Rose and Miller 1992:175; see also Smith 2004:2-3). To conclude, debates central to archaeological decolonization include both the politics of heritage and the role that the state plays in managing heritage, especially that belonging to Native peoples (Murray 2011).

The robust discourse and debates over archaeological ethics (e.g., Cohen 2003; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008; Gnecco and Lippert 2015; Layton 1994; Lynott and Wylie 2000; Nicholas and Hollowell 2010; Saitta 2010; Scarre and Scarre 2006; Smith 2010; Vitelli et al. 2006; Zimmerman 1998b; Zimmerman et al. 2003) has resulted in the adoption of formalized codes of conduct by influential archaeological societies and professional organizations. This has been in response to problematic practices within the discipline (such as those described above), and often shares certain values and goals with decolonizing efforts, especially regarding the treatment of human remains and issues of repatriation (e.g., SAA 2021), as well as enhanced consultation with source and descendant communities (e.g., SAA n.d.) (Hamilakis 2010:15). However, such ethics are not inherently binding, enforced, or monitored.³⁹ Although some characterize decolonized archaeological practices as “paying closer attention to the ethics of handing

³⁹ In certain cases, members of professional organizations who have demonstrably broken the group’s ethical protocols may have a grievance filed against them (RPA 2020b) or be in danger of losing their professional membership. However, membership within these organizations is entirely optional.

other peoples' heritage" (Bruchac 2014:2070), mere ethical conduct does not necessarily imply a decolonizing agenda.

As questions of power remain at the heart of decolonial analyses, it is important to consider whose values and aims these archaeological ethical codes represent; who creates the "best practices"? Despite containing some decolonial sensibilities, the prominent archaeological ethical codes which exist⁴⁰ overwhelmingly reflect Westerns values and epistemologies and are as such subject to the same critiques posed within Critical Heritage Studies (see above); moreover, with most practitioners coming from the Global North, these ethical codes serve to propagate these values in Indigenous and/or subaltern contexts. A more decolonized approach would involve the researcher centering source and/or descendant values and adhering to any localized protocols (Datta 2018:5; Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

Furthermore, the above ethical codes prioritize obligations to the *archaeological record* first and foremost, not living peoples.⁴¹ As archaeology involves the study of past peoples

⁴⁰ These include those of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), Australian Archaeological Association (AAA), Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA), European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), Institute of Field Archaeologists (IFA), Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA), Society for American Archaeology (SAA), Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA), and World Archaeological Congress (WAC) (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:148-188). It is important to note that these codes derive from very different core values (Smith and Burke 2010:105), with the ethical codes of the CAA, WAC, and AAA most closely reflecting a concern for Indigenous rights.

⁴¹ On the other hand, the core ethical principle of American Anthropological Association (AAA), the world's largest scholarly and professional organization of anthropologists is to "do no harm" to others (AAA 2021a & b), assigning "primary importance to the concerns of the subject groups over the acquisition of knowledge and the publication of research results" (Riggs 2010:85). The SAA ethical code does not include this stipulation (ibid.). Even though archaeology is a subfield of anthropology, the AAA annual conference tends to more well attended by cultural anthropologists, with archaeologists tending to gravitate more to the SAA and AAPA annual conferences. This calls into question which ethical code holds primacy for North American archaeologists. This issue is raised because a prominent theme in this

through the archaeological record, this prioritization is unsurprising, even though archaeological research has vast implications for living peoples and practitioners are increasingly working “with, in, and for, living ‘communities’” in their investigations (Agbe-Davies 2010:373). However, the discipline’s focus on “past peoples” means that much of the academic archaeological research that takes place is not required to obtain clearance from Institutional Review Boards (IRB),⁴² protocols established to minimize risk of harms to human subjects from research processes (AAA 2021c), in the PIs home nation or the countries where the research is conducted. If the impact that archaeological research has upon source and descendant communities is not acknowledged, any decolonization efforts are stymied from the outset. For example, when introducing the seminar entitled “Reclaiming the Ancestors: Indigenous and Black Perspectives,” Indigenous anthropologist Ora Marek-Martinez claimed that the SAA code of ethics still “privileges scientific interests over the sovereign and human rights of Indigenous nations... the spirit of these words, which remain unchanged, continue to guide the Society’s responses to repatriation related regulations within the field” (SBA 2020).

Indigenous Archaeologies

This dissertation joins the growing chorus of voices in arguing that Indigenous peoples, their epistemologies, and their interests must be front and center to begin decolonizing research practices broadly (Bruchac et al. 2010; Datta 2018; Denzin et al. 2008; Kovach

dissertation is the disconnect between the anthropological subfields of cultural anthropology and archaeology.

⁴² The IRB is further discussed below in the “Methods” section.

2010; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004), as well as archaeological approaches more narrowly (Atalay 2006; Bruchac et al. 2010; McNiven and Russel 2009; Mills and Kawelu 2013; Nicholas 2006; Oland 2012; Smith and Wobst 2005a; Swidler et al. 1997; Watkins 2000, 2003, & 2008; Zimmerman 1998a & 1998b). How, then, have Native peoples engaged with archaeology issues and what can this teach us? This question is not only pertinent for its decolonizing potential, but also because the case study at the center of this ethnography involves a Euro-American-led archaeological investigation Carriacou's Indigenous peoples.⁴³

The wave of political decolonization following WWII coincided with increased anticolonial discourse and Indigenous rights movements worldwide. In the 1950s, the American government's efforts to weaken Native American culture through the termination of tribal groups was met with Native resistance (King 2008:19). While the American civil rights movement unfolded in the 1960s, pan-Indian political groups across North America, such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) were organizing to revitalize traditional heritage and push for enhanced self-governance and determination over their spiritual beliefs (Atalay 2012).⁴⁴

Native activism also extended to regaining sovereignty over sacred sites and possession of their ancestral bodies removed by colonialists, looters, and researchers. From many

⁴³ However, this study also addresses ways in which to decolonize archaeological practices vis-à-vis subaltern source communities as well, whether its members identify as Indigenous or not.

⁴⁴ In response to this activism, a series of federal laws were passed. These include the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1979, and the National Museum of the American Indian Act of 1989. In part, these actions also facilitated the birth of American Cultural Resource Management (CRM).

Native perspectives, the latter were not “specimens” for non-Native consumption but living entities. Therefore, the archaeological practice of collecting, analyzing, and displaying ancestral Native bodies was not only viewed as exploitive and dehumanizing (see Deloria 1969), but seen as also violating Native peoples’ “basic human rights to religious freedom and spiritual fulfillment, in yet another example of their cultural exploitation and repression by members of the dominant Euro-American, Christian population” (Skeates 2000:23). Indigenous activists therefore staged disruptions at excavation sites and occupied museums with increasing frequency throughout the 1970s and 80s to demand that U.S. governmental agencies, museums, and archaeologists respect their traditional cultural values and repatriate their ancestral remains (Atalay 2012; King 2008:23; McGuire 2008; Murray 2011; Skeates 2000:22; Watkins 2000 & 2004).⁴⁵ During this time, Native advocates also spoke at professional archaeological conferences such as the SAAs and the inaugural session of the World Archaeological Congress (WAC)⁴⁶ (Atalay 2012:33-35; McGuire 2008:155) to voice their critiques.

Just a year prior to the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA 1990) in the U.S., the WAC hosted a conference dedicated to the issue of excavated human remains. While ethical archaeological codes of the early 1980s merely suggested enhanced consideration of descendant communities’ concerns

⁴⁵ This was a trend within other settler-colonies at the time, with similar actions led by Aboriginal groups in Australia occurring in 1970s as well (Murray 2011:366).

⁴⁶ This organization was created in 1986 not just for archaeologists, but for all peoples impacted by archaeological research (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:10). The WAC’s founding documents declared opposition to racism and professional elitism while also acknowledging the discipline’s complicity with colonial and imperial projects (Gero 2008; Trigger 2006:452). The WAC further reflected Marxist trends circulating at the time (e.g., Leone et al. 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1987) by emphasizing an “ethos of social justice and a conception of archaeology as having a social responsibility to work to address global inequities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:10).

(e.g., SOPA)⁴⁷ (Skeates 2000:26), the WAC adopted the Vermillion Accord in 1989, which specifically stipulated respect for human remains, the wishes of the dead, as well as source and/or descendant communities' wishes involving repatriation (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:11, 186-188). This and NAGPRA represented an ethical sea change for in the discipline, inching incrementally closer to achieving equal treatment of human remains regardless of "race" (ibid.:11; Watkins 2004). The beginning the Kennewick Man debacle in 1996⁴⁸ captured the zeitgeist of the 1990s, prompting archaeologists to increasingly investigate colonialisms' impact upon Indigenous histories (Silliman 2020:41).

Despite these developments, Indigenous peoples continued to view archaeology as a "colonialist enterprise- just another tool of oppression that objectifies the past and disenfranchises them from their own histories" (Nicholas and Hollowell 2010:60; see also Deloria 1969; Langford 1983; Thomas 2001; Watkins 2000). Is archaeology to be condemned as a tool of oppression? Alternatively, can it become a tool of liberation? Can "the master's tools" truly be used to "dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 1983:94)?⁴⁹ Friere (1970) argues that tools once used to oppress subaltern and other marginalized peoples can be remobilized in the pursuit of liberation:

⁴⁷ SOPA stands for the Society of Professional Archaeologists, which was established in 1976 to address issues relating to North American archaeology. In the early 1990s, this organization transformed into the Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA 2020a).

⁴⁸ See above.

⁴⁹ Lorde initially spoke these words in 1979 when critiquing feminism conference organizers for their racism, classism, and homophobia; in years since, this weighty phrase has been invoked to question whether 'traditional' modes of inquiry (such as social science research) can be decolonized or used in the pursuit of social justice and equity for marginalized communities (e.g., Bowleg 2021:237).

The inhumanity of the oppressors and revolutionary humanism both make use of science. But science and technology at the service of the former are used to reduce men to the status of ‘things;’ at the service of the latter, they are used to promote humanization. The oppressed must become Subjects of the latter process, however, lest they continue to be seen as mere objects of scientific interest (128).

Authors Denzin and Lincoln (2008a) believe that this can be achieved through the adoption of Critical Indigenous Inquiry, calling upon Indigenous and non-Native scholars “to dismantle, deconstruct, and decolonize Western epistemologies from within, to learn that research does not have to be dirty word, to learn that research is always already moral and political” (ix).

Believing that reform was possible, Indigenous intervention directly contributed to the creation of Indigenous archaeology (Murray 2011). What began as slow trickle in the 1970s and 80s steadily increased throughout the 1990s. By first decade of 21st century, Indigenous archaeology had clearly emerged as a distinct set of practices (e.g., Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007; Conkey 2005; Gnecco and Ayala 2011; Green et al. 2003; Murray 2011; Nicholas 2010a & 2010b; Silliman 2008; Sillitoe 2016; Watkins 2000 & 2003). However, despite its growing traction, Indigenous archaeology remains marginalized from mainstream practices (Nicholas 2010a:233).

As is the case within most disciplinary practices, there exists no one, unified program of Indigenous archaeology (Preucel and Cipolla 2008:130). Despite the diversity of approaches, these practices aim to produce research that is by, with, and for the benefit of Native peoples (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Nicholas 2010b). Indigenous archaeology may be practiced by Native practitioners using Western epistemologies, by non-Native practitioners using Native interpretive frameworks, or any combination thereof. Ultimately, such approaches focus on living peoples, and requires honoring Native worldviews and Indigenous sovereignty over their land, remains, and history, as well as over the decolonizing process itself (Datta 2018:2).

While providing an exhaustive list of the issues that Indigenous archaeologies address is beyond the scope of this dissertation, the control over research and archaeological sites remains extremely relevant (Murray 2011:367). According to Nicholas (2005), there are four central issues that decolonizing approaches should work to address: 1) differences in worldview; 2) cultural continuity; 3) portrayal of past lifeways; and 4) material and intellectual property rights (82-99). To practice Indigenous archaeology, Euro-American practitioners must become knowledgeable about and sensitized to differences in worldview between themselves and Native stakeholder groups, and, importantly, be inclusive of those views in scholarly publications (Bruchac et al. 2010; Denzin et al. 2008; Oland et al. 2012; Smith and Wobst 2005b). For example, a decolonizing orientation would avoid overwriting or dismissing Indigenous historical narratives that incorporate religious interpretive frameworks in favor of solely archaeologically constructed pasts (McNiven and Russell 2009:424), as well as reject the notion that the

historicity of the Global North is universal while Indigenous experiences are merely anecdotal (Trouillot 2003:12). Such approaches may provide counter-discourses to Euro-American archaeological interpretations (Atalay 2012) when crafted through Native “values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities,” resulting in a process that is “more representative of, relevant for, and responsible to Indigenous communities (Nichols 2008:1660; see also Murray 2011). Indigenous archaeological research may focus upon the survival and resistance of Indigenous peoples in the face of colonialism (Murray 2011:365), issues of cultural continuity, revitalization, or the shared histories flowing from colonial entanglement (Lilley 2006:42) or counteract pejorative depictions of Indigenous peoples and harmful mythologies of “exterminated” or “extinct.”⁵⁰

Public Archaeology

Indigenous critiques and interventions may be framed as both falling within and informing the broader category of public and community-based archaeologies (Smith and Waterton 2009:14), additional theory informed practices that essential to this study due to both relevance to the Archaeology Project (AP) and their potential decolonizing value. The AP of this case study was branded as a form of public archaeology (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2014; Kaye et al. 2009) due to the Project’s educational mission and the teams’ various multimedia public outreach efforts over the years (spanning television, radio, and print media), which included the production of archaeological comics and museum

⁵⁰ Such inflammatory topics include cannibalism, witchcraft, human sacrifice, and/or a disproportionate emphasis on violence, war, and “savagery” (Nicholas 2005:92). For a recent example, see Chatters 2014. This topic will be taken back up in the context of Caribbean archaeology in the following chapter.

interpretive materials, presentations at secondary schools, site tours, and public field reports (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014; Kaye et al. 2005).

Various public archaeological approaches⁵¹ emphasize the obligations practitioners have toward living populations, including research practices that are relevant to and inclusive of broader publics (Atalay 2012:3). Collaboration with members of the public is key. How these values are conceptualized and accomplished, however, is highly variable (ibid.:44). What are the meanings and scope of terms like “relevant, inclusive, collaborative, beneficial”? To what extent are these defined similarly and differently across stakeholder groups (Agbe-Davies 2010a)? What level of public involvement in archaeological research rises to the level of true “collaboration” (Boast 2011)? Does collaboration extend to substantial power sharing, with members of the public given the power to shape academic research parameters, interpret archaeological data, contribute to archaeological writings, or receive co-authorship credit? Is “the public” the state or the people (Matsuda 2004)? Practitioners of public archaeology have identified many publics with vested interests in their research, including students, teachers, lawmakers, reporters, Native groups, and/or those with ethnic, religious, or cultural linkages to the material culture, site, people, or history in question (Atalay 2012:43). Who defines and sets the parameters of the above criteria is paramount.

⁵¹ An array of labels has been given to approaches with similar objectives: pragmatic archaeology (McDavid 2008), Indigenous archaeology, postcolonial archaeology, collaborative archaeology, participatory archaeology, engaged archaeology, democratic archaeology, heritage management, CRM, or community-based/engaged/led archaeologies (Smith and Waterton 2009:15-16).

Public archaeology may be decolonizing in cases where communities of those marginalized and harmed by neo/colonial processes are empowered and recentered throughout the research process (Atalay 2012 & 2019; Bruchac 2014:2070; Smith and Waterton 2009); of course, this may be accomplished in a variety of ways, but may entail prioritizing and promoting such communities' interests, epistemologies, and knowledge systems toward the goal of their benefit (Hale and Stephen 2014b:17). For a more decolonizing approach, researchers must receive informed consent and then collaborative input from community members in the conceptual phase of project design, which implies being willing to be told NO and turned away.⁵² An even more decolonizing approach would be for researchers to first be invited in by the community itself based upon local interests or needs (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:147).⁵³

There is no one set of public archaeological practices and the standards of such practices have significantly evolved over time (Stottman 2010b:5-6). Smith and Waterton (2009) argue, for example, that archaeologists conducting community projects must share the following components with members of the public: communication and collaboration; employment and training; public presentation; interviews and oral history; educational

⁵² These are high stakes for academics with limited time and funds to conduct such exploratory work, as well as complicated by the fact that fieldwork already requires extensive advanced planning, such as securing funding (perhaps through a grant applied for over a year in advance), earmarking dates, perhaps creating approved study abroad programming, purchasing equipment, etc.... As the following Methods section further explores, reflexivity is a key value in decolonizing work (Thambinathan and Kinsella. 2021). Therefore, part of my decolonizing approach has been to critically reflect upon my own research design throughout the process. The order of operations of this research was not in full alignment with what is outlined above; I too extensively prepared and trained for this research project before securing local permissions.

⁵³ Although the ethnographic research presented here has been highly collaborative with local interlocutors, I also fell short of this decolonizing value; I was the one who initiated this research by first seeking permission from the Carriacou Historical Society.

resources; photographic and video archives; and community-controlling merchandising (16), as well allow members of the public to have partial control (at least) over every step of the research process (Marshall 2002:211; see also Smith and Waterton 2009:17). Because public archaeology is so contextually contingent, having many definitions and diverse applications (Skeates et al. 2012a), it is best explored through specific case studies (see below for additional examples).⁵⁴

Pyburn (2007) argues that collaborative research and training is a clear “way to equalize power relationships among participants” (177). And so, the focus on enhanced collaboration with and inclusivity of those from outside the discipline may be seen as democratizing aspects of the research process (McDavid 2008:514; Smith and Waterton 2009:16). However, applying these complex and potentially difficult and time-consuming research processes may serve to decenter archaeological authority, restrict access to certain data, and/or slow the research to publication process. As a result, such approaches have been contrasted with traditional academic research practices and viewed as less rigorous (Skeates et al. 2012b:4). Despite the verbiage in ethical codes, it is not mandatory for academic archaeological research to involve meaningful collaboration with broader publics. However, it is now less feasible to dismiss public archaeology as an “alternative archaeology” (Smith and Waterton 2009:16) to mainstream practices. The past two decades have seen a proliferation of public archaeological research, with

⁵⁴ Importantly, such studies have been typically presented by the practitioners who conducted the public archaeology itself (Stottman 2010b:6-7) and such public archaeological reporting rarely address the methods and strategies of the process in detail (ibid.:2). Importantly, the archaeological discussions of community engagement results in a narrative from their perspective. This calls into question what the publics they have engaged with have thought of the process. Such evaluation has been increasingly conducted by separate ethnographers or ethnographically trained archaeologists through the advent of ‘ethnocritical archaeology’ (see Methods section below).

publications “aimed primarily at the academic market, particularly in the UK and USA” (Skeates et al. 2012b) (e.g., Agbe-Davies 2010a; Atalay 2012; Brighton 2011; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Derry and Malloy 2003; Isherwood 2011; La Salle and Hutchings 2018; Liebmann and Rivzi 2008; Little 2002; McDavid 2008; McDavid and Brock 2015; Marshall 2002; Matsuda 2004; Matthews et al. 2011; Merriman 2004; Messenger and Smith 2010; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2011; Potter 1994; Skeates et al. 2012a; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Smith and Waterton 2009; Tully 2007).⁵⁵

Though public archaeology was first coined by Charles McGimsey in 1972 (Smith and Waterton 2009:14),⁵⁶ it remained relatively uncommon throughout the 1980s. However, it was during this decade that archaeologists were called upon to conduct and produce research more relevant to broader audiences (Pyburn and Wilk 2000:78). Such practices truly arrived in full force in the 1990s (McDavid 2008:515; Malloy 2003:ix), demonstrating theoretical underpinnings clearly informed by post-processualism (Simpson 2008:4; Smith 1994). The development of archaeological ethics and the rise of American CRM also played large roles in the emergence of public archaeology. Initial ethical codes did not reflect considerations for the wider public. However, as 1970s CRM vastly expanded the communities that practitioners were beholden to, including clients, employers, landowners, descendant groups, and government officials (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:9; Skeates et al. 2012b:4), the Society of Professional

⁵⁵ The intensifying interest in public forms of archaeology notably overlaps with the years AP was in operation (2003-2014).

⁵⁶ However, some argue that public forms of archaeology have existed in some form since the beginning of the formal discipline, as demonstrated by public site tours and accessibly written archaeological publications (Stottman 2010b:4).

Archaeologists (SOPA) formed and created an ethical code that included accountability to the public (ibid.). Several years later, just after the passing of NAGPRA (1990), the SAA called for more “cooperative efforts” with various publics; their 1996 ethical code stresses importance of “reaching out to Native American tribes and other stakeholders” (Atalay 2012:43). Soon after, commitments to involve the public in archaeological research regularly appeared in archaeological ethical principles (e.g., those of the AIA, WAC, SAA) (ibid.:42).

Despite its idealized objectives and ethical orientation, public archaeology is not without critiques nor inherently decolonizing. Its rise coincides with ethical provisions that recast the archaeological record as the possession of the entire public (Atalay 2012:44), a framing that may undermine sole Native claims to their ancestral remains. In the mid- to late 1990s, community collaboration was linked with responsible archaeological stewardship (ibid.) that carried the expectation that practitioners “use the specialized knowledge they gain to promote public understanding and support for [the archaeological records’] long-term preservation” (SAA n.d.). Here, expertise confers the authority to “educate” the public in order to convince them to accept the archaeologist’s heritage preservation agenda.⁵⁷ However, as this case study demonstrates, visiting researchers assuming the role of educator and advocate for certain forms of heritage in other cultural contexts and countries, where they are guests, may not be welcomed or comport with

⁵⁷ This top-down model does not necessarily comport with certain post-processual values. Therefore, some public archaeological practitioners prioritize the post-processual values of “multivocality, interactivity, reflexivity, and contextuality,” consciously attempting to deal “openly and non-hierarchically” with communities during the research process (McDavid 2008:514).

local objectives. Pyburn and Wilk (2000) therefore remind archaeologists to remain humble because “[l]ocal people usually have experience with outsiders being exploitive and patronizing” (80). This framing did gradually shift in the discipline’s ethical discourse, with the “growing concern over responsibilities to public education and ‘outreach’ spur[ring] the move toward more collaborative approaches” (Atalay 2012:30). However, Atalay notes that this push to forge collaborative relationships with broader publics “was not motivated so much by an ethical obligation to partner with descendent and local communities... but primarily by the perceived benefits that such relationships would bring to archaeology, including continued funding for research and enhanced site preservation (ibid.:43-44).

This leads to the question: “Why public archaeology”? Whose interests does it serve? There is a wide variety of reasons why one might choose to practice public archaeology (Smith and Waterton 2009:16). Some cast it as a process that “benefit[s] both researchers and local communities while enhancing archaeological understanding of the past” (Malloy 2003:ix), a framing that prioritizes archaeological interpretations and reinforces practitioners’ role in creating AHD, which, again, may not comport with source and/or descendant community perspectives. A more decolonized public archaeological approach would prioritize potential community benefits for those marginalized and harmed by colonial processes, evaluating the cultural needs of the public when fostering an enhanced community role in local heritage preservation (e.g., Antczak et al. 2013).

Activist Archaeology

As the objectives of this dissertation suggest, this ethnography was designed around an activist research orientation. Such framing does needlessly politicize one's work, but instead acknowledges that the role of academics and their researchers is inherently politicized. As activist scholar Charles Hale (2008) explains:

[P]oststructuralist theorists of varying affinities have delivered the basic critique forcefully and persistently over the past three decades: all knowledge claims are produced in a political context; notions of objectivity that ignore or deny these facilitating conditions take on a de facto political positioning of their own, made more blatant and unavoidable by the very disavowal (2).

Following this logic, researchers (i.e., those who professionally create knowledge claims) are already politically engaged, whether they acknowledge it or not. The question then is to what extent one chooses to operationalize and consciously direct this agency and to what ends.

The emergence of feminist archaeological approaches in the late 1970s and early 80s (e.g., Conkey and Spector 1984), combined with increased Native critiques and the post-processual turn made it clear that archaeology is “a thoroughly and irredeemably political enterprise, one which is engaged in creating a past thought expedient for, or dictated by, present interests” (Wylie 1992:19). In years since, there has been a plethora of discourse generated about the entanglement of socio-politics and archaeology (Boytner et al. 2010;

Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Gero et al. 1983; Hamilakis and Duke 2010; Little and Shackel 2007; Lynott and Wylie 1995; Meskell and Pels 2005; Owsley and Jantz 2006; Scarre and Scarre 2006; Zimmerman et al. 2003). Increased investigations of social action through the archaeological record (Trigger 2006:470) in turn encouraged archaeologies of social action, giving rise to poststructural, neo-Marxist,⁵⁸ and activist approaches within the discipline. This project heavily draws upon those latter approaches.

Activist archaeologies encompass a broad range of practices wherein the discipline is mobilized “to advocate for and affect change in contemporary communities” (Stottman 2010b:2; see also Agbe-Davies 2010b; Atalay et al. 2014; Pyburn 2007; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Stottman 2010a). The roots of activist archaeology are in forms of public archaeology where research was used to try to benefit broader publics (Stottman 2010b:3). This orientation starkly differentiates mere ethical practices from social justice (see Smith 2010), transcending the typical anthropological mandate to “do no harm” by aiming to “do some good” (Atalay 2012:28). Therefore, it is not uncommon for scholars who conduct decolonizing research to also engage in activism and activist research (Jafari Allen and Jobson 2016:136). Activist approaches are not inherently decolonizing in and of themselves, but hinge upon how “good” is defined, for whom it is done for, and how. As briefly addressed in the context of ethics (above), forms of archaeological advocacy may actually frustrate decolonization efforts, especially in cases where archaeologists from the Global North attempt to apply Western heritage management techniques to

⁵⁸ In addition to emphasizing class dynamics (both in the past as well as within the profession itself), Marxist approaches have also challenged established hierarchies and focused upon political action, human agency, and inequality (Duke and Saitta 1998; Matthews 2005; Preucel 1995:151; Trigger 2006:467). In this way, Marxist frameworks have contributed to efforts to decolonize archaeological practices.

contexts with differing preservation values. If the advocacy is to be decolonizing, the values and interests of Euro-American practitioners should not be prioritized over those of subaltern source and/or descendant communities. If wishing to take an activist approach, practitioners should instead “learn to aid and abet grass roots political action” by deploying “a deeper level of collaboration at the same time that specific locally designed interventions are tested” (Pyburn 2007:174).

Therefore, certain forms of activist archaeology may closely reflect decolonizing values; a clear example is Randall McGuire’s “political action archaeology.” Drawing from Marxist dialectical theory, McGuire (2008) argues that archaeologists should not only embrace their role as political actors, but should transform their agency into *praxis*,⁵⁹ or theory-informed action mobilized to “consciously and creatively construct and change both the world and ourselves” (3). Crucially, McGuire acknowledges that there exist both real and perceived power dynamics between archaeologists and source and/or descendant communities (ibid.:232) and that these groups have often been alienated through research practices by various mechanisms. He therefore urges his colleagues to critically consider the comprehensive social, political, and cultural contexts in which they work and the real-world consequences of their practices (see also Shepherd 2010). As Smith (2004) argues, “[i]t is knowledge of what archaeology *does* outside the discipline, and what is *done* with archaeological knowledge, that is important for comprehending the extent of Indigenous criticism and reaction to archaeological knowledge” (9: original italics). McGuire (2008)

⁵⁹ With its roots in neo-Marxism, praxis is a concept popularized by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970) in his groundbreaking decolonial work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire understood praxis as “*reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed*” (original italics, 120).

goes a step further, advocating for the adoption of an emancipatory praxis wherein research is collaboratively conducted with source and/or descendant communities in order to advance “the interests of the marginalized and the oppressed against the interests of the dominant” (3). Other archaeologists have termed such practices as “emancipatory archaeology” (Duke and Saitta 1998; Layton 1994; Leone and Preucel 1992; Saitta 2010; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000), which aim to utilize public outreach “to foster critical thought about the determinants of contemporary lived experience in hopes of impelling positive social change” (Saitta 2010:267, original italics). These approaches dovetail nicely with Atalay’s characterization of Indigenous archaeology’s goal: to empower disenfranchised parties by facilitating their “active role in effective change and improvement in their own communities” (2006:298).

Activist archaeological approaches are pertinent to this research in several ways. It applies to the Archaeology Project (AP) within this case study, with its teams implementing a host of public outreach and educational campaigns on archaeology and the importance of safeguarding Indigenous material culture, working to professionalize and bolster the Carriacou Museum’s displays, as well as urging local and national government ministries to create stronger heritage protection legislation.⁶⁰ On the other hand, activist archaeology applies to the ethnographic research itself, which has been conducted to investigate 1) to what degree did the AP’s operations align with and/or diverge from local heritage preservation values, 2) what precise role, if any, do community members want archaeological research to play in heritage preservation, and

⁶⁰ This will be discussed further in the following ethnographic chapters.

3) how can my position⁶¹ and the findings of this research be utilized in furthering Kayak heritage preservation goals. In other words, this dissertation provides a critical heritage analysis of the Archaeology Project, evaluating the results of putting the ideals of activist archaeology into practice, while also considering what role neo/colonialism, imperialism, and hegemony have played in shaping the power dynamics between diverse stakeholder groups. Furthermore, the goals of this project and those of political action archaeology also align as this ethnography investigated how visiting researchers, should they be welcomed, may use their skillsets and research to address relevant social issues within the source communities.⁶²

Archaeological Decolonization: Conclusion

The above outlines only a sample of the issues involved with decolonizing archaeological practices, and discourse on this subject exponentially grows by the year (e.g., Atalay 2006 & 2012; Bruchac et al. 2010; Green et al. 2003; La Salle and Hutchings 2018; Liebmann 2008; Murray 2011; Pagán-Jiménez 2004; Pollock 2010; Smith and Wobst 2005a; Swidler et al. 1997; Trigger 1984; Watkins 2008; Zimmerman 1998a & 1998b),

⁶¹ As briefly presented in Chapter 1, this positioning, which results from past work experience in Carriacou and familiarity with the relevant archaeological practitioners, provided access necessary to conduct ethnographic research. What is more, a master's level training in archaeology and many seasons of field experience have been marshaled to both evaluate and contextualize archaeological research practices more broadly. A completed training for a graduate certificate in Museum Studies (to be conferred upon graduation) also facilitates an analysis of the heritage preservation practices of the Carriacou Museum, as well as the ways in which the Archaeological Project impacted those operations. Most importantly, being positioned within the academy allows for the inclusion of invaluable source community perspectives within archaeological discourse, which is done with the expressed purpose of facilitating the decolonization of archaeological practices. Finally, this research synthesizes local and national perspectives important to Carriacou's heritage preservation, while putting diverse perspectives in conversation with each other, and will be disseminated in an accessible format back to the communities which facilitated it. The conclusion of this dissertation outlines the finer details of this dissemination.

⁶² This approach is further explored in the Methods section below.

and the advent of Critical Heritage Studies from the past two decades have furthered and enriched such debates. Issues of power and control remain central to such analyses (Murray 2011), whether questioning who writes others' histories and how, who controls and claims authority over heritage (both tangible and intangible), and who benefits from archaeological research. Decolonization first requires "reconsidering foundational knowledges" within the discipline (Bruchac 2014:2070).

Practically speaking, Smith (1999) recommends that researchers, archaeological or otherwise, begin by probing their assumptions, motivations, and values when seeking to decolonize their research practices (20). While there is no one way to decolonize archaeology across all contexts, this process involves confronting and working to remedy the ways in which the discipline has been complicit in historical and contemporary neo/colonial and imperial projects, aiming to mitigate asymmetrical power dynamics between the researcher and researched by forging practices that are by, with, and for the benefit of descendant and source communities. Decolonizing the discipline is more of a reflexive practice than a destination, one which Datta (2018) describes "an on-going process of becoming, unlearning, and relearning regarding who we are as a researcher and educator, and taking responsibility for participants" (2). In other words, decolonial approaches would require archaeological practitioners to critically consider their impact upon living peoples. However, movement is made toward these goals as additional neocolonial entanglements emerge. Because of this, Indigenous scholars have noted that "there is no postcolonial, only endless variation on neocolonial formations" (Denzin and

Lincoln 2008a:xiv). It is therefore woefully insufficient to tackle these issues by merely “thinking ethically about archaeology in the postcolony [sic]” (Shepherd 2010).

The term decolonization has become a popular buzzword in the past quarter century, which has caused it to lose some of its potency (at best), or has led to it becoming conceptually “colonized” (at worst) (Iyer 2020). Decolonization is not a gloss for ethics, human rights, or social justice (Datta 2018). Tuck and Yang (2012) also warn that decolonization is *not* a metaphor, that the term can become an “empty signifier” when used to absolve colonizers’ guilt, obscure complicity in colonial systems, or pave the way for neo/colonial outcomes. These authors further argue that the goal of decolonization is the liberation of those marginalized and oppressed by neo/colonial systems (ibid.). Whether applied to settler colonialism or otherwise, the long-term goals of decolonizing practices should not be superficial “conversations” about increasing diversity or promoting equity and inclusion that aims for cosmetic repairs or clinical collaboration with marginalized peoples (Boast 2011). Rather, decolonizing practices should lead to real structural changes and demonstrable power redistribution that brings about material benefits for peoples marginalized and harmed by neo/colonial processes.⁶³

Methods

To begin, this research deployed an arsenal of methodologies, the core of which were ethnography and participant observation (Bernard 2017; Levy and Hollan 1998; Schensul

⁶³An example of such material changes is found in the recent #LandBack movement that works to return and restore stolen Indigenous land to Native communities (see Gamblin n.d.; NDN n.d.).

et al. 1999). More specifically, this research would best be characterized as a multi-sited ethnography (Boccagni 2019; Falzon 2016; Hannerz 2003; Marcus 1995 & 2009), with research conducted in the U.S. and on the islands of Carriacou, Grenada, Dominica.⁶⁴ Interviews were conducted in-person, over the phone, via email, and by video conference. Most were recorded, but some were handwritten, depending on the interlocutor's preference. I applied a person-centered interviewing style using informant and respondent modes (Levy and Hollan 1998) to best understand how stakeholders understood their sociopolitical context in the "contact zone" created by the archaeological project (AP) set within the Kayak host communities (Pratt 1991 & 2007). While deductive approaches were at times used, the inductive method of grounded theory was mainly applied in data analysis and theory building. In particular, an interpretivist grounded theory was used in which data was co-created between Kayak interlocutors and me during interviewing (Bernard 2017:435). Most individuals were recruited for this study due to their expertise and proximity to events in question. New local informants were selected using reputational case and chain referral selection methods (Schensul et al. 1999).

Finally, all interlocutors are anonymized in the following chapters, including their sex. As such, the gender-neutral "they" is used throughout.⁶⁵ Although such anonymity sacrifices the potential to richly describe informants, this decision was made out of several considerations. Carriacou is small, and everyone knows one another. As no community is monolithic, there existed certain factions within its communities, and it was

⁶⁴ For example, this study probed the relationship that the island dependency of Carriacou has in relation to the nation's eponymous island of Grenada, specifically when it comes to sources of authority, national and local heritage preservation initiatives, and the allocation of government resources.

⁶⁵ There is one exception to this general practice (see Chapter 4 footnote).

important to not exacerbate any existing tensions between participants based upon diverging views. The same is true for AP participants. As a result, focus groups were largely eliminated from the research design at an early stage on the advice of the St. George's University human subjects review (see below).⁶⁶

Ethnocritical Archaeology

It is important to interrogate who is recounting the collaborative event when it comes to public archaeological discourse. The vast majority of pertinent publications referenced above are authored by actual archaeologists, and for academic audiences. Unless members of the public are given some control over the writing and/or editing processes themselves, archaeological practitioners control how that story is told (Smith 2004). What is more, the methods and strategies of public archaeology are often not discussed in sufficient detail to understand what characterizes them as such (Stottman 2010b:2).

How, then, do audiences learn what a research project's relationships with "the public" were actually like? How would the public characterize the project and their relationship with it? Would they agree with how researchers have represented them in their publications? While professional archaeologists have the credibility and institutional resources to communicate their experiences and interpretations through various platforms (e.g., through academic publishing, conference presentations, the media, higher

⁶⁶ That said, there were instances where public presentations of research updates to the Kayak public organically developed into focus-group style discussions as I sought local feedback on the trajectory of this ethnographic research.

education, consulting, etc...), by which mechanisms may community perspectives enter the discourse, whether public archaeology or otherwise? This study attempts to address that issue through ethnocritical archaeology.

The transdisciplinary field of ethnocritical archaeology is an outgrowth of ethnoarchaeology (Hamilakis 2011; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:65)⁶⁷ and ethnographies of research practices more broadly (e.g., Knorr-Cetina 1983). The reflexivity of the post-processual movement and the so-called “New Ethnography” to emerge from the writing culture critique foreground this subfield (Breglia 2006a:178). Archaeologists had become increasingly aware that they must become more knowledgeable about the contemporary dynamics of their field sites in order to foster an “in-situ ethical engagement” with source communities (ibid.:182); ethnocritical archaeology was therefore conceptualized critically evaluate the archaeological research process itself to both better situate this work in its contemporary sociopolitical context (e.g., Castañeda et al. 2008; Edgeworth 2006; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Meskell 2005 & 2007) as well as to investigate ways to improve and make the research process more ethical (e.g., Breglia 2006a; Castañeda and Matthews 2008). What emerges is a meta-academic debate of evaluating one’s own (Rappaport 2008): if archaeologists can study (the material pasts of) “Others,” why shouldn’t cultural anthropologists study archaeologists? After all, to hasten decolonization, “[a]nthropology needs to turn the apparatus elaborated in the observation of non-Western societies on itself” (Trouillot 2003:13).

⁶⁷ Ethnoarchaeology has traditionally used ethnographic data to inform aspects of human behavior that have impacted the archaeological record, gaining prominence in the 1960s.

The ethnographer's toolkit may thus be applied to practitioners, public stakeholders of archaeological research, governmental agencies, professional organizations, descendant communities, and so forth. While some consider ethnocritical archaeology to be a mere method, Hamilakis (2016) regards it as:

...a shared, trans-cultural space of co-existence and interactions among people and communities of diverse origin and background; professional archaeologists, socio-cultural anthropologists, scholars from other fields, artists, entering collaboratively into a continuous creative and productive dialogue with people and communities, and with their discursive and practical engagements involving matter and time (680).

Archaeologists have utilized ethnocritical approaches for various purposes, whether to probe community interpretations of archaeological fieldwork and findings (Bartu 2000; Bartu Candan 2005) or to expose "critical scrutiny conflicts and clashes over heritage and of understanding nonofficial, popular valorizations of the material past (Hamilakis 2011), akin to Critical Heritage Studies. Edgeworth (2006) argues that "the very act of ethnographizing [sic] archaeological practices... symbolically places archaeology on a more equal footing with the multitude of other human cultures and cultural activities that have been objectified in this way (xiii), hinting at its democratizing application.

However, the uses of ethnocritical archaeology that are most relevant to this study are those which are explicitly decolonizing, those which "unsettle" conventional values (ibid.:xi), including those that aim to identify and improve archaeological impacts upon source and/or descendant communities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Ferguson

2001; Hollowell and Nicholas 2009; Nicholas 2010b; Nicholas and Hollowell 2010; Zimmerman 1997, 1998a, 1998b, & 2008).

Critical Ethnography

This study is also an example of critical ethnography (Foley 2002; Norander 2017) due to its investigation into issues of power, control, and equity. Such an approach entails a critical analysis of sociopolitical relationships, which is a key feature of decolonizing research (Bruchac 2014:2070). This project was designed with a clear political orientation toward the goals of platforming source community perspectives in the (public-) archaeological discourse and remobilizing these knowledges to address community reforms for heritage preservation, following the decolonizing epistemology of Hale and Stephen (2014b):

“Once local and regional histories are *gathered*, the second step in decolonizing dominant models is to ensure the dissemination of locally based knowledge back to their communities of origin, as well as to the academy and other institutions that have helped to create official policy and discourses about Afro-descendant and indigenous peoples” (17, original italics).

Moreover, this ethnography not only critically evaluates the research theories, methods, and impacts of the AP through source and descendant community feedback, but also applies this analysis back upon itself. Community suggestions and critiques therefore have had a double application. As a former archaeologist turned ethnographer, the issue

of positionality has been reckoned with each step.⁶⁸ This is one of the many reasons why Smith (1999) describes decolonizing research as both a humble and humbling activity (5).

Autoethnography

In addition to traditional ethnographic methods, a portion of data used in Chapter 6 comes by way of autoethnographic methods. Autoethnography is a method in which the researcher's own experiences are utilized to understand and interpret cultural practices (Adams et al. 2017; Ellis et al. 2011). As noted in the introduction, I have previous experience working with the Archaeology Project at the center of this case study. I participated in the project in 2003 during its inaugural season, and information from my field journals during that time are used to inform the discussion of that first season.

Human Subjects Review

This research project was designed, informed by, and executed through a human subjects' review by two institutions. One of these was done through the University of Oregon's Research Compliance Services, which supports the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects. This constitutes the University's Institutional Review Board (IRB), which is required by those conducting research with "human subjects" in order to "protect the rights and welfare of people participating" in the study (Office of the VP for

⁶⁸ Some of these insights appear in the footnotes of the section on public archaeology (above).

Research and Innovation, n.d.). This IRB approval number is 05272014.040, and it was finally granted expedited review in 2015. The second human subjects review was done through St. George's University in Grenada, with approval number 14055.

As arranged through both IRB's at the outset of this project, study participants were anonymized in name, sex, gender, and physical description due to the small population of Carriacou as well as the sensitive nature of some of the research topics. The position of interlocutors will be used if it lends credibility to their perspective, demonstrating proximity to the issue at hand. The title of certain interlocutors will at times be used if it has been approved with them or if the information stems from an informational interview with that person in their official capacity. Participants were given consent forms to read through and keep a copy of. Signed consent forms were not required; verbal and/or email assent sufficed.

CHAPTER 3

CARIBBEAN IDENTITIES, INDIGENEITY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter provides essential background information that will inform the remainder of the dissertation. The issues addressed here include Caribbean identities and how they relate to indigeneity, as well as colonial retentions within Caribbean archaeological discourse. These are essential issues for decolonizing archaeological practice in the Caribbean.

One of the biggest barriers to decolonizing the archaeological practices of the Caribbean can be traced to the pervasive falsehood that the Native peoples of the region are extinct and were replaced by Euro- and Afro-descended peoples. This myth stems from colonial-era propaganda and remains rampant within Caribbean archaeological discourse.

Archaeological decolonization is simply incompatible with Native erasure. It is also crucial for the discipline to not only purge such falsehoods, but to interrogate the explicit and implicit ways that it has caused real material harm to Indigenous communities.

Denying their existence means there are no descendant communities to consult or collaborate with in the excavation of their ancestors' material culture, how resulting collections are cared for (which include human remains), or how their history is written.

This chapter further addresses how the myth of Native extinction also stems from fundamental misunderstandings of Caribbean heritage and identity formation. Many

archaeological practitioners operating in the region are from the Global North and project their notions of racialized essentialism onto the region. Such notions remain pervasive in the U.S. thanks to settler colonial constructs like “one drop rule” and “blood quantum,” the handmaidens of white supremacy. Binaries like Black *or* white, Native *or* not are, for one, not grounded in biology, but also not applicable in the Caribbean. As will be discussed below, Caribbean identities are creolized and resist these colonial era categories. It is not a space of “either/or,” but of “yes/and & but.”

The following presentation on Caribbean identities narrows to issues of Indigeneity in the Eastern Caribbean, where the bulk of this ethnographic research took place (Carriacou, Grenada, and Dominica). This culminates in a discussion of Kayak identity, which I will argue is “place-based.” Each of these sections serves to refute the pernicious yet persistent narrative that the Native peoples of the Caribbean are extinct.

In the second half of this chapter, I present evidence that the mythology of Native extinction in the Caribbean persists within archaeological discourse and has real and harmful consequences for source and descendant communities, which will be further addressed in later chapters of this dissertation. I will discuss how the dual mythologies of Euro- and Afro-descended peoples “replacing” an extinct Native people has 1) manifested in the Archaeology Project (AP) at the center of this case study, and 2) how it has impacted its relationship with Carriacou’s Kayak communities.

Caribbean Identities

The topic of “identity” and the many ways in which it is comprised, constructed, performed, perceived, and represented is a complex subject, and well beyond the scope and purpose of this dissertation. However, this dissertation’s discussion of Caribbean Indigeneity necessitates a few introductory remarks. Identity operates on multiple levels, from the individual to family to community, from the local to the global. Identities are largely culturally constituted of several intersecting frames, such as those relating to heritage, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, class, religion, etcetera. While notions of ‘race’ produce real material effects and shape contemporary identities, it is nevertheless a social construct produced by colonial logic, with no basis in biological fact (Byrd and Hughey 2015; Gould 1996; Roberts 2011).⁶⁹ Ethnic or national group identities may be predicated upon notions of shared ancestry, which may be real or imagined. As such, ancestry need not be confirmed through genetic analyses- cutting edge genomic research has shown that pedigree collapse, wherein certain DNA becomes “crowded out” over time, means that communities may have ancestors in their family tree from whom they did not actually inherit any DNA (Benn Torres 2021).

Finally, identities may be socially constructed and historically contingent (Cerulo 1997; Hall 1997; Olwig 1999), which in no way impinges upon their legitimacy or

⁶⁹ The colonial product of race combined with “Western” forms of pseudo-/science have resulted in notions of biological determinism and racial essentialism, where race is understood to be both genetically inherited and deterministic of a group’s social behaviors and outcomes (Byrd and Hughey 2015:8).

“authenticity.”⁷⁰ Because identity may be best understood as “a ‘production,’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation[,] this... problematises [sic] the very authority and authenticity to which the term, ‘cultural identity’, lays claim” (Hall 1997:110). This is no truer than in the Caribbean, where socially constructed identities are commonplace (Curet 2011; Einhorn 2006; Hall 1997; Morales 1999; Olwig 1999; Sued-Badillo 1995). In the following section I address the processes by which the many complex and heterogenous forms of Caribbean identity are formed.

Who is Caribbean?

Sidney Mintz, famed anthropologist of the Caribbean, once described the region as “[t]he despair of classifiers, area studies programs... [and] North American race relations experts” (1974:45) because of the diverse nature of Caribbean societies. This, in large part, is a direct outgrowth of colonial processes. Starting in the late 15th century, waves of colonial incursions and invasions from kingdoms in Spain, France, England, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Belgium violently displaced and forcibly altered Indigenous Caribbean societies while also delivering an influx of European colonists and settlers. Some islands, such as Grenada, changed hands multiple times between Spanish, French, and English colonial powers. As Native populations were decimated through colonial enslavement, imported diseases, and violent attacks, European trafficked

⁷⁰ The notion of *authenticity* regarding cultural productions (i.e., identity, heritage, etc.) has been thoroughly critiqued within social theory, especially within Critical Heritage Studies discourse (e.g., Boccardi 2019; Harrison 2010).

millions of enslaved West Africans and, following the abolition of slavery, tens of thousands of indentured East Indians to the islands (Williams 1971). As a result, the ethnic, linguistic, religious, and overall sociocultural fabric of each island was irrevocably changed, obliterating any fantasy of “cultural purity” in the region (Morales 1999:40).

It therefore comes as no surprise that Caribbean societies are “inescapably heterogeneous... multiracial, multilingual, stratified and... multicultural” (Trouillot 1992:21), an issue that has been extensively addressed in academic discourse on the region (e.g., Beckles and Shepherd 1993; Griffith 2001; Hall 1995; Harney 1996; Hume and Kamugisha 2013; Khan 2001; Olwig 1999; Reid 2012; Safa 1987). The ethnic hybridity of the Caribbean is often referred to as *creolization*, a term with many meanings and applications. To simply, creolization is a “meeting and blending of two or more older traditions on new soil” (Bilby 1995:182). Creolization is a highly creative process through which individuals and communities have produced a host of unique cultural formations in the Caribbean, ranging from cuisine, to music, to poetry. Some argue that this process has played a crucial role in fostering ideological decolonization in the region as the unique national identities emerge following political decolonization (Bolland 2006:1).⁷¹

Caribbean national identities are also highly complex and closely tied to colonial processes. With the exception of Haiti, where a revolution against French colonists led to

⁷¹ See Chapter 2 for more on political decolonization.

independence in 1804 (forging the first independent Black republic in the Western Hemisphere (James 1989)), political decolonization did not begin in many Caribbean nations until after WWII. Therefore, the unique and localized national identities of many Caribbean countries' citizens have come into their own relatively recently (? Word missing). Some islands remain a part of the historic colonial power that seized them, as with the overseas French departments (Williams 1971). Other nations maintain close political ties to their former colonizers, such as those in the Commonwealth. As with the case of Grenada, some countries are now archipelago nations due to the manner in which islands were grouped and administered by colonial powers. However, as in the case of their Indigenous forebears (discussed below), the regional movement of contemporary Caribbean peoples is not restricted by the sea or national borders. The region is the site of many diasporas, beginning with the region's Native peoples, extending to enslaved West Africans and indentured East Indians, and continuing in high rates of migration (whether permanent or seasonal); (Hume and Kamugisha 2013; Chamberlain 1998; Miller 2008).

Native Caribbean Peoples

As aforementioned, one of the most pernicious and widespread falsehoods about Caribbean identities is that the region's Native peoples were snuffed out by colonial violence. Despite vigorous efforts to enslave, drive out, and exterminate them (Beckles 2008:80), Indigenous Caribbean peoples did in fact survive and have many living descendants (Curet 2011; Forte 2006a; Wilson 1997a).

Today, the three most prominent Native Caribbean groups are known as the Taíno (Arawak), Kalinago (formally referred to as Carib), and Garifuna. However, the discourse of the Native peoples of the Caribbean inevitably overlooks the Garifuna, resulting in a Taíno/Carib binary. As will be explained in the following section, these are in fact colonial categories used by European invaders to designate which groups they viewed as “good Indians” versus “bad Indians.”

Taíno and Carib

When Columbus encountered the Native inhabitants of the Bahamas and Cuba during his initial voyage in 1492 they told him that those to their south were their enemies, a fearsome and powerful people who supposedly practiced cannibalism (Martin 2013:2; Moore 1973).⁷² In his journal, Columbus wrote the terms he thought were used for this latter group: *caniba*, *canima*, *canibales* (Martin 2013:2). The final term provides the origin of the Spanish word for *cannibal* (Moore 1973:129).⁷³ Other sources indicate that Columbus also used the derivation *caribales* for this group (ibid.), which gave rise to the terms “*caraibe*, *carebie*, *caribbee*, *charaib*, and *cribe* in other European languages” (Honychurch 1997:292). Thus, the Spanish labeled the Native peoples they encountered further south as “Carib” upon point of contact and renamed the region *Caribbee*, meaning

⁷² It is highly unlikely that Columbus and his crew fully or accurately understood what these Native islanders were attempting to communicate as they did not know the local language (Martin 2019:324; Moore 1973:121).

⁷³ It is now believed by some that Columbus actually recorded the Taíno version of the word *Kalina*, which is the name of a known regional language and a constituent part of the term *Kalinago*, a term that later Spanish chroniclers thought that Native peoples to the south used for themselves (Davis and Goodwin 1990:38; Martin 2013:3). The argument goes that the Taíno “N” corresponds to the Kalinago “L” making *Caniba* and *Kalina* cognates (Davis and Goodwin 1990:38).

“Cannibal Islands” (Martin 2013:3-4). The practice of such cannibalism has been thoroughly debunked (Arens 1979; Boucher 1992; Hulme 1978 & 1986; Moore 1973; Myers 1984; Whitehead 1984) (discussed further below). The derogatory concepts of *Caribs* and *the Caribbean* were therefore born, providing “a classic lesson in colonialism and the need by its proponents to name and redefine” (ibid.:2).

Columbus referred to the Indigenous peoples who he initially encountered as *indios* because he falsely believed that he had arrived in the East Indies (Keegan et al. 2012b:11). The term “West Indies” is a colonial vestige of this misnomer (Moore 1973:122). The Native peoples who Columbus’ encountered during second voyage in 1493 purportedly used the term *taíno* to describe themselves (Curet 2014:469-470; Cf. Hulme 1993:199). However, this was not an ethnic designation but an Arawakan adjective meaning “good” (ibid.:470). Columbus describes the peoples he first encountered, who eventually became known as the Taíno, as peaceful and meek, noting that they “should be good servants... [and] easily be made Christians” (Jane 1960:24, see also Moore 1973:120). As the European’s intentions became clearer, the Native peoples referred to as *taíno* mounted many counterassaults, but their acts of resistance were largely crushed by colonial forces that had arrived prepared to fight, having technological advantages and the backing of large-scale financial capital (Beckles 2008:78).

Despite being purported enemies, Carib peoples from neighboring islands assisted the Taíno in attempting to defend their lands from advancing colonialists (Beckles 2008:78). By the time the Spanish attempted to take over islands further south, they found the

Caribs prepared for conflict and deploying more effective “strike and sail” tactics facilitated by their more nomadic lifestyles (ibid.:78, 80). Although the Spanish Crown had placed a moratorium on the enslavement of “friendly Indians” (Davis and Goodwin 1990:38), Columbus’ depictions of the Caribs was instrumental in changing this policy. In letters back to the Crown, Columbus argued that these peoples were not only barbaric cannibals, but were an inherently warlike peoples utterly resistant to Christian conversion (Beckles 2008; Moore 1973). This false and dehumanizing portrayal was what inspired the royal edict authorizing the enslavement of those the Spanish *believed to be* Caribs (Beckles 2008:79; Moore 1973:124). Richard Moore, a Barbados-born Afro-Caribbean civil rights and anti-colonial activist, argued that Columbus’ slurs of cannibalism had no basis in fact, but were used to accomplish and justify his original aim since first encountering these Native peoples: to gain slave labor to extract the region’s resources (1973:117). Grenadian historian J. Angus Martin (2013) further notes that “Spanish demand for slave labor inevitably led to the Carib designation being arbitrarily applied to all allegedly unfriendly, uncooperative and cannibalistic peoples in the region, as Spain granted its colonists legal sanction to enslave anyone so labeled” (3; Wilson 1993:53).

Despite this *carte blanche*, the Spanish abandoned attempts to claim the islands further south by the end of the 16th century due to both the absence of gold and the vigorous defense mounted by Native peoples (Beckles 2008:79). Here on out, the Spanish concentrated their colonial designs in the north while the French, English, and Dutch followed and fought to claim the remaining islands (ibid.). It was at this point that two

regions were artificially created by this outcome: the Greater and Lesser Antilles.⁷⁴ Like the word “Caribbean” and the names of most of its countries, these names and their geographical extent are colonial in origin. The Spaniards referred to Caribbean islands as *Las Antillas*, a phrase that referenced mythological islands imaged to be west of the Atlantic (Allsopp 2001:35). The bifurcation between the Greater and Lesser Antilles was entirely based upon the different interactions the Spanish had with various island inhabitants and which islands they chose to focus their future efforts on as a result. Those Native peoples who they found to be “friendly” were those who lived in this newly delineated region called the Greater Antilles, but those the Spanish found to be “hostile” belonged to the remaining islands, now known as the Lesser Antilles (Martin 2013:4; Moore 1973:123).

The designations of *Taino* and *Carib* demonstrate the colonial “power to call its categories into being” (Hulme 1993:213). These words are indeed integral to some contemporary Native identities but are nevertheless products of European invention (Curet 2014; Hulme 1993). Critical historiographies of colonial depictions of the region’s Indigenous peoples have revealed significant misinformation due to many factors. Some false information resulted from language barriers, cultural misunderstandings, and incomplete information (Martin 2013). However, notions of European Christian supremacy produced more than biased representations of Native islanders, but generated

⁷⁴ The Greater Antilles is now used to reference the islands in the northern Caribbean, including Cuba, Hispaniola (made up of the nations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and the Cayman Islands. The Lesser Antilles signifies the many smaller islands in the Eastern Caribbean between the Greater Antilles and South America, including Antigua/Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts/Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad/Tobago. The Greater and Lesser Antilles designation does not cover all the of the Caribbean islands, however.

propaganda essential to colonial interests (Davis and Goodwin 1990; Martin 2013; Moore 1973).

The legacy of this cannot be overstated. The manufactured *Taino* and *Carib* designations were soon understood to be a racial distinction. In attributing “a noble, peaceful, and good nature to [the so-called Taíno] (i.e., the noble savage) in contrast to the flesh-eating, warlike, and savage Caribes (i.e., true savages)” (Curet 2014:470), colonial powers demonstrated their “frenzied search for identity and global ranking... through the conquest and cultural negation” of Caribbean Native peoples (Beckles 2008:78). This laid the groundwork for the pernicious “ideological double helix” of biological determinism and racial essentialism where “race” is understood to be both genetically inherited and deterministic of a group’s social behaviors and outcomes (Byrd and Hughey 2015:8). This logic not only informed egregious examples of racialized pseudo-science in the Global North (e.g., Gould 1996), but continues to affect scholarly interpretations of biological and social scientific research to this day (ibid.:8-9).

The Taíno and Carib binary perpetuates the artificial colonial divide of “good Indians” (meek/conquerable) vs. “bad Indians” (those colonialists found impossible to subdue) (Beckles 2008:80). In addition to the problem of the immutable behavioral characteristics implied by these designations, colonial accounts further implied that the so-called Taíno and Carib peoples 1) represented two distinct ethnic groups 2) were enemies who only came into contact during warfare, and 3) were internally homogenous (Keegan et al. 2013b:11). None of this appears to be true.

As many scholars now tell us (which Caribbean peoples already knew), is that the word ‘insular’ only applies to land masses themselves- peoples in the region, whether past or present, were never balkanized or isolated from one another. Instead of a barrier, the ocean waters were a highway (Hofman et al. 2020; Watters 1997:88; Zimmer 2020). The myth of “separateness” between the region’s pre-contact Native peoples, with its implied notions of “cultural purity” and isolation, can no longer be supported (Morales 1999:40), but was perhaps mere mythology used by colonialists to “divide and conquer.”

The Taíno

For reasons that will become clear further below, Taíno-descendant peoples are typically affiliated with islands in the northern Caribbean, although they also live within the vast Caribbean diaspora. Discussions on the survival and revival of Taíno communities is widely available (e.g., Barreiro 2006; Dew 2019; Ferbel-Azcarate 2002; Forte 2006; Guitar et al. 2006; Neeganagwedgin 2015), which makes continued “extinction” narratives all the more egregious. Recent genetic research has shown that upwards of 61% of Puerto Ricans have mitochondrial DNA (which inherited from one’s mother’s side of the family) inherited from Indigenous ancestors (Estevez 2008; Martínez-Cruzado et al. 2005), though one must remember that 1) “genes are not culture” (Santana 2019), 2) Indigeneity need not be “proven” through such scientific analyses, and 3) such research is easily manipulated to perpetuate the colonial logic of racial purity (Schmidt 2011).

Even though much their contact-era ancestors' community structures were largely disrupted and destroyed by Spanish colonists, an unknown number of Taíno peoples fled to remote inland mountains and forests and formed maroon settlements (Beckles 2008:79). Ultimately, "a poor but landed peasantry developed from the original groups of Taíno, Africans, and Europeans, who blended both their genes and cultural traditions" but critically relied upon their ancestral Taíno heritage, with its "many generations of knowledge, tradition, and oral history" to live on the land (Guitar et al. 2006:41). A contingency of Taíno descendants in Cuba have continued to live in relative agrarian rural isolation, where they continue to celebrate their Native heritage through "the comfort of language, ceremony, and custom" (Einhorn 2006:280).

The Kalinago (Carib)

There are various Carib-descended populations from the Eastern Caribbean, some of which are the Kalinago and Garifuna peoples. The former group is based in Dominica, whereas the latter is most associated with St. Vincent and the Grenadines, as well as Central America.⁷⁵ Native communities of this region mounted a prolonged defense against colonial incursions (Honychurch 2019), having witnessed the devastation that Europeans had delivered to the northern islands. As early as 1660, the islands now known as Dominica and St. Vincent were "reserved" by colonial powers for the region's Native peoples through a joint French/British treaty following the Anglo-Spanish War (Hauser and Armstrong 2012:315). Approximately a century later, only the Eastern Caribbean

⁷⁵ As is typical in the region, Kalinago and Garifuna communities also live abroad in the Caribbean diaspora.

islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago had not been colonized (ibid.:320). Various European colonial powers maintained a “hands-off” policy regarding these spaces, which allowed them to act as a buffer zone and serve as refuges for the region’s fleeing Native peoples (ibid.: 315, 320; Gonzalez 1997:201-202).

Kalinago is the self-ascribed name for some of the Native peoples who were branded as “Caribs” by colonialists (further discussed below). Dominica (Indigenous name *Wai’tukubuli*) was the last Caribbean Island colonized by Europeans, having been an early refuge for Indigenous peoples fleeing Spanish, English, French, and Danish colonial violence (Honychurch 1997 & 2021). At present, the island has a robust Kalinago population that communally owns a separate, semi-independent territory⁷⁶ of approximately five square miles (Hudepohl 2008:2).⁷⁷ Motivated by a strong connection to their ancestors through a shared sense of history and struggle for both physical and cultural survival, many Kalinago community leaders have been focused upon cultural renewal over past four decades (Hudepohl 2008:1-2). This is exemplified by the construction a cultural village and open-air museum named the *Kalinago Baran Autě*, the creation of the Karifuna Cultural Group (KCG) to promote both awareness and pride in Native history and heritage (ibid.:2), as well as by a concerted effort to enhance alliances with other Native peoples in the region (such as the Taíno) and around the world (UCTP Taíno News 2007).

⁷⁶ A portion of this study’s ethnographic research was conducted with Kalinago leadership in this Territory.

⁷⁷ In the early 1900s, the British administrator officially granted a portion of this land to the Kalinago (Hudepohl 2008:2), and the Kalinago Territory Act of 1978, adopted the year of the country’s independence, reaffirmed its local government (Honychurch 2021).

The Garifuna

The Garifuna of the island of St. Vincent (Indigenous name *Yurumein*) and of Central America are but some of the many Caribbean peoples to have mixed Afro-Antillean and Native ancestry. Following the Europeans' introduction of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Indigenous communities of the Eastern Caribbean started receiving a trickle of African peoples, either those who they had forcibly captured or who they took in after having escaped (Gonzalez 1997). Over time, families formed between these groups, producing ethnically and culturally creolized descendants who colonists referred to as "Black Caribs," who continued to struggle to maintain their land and sovereignty against colonial incursions (Taylor 2012). Once the British finally wrested colonial control of St. Vincent from the French in the 1790's, they sorted Garifuna communities according to skin color, separating family members in the process, releasing lighter skinned people and forcibly expelling roughly 4,000 of the darkest-skinned members of this community to small Grenadine islands and locations on and around the coasts of Central America (Finneran and Welch 2019; Gonzalez 1997:202-203; Hauser and Armstrong 2012:321;). This heinous act was done out of fear that the free Garifuna peoples might inspire enslaved Africans to revolt against the British (Gonzalez 1997:203). Approximately half of the deported Garifuna were killed by this colonial act, with the remainder starting over on the Honduran coast (Gonzalez 1997:203). Despite all odds, the number of Garifuna-identifying peoples living in the Caribbean, circum-Caribbean, and in the diaspora likely number over half a million (ESRI n.d.).

These have been but two of the notable Native groups living on just two islands of the Eastern Caribbean. However, it is very important to note that Indigenous peoples live on additional islands in the Eastern Caribbean as well. These include the Carib-descendant peoples of Trinidad and Tobago (Forte 2005 and 2006a), the former of which is home the Santa Rosa Carib Community of Arima (Saunders 2005:50).

Colonialism and the Myth of Native Extinction

The myth of Native extinction in the Caribbean ultimately stems from colonial Spanish census data (Curet 2015:215). Puerto Rican archaeologist L. Antonio Curet (2015) notes that revisionist scholars have been increasingly questioning such accounts and criticizing those who naively take them face value while discounting their colonial context. While colonial-era census data has its use, it is grossly misleading when trying to account for Native survivors. That is especially true in the Spanish-invaded spaces, where census data for the Caribbean was often skewed, with “planters, miners, and government officials often purposefully underestimate[ing] Indian populations to allow for increased importation of African slaves” (ibid.). As Morales (1999) reminds us, “it is a long-standing colonial practice to declare people extinct for a range of reasons, none of them benevolent (41-42). Finally, colonial-era census data wholesale “excluded or simply ignored the existence of Indians in remote or inaccessible mountain regions” (ibid.).

Caribbean Identities: The View from Archaeology and Genetics

While ethnohistoric, archaeological, and genetic data do suggest that the region was initially peopled in several waves starting approximately 6,000 years ago (Curet 2005; Fernandes et al. 2021), these same data also suggest a common point of origin: the Orinoco River Valley of Venezuela (Allaire 1997). The increasingly popular “Arawakan continuity” model proposes that the Indigenous peoples of the region not only share a common ancestor, but that the differences between so-called Taíno and Carib peoples was never ethnic despite the presence of political and economic variation across the region (Boucher 1992:5; Martin 2013:6). Difference in material culture between and among pre-contact island populations may therefore be due to additional influxes of Indigenous peoples from the South American continent (Allaire 1997), with whom the Native peoples of the Eastern Caribbean maintained regular trade (Giovas 2016).

At the same time, linguistic and archaeological data have not supported internal homogeneity for the “Taíno” of the Greater Antilles (Curet 2003) or the “Carib” of the Lesser Antilles either (Martin 2013). Certain research into ancient DNA suggests a “high mobility and inter-island connectivity” between islanders that fostered exchanges leading to both cultural and genetic mixing across the region (Fernandes et al. 2021:105). Instead of homogeneity, there appears to have been cultural heterogeneity, a “complex mosaic of ethnic groups which had considerable interaction with each other [and] the mainland” of the South American coast (Wilson 1994:56; Hofman et al. 2020; see also Honychurch 1997:294).

Kayak Identity Formation and Heritage

Although Carriacou is politically part of the tri-island state of Grenada, Kayaks view themselves as distinct from Grenadians. The central reason for this is because of “the extent to which specific Afro-European customs have been sustained” on the small island (David 2004:14), unique cultural retentions that no longer appear in the surrounding islands (Fayer 2003:219).⁷⁸ As will be further explored in the following chapter, Kayaks maintain a sense of “differentness” from Grenadians, which was in part related to tensions stemming from their island’s status as an island dependency of Grenada; as Ashie-Nikoi (2007) writes, “the ‘ward’ island often suffered severely from the neglect...[but] the relative inattention [it received from Grenada] gave Carriacou’s ‘folk’ just the room they needed to develop culturally.” (13).

One may describe the Kayak identity as “Afro-Creole” (Ashie-Nikoi 2007:15). While some scholars have represented Carriacou’s population as being “largely culturally and socially homogenous as...[the] direct descendants of slaves” (Jicha 2011:58), the truth is more complicated. Most residents do primarily identify with their African descent,⁷⁹ but have mixed ancestry like other creolized Caribbean islanders of the Eastern Antilles (Slocum 2001:133), which is typically comprised of Indigenous, African, European, and sometimes East Indian backgrounds. Some of Carriacou’s unique cultural retentions

⁷⁸ Examples of these unique traditional practices include Shakespeare *Mas’* (Fayer 2003), Big Drum (McDaniel 1998), the quadrille and bouquet dances (Miller 2005), handmade sloop building (Andrews 2015), to name but a few.

⁷⁹ Based upon mid-19th century census records, enslaved African peoples made up the largest percentage of Carriacou’s demographics, representing 3,200 of the approximate 4,000 inhabitants in the years prior to emancipation (Fayer 2003:219).

(such as Big Drum) do not merely reflect a general West African ancestry, but the specific tribal affiliation of their ancestors (McDaniel 1998; Martin et al. 2016).⁸⁰ These identities have historically been a source of empowerment for Kayaks.⁸¹

One of the aims of this ethnographic research was to understand how Kayaks theorize their existence, understand their heritage, and form their identities. As part of this, I also investigated if and how Kayaks relate to Carriacou's Native peoples.⁸² Census information for Grenada indicates that less than 1% of the population primarily identifies as Indigenous (Caricom 2001; National Assessment Team of Grenada 2008) and Carriacou (and Grenada) lack a public-facing Indigenous group or organization. From the outside, it may appear that there are no Native peoples on these islands. However, several islanders who participated in this study acknowledge having mixed ancestry with an Indigenous component.⁸³ This did not necessarily mean that they identify (or primarily identify) as Indigenous, however.

One of the reasons why Kayaks and Grenadians very rarely claim Indigenous identities is because they are still taught from outdated schoolbooks produced in England (the former

⁸⁰ Several cultural anthropologists have come to Carriacou to study Kayak's unique West African retentions over the years, largely inspired by the work of Melville Herskovits (e.g., Hill 1974 & 1977; Smith 1956 & 1961).

⁸¹ These strong West African retentions were also a source of empowerment for anticolonial resistance and sovereignty movements as Black revival, pan-African, and Black Power movements swept through the Caribbean in the mid-20th century (Bogues 2009; Miller 2005:426-427).

⁸² This was a primary objective because AP researchers consistently asserted that 1) Kayaks don't not care about Carriacou's pre-Columbian history because 2) it was not their heritage in their efforts to account for the public's ambivalence toward their work and the lack of heritage preservation preventing erosion at coastal Indigenous sites such as Sabazan and Grand Bay. This will be further explored further below as well as in subsequent chapters.

⁸³ E.g., Interview, 8/25/17; Interview, 8/17/15; Interview, 10/11/18; personal communication, 10/7/22; this is increasing with the growing popularity of take-at-home DNA tests.

colonial power) that espouse colonial propaganda: The Native peoples of the region were not only cannibals and are also now extinct. This has meant that many Grenadians do not feel that it is an option to be Native, even if they would want to be in light of the savage nature ascribed to Carib peoples.

These ethnographic data have found that Kayaks have a complex connection to Indigeneity. One Kayak resident claimed all the Native peoples of the region were extinct but went on to say that their grandmother was Indigenous. However, that was not how they identified.⁸⁴ Other Kayak interlocutors referred to Indigenous peoples as their ancestors.⁸⁵ A CHS officer claimed that Kayaks see the entire history of the island as being a part of them,⁸⁶ and the Indigenous of Carriacou are therefore “part of their history” as Kayaks.⁸⁷ Furthermore, CHS messaging regularly used the phrase, the “heritage of the islands,” which shows Kayak heritage to be land-based. Many Kayaks have returned “home” from the diaspora after spending a lifetime working to send remissions home so they can retire and then return to the earth in death.⁸⁸ One such returnee, who had never set foot in Carriacou as the child of a Kayak living in London, described their decision to “return” to Carriacou to “find their heritage.”⁸⁹ “People come to Carriacou to find their history.”⁹⁰ During the course of this ethnographic research, no Kayak interlocutors claimed that the Native peoples of Carriacou had *nothing* to do with them.

⁸⁴ Interview, 8/17/15.

⁸⁵ E.g., Interview, 11/29/18.

⁸⁶ Interview, 8/17/17.

⁸⁷ Interview, 8/25/17.

⁸⁸ This demographic will be further discussed in the following chapter.

⁸⁹ Interview, 8/12/17.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

However, Grenadian historian J. Angus Martin has embarked on a campaign to “change the way that people think about Indigenous peoples” on these islands.⁹¹ Even though French colonial census records list only 200 Caribs remaining on the island by 1735 (Martin 2013),⁹² he argues that the Indigenous peoples of Grenada survived, fleeing colonial invaders by withdrawing to the island’s rugged interior. These small communities evaded European violence and eventually and slowly integrated and assimilated into the broader populations in Grenada, most of whom had mixed African, European, and, later, some East Indian ancestry. This would account for the so-called “disappearance” of the island’s Native peoples, as well as explain the residual markers of Indigenous genetic markers in the region (Benn Torres 2014 & 2021).

As part of a grounded theory approach (Bernard 2017:435),⁹³ I had continuous conversations with Martin to better understand local identity construction. I shared what my data seemed to be saying, that Kayaks’ identities are “place-based” due to their profound and inseverable bond to the island of Carriacou. It is definitional to their identity as Kayaks, and persists no matter where Kayaks reside. Carriacou is “home,” and they are Kayaks because of that. Martin adds an important nuance to this place-based identity; his PhD work could best be described as a landscape autobiography⁹⁴ that addresses the linkages between the land and identity in Grenada. Although there are stark

⁹¹ Personal communication, 6/13/19.

⁹² As will be argued below, such colonial accounts also cannot be relied upon for accuracy due to their biases and inaccuracies.

⁹³ This is a mode of theory building where the researcher and interlocutor co-create data (Bernard 2017:435).

⁹⁴ Personal communication, 10/7/22.

differences between Kayaks and Grenadians, many of the ways in which he has theorized Grenadian identities strongly resonated with my data.

Martin argues that Grenadians (including Kayaks) have landscape identities, identities rooted in their land. This landscape “reflects who we were, who we are, and where we have been. It is like a vessel that conveys our histories, endeavors, artifacts, stories, mythologies, monuments, and memories” (Martin 2023). Because he also regards Indigeneity as “the basis of the creole society,”⁹⁵ he views the landscape as connecting of past and present islanders. Martin acknowledges that Grenadians do not identify as Indigenous, but sees that as resulting from a lack of knowledge combined with the lasting effects of colonial propaganda: “it’s not that it’s not there, but that people don’t know how far back it goes... to claim our [full] identity we have to have knowledge of the landscape.”⁹⁶

One of the sources that he draws from is the body of work by Caribbean poet Derek Walcott (of St. Lucia). His poems reveal “his sense of being native [sic], of belonging to and in these strange [island] landscapes” despite mainly identifying as Afro-Creole (Fenwick 2011:12). Walcott is not claiming Indigenous ancestry per se, but is instead seeing himself as an inheritor of Indigenous culture due to a shared connection through the island-scape.⁹⁷ Martin argues that this view is not a gross appropriation of Indigeneity, but reflects the recognition that the contemporary Afro-creoles of these

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Personal communication, 10/7/22 (see also Martin 2023).

⁹⁷ Ibid.

spaces (like Grenada) are but “one layer” within this shared landscape that has imparted and imprinted certain Native knowledges (e.g., use of local plants, medicines, etc....) (2023).⁹⁸

Such thoughts on Indigeneity then should be put into conversation with Kayak views of the land if Martin’s theory is to be applied. In Carriacou and other small Caribbean islands land is often communally held by entire families, serving as a “locus of belonging,” symbol of kinship bonds, and place-based identity for full-time residents as well as family members living in the diaspora (Olwig 1999a). Such family plots in the region have additional historical significance because they “symbolized personhood and freedom” when first acquired by their emancipated ancestors (Besson 1995:78).⁹⁹ Family members are still sometimes buried in the immediate yard of the ancestral home, which often was the site of the same provision grounds their enslaved forebears relied upon to survive.

Archaeologists and Indigeneity in the Caribbean

This section addresses archaeological engagement with Indigeneity in the Caribbean, namely how the above issues have manifested in the discourses surrounding Caribbean

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ When the plantocracy largely abandoned its holdings in Carriacou in the post-Emancipation period, plantation estates were taken over by the Government of Grenada to be “prepared for allocation to the land hungry folk of the area” (Smith 1956:105). This purview also included the formerly enslaved who had been previously legally barred from owning land (Miller 2005:426) because they were perceived property themselves (Besson 1995:78). Because of the limited amount of acreage, freehold plots acquired by individuals became kin-based family land through a complex system of customary tenure (Smith 1956). See Chapter 3 for more in-depth discussions of the importance of land to Kayak identities.

Indigenous peoples, their history, attributes, and cultures. Here, I argue that the several factors have grossly impeded archaeological decolonization in the region, first and foremost being the negation and/or non-acknowledgement of descendant communities.

The mythology of Native extinction in the Caribbean has been increasingly challenged by Native peoples, activists, and/or scholars gaining momentum with Caribbean peoples' participation in the pan-Indian movements of the 1960s and 70s (Curet 2014:208; Dávila 2001; Einhorn 2006:282; Guitar et al. 2006:42) followed by Caribbean Native peoples' revival movements of the 1970s and 80s (Forte 2006b:2; Saunders 2005:51). Despite this, this falsehood has remained part of the region's archaeological discourse since the discipline's earliest stages and continuing to the present day. As a consequence, much of the region's archaeological discourse remains grossly out of step with cultural anthropological findings in the region for over half a century.

In the following section, I first discuss the origin of the myth of Native extinction in the region and then demonstrate how it manifests with Caribbean archaeological discourses up to the present day. This evidence is ultimately presented in order to reveal what must be confronted on the road toward archaeological decolonization.

Native Extinction Narratives in Caribbean Archaeological Discourse

Simply stated, the damaging myth of Native Caribbean extinction persists in the archaeological discourse of the region. This may be traced back to colonial propaganda

(see above), and likely entered Caribbean archaeological discourse by the purported “godfather” of Caribbean archaeology, Irving Rouse.¹⁰⁰ Claims of Native extinction are less surprising in Rouse’s earliest publications that were published in the 1940s (e.g., Rouse 1940 & 1942), but such claims are particularly problematic in his 1992 publication of *The Taíno: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus*. Although not an exhaustive list, the following are examples of academic works on Caribbean history, society, and archaeology that have espoused the myth of Native extinction: Cunningham 1997:29; Deagan 1988; Jicha 2011:59; Keegan 1992:xvii & 1996:268; Keegan and Carrison 2008:13; Keegan and Phulgence 2011:144; Morse 1997:37; Suttly 1984:243.¹⁰¹ Despite critiques, the body of literature claiming Native extinction was still very influential within the region’s archaeological discourse. Although this has been slowly changing in recent years, these harmful interpretations are still common and widely held by archaeological practitioners. Because they have stubbornly remained intellectually siloed and from contemporary regional politics and popular movements, as well as the

¹⁰⁰ Rouse was an American archaeologist who began conducting fieldwork in the Caribbean in the 1930s. He continued work for nearly seven decades on many islands across the Greater and Lesser Antilles, with his main focus being the creation of ceramic typologies and artifact classification systems in order to construct human taxonomies within a culture history interpretive framework (Curet 2011:647, 650). Although some of his more problematic terminology like “sub-Taíno (e.g., Rouse 1991) has been rehabilitated (e.g., Keegan 2000:154), his approach remains strong. This is perhaps best illustrated by the continued use of the much critiqued “pots = peoples” approach, well-illustrated by the following passage: “It seems like the Archaics were just overwhelmed by the Ceramics,” said William Keegan, an archaeologist at the Florida Museum of Natural History and a co-author of the new study” (Zimmer 2020).

¹⁰¹ It is important to note that many of these perspectives received criticism from Native scholars and cultural anthropologists in their time. Following Rouse’s 1992 publication of *The Taíno: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus*, postcolonial scholar Peter Hulme (1993) lamented that “the present native population [of the Caribbean] has usually been ignored: some seemingly authoritative accounts of the region even appear written in ignorance of the very existence of such a population” (214; see also Forte 2006b:1). This was written during observance of the Columbian Quincentennial, a flash point when Native voices that had been “sublimated, yet smoldering for centuries,” grew even louder, strengthened by American Indian movements in North America two decades prior and resulting in a renaissance of homegrown Native resurgence movements (Einhorn 2006:282).

works of Native peoples and cultural anthropologists, they have been left behind within broader anthropological discourse.

AP Perspectives Regarding Carriacou's Indigenous Peoples

The last archaeological research to be conducted on Carriacou before the Archaeology Project (AP) of this ethnography began was by an amateur practitioner named Lesley Suttty in the 1980s. Suttty (1985) notes that Carriacou is sandwiched between St. Vincent and Grenada, an area which colonial chroniclers considered to be the epicenter of the Carib people (242). However, Suttty goes on to say that the Carib peoples were entirely “annihilated” by French troops and that colonialists then turned their attention to the “Caribs of mixed blood” in St. Vincent (i.e. the Garifuna), after which “what remained of an island Indigenous [sic] population was rudely shipped away to Roatan in Honduras” (ibid.).¹⁰² Suttty again asserts that the Native peoples of “the Grenadines and Grenada” are utterly extinct (75).

The founders of the Archaeology Project (AP) started their project in Carriacou in 2003, relying heavily upon Suttty's previous work for background information. After seven field seasons spent excavating two large Indigenous settlement sites, the AP and its colleagues have produced a massive amount of data on pre-contact era Native lifeways, generating approximately 30 publications, dozens of presentations, and several MA and PhD theses

¹⁰² Apart from the flip way of describing this heinous even (briefly discussed above), Suttty is incorrect that all of the Indigenous peoples were deported in this event. St. Vincent still boasts a Native population.

by the visiting co-directors, staff, and students. The following discusses the AP's discourse to see where it arrives on the issue of Native extinction.

To begin, AP reporting exclusively relies upon colonial accounts and one other source that seems to support the myth of Native extinction. The AP's first publication states that a 1667 French colonial account of Carriacou makes no mention of peoples still living on the island at that time, but that Native communities were present on the island of Grenada (Kaye 2003:129).¹⁰³ Their next sentence says, "[c]olonial contact had all but wiped out the Indigenous populations of the larger Caribbean islands by the second decade of the 16th century" (ibid.:131).¹⁰⁴ Another AP co-director later referenced the same French colonial account mentioned in Kaye 2003, saying that "the first European seems to have thought [the island] basically deserted" (Fitzpatrick 2009:37). The AP leadership may have subscribed to this notion since their radiocarbon dating sequence ranged from 400 AD-1400 AD, ending before the arrival of European invaders (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:153). These seem to be the only two mentions of the fate of Carriacou's Native population. However, in interviewing, one of the AP co-directors does demonstrate that they subscribe to the myth of Native extinction:

Interviewer: So, what would you say to the claim that many--several people have told me that they feel that the large amount of materials

¹⁰³ Scholars of the Caribbean have relied heavily upon the writings of Duterte because he lived among Island Caribs for the first half of the 17th century (Martin 2013:10). Unfortunately, he was one of the colonial-era French missionaries to write "ritualistic accounts" of Carib cannibalism (Martin 2013; Myers 1984:166-168). AP reports do not raise the issue of cannibalism.

¹⁰⁴ The reference cited for this claim, Sauer 1966, pertains to Indigenous communities of the Greater Antilles, not the Lesser Antilles where Carriacou is located. Moreover, the source goes on to stipulate that "an occasional remnant survived here and there in a mountain refuge, perhaps to blend obscurely into the later inhabitants (1966:204). It is therefore unclear if Kaye (2003) is claiming that Native peoples have been utterly eliminated in the Lesser Antilles as well.

coming into the museum is more of a burden to them? What would you say to that?

AP co-director: Well, it isn't a burden, it's a resource. It's a resource. If saving remains from an almost extinct group of people is a burden well I... it's just another way of thinking, isn't it?¹⁰⁵

Native erasure takes many forms. While some archaeologists of the Caribbean explicitly make claims of Native extinction, others simply do not mention descendant communities or the existence contemporary of Indigenous peoples in the region whatsoever (e.g., Allaire 1997; Keegan 1992), even in cases where sensitive topics are being presented and interpreted, such as Native cosmologies or the treatment of Native human remains (e.g., Ross et al. 2020). This is the case within the AP discourse. In the following, I argue that this discourse contributes to Native erasure in two ways. For one, no living descendant communities are mentioned in these publications despite extensive discussions of Indigenous life ways, including mortuary rituals and cosmologies. Secondly, the AP researchers deny any heritage connections between Carriacou's Kayak population and its Indigenous peoples.

AP Practitioner views on Kayak Identity

One of the most common chain of assumptions held by AP practitioners, from the study abroad students up to the co-directors was that the people of Carriacou are ambivalent about the archaeology project because they “do not care” about pre-Columbian history as

¹⁰⁵ Interview, 8/11/14.

it is “not their heritage.” Moreover, the AP leadership supported the notion of “population replacement,” arguing that enslaved African peoples “replaced” the Native population. This is not supported by contemporary ancient DNA research, not that genetics need be involved in heritage construction.¹⁰⁶ This fallacy too has its roots in colonial propaganda and other archaeologists working in the Caribbean are increasingly jettisoning both the myth of Native extinction as well as that of “population replacement.” For example, archaeologists working in the Greater Antilles (Dominican Republic and Haiti) note “the persistence of indigenous cultural traditions and knowledge in the present-day... [which] strongly counters the idea of substitution, displacement or disappearance as suggested by the traditional historical criteria” (Hofman et al. 2018:214).

In the following AP publication, it becomes clearer that the writers do not see Kayaks as sharing Indigenous heritage:

In places where local populations have little or no connection to the prehistoric past and limited financial resources, as is the case for much of the Caribbean, it is often more difficult to convince governments that archaeological remains, particularly those prehistoric in nature, are worth saving. My colleagues and I have had some success in this regard on Carriacou, though (Fitzpatrick 2012:182).

¹⁰⁶ As a reminder, heritage may have nothing to do with genetics- it can be understood as “the contemporary use of the past” (Hudepohl 2008:2). What’s more, DNA should not dictate or be relied upon to “prove” Native ancestry for many reasons. For one, such an approach engages unscientific and problematic notions of biological race, such as those evident in outmoded paradigms like “one drop rule” or blood quantum. Furthermore, contemporary research into markers of indigeneity in ancient DNA are finding that evidence of DNA from past ancestors is sometimes obfuscated when it becomes “crowded out” due to what is called pedigree collapse (Benn-Torres 2021).

This view is expressed by certain contemporary Caribbean archaeologists as well. For example, Keegan and Phulgence (2011) claim that most Afro-Antillean Caribbean communities

see no connection to the Indigenous peoples who inhabited the islands, and in some cases are embarrassed by their slave heritage. The Indians are long gone, and the physical representations of the vestiges of slavery need to be destroyed. In school most people are taught the history of Europeans, with little regard to their local history. The importance of connections to the past is lost because they have no affinity to this ‘history’ (143-144).

Interview data with AP co-directors also demonstrated their view that Indigenous were not connected to Kayak heritage. In one interview, I was told that “the archaeology is of a culture that doesn’t exist anymore.”¹⁰⁷ This was echoed in an email from another co-director who was trying to counter to community concerns that the AP was writing their history without them:

“Carriacouans talk about archaeologists taking or writing “their history”, but this is not exactly true – there has been a documented disjuncture between what they are interested in and what is associated with them.”¹⁰⁸

I argue that the above views are part of Native erasure and that they stem from a fundamental lack of understanding of Kayaks heritage and identity formation.

Archaeologist Anna Agbe-Davies, who has experience working in the Caribbean cautions fellow archaeologists to learn how source “communities define and constitute

¹⁰⁷ Interview, 8/11/14.

¹⁰⁸ Personal communication, 6/16/17.

themselves” because it has such “broad implications for the way that scholars interact and collaborate with stakeholders” (2010:373).

Moving forward, an extremely important finding of this research is that this rhetoric- that Kayaks don’t care about Indigenous history because it is not part of their heritage- serves to constrain and weaken Kayaks stakeholdership claims over Carriacou’s pre-Columbian heritage resources. It alienates them from their heritage and marginalizes them in its preservation. According to this reasoning, if the Natives peoples of these islands are gone, then there is no descendant community. If the remaining peoples, as the descendants of enslaved Africans, have nothing to do with this Indigenous culture, then they have a weaker claim as a source community alone. What has resulted is a narrative based upon colonial falsehoods that serves to bolster the AP’s conceptual and physical appropriation of Carriacou’s pre-Columbian culture (see Chapter 7). With no one to claim these materials, the outside “experts” who have spent their lifetimes investigating pre-Columbian peoples can make their claim.¹⁰⁹ These are tools of appropriation. It is a use of heritage politics to disempower Kayak residents. As Olwig writes (1999),

...the past is not a free resource, its negotiation taking place within specific historical contexts characterized by particular systems of power and authority that deem only certain forms of heritage credible. This

¹⁰⁹ In *Talking Taino Caribbean Natural History from a Native Perspective*, Keegan and Carison not only claim that the Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean were extinct, but were dismissive of contemporary claims to Indigenous identity. Adding insult to injury, the authors attempt to appropriate Caribbean identities themselves at the close of their monograph: “We are West Indians by choice, though Americans by birth (Keegan and Carison 2008:136).

specificity of heritage has to do with the exclusionary practices that form the backbone of heritage politics (370)

Such narratives become part of the authorized heritage discourse, which archaeologists have privileged credibility to construct.

Despite the above AP rhetoric, there is significant data to suggest that Kayaks view all the tangible and intangible heritage of Carriacou to be part of their “island patrimony.” It is inalienable to them as Kayaks on that land. In light of Kayak’s place-based identities (discussed above), I have started to refer to this as “place-based heritage” or PBH. As the following chapters demonstrate, PBH is part of who Kayaks are and symbolizes their connections to the land. This framing counters the archaeologists’ claim and serves to assert unimpeachable Kayak stakeholderhood concerning the island’s pre-Columbian heritage.

It is also important to note that when the AP researchers make such claims about Kayak identities, they are eliminating the possibility that Kayaks may be part of a descendant community. However, as Singleton and Orser (2003) caution,

Too many archaeologists imagine descendant communities simply as biological descendants of the people who once occupied the site.

Consequently, they tend to overlook present-day communities as either potential research resources or as constituencies of their research.

Descendant communities are defined by their relationship to the site. As

previously stated, that relationship can be historical, cultural, symbolic, or may hinge on some other significant factor (144).

Furthermore, AP positions regarding Kayak and Indigenous heritage have left some Kayaks feeling frustrated. One longtime CHS officer and community educator said, “Give me a reason... why it’s not my heritage... It’s here!”¹¹⁰ Another local heritage preservation professional said, “I will fight anyone who tries to tell me who I am.”¹¹¹ Both of these interlocutors felt that it was not for outside archaeologists to define or place limits upon Kayak heritage. Instead, as one of them argued, archaeologists working on their islands should give the people information about Indigenous so “we can have a better idea of our history and identity.”¹¹² Finally, I asked a long-time CHS officer what they thought about the archaeologists’ claim that Indigenous culture is not a part of Kayak heritage. In their response they switched to the second person: answering as if such an archaeologist was standing before them: “Well, I don’t think you have any place here... what do [Indigenous] have to do with you?”¹¹³ I saw these remarks as challenging archaeological authority to comment on Kayak identities, which so often assumes stakeholderhood of Indigenous culture through expertise alone. As will become clearer in the following chapters, Kayaks are extremely passionate about maintaining self-determination, and balk at any outside forces that seem to undermine that. This extends to Grenadians who push national identity discourse when discussing Carriacou’s communities.

¹¹⁰ Interview, 8/25/17. This further supports my argument for a place-based heritage.

¹¹¹ Personal communication, 10/7/22.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Interview, 8/5/17.

Conclusion

To conclude, I am arguing that Caribbean archaeological practices need to be further decolonized. The myth of Native extinction is still pervasive and taints the discourse with colonial propaganda. The discipline cannot decolonize until the harmful mythologies of Native extinction and “population replacement” are eliminated from its discourse. But these beliefs also influence how practitioners treat source and descendant communities. Such prejudices have real world consequences, serving to alienate communities from their heritage materials and undermine their identity formation. As I will argue in subsequent chapters, the AP’s outlook on local heritage not only served to weaken Kayak claims upon their pre-Columbian heritage, but also impacted the way that the AP “consulted” with Kayak heritage professionals. Ironically, this approach seems to have undermined the AP as a form of public archaeology, because public archaeological approaches aim to bring “the past into the present” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007:29) and make “archaeology an integral part of a community’s heritage” (Shackel 2004:14). Instead, the AP’s rhetoric seemed to separate Kayaks from Carriacou’s pre-Columbian past.

These conclusions will be absolutely critical in the following chapter. In the first part of Chapter 4, I will discuss the major stakeholders of this ethnography and what the stakes are for each group. The pre-Columbian heritage resources are recast as Kayak PBH. In the second part of Chapter 4, I address which stakeholders have had the most power when

it comes to the heritage preservation of such resources. The ways in which Kayaks have been marginalized in this process will be essential to the larger argument for archaeological decolonization.

CHAPTER 4

WHO PROTECTS HERITAGE? ISSUES OF STAKEHOLDERSHIP

Introduction

This chapter, in part, introduces the reader to the central figures of this ethnography, providing insight into who was recruited for this study and why. These involve the individuals and groups that are involved in the preservation of Carriacou's rich cultural heritage, which may be broadly categorized as the grassroots actors of Carriacou, government officials (serving in both Carriacou and Grenada), as well as archaeological researchers, many of whom were among the 100+ interlocutors interviewed during the course of this ethnographic research.¹¹⁴ One may find graphs depicting the percentages of interviewed interlocutor by type for each year of field research, as well as the total percentages from all field seasons in Appendix B.

In contemporary archaeological discourse, the "key players" with vested interests in archaeological research are commonly referred to as stakeholders.¹¹⁵ Egloff (2006) portrays such stakeholders as

those individuals, groups, enterprises, agencies, professional organizations, or institutions that in one way or another have an interest in

¹¹⁴ It is important to keep reiterating that these stakeholder groups are *not* monolithic, but contain diverse actors with various (and sometimes conflicting) points of view.

¹¹⁵ As briefly addressed in Chapter 2 under the subsection on Heritage Management, the rise of CRM bureaucracy in the 1990s resulted in archaeological research being increasingly framed as a form heritage management whereby archaeologists have been recast as heritage *managers* and interest groups as *stakeholders*.

a place or an action. That interest can relate to tangible things or to the implementation of ideas. Implicit in this definition is the notion that there is a sense of shared concern, ownership, or belonging expressed in part as a common value system (85).

Applied to archaeology, the term stakeholder reflects “the communities that emerge from the practice of heritage and public archaeology ... formed out of diverse... and potentially conflicting interests” (Carman 2011:497-498). We are well to remember that “[h]eritage itself is a dynamic process which involves competition over whose version of the past, and the associated moral and legal rights which flow from this version of the past, will find official representation in the present” (Harrison 2010:8). Stakeholders then may have dramatically different claims and/or conflicting views and interests when it comes to heritage preservation. This chapter addresses the “stakes” of each stakeholder group, both in terms of having a stake in Carriacou’s heritage preservation, as well as what is at stake for various groups.

Importantly, the stakeholders involved in heritage preservation are rarely all on an equal footing.¹¹⁶ Therefore, in the second portion of this chapter I discuss which actors/groups have the *power* to preserve Carriacou’s heritage and by which mechanisms are they empowered. The answers to these questions, which are informed by ethnographic data, are presented as I arrange this discussion in descending order according to who is most versus least empowered in these issues. I conclude this chapter by arguing that these ethnographic data indicate that the local, subaltern source communities of Carriacou have

¹¹⁶ This is one of the core issues explored within Critical Heritage Studies (See Chapter 2).

been both disempowered and disenfranchised from their place-based heritage by the AP as well as the structural processes supporting and surrounding it, including Grenadian national policies and practices relating to heritage preservation. These findings support the need for further decolonized archaeological practices and inspired this dissertation's broader aim of investigating how place-based stakeholders may become further empowered in the preservation of Carriacou's heritage.

Stakeholders

Kayak communities and the Carriacou Historical Society

The following discussion introduces the broad stakeholder group comprised of individuals and organizations based in Carriacou. The communities of Carriacou are far from monolithic and this grouping encapsules a diversity of backgrounds and perspectives. Most island residents are Kayaks (locally born, Afro-Antillean), but some are Caribbean islanders who have moved to Carriacou. There is also small contingency of expatriates from the Global North.¹¹⁷ Some Kayak residents have never lived abroad, but there have been many who have transnational identities, having migrated abroad at an early age before permanently returning upon retirement.¹¹⁸ Other Kayaks seasonally travel between Carriacou and cities in the Global North having large Caribbean enclaves.

¹¹⁷ This small demographic is comprised of mostly Caucasian individuals from a number of countries which are typically located in western Europe and North America. Many reside on the island on a seasonal basis; the number of full-time expatriate residents is likely less than 100 individuals.

¹¹⁸ JCB is Kayak slang for "Just Come Backs." It references the many Kayaks who immigrated for the Global North in the post WWII era for work opportunities, sending remittances to family back home, only to move back home to Carriacou upon retirement. This became so common a term was coined for it. Many JCBs are of the well-known Windrush Generation from England. This demographic of Carriacou has been

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the pilot research phase of this project (2014) aimed to broadly investigate the “contact zone” and power dynamics between the visiting AP researchers and local community members, particularly regarding the preservation of Carriacou’s heritage. Initial recruitment therefore targeted those residents who had had most contact with the AP over the years. Reputational and chain referral sampling methods were then used to identify additional stakeholders whose identities, experiences, interests, and/or expertise were most relevant.¹¹⁹ For example, educators were recruited due to their experience teaching pre-Columbian history and tourism personnel were sought out as those who engage with heritage tourism. Although recruitment for this study prioritized Kayak residents with strong island ties and expatriate residents represent a very small minority of Carriacou’s overall population (>1-2%), interlocutors from this demographic were also recruited, especially if they had assisted the AP, were local educators or tourism professionals, served on the board of the Carriacou Historical Society (CHS), and/or worked in the Carriacou Museum.

In Chapter 3, I argued that although issues of Indigeneity and identity are complicated in Carriacou (as in the wider Caribbean), this in no way impugns Kayaks’ stakeholdership in the preservation of pre-Columbian material culture or weakens their claims over it.

extremely active and vocal regarding the protection of Carriacou’s heritage, including serving on the CHS board. A similar dynamic has been observed on other Caribbean islands such as Antigua, returning retirees have demanded heritage site protections and restorations (Murphy 2011:75). Because many CHS officers are JCBs and of retirement age, they can face certain challenges such as bouts of ill health, which would require them to travel abroad for treatment. During the course of this research, I have worked with several JCB’s who have since passed away. Unfortunately, this aged group is not being replenished by a new generation of returnees (see Chapter 5).

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 2’s section on project methodology.

Being an islander and having deep ties to the land is what, according to their view, makes this their patrimony. I therefore do not frame Kayaks' stakeholdership within heritage preservation as just any "source community," indicating those who reside where archaeological resources have been extracted, nor do I frame their stakeholdership like a "descendant community." Kayaks do not believe that their stakeholdership or claims over this material should be predicated upon identifying as Indigenous; even the many Kayaks who do not primarily identify as Indigenous descendant still view Native material culture and history as part of their history and heritage. Therefore, instead of using these two common terms used to describe the stakeholdership of local communities with identity-based claims over "archaeological resources" materials, I henceforth use the term "place-based heritage" (PBH) introduced in Chapter 3.

Kayak's unique traditions are a source of community pride and cohesiveness, but the "tight-knitted-ness" of the islanders is also the result of its small size. Carriacou's communities span a series of small villages around the 13 square mile island. Although its population has hovered between 9-10,000 people in recent years, the island still has a "small-town feel," where everyone knows everyone and their business. Extensive kinship ties crisscross the island. As Miller (2005) observed, "[O]ne of the most commonly heard expressions among Kayaks is the equalizing "We is one family," a concept that derives from the reality that most people in Carriacou are in fact related by blood or marriage" (423).

Although Carriacou's small tourism industry has been growing over the past two decades (Guerrón Montero 2011 & 2015), it still receives considerably less attention from tourists than Grenada. It is "off the beaten path" so to speak, requiring either a short flight or a two-hour ferry ride from Grenada. Receiving less visitors means that outsiders are immediately conspicuous.

Although one may argue that the residents of Carriacou writ large have some kind of stake in what happens to their heritage materials and how these are used to tell the history of their island and its peoples, the following section addresses local stakeholdership through the lens of a narrower contingency- the leadership, staff, membership of Carriacou Historical Society and Museum. This demographic, by far, was most relevant to this study due to their interactions with the AP and robust role in preserving Carriacou's PBH. This subset therefore accounts for the largest local interlocutor group, accounting for approximately half of all interviewed Carriacou residents, whether Kayak expatriate.¹²⁰

The Carriacou Historical Society and Carriacou Museum

The Carriacou Historical Society (CHS) was founded in 1976 by 19 people, a mix of island-born and expatriate residents, in order to protect "the diverseness of [Carriacou's] cultural expressions" (CHS 2016:3; Whyte 2016:13).¹²¹ The CHS leadership also began

¹²⁰ Twenty-seven of the 56 interviewed Carriacou residents were past or present CHS board members or Carriacou Museum staff.

¹²¹ Many of the historical societies and museums in the Caribbean were started by expatriate residents from the Global North with them specific, "westernized" views of heritage preservation. (Keegan and Phulgence

cultivating broader audiences among island residents, Kayaks living abroad, and other vested parties. The CHS today is a non-governmental entity that is entirely membership operated, making CHS leadership accountable to a large and diverse network of individuals with an interest in local history and heritage. In the last decade or so, a new CHS president embarked on a campaign to further professionalize the CHS and recruit more Kayaks to the board; in 2009, they had it registered under the Grenada Company's Act, which incorporated the organization and made CHS leadership into a board of directors (Alexander 2016:5).

Of the CHS leadership's many responsibilities, one of its largest is ensuring that the Carriacou Museum remains operational and continues to serve its island residents. This museum was first created in 1976 by the original CHS members to house donated pre-Columbian (Indigenous) and historic-era artifacts that residents had come across throughout the island. Much of these initial collections were Indigenous artifacts and human remains removed and collected by expatriate residents.¹²² This small museum is arranged into five sections: 1) an administrative desk/gift shop, 2) Indigenous and 3) European artifact displays, as well as 4) exhibits on African and 5) contemporary cultural retentions (Whyte 2016:15).

It is abundantly clear what makes the CHS the most important stakeholder organization in the preservation of Carriacou's heritage. This is its entire *raison d'être*. Its current

2011:146; McDavid 2007:73; Murphy 2011:75; Olwig 1999b:375; Scudder 2009:61-62; Siegel and Righter 2011).

¹²² Found (2004) observes that museum collections in Caribbean often started as private collections.

mission statement declares: “We embark on a mission to bring you closer to the past, present and future of life in Carriacou and Petit [sic] Martinique by preserving the Indigenous, European and African heritage of the islands” (CHS 2016:3). There is no mention of a “national heritage” or reference to the “heritage of Grenada” writ large in this mission statement. Both this mission statement and the stated objective of original CHS make clear that the heritage of Carriacou and Petite Martinique is creolized and complex: it includes Indigenous, European, AND African. Quite obviously, this complex “heritage of the islands” indicates the creolized heritage of the islanders themselves, demonstrating the complex place-based stakeholder heritage presented in Chapter 3.

Therefore, the CHS’s stakes in preserving this rich cultural heritage may be seen as preserving and asserting who they are as Kayaks and their ties to and claims over the land. Heritage also encompasses “feelings of ancestry, continuity, identity and community” (Skeates 2004:9), much of which is evident in the CHS Chairman’s message upon the Society’s 40th anniversary, where he encourages his fellow Kayaks to be

mindful that the heritage of Carriacou and Petite Martinique is deeply rooted in civilizations that existed long before our African and European ancestors came to our shores. It is evident, then, that our heritage encompasses many cultures, that is why it is imperative that we, as a people of diverse cultures, work together for one common purpose- the preservation of our rich heritage (Alexander 2016:5).

For Kayaks, preserving their PBH is a source of empowerment that reinscribes their collective identities and serves to deepen their connection to Carriacou’s island-landscape.

Protecting their PBH represents safeguarding their autonomy over their land and the power over their own identity formation.

While issues of islander identity, belonging, and rootedness are the stakes of the Kayak members of the CHS in the preservation of Carriacou's heritage, the stakes of expatriate residents who have served on the CHS board and in the museum over the years are quite different. As a single-generation transplanted demographic, this group does share the same land-based identities, ethnic backgrounds, or experiences of neo/colonial marginalization, exploitation, and dispossession as their Kayak neighbors. On the whole, their stakes are those of hobbyists, defined by an interest in volunteering, heritage preservation, and/or in the island's history.

The Carriacou Ministry

This study also includes interlocutors from the Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs (MCPMA), as this agency is representative of the Grenada government. Participants from this ministry were recruited in order to learn the MCPMA's role, if any, in heritage preservation initiatives, authorizing archaeological research in Carriacou, enforcing heritage management laws (discussed below), and/or coordinating with the Carriacou Historical Society (CHS) in such matters.

Carriacou is represented in the Grenadian government by this Ministry. While the main seat of government is on the mainland of Grenada, the MCPMA is based in Carriacou

and operated by elected officials and staff of the same national party that is currently in power.¹²³ Some of its staff and elected officials are from Carriacou, while others are assigned to this division from the mainland.¹²⁴ The MCPMA is not a parallel branch of the Grenadian government, but a government ministry among many others, such as the Ministry of Finance, Health, or Education. This ministry is to coordinate and supervise a host of divisions and their activities across the island (National Portal of Grenada, n.d.).¹²⁵

A certain level of heritage preservation is built within the latter part of the “Youth Development, Sports, Culture & the Arts” division (National Portal of Grenada, n.d.). Broadly speaking, this division is tasked with assisting the government identify the role that culture can play in the nation’s development, including “the capacity for alternative employment, careers and revenue streams” (ibid.). The portion covering the “Culture” component coordinates with seven different agencies¹²⁶ based in Grenada concerning the organization of certain national holidays and Grenada’s cultural festivals; these do not include Carriacou’s many cultural festivals, which are currently left to private non-

¹²³ The two major political parties of Grenada are currently the National Democratic Congress (NNP) and the New National Party (NDC). Both are fairly moderate, but the NDC is considered more liberal (Grenade 2010). The NNP has had either majority or supermajority of Grenada’s House of Representatives since the Revolution, although the NDC did hold power from 1990-1995 and from 2008-2013. Those latter dates will be of great importance for the Archaeology Project, which will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

¹²⁴ A Kayak political operative once told me that the Grenadians who were given job postings in Carriacou were being punished and/or pushed into obscurity by party leadership, likening it to being sent to Siberia (Interview, 7/25/14).

¹²⁵ These divisions include Administration, Agriculture, Public Works, Social Development, Gender and Family Affairs, the Youth Development, Sports, Culture & the Arts, and Information & Communication Technology (National Portal of Grenada, n.d.).

¹²⁶ These agencies include the Grenada Cultural Foundation, SpiceMas Corporation, National Celebrations Committee, Parish Development Committee, Grenada National Museum, and Grenada Film Commission and The Grenada National Trust.

governmental organizations.¹²⁷ The division that covers culture has a mission “[t]o enhance the unique, Grenadian tangible and intangible, cultural heritage through development, promotion and preservation programs and policies” (ibid.), but also aims to provide “cultural education and opportunities in Grenada” while maximizing “the economic potential of our festival and celebrations products” (ibid.). Here, the cultural heritage in question is framed as belonging to the entire country of Grenada. The stakes of the MCPMA in preserving Carriacou’s place-based heritage, therefore, are tied to the interests of the nation-state and its priority of economic development.

Government Officials in Grenada

The most relevant stakeholder group in Grenada are those involved in heritage preservation. This broad stakeholder category includes residents of Grenada who have expertise and experiences conducting archaeology, working with the Grenada National Museum or for the Grenada National Trust, or who have been elected to government offices which involve heritage preservation. A sample of Grenada-based tourism officials and professionals were also recruited due to the intersections of heritage preservation, heritage tourism, and development in the country. These groups were sought out to provide background on national heritage management laws, national heritage preservation priorities and strategies, and the dynamics between local and national responses to such issues. The majority of the above Grenada-based interlocutors are

¹²⁷ These include their own separate Carnival, the Carriacou Regatta, the Maroon Festival, Parang Festival, and Corn Fest.

Afro-descendant and originally from Grenada, with the exception of a few expatriate professionals.

I finally was able to interview the person who had served, in one iteration or another,¹²⁸ within the Ministry of Culture in Grenada over the past two decades. Some of their many responsibilities are to execute official policies, promote and protect heritage, as well as interface with regional ministers (which would include that of the MCPMA). When responding to my inquiry into the challenges that Grenada faces in terms of heritage preservation, they mentioned that citizens need enhanced heritage education to “make sure we keep what we have,” but that Grenada’s rich cultural heritage also needs to be harnessed and developed to create community-based tourism that can generate revenue in order to improve lives.¹²⁹ From this perspective, these stakes of national actors such as the Minister of Culture in heritage preservation are similar to those addressed above in relation to the MCPMA. This makes sense as the latter takes direction from the former.

The stakes that national actors have in the preservation of Carriacou’s PBH are also brought into relief through an examination of the Grenada National Trust (GNT). The GNT was established by an Act of Parliament in 1967 when Grenada was still a British colony. Currently, it is a registered charity but still receives a modicum of government funding.¹³⁰ The GNT’s roles are to “identify, record, interpret, regulate, protect and

¹²⁸ Government Ministries in Grenada are somewhat frequently subject to reorganization. According to this source, the Departments of Tourism, Culture, Civil Aviation, and Performing Arts used to be under one Ministry, until Culture and Tourism were made into a separate Ministry. In years’ past, they had also served as the Minister of Tourism, Civil Aviation, Social Security, Gender and Family Affairs.

¹²⁹ Interview, 11/10/18.

¹³⁰ An interlocutor who had worked closely with the GNT for several years relayed that the organization receives \$10,000 EC (approximately \$3,745 USD) in annual government funding.

preserve the cultural heritage resources of the people of our Nation and to promote the sustainable use and management of all of our material and cultural resources,” provide heritage education to the public, and “foster and inspire a sense of National pride through the protection and preservation” of all of Grenada’s heritage (CHS 2016:16). With the word “national” in its name, it should come as no surprise that heritage preservation is couched in such terms. Here, the stakes of heritage preservation are still bound up with issues of identity, but notions of shared citizenship and the unity of the nation-state serve to erase the distinct islands of the archipelago nation.

Ethnographic data suggest that the GNT does not involve itself in Carriacou’s heritage preservation, nor share in Carriacou’s PBH. In an AP publication, one of the co-directors’ remarks that “many of the islands who [sic] have not enacted laws such as Grenada¹³¹... have instead formed National Trusts based on the British model and [have] been fairly successful at regulating archaeological research and working with local governments on important preservation issues” (Fitzpatrick 2012:183). Nonetheless, there did not appear to be collaboration between the AP and the GNT nor does the latter appear to be involved in the regulation of archaeological research in Carriacou or in Grenada, despite a historic need such intervention. Even though several Acts of heritage management legislation (discussed below) mandate that the Minister of Culture work closely with the Grenada National Trust in heritage preservation initiatives, the Minister claimed that the GNT was defunct. This corroborated additional data provided by a former GNT operative who

¹³¹ As will be addressed further below, Grenada government officials actually had enacted heritage preservation laws by the time of that publication date, although they were not well known and commonly unenforced.

claimed, “they don’t do anything, just talk.”¹³² The GNT’s apparent lack of follow-through and efficacy seems to fit a trend raised by many interlocutors: national organizations and initiatives may look good on paper, but are fundamentally disconnected from what is happening “on the ground.” Relics of outdated colonial models are considerably less effective in heritage preservation compared to grassroots actors.

The AP researchers

The final broad stakeholder group of this study are the AP researchers themselves. This category includes the project’s three co-directors, a small group of staff and team of experts,¹³³ students, and volunteers. Over the course of 37 weeks of fieldwork spread over seven seasons, a total of 141 study abroad and student participants accompanied the team to Carriacou (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:153), by far representing the largest subgroup within this category.¹³⁴ However, project decisions were dictated by only a few individuals, including the co-directors and a few staff members. All individuals in this broad category were from outside the Caribbean region, and, with the exception of just a few individuals, this category is mostly comprised of those who present as Caucasian. In addition, most have middle-class backgrounds and were affiliated with institutes of

¹³² Personal communication, 6/16/19.

¹³³ These have included specialists such as ceramicists, zooarchaeologists, bioarchaeologists, and artifact illustrators, among others (Kaye et al. 2007:167). Some staff returned for multiple field seasons, while other experts only attended during one field season.

¹³⁴ Most of these students were from the US and UK. Field school students were responsible for the majority of fieldwork conducted in Carriacou (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:153), which included the survey, excavation, and the preliminary cleaning and organizing of excavated materials. The number of students attending each field season ranged from under a dozen to over two dozen.

higher education (whether as undergraduate or graduate students, postdoctoral fellows, and/or university instructors).

So, what makes the AP researchers stakeholders in Carriacou's PBH? For the co-directors, staff, and students who already (or wish to) specialize in the pre-Columbian aspect of this heritage in the region, this clearly stems from an existing (or developing) research specialty, which is also usually accompanied by intellectual curiosity. For students studying abroad, the AP may have represented an important training ground and/or an interesting way to see the world. For the dedicated academics among this group, the AP was likely considered as part of their broader work, whether understood as part of a meaningful professional persona (vocation) or represented a way to make a living (job).¹³⁵ Regardless of what interests motivated the many AP researchers to come and work in Carriacou, this group's stakeholdership is different than that of Kayaks in that it is not linked to deep ties with the land, issues of ancestry, or island patrimony. The biggest difference is that this stakeholdership is defined by preference and choice. All things being equal, archaeologists may choose from an array of other Caribbean islands upon which to work. Kayaks cannot find another Carriacou.

That said, what are the stakes of not conducting archaeology in Carriacou? The AP was framed by its leadership as being crucial salvage work at an early stage.¹³⁶ The problem

¹³⁵ To be clear, AP researchers were not directly paid for this fieldwork as such. But for those within academia, such research is often conducted as part of their broader profession, which *is* compensated. Research projects often provide many professional opportunities and benefits for the researcher, such as the potential to publish or develop important skills. Unless serving in a purely teaching capacity, research is often required for professional advancement within the academy.

¹³⁶ Interview with AP co-director, 3/20/18; Salvage archaeology, which is also sometimes referred to as "rescue archaeology" is done in instances where archaeological sites are under immediate threat, including

of coastal erosion was noticed by the AP team during their initial survey, and the sites selected for future excavation (Sabazan and Grand Bay) were the two areas that they had “deemed most at risk from erosion” (Kaye 2003:132). Therefore, the stakes of the research that is among the most discussed within AP publications involves the importance of collecting and documenting the archaeological resources at these sites because of their endangerment due to coastal erosion (e.g., Fitzpatrick 2009 & 2012; Fitzpatrick et al. 2004, 2006, 2007, 2009 & 2014; Kaye 2003; Kaye et al. 2004, 2005, 2009 & 2012).¹³⁷ Here are two examples of how AP leadership framed the stakes of this erosion:

- We estimate that the coastline is eroding at an average rate of 1 m per year, leading to an annual loss of hundreds of cubic meters of anthropogenic soils and thousands of artifacts and faunal remains... if erosion continues at its present rate, the future loss of cultural remains will be catastrophic (Fitzpatrick et al. 2007:254-255).
- Our findings indicate that Grand Bay is one of the largest and most important prehistoric sites in the southern Caribbean, but also one that, if erosion continues at its present rate, will probably be completely destroyed within the next 20-25 years (Kaye et al. 2005:108).¹³⁸

from development or flooding to create a reservoir . Such “threat-led” projects are often more partial than they are systematic, often having less time for refined field techniques (Darvill 2008). The AP is not strictly labeled as “salvage archaeology” in its many publications, but the conservation component of the project is typically strongly emphasized.

¹³⁷ The causes of this erosion will be further discussed in the following chapter. Archaeological responses to this issue are discussed below.

¹³⁸ This timeline significantly differs from that included in a preliminary 2004 report given to Kayak leadership, where it was asserted that the coastal profile at Grand Bay “will almost certainly disappear in the coming months” (Kaye 2004).

Thus, AP leadership understood their stakeholdership to be largely defined by their advocacy for an endangered and finite archaeological record (Fitzpatrick 2012:182). These threats serve to explain and rationalize archaeological intervention. Monitoring and analyzing the erosive processes, especially those impacting Grand Bay, became a prominent objective of the AP (Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:256). AP team members also sporadically salvaged exposed artifacts and human remains from eroding coastal profiles around the island on a case-by-case basis (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2004:3; Kaye et al. 2005:111, 2007:171-173, & 2012:95).

The Power to Preserve Carriacou's PBH

The following section addresses some of the key research questions at the heart of this dissertation, namely, which actors have the power to preserve Carriacou's PBH and by which mechanisms are they empowered? Because the AP was focused upon Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage, this will be the aspect of Kayak heritage under discussion. This section further probes what confers the authority to study and generate authorized heritage discourses about Carriacou's PBH. This final section is purposely arranged in descending order, beginning with which stakeholder groups I argue have been most empowered to preserve Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage according to this ethnographic research.

The AP researchers

Here, I argue that the AP researchers have had the most power of the above stakeholder groups to study and produce authorized heritage discourses (AHD) about Carriacou's PBH. Even though this stakeholder group was not empowered in every way that that other groups have been, their authority has been bolstered, in some way or another, by actors in these other groups. I further argue that the asymmetrical power dynamics between the AP researchers and Kayak stakeholders served to further marginalize and alienate the Kayaks in their preservation of their PBH.

There are many sources of power behind the AP researchers' authority to come from afar in order to study Carriacou's PBH. To begin, a large amount of this authority to conduct such research stems from their expertise, which was combination of previous work experience, academic credentialing, institutional backing. The project was started by three co-directors; when the first field season commenced in the Spring of 2003, two of the co-directors had master's degrees relating to pre-Columbian Caribbean archaeology and all had conducted archaeology in the Eastern Caribbean.¹³⁹ One of the co-directors also had experience serving on the board of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology (IACA). Importantly, these same factors are what also motivated Grenadian officials to grant permission for the AP to operate in Carriacou, which conferred additional authority and legitimacy in some circles.

¹³⁹ Eventually two would be awarded PhDs, with one of the dissertations specializing in pre-Columbian Caribbean archaeology.

The AP co-directors initially received permission to conduct their first season of fieldwork in 2003 by first writing to the Minister for Tourism¹⁴⁰ in Grenada and then to the Minister of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs.¹⁴¹ Once their survey identified productive sites for further investigation, the Grenada Ministry of Tourism granted permission to excavate the following year; permission was also gained by the private property landowners (Kaye et al. 2004:89).

Once excavations were underway, the power of the AP was demonstrable in many other ways. In the following paragraphs, I address examples of this power vis-à-vis the other stakeholder groups. As mentioned above, the swift rate at which erosion was causing the loss of archaeological material along Carriacou's coastline prompted the AP leadership to adopt a clear advocacy role to preserve the archaeological record. This advocacy manifested through a political engagement with officials at both the local and national to reshape heritage management policy. Before excavations even started, AP leadership had the goal of "increasing the awareness of the need for protective legislation to prevent further destruction of sites" (Kaye 2003:129), with subsequent AP reports reiterating the AP's objective of pushing for "the implementation of protective legislation" (Kaye et al. 2004:88) and recommending policy changes (Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:260; Kaye et al. 2007:174). In particular, AP leadership focused their attention on halting if not banning the practice of sandmining (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:256, 2007:254, & 2014:154; Kaye

¹⁴⁰ The Department of Tourism, Culture, Civil Aviation, and Performing Arts used to be under one Ministry, until Culture and Tourism were made into a separate Ministry.

¹⁴¹ This interview was conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/25/14.

et al. 2004:84), which was seen as one of the factors contributing to high erosion rates at Grand Bay.¹⁴²

This goal was eventually, if not temporarily, realized with a change in political leadership and switch of national parties, with an AP co-director commenting,

Indeed, one bright spot was a visit by the newly elected Prime Minister of Grenada, Tillman Thomas, to Grand Bay during our work in 2008. After discussions with the team, the PM issued a proclamation to cease sand mining at the site (Fitzpatrick 2009:33).

Further details of this event from the account of another co-director state that this auspicious site visit was not only attended by Grenada's newly elected Prime Minister, but other Cabinet Ministers, the Minister for Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs, and a television crew (Kaye et al. 2009:8). The co-director quoted above went on to say that once these officials "observe[d] our fieldwork, [and] saw what sandmining had done to the site," some of the AP leadership were asked to fly "to Grenada three days later to meet with the full Cabinet where they presented their research findings to date and discussed ways to preserve and protect archaeological sites throughout the country" (ibid.).

Another AP co-director provided more details about this follow-up visit with Grenadian officials. When going before the Grenada National Assembly to lobby against the practice of sandmining, AP leadership did more than speak to the threat that sandmining

¹⁴² Sandmining will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

posed to the archipelago's archaeological resources. They delivered a presentation reflecting how much money their teams spent during each field season in Grenada and Carriacou, which AP leadership viewed as "contribution[s] to [the] Grenadian economy").¹⁴³ In the opinion of this co-director, the presentation of their project expenditures played a critical role in the Grenadian government's decision to ban sandmining in Carriacou.¹⁴⁴ If taking this story at face value, it appears as though the AP's expenditures played a role in influencing national legislation. If so, this chain of events not only produced socioeconomic effects within Carriacou (by potentially putting construction workers out of a job), but may also have served to bolster the AP's stakeholder status in Carriacou's PBH in the eyes of the national government.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to note that AP leadership's accounts of this success do not mention the CHS or any joint partnership with its officers in this initiative. CHS representatives reported that they were not informed of or invited to this private audience with Grenadian government officials. When discussing this matter with the former president of the CHS, they expressed frustration that the AP leadership had taken credit for getting sandmining banned in Carriacou. They said that CHS board members had been fighting sandmining for years. In the end, it remains a bit unclear whether it was the AP leadership alone or a combination of grassroots actors and the AP involvement (or even potential additional factors) that led to the Grenadian government's intervention at

¹⁴³ Interview, 3/20/18. For example, in a public presentation delivered in Carriacou, one of the AP co-directors reported that their team had collectively spent \$350,000 EC (approximately \$131,000 USD) during the 2011 field season (see Kaye 2014).

¹⁴⁴ Personal communication, 6/6/14; Interview, 8/11/14.

that time. What is clear, however, is the apparent lack of coordination between AP and CHS leadership toward this goal.

The presentation of the above issue deliberately lacks the author's opinion on the "rightness" or "wrongness" of sandmining in Carriacou, the Grenadian government's decision to ban it, or the AP's intervention toward that outcome. This story is instead included here to support the argument that the AP leadership was able to gain access to political operatives and influence national legislation affecting Carriacou, both of which are reflective of their relative power and authority in matters relating to heritage preservation on the island.

Carriacou and Grenada

Before addressing the authority of Grenadian officials regarding the management of Carriacou's PBH, it is important to address the broader sociopolitical power dynamics at play between Carriacou and Grenada. Carriacou (13 square miles) and Petite Martinique (>1 square mile) are both "island dependencies" of the much larger, eponymous island of Grenada (134 square miles).

Even though many residents still rely upon some form of subsistence farming, most of the food consumed in Carriacou is imported (Jicha 2011:62); residents are at the whims of shipping, meaning food and supplies are typically more costly in Carriacou than in Grenada. Although the MCPMA's mission is "[t]o enhance and improve the way of life

and well being [sic] of our people in Carriacou and Petit Martinique by delivering professional, quality and timely services and infrastructure” (Government of Grenada 2022), residents are often vocal about a critical lack of resources in a host of sectors, including education, healthcare, environmental protections, and heritage preservation, to name but a few. It is not uncommon to hear of ill and/or infirm residents needing “to go up to Grenada” by ferry for medical treatment because of a lack of supplies and services in Carriacou.¹⁴⁵ To many Kayaks, this lack is seen as resulting from a conscious under-allocation of resources from the Grenadian government (Joseph 2015:91-92).

Although Carriacou’s “dependency” status has produced feelings of marginalization in Carriacou (Joseph 2015:91), this perceived neglect from the government combined with the distinctive Kayak identity have contributed to a very strong sense of independence amongst Kayaks. Jicha’s (2011) study on collective action in Carriacou found that with little outside support for local development, Carriacou’s communities had addressed its own needs. Local citizens

mobilize resources, face challenges, and accomplish collective goals...

Accordingly, twenty-first century development policy agendas have

shifted from previous top-down approaches towards bottom-up, or

participatory, ones that encourage collective action and self-determination

in more integrated, community-based or driven development. Such

¹⁴⁵ Only in the past few years has it become possible to go to Grenada and return the same day by ferry- in previous years, going to Grenada also meant having to find a place to spend the night. If one does not have family or friends to stay with, a hotel might be their only option. This might mean that a trip to Grenada for an appointment would take two days minimum and cost approximately \$100 USD, at least (\$60 USD for the roundtrip ferry and at least \$34 USD for the most modest guesthouse in Grenada). Unless paying to ship a car, the cost of taxis would need to be factored in as well.

strategies emphasize the notion of individual and community responsibility and the empowerment of the local community (2-3). As a Kayak interlocutor said, “No one goes hungry in Carriacou- everyone takes care of each other.”¹⁴⁶ Another major source of Kayak support comes in the form of remittances and goods that family members in the diaspora send on a regular basis to subsidize their people and offset their marginal status as a small dependency.¹⁴⁷ This ability for Kayaks to pull together and try to solve their problems has been a point of pride for the islanders.

Nevertheless, feelings of marginalization and neglect have fostered resentment and a lack of trust regarding the Grenadian government (Ashie-Nikoi 2007:13; Joseph 2015:91). At best, the government is viewed as “out of touch” when it comes to the needs of Kayaks; as a Kayak official claimed, “Grenadians have NO CLUE about Carriacou!”¹⁴⁸ This extends to a shared notion that Grenadians don’t know what’s best for Kayaks. Certain national initiatives may be viewed as “interfering” with local systems and not respecting Kayaks’ notions of autonomy. This has created a diminished regard for Grenadian authority, which affects the ways in which national legislation and government intervention are locally received.

¹⁴⁶ Interview, 8/12/17.

¹⁴⁷ Remittances, “the flow of hard currency and in-kind transfers of material goods by migrants to families back home,” are crucial to the economy of Carriacou; as elsewhere in the Caribbean, families in the diaspora use this system to invest in and take care of their people “back home” (Conway 2003:350-351).

¹⁴⁸ Interview, 12/5/18.

The above information about the complex dynamics between Kayaks and the Grenadian government is pertinent to this study for several reasons. It provides important context as we learn about the role those Grenadian policies play (or fail to play) in heritage preservation on Carriacou. As the following sections and chapters will demonstrate, the minimal amount of heritage preservation legislation that Grenada has adopted have not met the needs or addressed the concerns of Kayaks. In the end, I argue that this has left many Kayaks feeling disempowered to adequately protect their heritage the way they see fit, which likely exacerbated tensions between Carriacou's heritage protectors and the AP.

Government Officials in Grenada

Nevertheless, the power of the Grenadian government over Carriacou's PBH is a close second to that of the archaeologists. In fact, the interests of these two broad stakeholder groups often overlapped. As noted above, it was Grenada's Minister of Tourism that played the most significant role in granting continued permissions for AP operations in Carriacou, although local parties such as the Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs, Carriacou's tourism office, and the CHS also played a role. The example of the sandmining ban demonstrates 1) the Grenada government's power over daily operations in Carriacou, and 2) their willingness to favorably respond to visiting researchers' interests by intervening locally.

After several years, I was finally able to get an interview with one of the people highest on my list: the Minister of Culture in Grenada. When I inquired about their role regarding visiting archaeological projects, they provided two examples that were very insightful. The first relates to the AP, and the second to another archaeological project in Grenada operated by visiting researchers. In the case of the AP, the Minister had heard that there were “ongoing issues” according to certain members of the Carriacou public. This included distrust of the AP and concerns over how it was benefiting the communities of Carriacou. Apparently, communication had broken down to the point where the Ministry “got involved because of perception, what people [were] sayin’” [about the AP]. The Minister concluded by saying,

This is why the government needs to know what people are comin’ in, what are they doin’ and then you inform the community, so they can buy into it. So, it’s not about destroyin’ what they have, it’s about preservin’ and gettin’ a better understanding as to what it is.¹⁴⁹

This exchange suggests that the Minister of Culture 1) recognizes the research value of archaeology, but 2) there might be a distrust of visiting researchers, in which case 3) the Grenadian government might need to step in to facilitate such work. From this conversation, it appeared that the Minister of Culture did not share in Kayaks’ concerns, but understood their role in such a scenario as helping to get a skeptical community on board with the research project. Such an intervention on the researchers’ behalf would not only serve to legitimize those researchers and bolster their authority to investigate Carriacou’s PBH, but would send the message to Kayaks that scientific research was

¹⁴⁹ Interview, 11/10/18.

being prioritized over local concerns. Importantly, at no point in this hypothetical were Kayaks given the option to stop such research themselves.

As a result of these tensions, when another group of foreign archaeologists arrived some years later wishing to investigate pre-Columbian settlements in Grenada, a different tactic was taken, and one that seems to have shifted more power to the local community. The Minister of Culture recounted their role in brokering a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between these visiting archaeologists and Grenadian stakeholders before the project actually started.¹⁵⁰ This was done to clearly state the parameters of the research project in order to minimize potential misunderstandings, conflict, and/or feelings of exploitation among the small northern village where the project was set to take place.

Another important way that Grenadian authority is demonstrated and how the government has been involved in the management of Carriacou's PBH is through national heritage management legislation. Two laws are especially pertinent to this study: the National Heritage Protection Act and the Grenada National Museum Bill.¹⁵¹

The National Heritage Protection Act (Act 18, Chapter 204) was adopted in 1990 in order to "provide for the protection of Indigenous art work [sic] and Pre-Columbian artefacts and archaeological remains, and for connected matters." In essence, it mandates that no pre-Columbian materials are to be removed without a special license, and carries

¹⁵⁰ This is the La Poterie project operated by a team from Leiden University (See Hofman and Hoogland 2016). This project will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

¹⁵¹ Both bills in their entirety are included in Appendices C and D.

penalties involving heavy fines, as well as and imprisonment for repeat offenses upon summary conviction.¹⁵² From 1990 to 2009 this law only applied to “All the Crown Lands situated at Pearls in the Parish of St. Andrew” in Grenada, which is a well-known pre-Columbian Indigenous site. However, in 2009, this law was amended to extend its protections to the “Grand Bay Archaeology Site” in Carriacou, which was the location of AP excavations since 2004. According to this law, the Minister of Culture is to work with the Grenada National Trust to issue licenses and appoint National Heritage Preservation Officers to monitor protected sites (Pearls and Grand Bay). Finally, the Minister is to appoint heritage preservation officers to enforce the Act (see below).

There is evidence to suggest that it was the advocacy of the AP researchers that led to the 2009 amendment to protect Grand Bay, such as the word “Archaeology” in the name of the site as well as interview data from the Minister for Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs serving at the time.¹⁵³ In the early years of the project, the AP leadership forged a relationship with this individual, who was a local barrister and community leader at the time. However, they eventually became the Minister for Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs in 2008, and remained very interested in the AP and sympathetic to its cause. As previously discussed, the AP leadership had made a strong and positive impression upon Grenada’s Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers in 2008 as well. As a result, they were able to successfully argue that the site of Grand Bay, where they had been

¹⁵² Requesting and obtaining official permission to remove artifactual and human remains from Caribbean islands for archaeological research purposes is different from sovereignty to sovereignty (Siegel and Righter 2011). What is described above is similar to the situation on islands such as St. Kitts and Nevis, where all researchers must receive official permission from the Ministry of Finance, Development, Planning, and National Security in order to remove materials from the islands (Ahlman and Scudder-Temple 2011:66).

¹⁵³ Interview, 10/12/18.

excavating since 2004, was an incredibly important site and was in dire need of strict protection. The National Heritage Protection Act was amended the following year to specifically include Grand Bay, and only Grand Bay.

The AP did not resume in Carriacou until 2011, after a three-year hiatus. In the meantime, the 2009 amendment was passed and was gazetted. However, it does not appear as though the AP leadership ever learned of this development, even though it was likely related to their previous lobbying efforts and goal to “promote future legislation to protect these important and quickly disappearing sites” (Kaye et al. 2007:174).

What follows is an excerpt of an interview with one of the AP co-directors in 2017:

Interviewer: I have in my interview notes that the permits to survey and excavate came through the Ministry of Tourism, Civil Aviation, Culture & Cooperatives in Grenada (GND). I'm just double checking that this is correct.

AP co-director: The Grenada govt. doesn't issue permits, per se. We only get letters of permission.

Interviewer: What antiquities or heritage mgmt. laws (if any) was the team operating within as the project was designed?

AP co-director: At the time of our research, there were no mgmt. laws (which is why there was not a permitting process).

Interviewer: Has anything significantly changed with regards to GND heritage management/legislation/legal protections since your project has been in operation?

AP co-director: Not that I am aware, at least as far as prehistoric stuff goes

Interviewer: If so, what is the mechanism for the team staying abreast of any possible changes to GND/C/cou heritage management procedures?

AP co-director: We did this simply by communicating with the CHS and Ministry

Interviewer: Who signed what in terms of the research permits?

AP co-director: N/A

Interviewer: What do the permits stipulate?

AP co-director: N/A

Interviewer: Do you have to renew them? If so, what is required (e.g. [sic] status reports, etc.)

AP co-director: N/A

Interviewer: Did these permits in GND require formal local permission from any parties in C/Cou?

AP co-director: N/A¹⁵⁴

In interviewing, one of the other AP co-directors reported that “there’s no regulation, no legislation” when it comes to heritage preservation for the nation of Grenada.¹⁵⁵ For the

¹⁵⁴ Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/29/17. “C/cou” is short for Carriacou and “GND” is short for Grenada.

¹⁵⁵ Interview, 8/26/14.

AP leadership to be unaware of this law is significant. If enforced, it would have serious implications for all of their fieldwork that took place after 2009, which includes the 2011 and 2014 field seasons.

In 2009, the AP leadership published an article where they restated that they aimed “to promote the enacting and enforcing of legislation to protect sites from development, sand mining, and intentional damage” in Carriacou (Kaye et al. 2009:7). As it turns out, all activity, whether seen as looting or scientific excavation, was restricted in the name of site preservation, pending special permitting from the Minister of Culture and GNT. So, why were the AP’s co-directors seemingly unaware of the 2009 amendment to the National Heritage Protection Act that extended to cover the site of Grand Bay? This may have occurred if the AP leadership could have been relying upon the CHS officers to keep them abreast of such issues. As will be addressed below, the CHS president who took over in 2011 was also unaware of this 2009 amendment,¹⁵⁶ suggesting a disconnect between Grenada and Carriacou in issues of heritage management. Of most concern of all, however, was that the Minister of Culture based out of Grenada, an elected officer who was supposed to in charge of the licensing process mentioned in the law, was also seemingly unaware of the 2009 amendment as well. During interviewing, they claimed

¹⁵⁶ What remains unclear is why the Minister for Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs, who was the same individual who held the office since 2008 and had been such a strong ally of the AP, appears to have not notified the AP leadership about this significant development. Perhaps the Minister did not think that this was their role. Or it could be that they assumed that the AP leadership already knew. Although the state of communication between these parties is not completely clear between the years of 2008-2011, the AP leadership does specifically thank “the Minister of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs “for his continued interest in and support for our archaeological work” in their 2011 site report (Kaye et al. 2012:99), which does not seem to indicate a complete lack of contact.

that there was nothing like a permit required to excavate at Grand Bay.¹⁵⁷ Although it is unclear exactly why this was the case, the maintaining of institutional memory and continuity of service has been a challenge for government ministries and private organizations alike in Grenada especially when there is a change in the governing political party.¹⁵⁸ This presents quite a challenge for visiting researchers to stay abreast of pertinent changes to legislation or to know how to best navigate laws that are seemingly not widely known and/or remain unenforced.

Another important piece of national heritage management legislation is the Grenada National Museum Bill of 2017, which was crafted by Grenada-based heritage professionals. If implemented, this law would have significant consequences for heritage management throughout Grenada. To begin, this law nationalizes the Grenada National Museum (GNM), and makes it the central repository for *all* heritage resources across the nation's three islands.¹⁵⁹ As of 2019, two years after this bill was passed, it had yet to be put into effect. An interlocutor who helped craft the bill relayed that the Grenada government, as usual, was delayed in implementing it.¹⁶⁰

It may come as a surprise that Grenadian government officials are not presented here as having more authority and power over Carriacou's PBH than the archaeological

¹⁵⁷ It is possible that the Minister was referring to work prior to 2009 when the amendment to adopt Grand Bay was included.

¹⁵⁸ Political operatives who were interviewed reported that the majority of NDC initiatives were halted in their tracks and set aside once the NNP took over in 2013. Apparently, the NDC also approved important cultural policies before the election, but the NNP did not carry them forward. As a result, such policies are only followed by those who know about it.

¹⁵⁹ However, interlocutors who had served as curators at the Grenada National Museum have conveyed that it does not have the capacity, government support, or resources to fulfill this mandate (Interview, 8/29/17).

¹⁶⁰ Interview, 8/14/19.

stakeholders. However, this ranking was decided based upon important data to emerge from this ethnography. Although Grenadian government officials have the power to pass heritage preservation laws, they do not use this power to ensure that they are implemented or enforced. As a result, heritage preservation officers were not appointed to monitor Grand Bay, and unlicensed¹⁶¹ excavations were able to take place.

The Carriacou Ministry

The AP co-directors initially received permission to conduct their first season of fieldwork in 2003 by first writing to the Minister for Tourism¹⁶² in Grenada and to the Minister of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs.¹⁶³ By the final two seasons, the co-directors primarily thanked the Minister of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs for their support and “continued permission to excavate on the island” (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:160; Kaye et al. 2012:99) with no mention of any Grenadian ministers. Whatever the reason was for this shift, it signals that evoking MCPMA did contribute toward the AP’s authority vis-à-vis Carriacou’s PBH.

Despite evidence that the former Minister for Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs (2008-2013) likely played a role in getting Grand Bay added to the National Heritage Protection Act, it appears that this initiative was rendered inert by a lack of follow

¹⁶¹ To be clear, there was no formal permitting process in place prior to the 2009 amendment to the National Heritage Protection Act. The term would therefore not apply to the AP field seasons prior to 2009. The term “unlicensed” is only applicable to the field seasons of 2011 and 2014 after this amendment was adopted.

¹⁶² The Department of Tourism, Culture, Civil Aviation, and Performing Arts used to be under one Ministry, until Culture and Tourism were made into a separate Ministry.

¹⁶³ Email interview with co-director, 4/25/14.

through at the national level. I therefore argue here that the Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs (MCPMA) overall has less power than the Grenadian government when it comes to preserving Carriacou's PBH. To illustrate, I will use the issue of the sandmining ban and the National Heritage Protection Act.

As noted above, erosion due to sandmining (among other factors) was damaging the archaeological profile at Grand Bay, the location of prolonged AP excavations. The AP leadership was vocal about this issue from the beginning stages of the project, but their growing frustration at the situation came through in subsequent publications:

- “Pleas to local government officials... have done little to slow [sandmining at Grand Bay]...” (Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:259).
- “It is likely that this erosion would be significantly diminished if sand mining was stopped, but pleas to local officials have done little to change the situation” (Fitzpatrick et al. 2007:254).

The use of the word “local (government) officials” in these two quotes likely references the MCPMA, as this is the locally based government offices in Carriacou. If this is the case, such “pleas” to change national policy were not answered with a ban in sandmining until AP leadership gained a private audience with high-ranking Grenadian officials in 2008.

In addition, the MCPMA did not have the power to unilaterally enforce the 2009 amendment to the National Heritage Protection Act without movement first from the Minister of Culture and Grenada National Trust. As a result, the local Ministry was never

staffed with a heritage preservation officer who could monitor Grand Bay, which would have been quite welcomed. The landowner of Grand Bay and many other residents often spoke of frequent looting at pre-Columbian sites around the island,¹⁶⁴ expressing frustration that their calls to the police had been futile. The Permanent Secretary at the MCPMA told me that neighbors watch out for each other, but asked who's there to watch the sites?

Kayak Communities and the CHS

As previously stated, this chapter discusses the various stakeholders involved in heritage preservation in Carriacou and by which mechanisms they have been empowered to do so. These stakeholder groups have been presented in descending order based upon their relative power to preserve Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage.

A prominent theme to emerge from this research is how conscious Kayak residents are of the various risks that are threatening forms of their tangible and intangible heritage¹⁶⁵ as well as the lack of support they receive to protect them as they see fit. In 2015, I hosted a focus group in Carriacou to present updates in my research and listen to residents discuss what challenges they saw to local heritage preservation. A clear take-away from that meeting was that Kayaks feel as though they must fight to have the Grenadian government help them preserve their heritage. As one CHS officer lamented, "If we

¹⁶⁴ This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

¹⁶⁵ These risks will be addressed in the following chapter.

could [just] get through to our local government... what we got has got to be protected!”¹⁶⁶

As the next chapter will address, residents have borne witness to the looting of their pre-Columbian heritage sites for over a century. Pleas to the Grenadian government over such issues has not worked. A former CHS president claimed that “The law doesn’t give sufficient support to go after these offenses... it’s outdated.”¹⁶⁷ In fact, there was no law to begin with. Before the 2017 National Museum Bill, there was no law that even extended protection to all the tangible heritage resources of the tri-island state. Before that, the only legislation that covered tangible heritage in Carriacou was the 2009 amendment to the National Heritage Act,¹⁶⁸ but it only pertained to the Indigenous settlement site of Grand Bay. While Grand Bay is one of the most extensive of such sites, Carriacou has over a dozen identified pre-Columbian sites, many of which are rapidly eroding away.

Residents have also tried to protect their heritage sites by calling the police when they witness looting. I heard tell of many such instances, yet none of them resulted in a satisfactory outcome for residents. Although it may not matter, most police officers who are stationed in Carriacou are actually from Grenada. A CHS officer recounted a recent instance where local expatriate residents were observed looting at Grand Bay. Residents saw this and immediately called the police but they “wouldn’t take any action.”¹⁶⁹ In

¹⁶⁶ Interview, 8/17/17.

¹⁶⁷ Interview, 9/21/15.

¹⁶⁸ See the Appendix C for the full version of this bill.

¹⁶⁹ Interview, 8/17/17.

absence of police response, Kayak residents “felt powerless to go after them,”¹⁷⁰ leaving them with the impression that the looters could carry on with impunity.¹⁷¹ I have both witnessed and heard about the confrontations that community members have had with looters, yet there is really nothing they can do.

As a result of largely being left on their own to protect their heritage, Kayaks have developed a sort of “neighborhood watch,” a community vigilance where residents closely monitor any outsider seen getting too close to known heritage sites. However, much of the looting of pre-Columbian heritage occurs in rural parts of the island where there are with less eyes to see. As a former CHS president exclaimed “[we] try to police the [sites] but people still take!”¹⁷² Since calls to the police have seemed to do no good, residents have instead called the Carriacou Museum or even the local radio station (VIBES 101.3 FM) during live broadcasting to warn other Kayaks to “be on the lookout.”¹⁷³ This station functions as an immediate alert system; many on the island tune in as do Kayaks who are living abroad in the diaspora. Such community action produced the only “happy ending” to a looting event that I heard in the course of this research. A former CHS president proudly recounted how residents mobilized and “intercepted materials that were going to be smuggled out [of Carriacou]” by amateur archaeologists.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ In this case, Carriacou’s police would have actually had the option to issue a steep fine because Grand Bay was covered by the National Heritage Act since 2009. However, the law is made moot if not enforced.

¹⁷² Interview, 9/21/15.

See Chapter 4 for a discussion of who has the power to protect heritage resources in Carriacou.

¹⁷³ This tactic will come up again in the following chapter.

¹⁷⁴ Interview, 9/21/15.

However, the overwhelming majority of looting narratives recounted by Kayak residents during the course of this research had no triumphant tenor. In the following chapter, I will discuss an archaeologist named Lesley Suttty that is well known in Carriacou for looting pre-Columbian sites. Kayaks claim that Suttty took looted items with her when she relocated to the island of Martinique, and that some resurfaced at the Musée Régional d'Histoire et d'Ethnographie.¹⁷⁵ Many years later, CHS officers and a guest curator attempted to recover these looted materials. They notified Grenadian officials that Suttty's actions were illegitimate because she acted "without any permission from the Government of Grenada, despite it being decades after the 1970 and 1972 UNESCO conventions on the protection of cultural heritage" (Hanna 2021:3, footnote). However, they claimed that they received no assistance after making this appeal. A CHS officer said that they then wrote letters directly to Martinique officials themselves, but that "the government just ignored us."¹⁷⁶ This outcome demonstrates the relative lack of power and support that local stakeholders have felt in the preservation of their heritage resources (see Chapter 4), all of which compounds the community outrage that looting already produces.

An important dynamic that affects the CHS' ability to preserve Carriacou's PBH is their lack of funding. Although the CHS president reported that the organization did receive

¹⁷⁵ Interview, 9/14/15.

This local account has been confirmed by Grenadian-based American archaeologist Jonathan Hanna, who notes that "[f]or whatever reason, most of the artifacts Suttty collected in Grenada, Carriacou, and Petite Martinique were later donated to the Musée Régional d'Histoire et d'Ethnographie de la Martinique rather than the Carriacou Museum or the Grenada National Museum in St. George's" (Hanna 2021:3; see also Petitjean Roget 2005). The artifacts that were "donated" by Suttty were nevertheless looted from Carriacou; this so-called "donation" could be seen as analogous to Brinkley's incorporation of looted Indigenous material from other islands to the Carriacou Museum.

¹⁷⁶ Interview, 9/14/15.

government support from 2008-2011 when a new political party took over,¹⁷⁷ such funding has since dried up.¹⁷⁸ The Carriacou Museum thus relies upon meager entrance fees, CHS membership fees,¹⁷⁹ and donations in order to operate. Funding from local donations and grants from Canadian organizations¹⁸⁰ were used to save the first iteration of the museum after it was destroyed by sea surges during a Hurricane (Whyte 2016:13). In more recent years, the CHS board has sought out grants and donations to deal with pressing threats to the Carriacou Museum building, including termite infestations and an outdated electrical system.

Another factor that has curtailed the ability of the CHS to protect Carriacou's PBH is that the Grenadian government has not sufficiently collaborated or communicated with Kayaks on issues of heritage preservation initiatives. There are two obvious examples of this: the aforementioned 2009 amendment to the National Heritage Protection Act and the 2017 National Museum Bill. The 2009 amendment to the National Heritage Protection Act added the Indigenous settlement of Grand Bay (in Carriacou) to the list of nationally protected heritage sites (discussed above). Despite this important development, this amendment was not widely known in Carriacou. As previously mentioned, the AP leadership did not know about it, and that was likely because the CHS board didn't either. The CHS president serving at the time of its adoption did not hear about it until six or

¹⁷⁷ Personal communication, 6/12/19.

¹⁷⁸ Interview, 8/26/15.

¹⁷⁹ This is the membership fee system of the CHS: Junior: EC \$10 (under 16) (\$3.75 USD); Member: EC \$25 (\$9.36 USD); Friend: EC \$100 (\$37.45 USD); Patron: EC \$500 (\$210.97 USD); Sponsor: EC \$1,000 (\$374.53 USD).

¹⁸⁰ These organizations include the Canadian International Development Agency and the Canadian Fund for Local Initiatives (Whyte 2016:13, 15).

seven years afterwards.¹⁸¹ In their opinion, this represented a sorely missed opportunity and was but one more example of Kayaks being let down by their government.¹⁸²

Secondly, the 2017 National Museum Bill, if implemented, would serve to nationalize Carriacou's tangible PBH. In other words, this material would not be "theirs" anymore. This would, in effect, obliterate the distinctive place-based component of Kayak heritage. If implemented and enforced as is, this would also gut the Carriacou Museum, as all holdings are then to be transferred to the Grenada National Museum. As it is written, this bill would dramatically undermine Kayaks' role in their own heritage preservation.

The ways in which Carriacou was overlooked within national heritage legislation was a bone of contention for the former CHS president. As such, he¹⁸³ took several steps in recent years to try to urge the government to empower Kayaks in their heritage preservation. One such example is a letter that he wrote to the Permanent Secretary of the MCPMA (see Figure 1, below).¹⁸⁴ This letter reflects the limitations of the CHS to cope with such challenges on their own, and includes the interventions that they required from

¹⁸¹ The CHS president only learned of these legislations after the AP had concluded under its original leadership in 2014. They were not made privy to the law due to communication with government officials, but through family connections. Their cousin had been a former attorney general, and so he was invited to be a guest speaker at a CHS Annual General Meeting (AGM) to provide guidance on navigating heritage management legislation (personal communication, 12/4/18).

¹⁸² This particular CHS president would have been keenly interested in such a development. In those years, they had been consciously making changes to the CHS and its operations in order to mitigate what he understood to be significant power asymmetries between the AP and CHS. At this point, there was a growing dissatisfaction amongst certain CHS board members and residents with the lack of oversight of AP operations at Grand Bay, as well as with the removal of materials off island. This was compounded by the fairly common issues with looting at such sites, especially by visitors. The CHS president would have therefore been eager to facilitate the implementation of this amendment so the CHS could witness enhanced site protections and enforced government monitoring by National Heritage Preservation Officers.

¹⁸³ Instead of using the gender neutral "they," I am using the CHS president's actual pronoun here because his name is included below in official correspondence.

¹⁸⁴ The CHS president emailed me a copy because he knew that I was interested in tracking such local developments for my research. This letter will reappear in Chapter 7.

the MCPMA and broader Grenadian government. Some of these challenges related to AP operations.

One of his chief concerns was how Carriacou has been overlooked when it comes to national heritage preservation initiatives and that Kayaks had not been consulted in the drafting of such legislation. For example, he advocated for the 2017 Museum Bill to be amended to include exceptions for Carriacou, meaning that they could keep their museum and their materials on the island. As of this writing in October 2022, the Museum Bill has yet to make provisions for Carriacou, but, then again, it's not being enforced anyway.

Another objective that the CHS president had was to get the permitting system and heritage protection officer positions set up as stipulated in National Heritage Protection Act. If such positions were to be staffed, then they could help patrol Carriacou's heritage sites that are so often targeted by looters, perhaps taking some of the onus off of Kayak residents. All the government had to do was enforce this law that they created and were sworn to uphold.



CARRIACOU HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
PATERSON STREET
HILLSBOROUGH, CARRIACOU
TELEPHONE: 473-443-8288
E-mail: carriacoumuseum@gmail.com, Ltd.

November 30, 2018

Ms. Rholda Quamina
Permanent Secretary (Ag.)
Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs
Beausejour
Carriacou

Dear Ms. Quamina,

I was disappointed that we did not get to have a one-on-one meeting before I left to discuss our work in the Carriacou Historical Society as it relates to the preservation of our heritage. I am very pleased to learn of your interest in this area, particularly, the work that visiting archaeologists have been doing in Carriacou over the years.

I just had a conversation with Annie Caruso who has been working closely with the society for the past few years while conducting interviews in connection with her doctoral dissertation research. Annie, has been quite aware of many of the problems that emanated from the Carriacou Archeology Project which started in 2003, before I became president of the society; and she knows that I have grave concerns about the way that the project was handled. For example, many tons of excavated artifacts were left at society's expense for storage; many human remains that were extracted have been taken away and have not been returned.

Annie, unlike many of the persons who have been doing excavation over the years, seem to be genuine and a credible witness to the problems. Many of these folks took us in Carriacou for granted, and unfortunately, some of us put our heads down and accept their lack of respect for us and our values.

I plan to be back in Carriacou early in the coming year, so I hope that we could discuss some of the issues which need to be addressed with respect to the past project and any future archaeology work in Carriacou. In fact, I just received a copy of a letter addressed to the Hon. Minister and yourself from Ms. Abigail Bernard regarding permission being sought for archeological work on the Quashie's property in Breteche area. Where the problem lies with the lack of communication with the Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs over the years, is in the National Heritage Act Chapter 204, Sec. 3(b) which gives the minister responsible for culture the powers to grant license to extract, excavate, etc. after consultation with the Grenada National Trust (GNT).

What is very troubling to me is the lack of government initiatives in the area of heritage preservation in Carriacou and Petite Martinique. Here I am referring to the tangible heritage, our historic structures and relics, including artifacts excavated by researchers. Many of the laws on the books make no reference to

heritage preservation in Carriacou, except the Grand Bay site which has been given limited legal protection in Chapter 204 referred to above. The recent enactment of legislation for cultural activities in Carriacou and Petite Martinique is just a step in the right direction.

The Carriacou Historical Society has been in existence for over 40 years, and no recognition has been given to the work that the society has been doing in the preservation of our cultural and tangible heritage. Luckily, I have been working collaboratively with the GNT recently to get some recognition for the society, since the GNT is entrusted with the nation's heritage preservation under the National Trust Act, Chapter 207 of 1967. Yet, the act makes no reference to Carriacou.

I trust that I would have an opportunity to discuss these concerns with both you and the honorable Minister whenever I return.

Let me wish you a Merry Christmas and a Bright and Prosperous New Year.

Sincerely,

Stephen Alexander

President and chairman of the Board

Figure 1

Conclusion

After mapping the various stakeholders, their claims to Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage, and their relative power to protect it, it should be clear that the stakeholders closest to the issue and with the most to lose are also the ones with the least amount of power. Kayak communities have been alienated from both their place-based heritage (PBH) and its preservation by many forces.

To begin, the government of Grenada sets its own agenda for heritage related initiatives without Kayak consulting. This means that they either do not reflect their interests or, worse, go against them. An example of the latter was the push to nationalize their identities and their heritage resources through the Museum Bill; this would present an existential crisis. While Kayaks are given no money to protect their heritage resources, the government goes all in on heritage tourism initiatives, which Kayaks are deeply

ambivalent about (Guerrón Montero 2011 & 2015). Simply put, Kayaks are not enthusiastic to market their heritage for others' consumption (ibid.) In their experience, outsiders tend to exploit their heritage, and they are limited in what they can do about it. At the same time that Grenada brands and markets Kayaks' unique African retentions, trotting them out as the pride of the nation for tourists, they are overlooked and marginalized.

One of the biggest take-aways is how utterly unsupported Kayak heritage protectors feel by the Grenadian government. The government crafted heritage legislation that worked against Kayak interests. The government failed to enforce heritage legislation that could have better protected Kayak PBH. While community action has helped keep the Carriacou Museum afloat and residents are doing their best to run off looters, Kayaks clearly need more assistance in these matters. Not assistance that comes with strings attached, but support that would empower them to protect their PBH the way they see fit.

On the other hand, the team of visiting researchers had relatively more power than Kayaks had themselves when it came to this issue. They were able to get permission for a project in Carriacou before any local people were consulted, get audiences with Grenadian officials, influence local heritage legislation, and help halt sandmining (which CHS officers had been trying to fight for years). They received permission and support for their work over the years from Grenada's Minister of Tourism and various tourism offices and built heritage tourism promotion into their project objectives. Their work led to the production of tourism materials that mapped out the location of all the pre-

Columbian heritage sites on Carriacou that tourists so frequently looted. Nearly all of these heritage sites were on private property as well.

The visiting archaeologists seemed to have many shared interests with stakeholders in the Carriacou Ministry and Grenadian government. In addition to expanding heritage tourism in Carriacou, the researchers also had a shared interest in national identity. In particular, they discuss their goal to use their work to help shape national and international identities in Carriacou (Kaye et al. 2009:7). Sovereignty and self-determination are some of the highest values for Kayaks. Outsiders impinging upon that, even if they are Grenadian, is utterly rejected. Therefore, a group of visiting researchers putting something like this into their project design (without the consultation of the CHS or broader Kayak residents) would not go over well.¹⁸⁵

While some of the AP actions were supported by a Carriacou's expatriate community, tourists, and a group of CHS officers over the years, they notably clashed with a contingency of other CHS officers and residents as well.¹⁸⁶ As the above letter from the CHS president to the Permanent Secretary illustrates, the project that Grenadian officials had signed off on had been presenting challenges for the Carriacou Museum, including the burden of having to store the approximate 8,000 lbs. of excavated materials the AP

¹⁸⁵ Because of situations like this, a CHS officer described the researchers as coming off as “condescending” and “tone deaf” (8/17/15).

¹⁸⁶ This will be further explored in the following chapters.

had produced over the years.¹⁸⁷ This ended up costing the CHS unexpected sums of money, all the while their government was not assisting them with any funding.

In the end, it is clear that Kayaks had existing feelings of marginalization and alienation relating to heritage preservation before the AP showed up. Their government was not supporting them so they could best protect their PBH. I argue that the AP exacerbated these existing tensions because its researchers had more relative power than Kayaks in heritage preservation matters. As the following chapter will address, these tensions are made worse when AP operations themselves function to further disempower Kayaks from the preservation of their PBH.

¹⁸⁷ Once excavations got underway, AP leadership brought excavated materials, such as artifacts, ceramic sherds, and midden samples, back to the Carriacou Museum, in order to store them for possible “future research” (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:157). This was the system in place until these materials had taken up considerable space in the upstairs of the Museum. A museum employee who was interviewed claimed that the ceiling of the historic building had started to sag under the weight of the excavated materials, and that they posed a threat to the structural integrity of the building. Certain CHS officers claimed that they were unclear how much excavated material would be brought back each season of excavation (or in total), or that initially granting permission for this arrangement could mean that they would no longer be able use the museum’s upper level for their meetings and events, as they had in the past. The person who was serving as the CHS president when the AP first arrived said that the board “didn’t know what to expect with the dig” in terms of storage, but it eventually became a problem and caused tensions between the stakeholder groups. They went on to add, “it would have been better if the archaeologists had anticipated what would come of the dig” (Interview, 9/21/15), echoing another officer who criticized the AP for not talking to them about storage in advance (Interview, 8/17/15). Certain CHS officers thus felt that they had to move all of this material themselves and pay to store them off site, which was costly and did not fit within their meager budget. These materials are currently stored in a 20 ft. shipping container that certain CHS officers demanded that the AP co-directors purchase for them in the 2014 field season.

CHAPTER 5

WHY PROTECT HERITAGE? WHAT IS AT STAKE

Introduction

In the previous chapters, I have argued that Caribbean identities are complex and variously constructed, creolized, and often marked by a shared sense of neo/colonial marginalization and exploitation. Kayaks have creolized identities, encompassing Indigenous, European, and African elements (among others). These identities are characterized by deep and inalienable ties to the land of Carriacou and the heritage embedded within it. Carriacou's pre-Columbian material culture is considered to be part of Kayak island patrimony, their place-based heritage (PBH), regardless of known, acknowledged, or expressed Indigenous descent.

I have further argued that the stakes of preserving Carriacou's PBH involve maintaining Kayak's distinct identities and their ties to and claims over the island-scape. In other words, they view their stakeholdership as bound up with issues of autonomy.

Furthermore, Kayaks understand their identities as unique and distinct from their national citizenship as Grenadians. This has imparted a strong sense of belonging and has underscored an insider status. Nevertheless, Kayaks have had relatively less power in the preservation of their PBH compared to other external entities, including the government of Grenada and visiting researchers. This has furthered feelings of disenfranchisement and disempowerment.

In the previous chapter, I discussed who preserves the heritage of Carriacou, including the nature of various groups' stakeholderhood and how they have been empowered in those efforts. In this chapter, I address why preserve the heritage of Carriacou from the various perspectives of the two stakeholder groups closest to the issue at hand- Kayak residents and the Archaeology Project's researchers.¹⁸⁸ In general, those within these broad groups have a keen interest in the preservation of Carriacou's heritage. Moreover, the impetus to preserve this heritage is motivated by a shared sense among these diverse stakeholders that Carriacou's heritage is under threat. Although there are some instances where interlocutors across these broad groups agree about which processes are threatening Carriacou's heritage, there are many important differences, including which threats are seen as most pressing and the root causes behind them.

Threats to Carriacou's Heritage: AP Researchers' Perspectives

Overall, the theme of Carriacou's endangered archaeological record¹⁸⁹ is especially prominent within AP discourse and plays a key role in dictating the visiting archaeologists' stakeholderhood in Carriacou's place-based heritage (PBH).¹⁹⁰ This dynamic was essential to the framing of the project as salvage (or "rescue") archaeology¹⁹¹ and was cited to explain the urgent need for the AP's intervention and the

¹⁸⁸ For the former group, the views of Carriacou Historical Society (CHS) board members, museum staff, and community leaders are emphasized. For the latter, I primarily focus upon the perspectives of the AP's leadership, including co-directors and staff. It is important to again reiterate that these two groups are not monolithic, nor did perspectives remain static with the passage of time.

¹⁸⁹ For an overview of this concept, see Chapter 2.

¹⁹⁰ As mentioned in the previous chapter, various vocational interests also comprise AP participants' stakeholderhood.

¹⁹¹ Interview, 3/20/18.

prioritization of its leadership's heritage management recommendations (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2007; Kaye et al. 2005).

Some of the phenomena that AP researchers identified as posing a threat to Carriacou's heritage were briefly mentioned in the previous chapter. The following section adds additional nuance to this issue using data from person-centered interviewing among AP leadership as well as a critical discourse analysis of the project's extensive publications. At the outset, it is important to note that the aspect of Carriacou's diverse heritage of most concern and relevance to the AP's conservation efforts was the island's pre-Columbian material culture. In addition, some of the threats to this pre-Columbian heritage identified by the AP were extrapolated from their work at two specific Indigenous settlement sites, Sabazan and Grand Bay (e.g., sandmining at Grand Bay).

Natural Erosion

Concerns over the degradation of Carriacou's Indigenous sites appeared to have been one of the motivating forces for the foundation of the AP and a key factor in its research design. The project's first published field report states that the initial island-wide survey was done in order to "assess the threat of destruction to [pre-Columbian] sites by natural erosion and development" (Kaye 2003:129), and the two sites that were selected for future excavations (Sabazan and Grand Bay) were those "deemed most at risk from erosion" (ibid.:132) as well as conducive to fruitful excavations. During the AP's second field season the following year, photographic and total station survey data demonstrated

that certain locations, such as Grand Bay, were losing up to one meter of coastline per year (Fitzpatrick et al. 2004:3, 2006:252, & 2007:254; Kaye et al. 2004:84 & 2005:109).

Natural erosion has been impacting Carriacou's coastlines for quite some time. Erosion at Sabazan was recorded by visiting archaeologists as early as the 1960s (Fitzpatrick et al. 2004:3; see also Bullen and Bullen 1972). Natural erosion has been caused by many factors over the years, including torrential rain, runoff, wave action, and sea surges,¹⁹² some of which is caused by tropical storms and hurricanes.¹⁹³ Although natural, these phenomena have been exacerbated by human-driven climate change (Fitzpatrick 2012), which is also causing rising sea levels. Sea level rise not only threatens to further erode and potentially inundate Carriacou's coastal pre-Columbian sites, but poses an existential threat to small islands in general (ibid.).

Anthropogenic Erosion: Development

Contemporary development activities may pose a threat to the archaeological record in a number of ways, but the most obvious example involves sites being destroyed in the course of construction activities. In the case of small, developing Caribbean nations,

¹⁹² Such processes have posed a threat to cultural resources in the past; the first iteration of the Carriacou Museum near the beach was so badly battered by sea surges that the building was destroyed and approximately half of the collections were swept away (Whyte 2016; see also Suttty 1990).

¹⁹³ Although Carriacou's position in the southern Antillean chain does shield it from the worst of the region's annual hurricane season, it is still sporadically hit by hurricanes and tropical storms. In 1955 for example, Hurricane Janet dealt a devastating blow to Kayak society by leveling "all but twelve houses island wide" (Miller 2005:426). The next hurricane to deliver comparable damage wasn't until 2004 when Hurricane Ivan hit. Unfortunately, tropical storm Emily hit the following year (2005), which sociologist Karl Jicha (2011) argued only compounded Carriacou's "marginalized status as part of a developing country" (56).

balancing development initiatives with heritage preservation efforts has proven to be a great challenge (Siegel and Righter 2011). Not only is space at a premium, but coastal locations where the oldest pre-Columbian settlements are likely to be located are also those more frequently selected for development. This is exacerbated in cases where the Caribbean nation in question lacks cultural resource management protocols or the capacity to enforce site protections (Hanna 2017; Fitzpatrick 2009 & 2012; Siegel and Righter 2011).

However, Carriacou's coastlines have not been disturbed for the installation of any large tourist resorts like in other islands, including parts of Grenada. The sites of Grand Bay and Sabazan have not been in significant danger of being developed in any planned construction projects. At the close of its 2014 field season, AP leadership continued their tradition of hosting an "Open Day," during which they deliver a public field report and lead a guided tour of Grand Bay. During this site visit, one of the co-directors noted the unique nature of Carriacou as well as the site, remarking that both were unusual due to their relative lack of development compared to other Caribbean islands. So, why then is development still listed as one of the primary drivers of pre-Columbian site destruction in the AP's second field report (Kaye et al. 2004:82)?

Anthropogenic Erosion: Sandmining

Development activities may cause coastal erosion and therefore damage archaeological sites in more indirect ways. Coastal erosion caused by development has been an issue in

Carriacou for centuries. In the colonial era, the construction of plantations was achieved through the mass deforestation of the flattest portions of the island, which destroyed many of the crucial root systems necessary to hold topsoil in place. By the 19th century, approximately 80% of Carriacou's vegetation had been cleared for such estates (Jicha 2011:60; McGregor 2003; Richardson 1975).¹⁹⁴ In the absence of large supplies of timber with which to build, Carriacou's residents have resorted to harvesting beach sand with which manufacture concrete for local building projects. This practice is known as beach dredging, or sandmining. In project publications, the authors cite sandmining as one of the largest anthropogenic threats to the Indigenous material heritage at Grand Bay (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:256, 2007:254, & 2014:154; Kaye et al. 2004:84).¹⁹⁵

Sandmining has not taken place directly atop Carriacou's Indigenous settlement sites but down on the beach. Nevertheless, beach dredging in proximity to such sites poses a danger to archaeological resources if enough sand is removed to where the protective buffer between the sea and the archaeological profile is lost. Kaye et al. (2005) explains that sandmining a change in the direction "of the tidal flow, and by increasing the abrasive action of the sea is speeding up the collapse of the archaeological profile" (109).¹⁹⁶ AP leadership calculated that Grand Bay was losing up to one meter of coastline annually (Kaye et al. 2004:84) due to several factors, but mostly because of sandmining

¹⁹⁴ Although some portions of former plantation sites have been reclaimed by second-growth vegetation, other cleared areas have been maintained by Kayak residents for agricultural and animal husbandry purposes.

¹⁹⁵ Sandmining does not seem to have been an issue at Sabazan.

¹⁹⁶ Lesley Suttty, an archaeologist working in Carriacou in the 1980s-90s, also documented high erosion rates at Grand Bay. However, she did not attribute it to sandmining. She instead speculated that this erosion was due to the specific way that the sea broke over the barrier reef a mile offshore in this bay (Suttty 1990:246). It may be for this reason that the AP co-directors also raised the issue of protecting Grand Bay through the construction of a sea wall to local officials at early stages of the project (Kaye et al. 2004:88).

(Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:256). Fitzpatrick (2009) notes that “the loss of thousands of artefacts [sic], hundreds of thousands of animal bones and shell, and dozens of human burials... [which] can only be termed a catastrophic destruction of one of the most important sites in the Caribbean” was largely due to “unregulated sand mining by locals” (33). They speculated that this situation, if not remedied, would result in the total destruction of the Indigenous site at Grand Bay in just over two decades (ibid.:252). This was one of the central reasons that the AP was framed as a salvage archaeology project.¹⁹⁷

The local practice of sandmining came into direct conflict with the AP’s interests. As previously discussed in Chapter 4, AP leadership adopted an advocacy position in their attempts to conserve portions of Carriacou’s pre-Columbian archaeological record. In published site reports, AP researchers characterize themselves as being “extremely vocal” in trying to end the practices of sandmining at Grand Bay, where the bulk of excavations were taking place (Kaye et al. 2009:7). To the Carriacou public, AP researchers conveyed that sandmining not only leads to the loss of irreplaceable archaeological material, but also “dramatically reduce[s] land area” (Kaye 2014).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Interview with co-director, 3/20/18.

¹⁹⁸ An AP co-director suggested that the subpar concrete that sandmining produces is not worth such loss: “[i]ronically, developers on the island usually do not wash the sand with fresh water, resulting in substandard construction of rebar reinforced buildings” (Fitzpatrick 2009:33). The author goes on to warn, “[o]ne wonders what the next hurricane will do to the houses so poorly built” (ibid.). Unfortunately, it may not be feasible to desalinate large amounts of beach sand because the small island lacks a natural fresh water source. Residents rely upon rainwater catchment systems that may not even last them through the island’s dry season (January-May). It wasn’t until 2016 (two years after the last AP field season to date) that a desalination plant was finally installed on the island to provide a more reliable and consistent supply of potable water for residents (Government of Grenada 2017:3). Even so, this water must be purchased. Therefore, it is recommended that beach sand be “left aground for a few days to be washed by rain thereby reducing some of the salt minerals” (Gravel Concrete & Emulsion Production Corporation 2013), but this would only be a reliable method during Carriacou’s rainy season (June-December). Alternatively, river sand from Guyana can be used to make concrete (ibid.), but is six times more expensive (Blackman-

AP leadership recognized that working to curb sandmining at Grant Bay might necessitate more than appeals to the public. The government also had a role to play. They understood that “[t]he local government theoretically restricts sand mining on the island to designated locations, but there are very few sanctions imposed on locals who practice these activities elsewhere” (Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:256). In their view, Kayak residents were “virtually free to mine sand for making concrete” (Fitzpatrick 2009:33) due to a lack of governmental regulation. Human geographer Beth Mills (2004), who conducted research in Carriacou just as the AP was first getting underway, understood this issue similarly:

Sand for a construction boom is being mined from isolated beaches on the windward coast of the island, thus altering the immediate coastal environment and possibly destroying cultural artifacts¹⁹⁹ This activity goes unregulated. Archaeological resources are being lost or squandered when construction uncovers them because there is no institutional framework requiring mitigation... (263).

Those of the AP likewise understood the lack of government intervention in such cases as part of a broader structural issue. They operated under the assumption that there were “no laws in Grenada to protect archaeological sites” which they understood as typical “in the

Stephens 2013). This imported sand also may contain snake eggs and has been responsible for introducing invasive snake species to the island. Lastly, timber resources are also less plentiful due to colonial-era deforestation, as mentioned above.

¹⁹⁹ In an archaeological context, artifacts are typically human made or shaped objects.

Caribbean where many islands lack the proper legislation to preserve historical and cultural sites” (Fitzpatrick 2009:33).²⁰⁰

AP leadership therefore started their work in Carriacou with the “goal of increasing awareness of the need for protective legislation to prevent further destruction of [Indigenous] sites” (Kaye 2003:129). They therefore set out to lobby local and national government officials to ban sandmining practices, as noted in Chapter 4, in order to try to protect Grand Bay’s archaeological record. Remarkably, this campaign appears to have been met with success in 2008, as the newly elected Prime Minister “made a special visit to observe... fieldwork [at Grand Bay], saw what sand minding had done to the site, and placed a ban on further sand removal” (Fitzpatrick 2012:182-183).²⁰¹ A sandmining ban therefore went into effect across Grenada’s three islands in January of 2009 (Gravel Concrete & Emulsion Production Corporation 2013). For the first time since the AP began, erosion appeared to slow at Grand Bay (Kaye et al. 2011:92-93). In 2014, during the AP’s last field season to date, the researchers observed that sandmining had apparently stopped at the site Bay, noting the growing sand buffer that had built up between the archaeological profile and the sea.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of a local law pertaining to the site of Grand Bay.

²⁰¹ Before AP intervention, certain Kayaks were already opposed to sandmining due to its destructive effects on both natural and cultural resources. During the years of AP operation, environmental groups in Grenada were also pressuring government officials to acknowledge that sandmining presented an “ecological problem in Grenada as the demand for sand increased in the construction industry” (Gravel Concrete & Emulsion Production Corporation 2013). Therefore, the adoption of the nation-wide ban can also be attributed to the efforts of many other grassroots actors (ibid.; Blackman-Stephens 2013).

²⁰² After the sandmining ban was put into effect, building projects across Carriacou slowed and dozens of Kayak residents were laid off as a result (Blackman-Stephens 2013).

Looting

Looting is presented as a cardinal sin within archaeological discourse. Looting is typically described as the illicit or “illegal removal of archaeological resources” (Brodie et al. 2006:133) that

not only denies cultural heritage to the new generations but... [also] causes the destruction of the cultural context in which the looted objects were found. This makes the interpretation of archaeological remains complex or impossible, thus causing irreparable damage to cultural identity and to scientific research on the human past (Leucci et al. 2014:2).

Within archaeological discourse, looters are motivated to “provide antiquities for commercial profit” (Renfrew 2000:15). This assumes that they are “non-archaeologists,” which means that they do not excavate in a “proper,” scientific manner.²⁰³ As a result, the archaeological record is destroyed, along with the potential to record and publish information about “archaeological heritage” (ibid.). The comment about damaging “cultural identity” by Leucci et al. (above) seems to suggest that this loss of information harms descendant communities as well.

As briefly addressed in Chapter 2, the reframing of (what are often others’) tangible heritage items as the archaeological resources (or archaeological heritage or the archaeological record) serves to assert archaeological practitioners’ stakeholdership of such materials, which may include archaeological intervention (e.g., excavation) as well

²⁰³ Definitionally, the work of a professional archaeologist using up-to-date methods would not be considered to be “looting,” even if their methods were unorthodox.

as broader claims over the material past. This stakeholdership also implies *stewardship*, which encompasses the ethical mandate to safeguard a finite archaeological record for future generations according to best practices that are typically set within the Global North. As such, the AP leadership reflected ethics of their day, seeing “their ethical responsibilities in terms of a commitment to scientific goals and an opposition to looting, the commercial trade in antiquities, and other activities that threaten archaeological resources” (Wylie 1996:154).

AP researchers raised the issue of looting in Carriacou in their first project publication, wherein the authors note that during their inaugural survey, they observed “[d]eep concave cuts into the archaeological profiles and neatly stacked piles of sherds” (Kaye 2003:132). What this aftermath suggests is that the looter(s) in question was looking for specific kinds of items, likely an intact Indigenous vessel.²⁰⁴ By the second year of the AP, looting was added to the list of the major threats they had identified to Carriacou’s pre-Columbian heritage:

The objectives of the excavation at Grand Bay resulted directly from observations made during the 2003 survey of the island. In addition to identifying major concentrations of archaeological material on the island, the survey also assessed the threat of site destruction by erosion, development and indiscriminate looting.²⁰⁵ It also identified a lack of

²⁰⁴ This looting was unlikely done by Kayak residents because they reported the incident to authorities, saying that “‘bagloads’ of material [were] being taken away” (Kaye 2003:13).

²⁰⁵ The above acts are far from *indiscriminate*. Firstly, they are in reference to the looting of pre-Columbian sites. Secondly, the authors suggest that certain material was being sought out while other items were discarded.

community awareness of the importance of the island's archaeology...

(Kaye et al. 2004:82).²⁰⁶

This mention of looting does not state who the authors believed to be looting Carriacou's pre-Columbian sites. However, their perceived "lack of community awareness of the importance of the island's archaeology"²⁰⁷ seems to be correlated to looting practices here. An early AP report mentions looting activities and provides a hypothesis of the possible perpetrators:

Grand Bay and Sabazan are also two of the largest sites found on the island with a wide array of surface remains, including burials, that are being washed out to sea. Piles of unwanted ceramics scattered around these and other sites on Carriacou testify to *locals and/or tourists* recently searching for and actively collecting artifacts (Fitzpatrick et al. 2004:3, my emphasis).

The following two sections will therefore explore these two possibilities through discussions on subsistence looting (done by local residents) and more general looting (done by outsiders such as expatriates and tourists).

Subsistence Looting vs. the Antiquities Trade

The AP's inaugural field report states that one of the project's goals was to facilitate "...the erection of illustrated and informative boards at major sites which would stress the

²⁰⁶ Atalay (2012) notes how concerns over looting and site destruction in particular resulted in professional organizations (such as the Society of American Archaeology) placing greater emphasis upon public education and engagement in the mid-1990s so that the public might learn what archaeologists do and why such research was important (43). This is evident in AP reporting, with the leadership's advocacy of this particular archaeological record consistently involves stated "attempts to raise public awareness of the richness of the archaeology of the island" (Kaye et al. 2007:167).

²⁰⁷ This will be further addressed below.

importance of preserving arefacts [sic] *in situ* rather than removing, destroying or selling them” (Kaye 2003:133). The intended audience of such messaging is left unclear, but looting being mentioned above in combination with the export of artifacts (Kaye et al. 2004:88) suggests that the AP may be linking it to the antiquities trade. This practice could stem from various motivations depending on whether done by a Kayak or visitor, however. The former hypothetical would likely be in reference to subsistence looting in which artifacts are dug out of the earth by local peoples so that they can sell them as a means of support. This practice tends to occur in regions lacking in economic opportunities (Hollowell 2006; Oland 2012).

In Grenada, pre-Columbian materials have been dug out of the ground in order to sell to tourists, other kinds of visitors, as well as overseas buyers since at least the 1960s. This practice developed in tandem with the arrival of American archaeologists (e.g., Ripley and Adelaide Bullen) who began investigations of Indigenous sites at this time and exported many of their finds back to the US. Subsistence looters soon followed in their wake, digging holes in the exact areas of their excavation.²⁰⁸ This fact was known to the AP co-directors, one of whom remarked that a previous economic downturn in Grenada “led to locals looting the [Pearls] site for artefacts [sic] to sell to tourists,” resulting in “the largest and most important pre-Columbian site in Grenada [becoming] a pock-marked moonscape of holes and trenches” (Fitzpatrick 2012:181). Interviewing with

²⁰⁸ At times, an ironic feedback loop has developed between sanctioned archaeological practices and looting. Excavations may raise the public profile of heritage sites, as well as impart a perceived heightened value to certain kinds of materials and features (Oland 2012), especially if researchers take select artifacts back to their institutions abroad. This dynamic is perhaps more likely to develop in cases where the special nature of a site draws the attention of outsiders who invest both time and funding to investigate.

Grenadian and American archaeologists based in Grenada reveal that this practice is ongoing, with Grenadian residents being commissioned to hunt down Indigenous artifacts by overseas buyers²⁰⁹ and that such materials have turned up for sale on eBay by American antiquities dealers (Campbell 2020 & 2021).²¹⁰ Nevertheless, this ethnographic research did not reveal any evidence of past or present subsistence looting practices in Carriacou.²¹¹ When discussing issues of looting with Kayak interlocutors, nearly all expressed disdain for anyone who would dispossess Kayaks of such heritage materials, suggesting there exists enough internal social pressure to curtail if not prevent such practices.

Looting, Tourism, and the Antiquities Trade

This ethnographic data suggests that much of the looting of pre-Columbian material culture in Carriacou is strongly connected to tourism (further discussed below). Even instances of subsistence looting in Grenada have been found to be driven by markets created by tourists and overseas buyers.²¹² Person centered interviewing in Carriacou revealed many examples and accounts of looting of both pre-Columbian and historic sites in Carriacou by resident expatriates, tourists, and other visitors to the island, a trend observed by other archaeologists operating in the region (see Gonzalez-Tennant 2014:39;

²⁰⁹ Interview, 8/29/17.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ This is based upon extensive interviewing with those who would be aware of this kind of activity, including Kayak ministry officials, CHS officers, and tourism officials.

²¹² Interview, 8/29/17; see also Campbell 2020 & 2021.

Haviser and Gilmore 2011:135).²¹³ In person-centered interviewing after the conclusion of the AP, one of the co-directors acknowledged that they were aware that expatriates and tourists were behind most of the looting in Carriacou, even of human remains.²¹⁴

The AP researchers were therefore aware that tourism posed certain threats to pre-Columbian heritage sites across the Caribbean. They note this trend in several publications. In general, one of the AP co-directors notes that

[t]he Caribbean has long been recognized by antiquarians and archaeologists for the beautifully made pottery and other artefacts [sic] such as shell adzes and ornaments, stone objects, bone tools, and lapidary items that were produced by ancient Indigenous... Unfortunately, the attractive qualities of these remains have not gone unnoticed by visitors, souvenir collectors, and looters (Fitzpatrick 2012:180-181).

Later AP reports mention instances of tourist looting at both Sabazan (Giovas 2016:4, 8) and Grand Bay, where there was evidence of significant amount of material “removed by souvenir-hunters” (Fitzpatrick 2009:32).

AP messaging about these looting practices shifts at times. In another publication, an AP co-director notes that

[e]ach year my colleagues and I go back to the Grand Bay site on Carriacou where we see visible evidence in the form of pottery sherd piles

²¹³ Caribbean tourism also poses a threat because it often drives increased development, especially of coastal areas where many of pre-Columbian settlement sites tend to be located. The threat of large-scale coastal development was not, however, a major factor for Carriacou (as noted above).

²¹⁴ Interview, 3/20/18.

and holes from people who have scoured the surface and coastal profile for mementos to take home. The slight irony here, however, is that the collection of material by non-archaeologists at some sites may save them from being eroded away into the sea (Fitzpatrick 2012:181).

A similar sentiment came up during an interview with one of the co-directors as well. AP leadership had become aware over the years that the small Caucasian expatriate community of Carriacou was behind much the looting of pre-Columbian heritage in Carriacou²¹⁵ but one co-director claimed that the looting that expatriate residents and tourists do in Carriacou might be a “necessary evil” in the face of so much material “being lost” to erosion.²¹⁶

These remarks appear to minimize the harm committed by looting or possibly suggest that erosion at such sites is a larger threat to Carriacou’s pre-Columbian heritage. Finally, despite acknowledging that tourists were actually doing most of the looting in both the wider Caribbean and in Carriacou, AP researchers still suspected Kayaks of looting. During participant observation amongst the AP team in 2014, one of the co-directors explained that their goal to “educate the locals” was in part to dissuade them from going out and looting the various archaeology sites around the island.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Interview, 7/29/14; Interview, 3/20/18. Such looting practices even extended to the collection of Native human remains. It is interesting that this small expatriate community had also been disproportionately represented by the CHS board over the years.

²¹⁶ Interview, 3/20/18.

²¹⁷ Personal communication, 7/29/14.

Kayak Communities

Finally, this study's data demonstrated that AP leadership viewed localized perspectives and dynamics to be threatening Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage. Person-centered interviewing and a critical discourse analysis of AP publications reveal that they perceived a general "lack of understanding of archaeology as discipline" (Kaye et al. 2004:82) in Carriacou and saw this as hindering progress toward their heritage preservation objectives. This is demonstrated in the following interview excerpt with one of the AP co-directors:

Interviewer: What do you think the local parties who deal with heritage management, or cultural resource management like the museum people or board members, what do you think is needed in Carriacou?

AP co-director: In Carriacou?

Interviewer: To better protect resources or...?

AP co-director: Attitude change.

Interviewer: Tell me more about that.

AP co-director: It's like I said for instance, this year there were a few extreme rotten apples like [name redacted, a CHS officer] and the like--they're so ignorant and don't know what we're doing and--like I said, it was insulting...²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Interview, 8/26/14.

In a written preliminary report given to Kayak community leaders in 2004, one of the AP's co-directors shared their grave concerns over (what they perceived as) a "[l]ack of support from the educational institutions on the island,"²¹⁹ going on to argue that "without education, the significance of archaeology to the people of the island is lacking and the safety of the archaeology is jeopardized" (Kaye 2004). Here, the word "archaeology" actually indicates Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage.²²⁰ This is enormously important in understanding how AP leadership equated their project as heritage preservation. A very important finding of this study is that AP leadership felt that community support for their work would preserve (more) heritage, but a lack of community support would place these materials at greater risk.

Additional data gathered from in person-centered interviewing as well as from AP publications reveal a commonly held belief amongst the researchers: local and national actors were 1) able to do more to protect Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage, but that 2) necessary changes were still not being made quick enough.²²¹ AP leadership perceived a

²¹⁹ This perceived "lack of support," as detailed in the preliminary report, was inferred by the archaeologists after 1) plans to have school children visit Grand Bay and do a poster competition fell through, and 2) "confusion over transport" prevented another group of children from participating in excavation after their site tour (Kaye 2004). During the course of this ethnographic research, I made hundreds of plans and coordinated many events over the course of several years in Carriacou. As an outsider and guest on the island, it is simply a reality that plans may not come to fruition on one's own terms or according to one's own expectations.

²²⁰ Another example of AP leadership conflating the word "archaeology" with "pre-Columbian heritage" was demonstrated their unsuccessful lobbying efforts to change the name of the Carriacou Historical Society to the "Carriacou Historical and Archaeological Society," which produced considerable tension with the CHS board (Interview, 8/17/15).

²²¹ This is also a view that seems to be shared by many Kayak interlocutors. Nevertheless, the AP leadership does appear to have influenced large changes during their decade or so of operation. As noted in the previous chapter, the AP leadership claimed that their lobbying efforts succeeded in getting sandmining banned for a certain number of years, which helped curb erosion at the site of Grand Bay (Fitzpatrick 2009:33). Their lobbying also contributed to Grand Bay being added to the National Heritage Protection Act through a 2009 amendment. Ironically, evidence suggests that the AP leadership remained unaware of this final development, with one of the co-directors asserting that "[t]he Grenada govt. [sic] doesn't issue permits" and that "[a]t the time of our research, there were no [heritage

“lack of response” to their calls to action to protect the pre-Columbian heritage resources at the sites where they were working. The CHS officers were perceived as also not giving the AP adequate support in their heritage preservation goals: “They don’t do anything!” an exasperated AP co-director exclaimed.

These data show that this perceived “inaction” was interpreted by AP researchers as stemming from a lack of understanding of the importance and value of preserving these archaeological resources. In the words of a project co-director:

we explain what we are doing and why it is important to preserve the island’s collective cultural heritage... But still, year after year, the only thing that seems to change is the size of Grand Bay as it falls into the ocean. ...Nonetheless, as we continue our work, we hope that eventually policy makers here and elsewhere in the Caribbean see the importance of preserving will these sites for future generations (Fitzpatrick 2009:33).

In another publication regarding the state of archaeology in the Caribbean writ large, one of the AP co-directors writes about the “challenge of archaeologists having to become advocates for preserving the past,” adding that “it is often more difficult to convince local governments that archaeological remains, particularly those prehistoric in nature, are worth saving” (Fitzpatrick 2012:182). In the end, this perceived dynamic was seen as a hindrance to their conservation efforts regarding Carriacou’s pre-Columbian heritage.

management] laws (which is why there was not a permitting process)” (Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/29/17).

Threats to Carriacou's Heritage: Kayak Perspectives

This section addresses specific threats to Carriacou's heritage as perceived by Kayak stakeholders. Although this is a vast topic that could fill its own volume, here emphasis is placed upon issues most relevant to dynamics that impacted relations between the AP and Kayak stakeholders.

The Loss of Heritage

In Carriacou, there are strong concerns amongst community elders that important forms of tangible and intangible heritage have been and are being irrevocably lost; Kayak anxieties regarding this sense of loss could fill its own volume; the subject was raised again and again throughout the course of this ethnographic research. In his 2016 address to members, the CHS president implored his fellow Kayaks to “play an active role in promoting and preserving our local traditions which can easily slip into oblivion” (Alexander 2016:5). The CHS has been one of Carriacou's main organizations fighting to mitigate this loss through an array of museum displays, school visits, village tours, and educational programming. As demonstrated by the CHS's mission statement in the previous chapter, the CHS was tasked with preserving their Indigenous, European and African heritage (Carriacou Historical Society 2016:3),²²² which reflects the value that heritage is an “instrument for constructing identities” and may be also used to combat identity loss (Gillot et al. 2013:5).

²²² It is important to highlight that the term “heritage” is used broadly and has different connotations in Carriacou.

It is often said that Carriacou has a disproportionately aged population. Many of the West African cultural retentions that have set Kayaks apart from Grenadians are traditional practices with deep “spiritual and social meaning for older Carriacouans” but are “in danger of collapsing for lack of participants” (Miller 2005:420).²²³ The past decade has witnessed the passing of many Kayak icons who had made invaluable contributions to art, music, dance, boatbuilding, and folklore, as well as the loss of some of the older Kayak “returnees”²²⁴ who have been so active in heritage preservation in Carriacou over the past few decades.²²⁵ This latter demographic will not be renewed; although Carriacou continues to experience high emigration rates, fewer and fewer Kayaks have been moving back home for good (David 2004). As mentioned in Chapter 3, Kayaks distinctive identities and “differentness” from Grenadians (Ashie-Nikoi 2007:13) largely stems from their historical retention of various Afro-European traditions (David 2004:14). The loss of these traditional practices presents, for some, an existential crisis.

What has resulted is a “hollowed out population,” a community filled with disproportionately high percentages of the young and old.²²⁶ In the course of this

²²³ Examples of traditional Kayak heritage practices that are endangered include the local spoken patois, Shakespeare *Mas’* (Fayer 2003:218), Big Drum (McDaniel 1998), quadrille dances (Miller 2005:420), farming (ibid:424), handmade sloop building (Andrews 2015), to name but a few. In the late 1960s, as Carriacou lost nearly 20% of its population to emigration (Conway 2003), bouquet dances died out (Miller 2005:426).

²²⁴ These returnees are locally referred to as “JCB’s,” which stands for “Just Come Back.” These Kayaks had left Carriacou when they were young to go work abroad in the diaspora and return to the island to live out their final days back “home.”

²²⁵ This latter group includes some of the interlocutors of this study. What is more, COVID-19 pandemic has accelerated the loss of elderly Kayak citizens. In September 2021, the virus claimed the lives of Grenada’s oldest citizen, Carriacou’s highly venerated Lenora Massima Noel, aged 119 (News 784 2021), as well as Big Drum icon Eileen Fortune, aged 94 (ibid.), Irene Clouden, aged 104 (ibid.), and Leah “Faithina” Guadeloupe, aged 99 (NOW Grenada 2021).

²²⁶ Interview, 8/12/17.

ethnographic research, I bore witness to the anxiety of many community elders and culture bearers about what they perceived as a general lack of interest in history among their nation's youth. This was cited as one of the reasons that "Grenada is a nation that is losing its history."²²⁷ The former CHS president lamented that Carriacou didn't seem to "have enough young people taking an interest" in history and local heritage preservation and don't visit the Carriacou Museum; they were extremely concerned about the future of the CHS and who might serve as the next generation's heritage advocates.²²⁸ Many other CHS officers also fretted about the island's youth not responding to their outreach efforts.²²⁹

At the same time, the "popular valuing of things European and, more recently, things American" across the islands of Grenada (Slocum 2001:133), particularly among the nation's youth, has also contributed to the perception that older traditions are being forgotten.²³⁰ In response to this perceived threat, Kayak folklorist Christine David (2004) asserts that "[t]he recording of oral history handed down, especially by intelligent, knowledgeable [Kayak] senior citizens, is a treasure especially at this time when Western dominant cultures are so imposing" (3). In years' past, oral histories passed down by community elders both preserved ancestors' collective memories and Kayaks' unique cultural identity (Miller 2005:424; McDaniel 1986, 1998). As such, the previous CHS president (2008-2010, 2011-2020) had been prioritizing projects aimed at preserving the

²²⁷ Martin 2022.

²²⁸ Personal communication, 6/11/18.

²²⁹ Interview, 9/21/15; interview, 8/17/17.

²³⁰ Caribbean anthropologist Karen Olwig (1999b) writes about anxieties over the perceived loss of heritage amongst community elders in St. John, noting that "[t]he idea that old traditions, folk life, or customs are on the verge of being lost to specific social changes is not uncommon" (375).

oral histories of community elders and those aimed at revivifying traditional cultural practices.²³¹

Finally, increased tourism has also presented challenges to heritage preservation in Carriacou, apart from also contributing to the spread of popular cultural trends from the Global North mentioned above. Although Grenada has never attracted the kind of tourist attention of other Caribbean destinations like Barbados or Jamaica, its tourism market has rapidly expanded in the post-Cold War period (Guerrón Montero 2014; Sharpe 2003).²³² Even so, the extra plane or ferry ride required to get to Carriacou has meant that it has not received the same amount of tourism as the mainland. Anthropologist Joan Fayer (2003) has speculated that this buffer has been one of the factors behind Carriacou's unique retentions of folk culture (220). However, when conducting research in Carriacou in the late 1990s, human geographer Beth Mills (2004) observed that

Carriacou society is at a crossroads as it engages a globalising [sic] world through increased international tourism and Internet travel advertising.

There is a degree of social upheaval as well as economic opportunity

²³¹ This president requested for my assistance with several of such projects, knowing that one of my research aims was to assist in furthering Kayaks' heritage preservation objectives. I always happily agreed.

²³² Grenada's tourism industry slowly started in the 1960s, but the 1979 revolution dramatically altered its trajectory (Guerrón Montero 2014:3). The Marxist-Leninist New Jewel Movement (NJM, 1979-1982) attempted to avoid the neocolonial dynamics that had developed between wealthier and more powerful parties of the Global North and small Caribbean nations through the tourism sector (Pattullo 1996; Sheller 2004; Thompson 2007) as they "banned the private ownership of beachfront property... specified that the tourism trade must stimulate agro-industrial production and indigenous [i.e. local] cultural expression... [and] opposed the control of Grenada's economy by transnational corporations" (Sharpe 1993:31; see also Guerrón Montero 2014). In these years, Grenada's tourism fell by 25%, with US Cold-War propaganda against the NJM being partially to blame (ibid:4).

resulting from the end of its isolation and its inclusion in the tourist circuit
(Mills 2004:267-268).²³³

Although tourism may deliver much needed revenue to local businesses,²³⁴ it may be a double-edged sword that also brings increased development that causes environmental and heritage site destruction. This has been a major issue in the Caribbean, where beachfront property is more likely to be developed for tourism purposes (Fitzpatrick 2012; Siegel and Righter 2011). However, the following section reminds readers that tourism also threatens Kayak PBH through looting practices.

Looting

Carriacou is rich with artifacts from many pre-Columbian and historic-era sites all across its 13 square miles and the looting of these heritage sites is seen as a significant problem by Kayak residents. Some interlocutors speculated that so much looting has occurred that it is impossible to fathom all of what has been taken, exacerbating existing fears that Carriacou is hemorrhaging irreplaceable markers of heritage and Kayak identity. Throughout the course of this ethnographic research, the issue of looting was frequently raised by local interlocutors in both casual exchanges and formal interviewing, with some accounts stretching back half a century. An aim of this study was therefore to better

²³³ Although the past quarter century has indeed brought an accelerated rate of change to Carriacou due to increased tourism, Kayaks have been far from isolated from the wider world. The island's inhabitants have keenly felt the impact of globalizing processes and experienced cycles of social upheaval since the colonial era.

²³⁴ The livelihoods of several Kayak and expatriate business owners interviewed for this study highly depend on tourism revenue.

understand how looting was locally conceptualized, who does it, why, and its impact upon Kayak community members.²³⁵

Kayak views of looting somewhat differ from term when used in archaeological contexts. From local perspectives, looting is understood as an activity involving the purposeful collection and removal of tangible heritage materials from the land. Kayak residents view looting as illicit regardless of legality or legal enforcement. The looted materials range from artifacts from historic-era structures, plantation grounds, and/or colonial defense installations (e.g., cannons, dressed stone (mason blocks, tombstones), industrial tools, domestic paraphernalia, etc.), and/or pre-contact artifacts (e.g., pottery, ceramic/ground stone or shell tools, beads, adornos, and *zémis*,²³⁶ etc...) from Indigenous sites.²³⁷ Such looting not only involves the removal of artifacts but also of human remains and grave goods from mortuary contexts.²³⁸

So, who do Kayaks think is behind such acts of looting? This research has concluded that it is highly unlikely that Kayak residents are behind the widespread looting reported to have occurred in Carriacou. Over the course of several years, this ethnographic research

²³⁵ The following data comes from participant observation, formal interviewing, and informal discussions with Kayak community members, expatriate residents, and tourists in Carriacou. Some instances of looting were committed and/or witnessed firsthand by interlocutors, whereas others were learned of by way of secondhand information.

²³⁶ *Zémis* (or *cemíes*) are sacred carved images “imbued with spiritual, ancestral, and supernatural forces” (Jiménez 2021). They are connected to a variety of Indigenous spiritual practices in the Caribbean, one of which is ancestor veneration (Sanicharan 2021). Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean describe these as “spiritually alive ritual objects [that] are [more than]... representations of [*caciques* or past leaders], they *are* them (Santana 2019, original italics).

²³⁷ Because this research involved the AP, local informants mentioned the looting of Indigenous material more often than material taken from historic sites, giving the impression that they are the primary targets of looting practices.

²³⁸ Interview, 8/1/14.

encountered less than half a dozen mentions of Kayaks looking for such material. Although residents have encountered artifacts and human remains on their own land during construction, gardening, farming, or while attending to their pastures (Whyte 2016:13), they have typically not singularly sought out such items. However, Kayak residents would not view the removal of such materials from their own property as “looting.”²³⁹ If a Kayak resident *was* inclined to seek out artifacts, it is highly unlikely that they would do so on another Kayak’s land; this would not only be theft but also involve trespassing on another’s land, which is unacceptable behavior on the island. As a reminder, the population of Carriacou is small and all Kayak residents know one another; many are connected through intricate kinship linkages. It would therefore be difficult to get away with both trespassing and looting without incurring community scrutiny and sanctioning.

Artifacts found on private property have typically belonged to the landowner(s), at least before the recent adoption of the 2017 Grenada National Museum Bill.²⁴⁰ Despite this, many Kayaks still have opted to bring artifacts they’ve encountered on their land to the Carriacou Museum over the years; this is how its collections were first formed (White 2016:13). Even before any cultural resource legislation was applied to Carriacou, CHS and museum personnel have been summoned when human remains were encountered during construction (Reeves 2006:14). It is not uncommon for artifacts and/or human

²³⁹ Before the passing of Grenada National Museum Bill of 2017, materials found on one’s own land belonged to the landowner (see Chapter 4).

²⁴⁰ Elements of this bill have yet to be implemented. Should this occur, it is highly doubtful that Kayak residents would accept the Government of Grenada’s claim over any and all artifacts and antiquities found on private property.

remains to erode out of the coastlines of Carriacou and Grenada, at which point authorities have typically been contacted (e.g., Straker 2020, NOW Grenada 2020). In fact, the AP co-directors were notified of this very issue during at least one field season (Kaye et al. 2011: 95-96), and just recently, Kayaks residents alerted local authorities about several large Indigenous pots eroding out the ocean surf (Hanna 2021). A Grenada-based American archaeologist was then summoned to assist and provide analysis (ibid.). These anecdotes, when combined with Kayaks responses to the issue of looting (discussed further below), suggest that most of the looting in Carriacou is *not* done by Kayak residents.

So, who do Kayaks think is behind looting practices on the island? Kayaks view looting as an activity largely done by *outsiders*, those who are viewed as having no authorization or rightful claim over Carriacou's heritage materials.²⁴¹ This would even extend to people from Grenada. Most local accounts of looting typically involve temporary visitors with no familial ties to Kayak residents. Such individuals are generally thought to be tourists or visiting researchers of some variety (whether this is accurate or not).²⁴² Most of the part-time expatriate residents, tourists, and guest researchers who come to Carriacou tend to be from countries in the Global North, as well as present as Caucasian,²⁴³ making them rather conspicuous in Carriacou's tightknit majority Afro-Antillean communities.

²⁴¹ E.g., Interview, 8/14/17.

²⁴² Chapter 4 includes a chart with these many visiting researchers to Carriacou over the past century. Published reports and interviewing demonstrate that a majority of the archaeological researchers listed removed items from the island.

²⁴³ Carriacou is also visited by Kayaks' extended family members who live abroad (typically in North America and Europe), especially during the summer months. This is when Regatta takes place, Grenada has its Carnival, and Kayak families hold family reunions. Although some might classify such visits as tourism, it is not locally perceived to be on par with tourism involving people who do not have family ties to the island.

What motivates looters? In Carriacou, there is a commonly held view that looters are motivated by hopes of financial gain because it is believed that the island's tangible heritage holds immense monetary value. Based upon this research, historic and pre-contact artifacts are taken from sites by non-Kayaks to become a part of private collections. Some collectors may be hobbyists, whereas others may take materials in to attempt to sell them on black or open markets. When discussing heritage preservation challenges with a Kayak community elder (who was also a folklorist and Big Drum icon), he raised the issue of foreigners' looting practices, remarking that people "have found things [in Carriacou] that they have sold abroad for a quarter of million [dollars]."²⁴⁴ As discussed above, the looting and sale of pre-Columbian artifacts has been an issue on the island of Grenada, with heritage preservation professionals monitoring (and, at times, attempting to directly intervene with) American-based buyers/sellers of looted Indigenous artifacts from Grenada on eBay (Campbell 2021).²⁴⁵ The thought that outsiders are potentially benefitting from Carriacou's resources while at the same time dispossessing Kayaks of their communally held cultural patrimony is of particular offense to Kayak stakeholders.

²⁴⁴ Interview, 8/11/14.

This comment seems to contradict that made by a part-time American expatriate resident who recounted instances of his wife (who was also an American) looting Indigenous materials from Grand Bay, including human remains from burials. He remarked that the thing preventing subsistence looting in Carriacou is Kayaks' ignorance of the market value their pre-Columbian heritage resources (Interview, 7/23/14).

²⁴⁵ Interview, 8/29/17.

Trespassing

The impact of looting upon small Caribbean communities cannot be fully appreciated without also addressing the issue of trespassing. Looting in Carriacou almost always necessitates trespassing onto private property because most of the island's 13 square miles are privately owned. Here, the act of trespassing and the notion of private property take on specific meanings because of what the land represents.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Grenadian historian J. Angus Martin argues that Grenadians (including Kayaks) have identities rooted in their landscape, which “reflects who we were, who we are, and where we have been. It is like a vessel that conveys our histories, endeavors, artifacts, stories, mythologies, monuments, and memories” (Martin 2023). Understanding artifacts as part of Kayak place-based heritage (PBH) in particular is essential to understanding the local impacts of looting practices in Carriacou. Tangible heritage²⁴⁶ evoke “the power of memory of what happened *here*” and serves to connect Kayaks to their ancient or more recent pasts (J. Martin, personal communication, October 7, 2022). Such materials are central to heritage making. Looting represents the loss of potential knowledge crucial to Kayak identity formation and empowerment.²⁴⁷ It's the theft of heritage materials that may tie Kayaks to their history, to their island-scape, to its forebears, and to each other. Inexplicably, looting is the alienation of what should be inalienable.

²⁴⁶ Here, only the tangible heritage is under discussion in the context of looting. Nevertheless, intangible heritage also plays an essential role in Grenadian (including Kayak) identity formation and empowerment.

²⁴⁷ As stated by Leucci et al. (2014) (above), looting may cause “an irreparable damage to cultural identity” (2).

To conclude, it is crucial to remember that none of the above issues exist in a vacuum for the residents of Carriacou; looting has been understood by many Kayak interlocutors as another way in which they have been demeaned and exploited for their resources by outside forces. To many Kayak interlocutors, discussions of looting conjured painful memories and experiences of neo/colonial disenfranchisement. From the Kayak perspective, looters (who are largely from the Global North) have felt free to explore Carriacou's landscape, rendering residents invisible as they regard the land as *terra nullius* in their quest to "discover" relics of past civilizations. They go where they please and help themselves to whatever they find without consequence or consideration for the island residents. To Kayaks, they embody and replicate the power asymmetries between the Global North and Caribbean peoples.

Archaeology as threat to Kayak PBH

The small island of Carriacou and its peoples have received an inordinate amount of attention from foreign researchers over the past century, including (but not limited to) anthropologists, linguists, folklorists, ethnomusicologists, geographers, and so forth. As part of this larger dynamic, an array of visitors ranging from "antiquarian collectors" to so-called amateur, professional, and/or academic archaeologists have also come to Carriacou to investigate its pre-Columbian history over the years.²⁴⁸ These include J. Fewkes (of the Smithsonian) in the early 20th century (see Fewkes 1907:189-190), R. and

²⁴⁸ To the author's knowledge and at the time of writing, a historic-era archaeology project has not occurred on Carriacou to date.

A. Bullen in the 1960s (of the University of Florida) (see Bullen 1965 & 1965), and L. Suttly (see Suttly 1990, 1991a & 1991b). The AP researchers were certainly not the first to think that they had “uncovered an archaeologists’ paradise” on Carriacou (Fitzpatrick 2009:29).

Kayak residents are painfully aware that outsiders regard their island as a treasure-trove of tangible heritage. They have over a century of personal experiences and handed-down cautionary tales about outsiders arriving of their own accord, digging out their PBH and human remains from their family lands, and then spiriting it abroad. Unlike the run of the mill looter, archaeologists who have removed Kayak PBH are known to have deposited them at various universities, museums, and/or laboratories abroad, respected research institutions that seem to impart an added layer of legitimacy to the archaeological practices themselves.²⁴⁹ In the Kayak’s experience, once their PBH enters these institutions, it is unlikely to ever come back. Historically, archaeologists arrived in Carriacou without invitation and operated without consent.

It is therefore unsurprising that a contingency of Kayak residents does not differentiate archaeological practices from looting or regard certain practitioners within the same genealogy as looters despite any credentialling (e.g., a PhD), institutional affiliation, or scientific aims. As Native scholar Tuhiwai Smith argues (1999)

[O]f course, most indigenous peoples and their communities do not
differentiate scientific approaches or ‘proper’ research from the forms of

²⁴⁹ These institutions include, but may not be limited to, the Smithsonian, the University of Florida, Eckerd College, and the University of Oregon.

amateur collecting... or other ways of ‘taking’ indigenous knowledge that have occurred so casually over the centuries... From some indigenous perspectives the gathering of information by scientists was as random, *ad hoc* and damaging as that undertaken by amateurs. There is no difference, from these perspectives, between ‘real’ or scientific research and any other visits by inquisitive and acquisitive strangers (2-3).²⁵⁰

The fact that certain archaeological practices have been seen as actually endangering Kayak PBH has been one of the most significant and ironic findings of this ethnographic research because archaeology is so widely considered part of heritage preservation in the Global North.

Conclusion

The above discussion demonstrates that AP researchers and Kayak community members view heritage to be at risk in Carriacou and thus in need of protection. However, there are important differences as to which heritage is believed to be at risk, and what is seen as posing the biggest threats and why between these diverse stakeholder groups involved in heritage preservation in Carriacou.

To begin, AP researchers were narrowly focused on Carriacou’s tangible pre-Columbian heritage by virtue of their specialization and research interests; local community

²⁵⁰ This may also apply to subaltern peoples who don’t lay claim to an Indigenous identity. In the case of archaeology, the ‘taking’ would apply to material culture, as well as the knowledge generated from it though interpretive processes.

members, on the other hand, regard Carriacou's heritage in a much broader sense, as encapsulating the tangible and intangible heritage from the island's earliest inhabitants up to its contemporary residents. The AP researchers consider the tangible pre-Columbian material culture as "archaeological resources" that they feel ethically obligated to conserve. Kayak residents view these materials, along with the rest of Carriacou's tangible and intangible heritage, as their "place-based heritage" (PBH), part of their inalienable heritage island-scape and intrinsic for their identity formation.²⁵¹ In other words, both AP researchers and Kayak residents feel as though they have a claim over such materials although for different reasons.

Furthermore, AP researchers viewed the largest threats to Carriacou's pre-Columbian heritage as stemming from the inside, as the result of local/ized phenomena, whether natural (e.g., erosion caused by sea surges and hurricanes) or anthropogenic (e.g., sandmining, lack of community action, effective heritage preservation legislation, etc....). On the other hand, Kayak interlocutors are quite concerned with outside forces threatening their pre-Columbian PBH. Both stakeholder groups understood that looting placed these materials at risk.

It is productive to compare and contrast how the AP researchers and Kayak residents understand looting. For both stakeholder groups, the definition hinges on the question of legitimacy. From the archaeological perspective, looting is the unauthorized removal of material culture by untrained persons; it is not done in the name of knowledge

²⁵¹ See Chapter 3.

production, for looted items lose their context and full scientific value whether they end up on antiquities black markets or in private collections. The AP researchers were aware that tourists are commonly behind such looting, but suspected that Kayaks did so as well. On the other hand, Kayak interlocutors were nearly unanimous in seeing outsiders as the main perpetrators, even some archaeological practitioners.

Thus, the role of archaeology in this issue varied significantly across stakeholder groups. Clearly, AP participants see it as a tool of heritage preservation and a force for good. But a very vocal and passionate contingency of Kayak participants in this study thought that archaeology has threatened their heritage.²⁵² It can be a tool for positive outcomes or negative outcomes, it all depends on how it is practiced. As will become clearer in the following chapters, the difference between archaeology and looting in the minds of Kayaks is whether the former serves the interests of the community and empowers their heritage preservation objectives. Thus, the following chapters address in detail why certain Kayak stakeholders thought that the AP posed a threat to their PBH, and in turn serves to explain the source of some of the tensions that emerged between these stakeholder groups over the years.

²⁵² Kayaks are not the first subaltern or marginalized peoples to share this perspective; as briefly presented in Chapter 2, Indigenous critiques of the discipline have long highlighted how mainstream archaeological practices and perspectives have posed various threats to their tangible and intangible Native heritage (e.g., Nicholas 2010a & 2010b; Watkins 2000 & 2003).

CHAPTER 6

HOW IS HERITAGE PROTECTED (PART I)?

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECTS IN CARRIACOU

Introduction

The previous chapter ended with one of the most significant findings of this ethnographic study: while the Archaeology Project (AP) researchers quite expectedly view archaeology as a tool of heritage preservation, certain Kayak residents have instead viewed it as a threat to their place-based heritage (PBH). Some of the reasons for the latter perspective were then presented in a nutshell: certain archaeological practices have been seen by certain members of the Kayak public as looting by another name.²⁵³ This produces profound feelings of violation and indignation amongst residents, as well as exacerbates existing anxieties about heritage loss and feelings of powerlessness to adequately protect Kayak PBH without larger institutional support.

This chapter delves into these issues in greater detail, exploring and explicating the theme of residents viewing “archaeology as a threat to Kayak PBH” through specific examples. I begin by briefly discussing the foreign-led archaeological research that immediately preceded the AP in Carriacou, which will serve to contextualize both the AP and community responses to it. After this, an overview of the AP’s first season is presented

²⁵³ In forming such views, Kayak interlocutors did not distinguish between so-called “amateur” or “advocational” archaeologists and more professional practitioners. Although the latter group would note significant differences between their practices and those of amateurs, historically the archaeological practices of the Caribbean have been more advocational in nature.

where Kayak concerns over issues of trespassing, looting, and the lack of informed consent²⁵⁴ were immediately raised by members of the public.

Pre-Columbian Archaeology on Carriacou before the AP

Long before the arrival of the AP, the Carriacou Museum possessed a robust Indigenous artifact collection that was in part created through amateur archaeological activities conducted by expatriate residents (Whyte 2016:13). As a reminder from Chapter 4, many museum collections in Caribbean were initially created out of private collections (Found 2004), and these often resulted from the looting practices of expatriate residents and other regional travelers.²⁵⁵ In the 1970s, an amateur archaeologist and expatriate resident named Frances Kay Brinkley helped found the CHS and the Carriacou Museum using the large amount of Indigenous heritage materials that she had been collecting across Carriacou (Cox-Peters 2016:18). Although Brinkley actively looted pre-Columbian sites on other islands in the region to bolster her collections (ibid.), she is not known to have taken their PBH off island.²⁵⁶ Many others did, however.

One of such figures was expatriate resident and amateur archaeologist Janet Wall, who was a contemporary of Frances Brinkley's in the 1980s; to this day, she is remembered

²⁵⁴ This will be further explained below.

²⁵⁵ This is another reason for the familiar Kayak narrative of outsiders being fixated on their pre-Columbian heritage.

²⁵⁶ Brinkley was also known to be an advocational historian, having written and self-published a slim volume about Carriacou's history and culture called *This- is Carriacou*, which first appeared in 1966. She continued adding information to this booklet over the years, with later editions coming out until 1987. The legacy of Brinkley's work will be further discussed in the conclusion of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 7.

for her looting practices amongst Kayak residents. However, this ethnographic research revealed that the most notorious archaeologist known for looting amongst Carriacou's communities before the AP was amateur archaeologist and expatriate resident Lesley Suttly.²⁵⁷ As mentioned in the introduction, Suttly's actions are worth of discussion because of how they foreground the AP and community responses to it.

Suttly is known to have operated in Carriacou in the mid-1980s to the early 1990s,²⁵⁸ during which time she conducted an island-wide survey of sorts, locating and describing pre-Columbian archaeology sites all across the island. Although the AP leadership claimed that Suttly did not conduct any excavations (Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:252), she nevertheless collected many pre-Columbian era materials during the course of this work. In one of her papers, she describes taking several ground stone artifacts and "a number of intricate shell 'Zemis'" [sic], as well as a "young adult skull and vertebrae" from a burial along with its associated grave goods of "shell jewelry, beads and pendants" (Suttly 1990:248-249). This report does not mention where she took these materials but suggests that she didn't think that the Carriacou Museum was an option at the time because storm surges from Hurricane Klaus had collapsed its foundations a year prior (ibid.:250).²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Suttly's name was listed in the previous chapter along with other antiquarian collectors and archaeologists known to have collected/looted pre-Columbian material heritage was provided.

²⁵⁸ During these years she had also served as the Secretary for International Association for Caribbean Archaeology (IACA) (IACA 1991:684), which hosts archaeological conferences where she would share the results of her work (e.g., Suttly 1990 & 1991).

²⁵⁹ This perhaps suggests that Suttly may have believed that her removal of this material was part of "salvage archaeology." The CHS reported that "more than 50% of artifacts and other valuable collections were lost" in this event but that "[a] miniature museum was immediately opened at the old police station building" (Whyte 2016:13).

Sutty's work also had another lasting legacy, one which some Kayak residents would say kept their PBH at risk due to archaeological interference. In 1999, the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology (IACA) conference came to Grenada, during which a fieldtrip was organized to the island of Carriacou to witness Grand Bay, a unique Indigenous settlement site that Sutty had so carefully described in an IACA conference presentation several years prior. Eighty-four archaeologists descended upon the small island (Whyte 2016:15), with two of the future AP co-directors in attendance.

In the AP leadership's words, they "visited Grand Bay to examine the potential of the site for future study... [observing that] a substantial amount of cultural material was visible on the surface and much of the coastal profile sloped gently into the sea" (Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:252). Later during interviewing, one of the co-directors recalled leaving Carriacou on a small plane and thinking, "what an extraordinary site... I mean walking over human bones and half vessels and God knows what else, and so we said something has to be done about this, nobody had done anything about it, so we were trying to do something about this!"²⁶⁰ (Interview 8/11/14). Just four years later, the AP teams arrived in Carriacou to conduct the first "scientific" survey of the island, revisiting the 16 Indigenous sites identified by Sutty and confirming that Grand Bay was the ideal candidate for full scale excavations.²⁶¹ As it turned out, retracing Sutty's path meant also reopening old wounds.

²⁶⁰ Interview, 8/11/14.

²⁶¹ Sutty discussed the impressive Indigenous settlement site of Grand Bay at length in this report, describing its abundant surface finds that she interpreted as suggestive of long-term Indigenous habitation (1990:246-249). She lists the kinds of faunal remains and artifacts as well, including ceramic types, tools, adornment items, ritual objects, and grave goods, the latter of which were associated with many in-situ burials (ibid.). Finally, Sutty also notes ongoing erosion issues at this site as well, which she attributes to

The Archaeology Project (AP) in Carriacou

The AP represented a more formal, scientific, and state-of-the-art mode of archaeological inquiry than previous archaeological activity on Carriacou. Its leadership viewed this project as distinct from the pervasive amateur practices in the region.²⁶² Its North American and European leadership and staff members were largely academically trained, affiliated, and credentialed (i.e., with master's and/or PhD degrees in archaeological related fields), and had previous experience in the region. The AP's rotating field school was composed of college students seeking to gain hands-on archaeological experience under guided supervision. Most of these students were already acquainted with the discipline, and some had previous field experience and/or had taken a college course on Caribbean archaeology prior to attending the field school.

The field and research methods utilized of the AP also set it apart from previous amateur archaeologists who operated in Carriacou.²⁶³ These technical scientific methods were used to address broad research questions pertaining to pre-Columbian settlement patterns,

wave action breaking over the offshore barrier reef (ibid.:246). In the end, Grand Bay was one of the two locations selected for AP excavations due to its richness and high rates of erosion (Interview, 9/16/14).

²⁶² Puerto Rican archaeologist L. Antonio Curet (2011) has characterized archaeology in the Caribbean as “dominated by amateurs or collectors with little theoretical and methodological preparation in archaeology” (647), noting that it has been that way “[s]ince its inception to the present” (644). In fact, more rigorous, academic archaeological practices have only started to become more common outside the Spanish speaking Caribbean in the past decade, lagging years behind the field's professionalization in other regions (Armstrong and Hauser 2009:592). These processes are evident in the history of archaeology on Carriacou. ²⁶³ These methods include the use of Global Positioning System (GIS) mapping (Kaye 2003), excavation using a grid system plotted by a total station (Kaye et al. 2004), radiocarbon and accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) dating (Fitzpatrick et al. 2004), thin section petrography and Instrumental Neutron Activation (INS) analysis (Fitzpatrick et al. 2008; Kaye et al. 2011), zooarchaeological and palaeobotanical analysis (Giovas et al. 2012; Kaye et al. 2005; Kimura et al. 2013 & 2015), stable isotope analysis (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014: 160; Krigbaum et al. 2013). In a report of the AP's final field season (to date), future methods were said to involve the use of ancient DNA (aDNA) extraction from excavated human remains from the island (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:160).

Indigenous subsistence and technological adaptations, inter-island and continental interactions, and so forth (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014; Giovas 2016). The results of such research were frequently published in high impact peer reviewed journals (e.g., *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*), as well as shared at national and international professional archaeological conferences (e.g., Society of American Archaeology).

The AP's Inaugural Season

Although there is much to differentiate the AP from the amateur archaeological projects that came before it, concerns over issues of trespassing and looting were raised by some Kayak community members in its inaugural season. In March 2003 its team of 16 researchers from the US, England, and the Netherlands conducted an island-wide survey of Carriacou over the course of ten days.²⁶⁴ In this short time tensions emerged between AP researchers and certain community members. This was largely because portions of the survey had been done on private property without consultation or permission from local landowners. Artifacts and human remains were also gathered in this process (Fitzpatrick et al. 2009:260; Kaye 2003:131). In light of previous looting problems on the island (discussed above), some residents saw this as fitting a familiar distressing pattern of outsiders coming to Carriacou to seek “to discover” ancient relics, trespassing upon and stealing private property in the process. This scenario caused the AP to be seen as a threat to Kayak PBH in the eyes of certain residents. These issues are further explored in

²⁶⁴ This included the three co-directors, two Dutch archaeologists, and eleven undergraduate students (Kaye 2003:131).

the following paragraphs using autoethnographic data²⁶⁵ as well as information from interviewing with AP participants and local residents.

In interviewing, AP leadership relayed that they first obtained permission for the 2003 archaeological survey “in writing initially to the Minister for Tourism in Grenada [and] subsequently to the Minister in Carriacou.”²⁶⁶ Upon arriving in Carriacou, the research team also met with certain officers of the Carriacou Historical Society (CHS) to explain what they “intended to do and why.”²⁶⁷ The central objective the AP’s short visit was to conduct the first systematic archaeological survey of pre-Columbian sites in Carriacou. For them, Suttty’s previous survey just over decade prior only represented “a preliminary compilation” of such sites (Kaye 2003:131). In this season, AP leadership sought to “discover, examine and map [Indigenous] site locations,” to “determine which had the highest potential to reveal subsurface cultural remains, and assess the threat of destruction to sites by natural erosion and development” (ibid.:129). Thus, an important goal was to identify a potential archaeological site²⁶⁸ where the AP might excavate in coming years.

²⁶⁵ Autoethnography is a method in which the researcher’s own experiences are utilized to understand and interpret cultural practices (Adams et al. 2017; Ellis et al. 2010). As noted in the introduction, I have previous experience working with the AP (2003 & 2007). Portions of the following section are supplemented with information from field journal entries written during my participation in the project’s inaugural season as a college field school student. To receive college credits for this experience, I was required to maintain a field journal with the date, context, and description of our daily tasks and experiences for both the field supervisor and my undergraduate adviser to review. In these entries I included noteworthy interactions with island residents, as well as reflected upon the work itself and my role within it.

²⁶⁶ Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/25/14.

²⁶⁷ Author’s fieldnotes, 3/21/03.

²⁶⁸ Simply put, an “archaeology site” is an area where there is evidence of past humans’ activities, even in the short term.

During that preliminary meeting, the CHS representatives appeared to react positively and show interest in the proposed research project. The CHS president at the time, a Kayak, later recounted that he had a very good impression of the researchers and thought that the knowledge that they could generate about their history would be positive for the island's communities.²⁶⁹ One of the AP co-directors also later recounted that they "felt like the Historical Society was really on board."²⁷⁰ However, an issue soon emerged that would impact the local reception and perception of the AP.

In this preliminary meeting, the CHS officers relayed that they "were in the process of requesting permission from all the private land owners" for the AP survey.²⁷¹ In other words, consent had not been granted by all impacted residents.²⁷² It is unclear whether any consultation with impacted residents and additional vested community members had taken place in advance.

In an interview over a decade later, the Kayak resident who was serving as a CHS officer at this time said that "when [the archaeologists] first came... we talked to [some landowners]" but that securing permissions wasn't possible because many Kayak residents "were away."²⁷³ As such, the CHS treasurer volunteered to accompany them

²⁶⁹ Interview, 9/21/15.

²⁷⁰ Interview, 9/16/14.

²⁷¹ Author's fieldnotes, 3/21/03.

²⁷² It is unclear whether AP participants were aware of who had already been consulted and had given permission, who had not, and where their properties and land boundaries were located.

²⁷³ Interview, 8/25/2017.

It is very common for a contingency of Kayaks residents to spend significant time abroad each year visiting family living in the diaspora. Common destinations include London and New York.

during their work.²⁷⁴ This offer was likely made, in part, to signal that the CHS board had given permission for this stage of the research project. But the officer gave another reason for the suggestion; as an AP researcher present at the meeting observed, the treasurer wished to serve “as a liason [sic] to any local land owner that [sic] may harass” the visiting researchers during their operations.”²⁷⁵ Importantly such comments suggest that the officer possibly anticipated local push back. As it turns out, this concern was indeed prescient.

Although permissions from all impacted residents had not been provided in advance of the team’s arrival, whether to AP researchers or those of the CHS board, the survey started the following day. Nearly all survey activities were conducted on privately owned land.²⁷⁶ In some instances, AP team members attempted to obtain verbal consent from those present before entering private property. However, this was not done systematically, nor in cases where there appeared to be no one readily available to ask at that moment. The CHS treasurer did not end up accompanying the AP teams for the majority of the walking portions of the survey, but they and the CHS president assisted by shuttling the researchers around the island. As a result, much of the pedestrian survey lacked an in-person CHS representative.

²⁷⁴ The CHS treasurer, a Caucasian expatriate resident, was particularly enthusiastic about the proposed work. As an expatriate, they did not share in Kayak heritage or history themselves, but had gotten involved in the CHS soon after moving to Carriacou five years prior; in their own words, they got involved largely due to their interest in archaeology developed during their upbringing in England (Interview, 7/29/14).

²⁷⁵ Author’s fieldnotes, 3/21/03.

²⁷⁶ An exception to this includes a sector around a historic lime factory.

Kayak community members took immediate notice of the AP researchers who were conspicuous as outsiders among the small, tight-knit Afro-Antillean population. What's more, some residents regarded these strangers with suspicion. To best understand such reactions, it is important here to briefly describe what such survey methods entail: The survey mostly involved systematic and unsystematic "field-walking"²⁷⁷ during which team members spread out and slowly walked set areas while visually inspecting the ground for evidence of pre-Columbian activities, such as artifacts or archaeological features. The areas prioritized for survey were those pre-Columbian sites identified by Suttý's work over a decade prior; these were primarily located along the island's coastlines, although AP teams did survey "many adjacent flat inland areas" as well (Kaye 2003:131).²⁷⁸ Those surveying would, at times, mark the presence of these finds with small brightly colored flags. Team members also took GPS coordinates for digital mapping purposes,²⁷⁹ snapped hundreds of photos,²⁸⁰ as well as made notes and sketches for future reference.

It was not long before some residents confronted AP team members during the survey. One of the 2003 team member recalls being reproached by a farmer for trampling through his fields and startling his livestock.²⁸¹ Another wrote about a troubling encounter with Kayak residents in their field journal:

²⁷⁷ This is also known as pedestrian or terrestrial archaeological survey.

²⁷⁸ Part of archaeological survey work often involves attempts to document the extent of artifact scatters in order to infer the size of potential site.

²⁷⁹ This was sometimes done using a "total station," which is an optical surveying instrument used to collect precise distance and angle measurements (both vertical and horizontal).

²⁸⁰ Photos were taken for both personal and research purposes.

²⁸¹ Personal communication, 5/23/16.

[B]efore we hiked up to Gun Point, we were surveying animal pastures (private property) but not finding anything. Two men suddenly approached us that [sic] were highly suspicious of our presence on their land. Apparently, they never received any letter from the Historical Society explaining our project and requesting permission to survey this land for archaeological purposes. We found out later [that day] that they never even sent out the letters. I felt really bad- these men [said that they] had already had problems with other people surveying their land with the intension of taking it from them. So they were naturally defensive. Very understandable. But we told them who we were and what our mission was. They seemed somewhat pacified after we gushed apologies for the misunderstanding. Nevertheless, we left their land for Gun Point shortly thereafter.²⁸²

The above passage is an example of how certain Kayak residents regarded AP survey activities as a threat and illustrates local concerns over outsiders trespassing. It also demonstrates that Kayak residents drew a connection between surveying activities and those associated with prospecting, for both portend resource extraction.²⁸³

The above encounter revisits the issue of a lack of consultation with impacted stakeholders, including landowners as well as the wider Kayak communities of

²⁸² Author's fieldnotes, 3/25/03.

²⁸³ As mentioned above, this 2003 survey was never a means unto itself; the AP co-directors aimed to "determine which [locations] had the highest potential to reveal subsurface cultural remains" (Kaye 2003:129). In other words, the goal of the survey was to identify excavations could occur in the coming years, digs which would result in the "extraction" of considerable amounts of "archaeological resources," aka Kayak PBH.

Carriacou. The wording of the entry suggests that at least some AP participants were under the impression that CHS officers had already sent out some “letters” to residents on their behalf “explaining [the] project and requesting permission to survey this land for archaeological purposes.”²⁸⁴ Perhaps this means that they assumed that some impacted residents had then responded to the CHS and had affirmed their consent. During this ethnographic research, a CHS officer serving at that time recalled they had intended to send out “notices” of the AP survey but in fact never mailed them, noting that the CHS has no say over what happens on private land anyway.²⁸⁵ Despite this encounter and learning more about the lack of local notifications and permissions, the survey work continued as planned until the set departure date.

Kayak suspicions of the AP’s activities only intensified as its teams engaged in the “surface collection” (Kaye 2003:131) of various artifacts and human remains as part of during the survey. Kayak PBH was taken from those private properties accessed with permission as well as those where no permission was granted. The AP’s 2003 field report describes what kinds of materials were removed from private property during the course of this survey, including “[s]amples of artefacts [sic]” and “diagnostic samples of ceramics, worked stone, shell and other material,” which were collected, bagged, collected, photographed and “moved to the [Carriacou] museum.... (ibid.:131).²⁸⁶ What

²⁸⁴ Author’s fieldnotes, 3/25/03.

²⁸⁵ A former CHS officer later reported that they “had a lot on [their] plate” when the archaeologists first arrived because, in addition to serving on the CHS board, they were also working full-time as a teacher (Interview, 8/25/17).

²⁸⁶ It remains unclear if the CHS board or any private landowners who *had* granted permission for the survey were aware that the survey teams would be collecting artifacts and human remains ahead of time.

the 2003 publication does not explicitly mention are the human remains that were collected because they were deemed to be at risk due to erosion.²⁸⁷

Near the end of the survey, the AP teams became aware that Kayak residents had been noting their activities around the island, and that some were upset about it. They also learned that certain Kayak residents saw their work as illicit, as trespassing and looting. A participant noted that

[a]t the hotel, a man told us that the radio put out a story on our group, saying that we were basically on Carriacou to loot and steal.²⁸⁸

The students were upset by this and informed one of the AP co-directors of the issue, who “promptly began drafting a rebuttal on the computer.”²⁸⁹ Years later, I interviewed the owner of this radio station who remembered this exact event. He spoke at length about the problem of outsiders trespassing and looting on the island. In this case, he said that “a group of white foreigners” were spotted walking around the rural parts of the island that were known to be popular with looters, and so several Kayak residents called into his live radio program to warn other Kayaks about their suspicious activity. Be on the lookout!²⁹⁰

However, AP participants escalated their collection of artifacts the following day, resorting to digging them out of the ground.²⁹¹ An AP team member expressed concern

²⁸⁷ These human remains were assumed to be Indigenous due to their location and association with pre-Columbian material culture.

²⁸⁸ Author’s Fieldnotes, 3/29/03.

²⁸⁹ Fieldnotes, 3/29/03. It is not known to whom the AP co-director wrote or what was said. However, it was clear that this so-called “rebuttal” was meant to explain and defend the actions of the survey teams.

²⁹⁰ Interview, 8/17/15.

²⁹¹ This goes beyond the purview of a typical pedestrian survey.

when watching a fellow teammate, a trained Dutch archaeologist use their trowel to dig out artifacts:

Because of the awesome items [name redacted] was digging out, [they] didn't want to stop. I began getting nervous because a) we didn't have permission to be there, b) we were apparently now digging w/ [sic] the intent of removing artifacts from private property, c) [name redacted] was just digging a hole w/o [sic] any procedure (ie [sic] attention to different strata to maintain any provenience if necessary). They ended up humping several backpack loads of pottery out. These were probably the most impressive specimens that I saw on Carriacou- they were certainly very interesting and beautiful. Many had finger impressions and designs cut into them as well. The rim sherds were awesome. But, as I reflect on this day, I don't think that we should have removed them, especially as much as we did.²⁹²

The above field journal entry illustrates that at some team members thought that they lacked permissions to be on certain properties, let alone to remove items from these locations without the expressed consent of pertinent landowners.²⁹³

The AP's 2003 field report describes what kinds of materials were removed from private property during the course of this survey, including "[s]amples of artefacts [sic]" and "diagnostic samples of ceramics, worked stone, shell and other material" (Kaye

²⁹² Author's fieldnotes, 3/30/03.

²⁹³ It is unclear whether the few residents who had given permission for the survey were also informed that artifacts and/or human remains might be removed in the course of the work.

2003:131). These were collected, bagged, photographed, “given a unique finds number which related to the numbered section from which they were retrieved,” and then “moved to the [Carriacou] museum to be weighed, boxed and stored for future analysis” (ibid.). However, the 2003 field report also notes that some materials were taken off island to American university laboratories, including ceramic specimens for petrographic analysis, shell, charcoal, and bone samples for radiocarbon dating (ibid., my emphasis). This site report does not state what kind of bone was removed in 2003.²⁹⁴

Significantly, this publication does not mention the collection of any human remains as such, but does note that “[c]rouched and extended human burials were identified” and [h]uman bones [were seen] protruding from the profile... indicat[ing] multiple burials” at several locations during the survey (Kaye 2003:132). It only becomes clear later on that Indigenous human remains were indeed collected during the 2003 survey, with a subsequent AP publication stating that five sets of human remains were “recovered during site survey in 2003 and a site visit in 2006” (Fitzpatrick et al. 2009:260).²⁹⁵ At first, these remains were taken to the Carriacou Museum. At a later point, the decision to remove all of the human remains that the AP had recovered/excavated to university laboratories was made.

²⁹⁴ A later AP publication references “[a] suite of seven AMS radiocarbon dates [obtained] from charcoal, marine shell, and *human bone*” although it is unclear in what exact season of fieldwork each of these samples was obtained (Fitzpatrick et al. 2006:253, my emphasis).

²⁹⁵ This appears to be at odds with another AP publication, which states that “[a]ll finds collected during the 2003 survey are currently held at the Carriacou Museum and Historical Society” (Fitzpatrick et al. 2004:6). However, the decision to remove all the Indigenous human remains recovered and excavated by the AP occurred after this publication (Interview, 3/20/18).

Discussion of the 2003 Survey: What went wrong?

Based upon person-centered interview data, many Kayaks would argue that the AP's operations in its first season evoked and contributed to their communities' painful history with outsiders trespassing and looting their pre-Columbian PBH. So, what happened with local permissions? It is unclear if AP leadership was solely relying upon CHS officers to secure the local permissions from all impacted landowners for their project on their behalf ahead of their arrival, but the data does suggest it. If so, this would have been a large ask from a new visiting research team that lacked community ties, placing an onerous task upon a part-time volunteer run organization which had other locally driven heritage protection initiatives underway. To this day, AP leadership appears to think that this was not their fault, but resulted from the oversight of the CHS volunteers- they apparently "didn't follow up" with the appropriate parties.²⁹⁶ In later AP publications, this debacle isn't merely glossed over, but overwritten, with the authors stating that they "gratefully acknowledge the assistance given by the Carriacou Historical Society in obtaining permission from local landowners to survey the island" (Fitzpatrick et al. 2008:77). This is one of the reasons for this ethnography grounded in community responses to the AP: it matters who is telling the story.

²⁹⁶ Interview, 3/20/18.

Setting aside the researchers' intentions and making allowances for miscommunications and misunderstandings, the fact remains that consent had not been provided for the AP teams to survey private land and/or to remove heritage materials from all impacted residents during the course of this work. This was known at the outset and raised several times during the course of their short visit, yet the project continued. That said, it is highly unlikely that the survey would have proceeded if the researchers took responsibility for securing the local permissions themselves ahead of their chosen project start date.

Simply put, seeking such permissions themselves in real time was incompatible with a project designed to take place over the course of a college spring break. Had the AP attempted to secure these permissions themselves, they would have needed to propose a hypothetical course for the survey, then learn the location of pertinent property boundaries,²⁹⁷ which families laid claim to the land they wished to survey, and the contact information of who within that family (if anyone) had the standing to authorize such actions on behalf of the other relatives.²⁹⁸ Moreover, data from this ethnographic study has shown that the location of property boundaries and the names of all who lay claim to which family land is information that is carefully and purposefully guarded in response to

²⁹⁷ During interviewing, an AP co-director stated that property "boundaries [were] not well described to us" and that they thought that they were mostly "going along public roads" during the survey.

²⁹⁸ As will be discussed in the final chapter, one of the AP's projects at the site of Sabazan was "authorized" through a verbal agreement with a Kayak liaison, the brother of the man whose family who owned the land. Those excavating there never communicated with the actual owners. Years later, after their initial Kayak liaison passed away, the visiting archaeologists attempted to regain permissions from the landowners. These family members claimed to be unaware of the work that the AP and its staff had been conducting on their land for years, and apparently were upset about it. As a result, permission to work again at Sabazan was denied in 2019, despite the CHS president personally attempting to broker the process.

both real and perceived threats to local sovereignty.²⁹⁹ Data from this ethnographic research in Carriacou strongly suggests that a visiting archaeological team trying to obtain such permission from all impacted residents would have required a considerable amount of information that an outsider could only gain after a significant investiture of time building trust amongst Carriacou's communities. It likely would have required immense, in-person consultation not through the CHS, but with the researchers themselves; it would have taken time and would have been near impossible to arrange remotely in 2003 before Kayak residents regularly utilized email.³⁰⁰

Importantly, such consultation still might not have yielded the outcome that the AP leadership hoped for with all impacted parties. Some Kayaks would have been open to such a project, but others likely would not have been. This leads to another important consideration, one of informed consent.³⁰¹ I argue that it is unlikely that all of the impacted Kayak landowners would have given permission for such a project if they had sought informed consent. This, in part, would mean that the CHS and pertinent landowners were told before the project started that giving permission for the survey

²⁹⁹ During the course of this ethnography, many local and expatriate residents attested to the fact that these two pieces of information are extremely difficult to come by, even from official land records; I heard many stories of how impossible it can be for outsiders to buy land in Carriacou, that land deals between expatriate residents and Kayak families often fall through at the last minute due to strategically withheld information or protests from extended family members. A common interpretation is that they are kept purposefully opaque to outsiders as to make it difficult for them to buy up the very limited amount of land in Carriacou. As the president of the Grenada National Trust said, "No one knows who owns what land [in Carriacou] [but] the people know." (Interview, 7/25/14).

³⁰⁰ Communication between the leadership of the AP and local parties prior to the 2003 field season start date is unclear, but some certainly occurred. However, during interviewing one of the co-directors stated that her email communication with parties in Grenada and Carriacou was "slow" because, in their opinion, "[v]ery few people in any capacity respond readily to communication with the outside world" (Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/25/14).

³⁰¹ Here, informed consent indicates actively consulting with impacted stakeholders at the planning stages of the research design and alerting them to the possible consequences of the research, including risks and benefits (Clark and Kingsolver 2022).

would mean that a team of outsiders would be systematically searching their land for signs of pre-Columbian activities, possibly removing artifacts and human remains in the process, all while seeking to “determine which [area] had the highest potential to reveal subsurface cultural remains” where they could return with larger teams of outsiders in subsequent years to excavate (Kaye 2003:129).³⁰² As data from this study suggest, a scenario such as this would not comport with certain Kayaks’ heritage preservation values.

Conclusion

As argued in Chapter 1, the archaeologist’s “field site” in Indigenous and/or subaltern communities is a “contact zone,” a “social space where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other... in [a] context[s] of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths” (Pratt 1991:34). The contact zone is not where one of these encounters takes place, but where they habitually occur. As such, it may contain the residue of past encounters. Applied to the archaeologist’s field site (aka the host community), this space will have therefore been shaped by the genealogy of the previous research practices that took place there. These past negotiations of power matter because they impact future research practices and stakeholder dynamics.

Carriacou’s communities have a long history with outsiders coming to their island and onto their family land to extract pre-Columbian material culture, which is seen as part of

³⁰² This same sentiment has been communicated in various interviews with local heritage preservationists (e.g., Interview, 8/10/14; interview, 8/25/17).

Kayaks' place-based heritage. A looter, hobbyist, antiquarian collector, amateur or academic archaeologist is a distinction without a difference to Kayak residents if their family land is trespassed upon and their PBH is removed without their consent. The AP, despite having an academic orientation and a scientific rigor that distinguished it from previous archaeological work in Carriacou, was nevertheless seen as within this genealogy. Its survey served to reaffirm familiar patterns and confirm certain fears within Carriacou's communities.

I further argue that the 2003 survey illustrated Kayak residents' relative lack of power to fend off perceived threats to their PBH from outsiders or be involved in its heritage management (see Chapter 4).

Despite occurring in 2003, the AP survey was still raised over a decade later by some Kayak residents as an example of what threatens their local heritage and its preservation. During ethnographic fieldwork in Carriacou in the summer 2015, I had arranged to meet with a former CHS officer who had also worked in local media. When I met him at one of his businesses, he warmly greeted me and invited me into his small office. A picture of Barack Obama hung on the wall. He had lived in Brooklyn for many years like so many Kayaks, and so we broke the ice over recent news from the US. We quickly landed on somber topics such as the Black Lives Matter movement and the "hands up, don't shoot!" refrain that had just emerged from the Ferguson, MO protests. The beginning stages of what would be called the Black Spring. We then discussed the upcoming US election, and he laughed off the notion of "The Donald" running for president.

When we eventually got to the more formal part of the interview, I asked whether he was familiar with the AP, and if so, what he thought about it. I also wanted to know what he saw as challenges to local heritage preservation in Carriacou. In response, he spoke at length about the problem of looting on the island. Without naming the AP, he recalled memories of a group of white foreigners spotted walking through rural parts of the island that were known to be popular with looters. He recalled that several residents took notice of these strangers, who they described as “suspicious.” Some even called in to the local radio station that he operated during a live broadcast in order to warn their neighbors about them.³⁰³ It was at this point in the interview that I realized they were talking about the 2003 survey.

The AP leadership was not unaware of how certain Kayak regarded them and their work in 2003. As aforementioned, they were plainly told that not all permissions had not been obtained by impacted residents, then were confronted in person by some of them, and learned that some had called into a local live radio program to warn fellow residents of a group of looters on the island. Moreover, one of the co-directors acknowledged that some Kayaks immediately had “suspicions about the arrival on their small island of a large number of foreigners wanting to dig holes in the ground,”³⁰⁴ while another co-director understood that the researchers’ relationship with the community started off strained as well:

³⁰³ Interview, 8/17/15.

³⁰⁴ Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/25/14.

Interviewer: What is your impression of how the relationship between the project-you guys, and the communities been over the years?

AP co-director: Difficult.

Interviewer: From the beginning?

AP co-director: Always.³⁰⁵

Furthermore, the AP leadership was aware that such responses were, in part, due to residents' traumatizing experiences with Lesley Suttty a few years prior:

That was one of the first things somebody said when we got here, "Do you know Leslie Suttty?" And I said, "Yes I do, I know her by reputation."

[Then they said,] "Oh, well, if you were working with her, we don't want anything to do with you!" And I said, "No we don't, she's just resigned her position in IACA because of what she's been doing.""³⁰⁶

The memories of Suttty and of other archaeological looters loom large amongst Carriacou's communities. Reference to these figures were so common during person-centered interviewing that it seemed as though narratives of their offenses had spread throughout the island's small population, entering the community canon, functioning like cautionary tales. In fact, nearly identical phrasing was often used by Kayak residents when discussing looting, revealing an ominous formula that I argue was created as the community repeatedly bore witness to it and processed their shared feelings of neo/colonial exploitation and dispossession with one another: "They come and take things and go away."³⁰⁷ This is not a novel phenomenon among subaltern communities.

³⁰⁵ Interview, 8/26/14.

³⁰⁶ Interview, 8/11/14.

³⁰⁷ Ibid. A variation of this formula is that looters "go away" is "go up with it" (e.g., Interview, 8/25/2017).

As decolonizing scholar Tuhiwai Smith notes (1999) Indigenous communities often generate such “stories about research and particularly about researchers (the human carriers of research),” which become “intertwined with stories about all other forms of colonization and injustice.”

Nevertheless, the AP leadership viewed their project as a sharp departure from looting and amateur forms of archaeology that preceded their work, despite some residents observed a familiar disturbing pattern.³⁰⁸ Therefore, despite their awareness of these community criticisms, the project continued the following season after a local landowner brokered permissions for the researchers to excavate on his family’s land. Once excavations began in 2004, the AP teams started bringing a very large amount of excavated midden materials (broken ceramics, faunal remains) and a smaller number of artifacts back to the Carriacou Museum for processing and storage. However, the human remains collected in the 2003 survey and all subsequent Indigenous human remains recovered and excavated by the AP over the years, which totaled 39 individuals, were eventually taken off island.³⁰⁹ The removal of these remains and their lack of repatriation to date has been a significant issue for certain Kayak residents, and one which will be examined in the following chapter.

Highlighting the formulaic nature of such accounts is not done to suggest that they are apocryphal. However, it begs the question whether their formulaic retelling resulted from several shared experiences combined with years of recounting such events. Such stories may be shared to warn other Kayaks of the threat that looting poses.

³⁰⁸ As a result, the AP leadership uncritically cited Suttty’s contribution to the archaeological discourse of Carriacou in the posters they made for the Carriacou Museum as well as within their own publications.

³⁰⁹ Interview with AP co-director, 3/20/18.

CHAPTER 7

HOW IS HERITAGE PROTECTED (PART II)?

THE REMOVAL OF HUMAN REMAINS

Introduction

The previous chapter presented some Kayak perspectives on what they viewed as the fraught beginnings of the Archaeology Project (AP) in 2003. For certain residents, this survey represented a continuation of a familiar and painful theme: outsiders coming onto their family held land to illicitly take their pre-Columbian heritage, their place-based heritage, largely without their informed consent. But what about the dynamics between the AP and Kayak communities moving forward?

AP excavations began the following summer in 2004 at the site of Grand Bay. As the co-directors were aware of the frictions and local suspicions of their project from the 2003 survey,³¹⁰ they initiated public relation strategies and informational campaigns across Carriacou's communities in the subsequent seasons. These included "working with the local Grenada Broadcasting Network (GBN) to broadcast four television news items

³¹⁰ Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/25/14.

about [the] fieldwork,” giving additional newspaper and radio interviews and presentations to secondary schools about their work, and organizing a “VIP day [with] [p]ublic officials from Carriacou and Grenada” to “visit the site, observe finds processing at the museum, enjoy lunch, and attend an illustrated presentation” (Kaye et al. 2005: 112-113). In doing this, the researchers aimed 1) to “raise community awareness of the island’s rich heritage, many facets of which are quickly disappearing” (Kaye et al. 2005:112), 2) to “highlight the benefits of raising archaeological awareness on the island” (i.e., heritage tourism expansion) (ibid.:113), and 3) to “actively encourage site visits and participation in fieldwork” (ibid.:112).

However, AP leadership also used these informational campaigns to communicate what they perceived to be community dynamics that were preventing adequate preservation of Carriacou’s pre-Columbian heritage resources. These included a “lack of community awareness of the importance of the island’s archaeology” (Kaye et al. 2004:82) and a “lack of support [for their project] from the educational institutions on the island,” which they saw as “a cause for concern since, without their support, the significance and safety of the archaeology is jeopardized” (ibid.:88).³¹¹ While certain CHS officers were sympathetic to their struggles to gain community buy in,³¹² this framing served to alienate other residents from the project.³¹³ To some, it seemed as though the visiting researchers were trying to bend the local community to their values instead of learning Kayak values and integrating those into their project. Thus, the AP never garnered significant public

³¹¹ Such project objectives were typically listed under the heading “Heritage Management, Awareness and Education” in their peer-reviewed publications (e.g., Kaye et al. 2004 & 2005).

³¹² Interview, 9/21/15.

³¹³ Interview, 8/17/15.

participation or widespread interest from Kayak residents despite its multi-platform public relations and educational outreach campaigns.³¹⁴

While AP leadership was focused upon what they viewed as internal dynamics endangering Carriacou's "archaeological heritage" (Kaye et al. 2004:88), a contingency of Kayak residents remained focused on external factors such as the visiting researchers themselves. During the course of this ethnographic research, many concerns have been raised over AP operations throughout the years. Kayak interlocutors and collaborators in this study have made dozens upon dozens of thoughtful recommendations and innovative suggestions for archaeological reforms.³¹⁵ Unfortunately, not all of these can be addressed here.

Instead, this chapter focuses on one of the most frequently raised issues by Kayak interlocutors- that familiar theme of the removal of their PBH by outsiders. Ultimately, the PBH that the AP researchers chose to systematically take off island was perhaps ranked amongst the most sensitive forms of tangible heritage: Native human remains.³¹⁶ These ethnographic data strongly suggest that the decision to take these remains and not repatriate them (to date) fed into the existing deep cynicism and distrust that Kayaks already had after a century of outsiders coming to dig on their island and abscond with

³¹⁴ On a few occasions, they organized field trips to the site for local grade schoolers and cub scout troops to hear about how archaeology is done and to practice digging with the team; however, only one Kayak adult worked with them in the field for more than a few days over the course of seven field seasons (Interview, 8/11/14; Interview, 8/26/14). Nevertheless, the leadership continued to brand the project as an example of public archaeology (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2014; Kaye et al. 2009), likely due to their various outreach initiatives.

³¹⁵ Many of these could easily extend to any visiting guest researchers regardless of their discipline.

³¹⁶ It is worth noting that such practices would be immediately problematized in countries like Canada and the U.S., where many of the AP participants, staff, and leadership hailed from.

their PBH.³¹⁷ I further argue that this decision kept them relegated to that category of interlopers in the minds of many Kayaks,³¹⁸ ultimately precluded them from gaining the community support necessary to accomplish many of their stated objectives.

In what follows, I provide an overview of the issue, discuss the permissions by which these Native human remains were removed from Carriacou, the AP's reasoning for removing them, and Kayak perspectives on their excavation and removal. I then place Kayak perspectives in conversation with those of the archaeologists in order to highlight some of the disjunctures between stakeholder groups regarding this issue. The chapter concludes with the prospect of repatriation and the small steps that local heritage protectors have taken toward this goal.

Indigenous Human Remains

When the AP first started, all excavated finds were brought to the Carriacou Museum. However, a few years into the project AP co-directors reported that they had requested and received permission from the CHS to take the excavated Indigenous human remains

³¹⁷ A note on interview methodology: several of the Kayak interlocutors interviewed were already aware that the AP had removed materials off island over the years, particularly CHS officers who had served during its years of operations. Though word travels fast around Carriacou, many Kayak residents interviewed for this study simply assumed that the AP took materials off island like all the other outsiders coming for their pre-Columbian heritage. In some cases, I would ask local interlocutors how they would respond to a hypothetical scenario of archaeologists taking excavated Indigenous remains off-island to gauge their response. However, if residents asked me what the AP had removed, I would share this information, all of which had been published in AP reporting (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2014). In other words, the issue of repatriation of human remains was at times spoken about in theory, and at other times it was contextualized within AP operations.

³¹⁸ This term 'interloper' is being borrowed from an interview with one of the AP co-directors in which they acknowledged that a contingency of Kayak residents sees them as such (Interview, 8/11/14).

to the U.S. for analysis.³¹⁹ These remains, according to AP reporting, represent 39 individuals and weigh just over 39 lbs. (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:155).³²⁰ Some of these remains were salvaged as they eroded out of the site, while others were uncovered in the process of excavation. The remains were found in a mortuary context as burials.

Permissions to Remove Indigenous Human Remains

When first interviewing an AP co-director regarding the process by which they obtained the initial permissions for the project, they stated that “the only stipulation, once permission [was] given, is that we excavate with permission from the CHS and the artefacts [sic] remain in their custody.”³²¹ However, as the AP recovered more and more human remains each season, this situation changed.

I interviewed (and in some cases reinterviewed) AP leadership to try to best understand how they understood the permissions process required to remove excavated materials from Carriacou. What follows is an excerpt of an interview form filled out by an AP co-director:³²²

³¹⁹ Most of these human remains were removed from the site of Grand Bay, where Lesley Suttty had looted human remains just over a decade prior.

³²⁰ In follow-up exchanges on the subject, one of the AP’s co-directors requested that I clarify that most of these remains “are only fragments of a skeleton” (as the ratio of individuals to weight suggests), adding that “maybe only 10-12 [Indigenous individuals] have been relatively complete skeletons” (personal communication via email, 6/16/17).

³²¹ Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/25/14.

³²² Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/29/17. Here, “C/cou” is shorthand for Carriacou and “GND” is for Grenada.

Question: Does the initial permit and/or renewal permits mention any protocol regarding taking materials off island? Or is dealt with on the C/cou end only?

Answer: No, this was arranged each year by getting letters of permission from CHS and letting [name redacted (the local landowner)] know what we were doing

Question: If there is a protocol, what is the process and details? (paperwork required, under what circumstances, how much? what kinds? for how long? etc)

Answer: N/A

Question: If this is sorted out only on the GND end, do the permissions say that permission to take materials off island also need to be cleared with any parties in C/cou? If not, did the team do that as an extra measure?

Answer: No, but we were always forthright about what we would be taking and why

This same co-director later asserted that they ultimately just required permission from the private landowner to remove items from island³²³ and another co-director added that they also got a letter of permission from the CHS listing what they are taking off island in each instance for good measure.³²⁴ These permission letters were said to be arranged at the end of each season and were typically signed by the CHS president.³²⁵ However, it

³²³ Interview, 3/20/18.

³²⁴ Interview, 8/11/14.

³²⁵ Interview, 3/20/18. The permissions process seems to have been a bit variable depending on what was taken, where it was taken to, and in which season. In some cases, AP leadership reported needing signed export documents to bring faunal samples to the Florida Museum. In another, consent to remove salvaged human remains was arranged by means of a “verbal agreement” with a CHS officer (ibid.).

proved quite difficult to ascertain exactly what materials had been removed from the island based upon any local information and records during the decade of research behind this study. There appeared to be a lack of documentation of any such permissions in the CHS records³²⁶ despite the last CHS president making a concerted effort to organize the organization's records and improve institutional memory. The reasons for this are unclear, but a complicating factor may have been that any such agreements may have evolved over the course of the decade-plus project and/or had been brokered between AP leadership and a revolving cast of CHS officers.³²⁷

When discussing this issue with an AP co-director, that of agreements made with local parties regarding the removal and treatment of any or all human remains off island, they said, "to my knowledge [the CHS] didn't have records of anything".³²⁸ AP leadership, on the other hand, reported that they did retain copies of all such permissions on their end.³²⁹ Nevertheless, this situation has served to heighten local concerns and speculation over what the AP researchers removed over the years and by what permissions. It also has served to frustrate any local initiative for the repatriation of these human remains. As one

³²⁶ I had spent a considerable amount of time in the Carriacou Museum and with CHS officers during each field season of this ethnography (2014, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2019) attempting to locate any physical records for the removal of materials off island at the CHS, but was never able to locate any documentation of such permissions.

³²⁷ Another complicating factor is that many CHS board members over the years have been of retirement age or older. During the course of this ethnographic research, at least six CHS officers and heritage protectors I interviewed have passed away. One of the AP co-directors noted that they were used to the CHS board members rotating for various reasons, like "someone had died [or] resigned because of ill health" (Interview, 8/11/14).

³²⁸ Interview, 3/20/18. AP leadership had, however, given CHS board members both electronic and hard copies of their project database inventorying all excavated materials. I was unable to view this database on the local end, as CHS officers relayed that the electronic version was lost due to the theft of the Carriacou Museum's computer, and the hardcopy could not be located.

³²⁹ Ibid. Copies of these permissions on the AP end were not requested during the data collection phase of this research and acknowledge that the inclusion of the documents' content would have added helpful nuance to this discussion.

political leader in Carriacou put it, “[we] need documentation” because “we don’t know what’s been done!”³³⁰

Another confusing aspect to emerge from this ethnographic investigation is that the elderly Kayak landowner and former CHS officer who had purportedly brokered all of the permissions for AP practitioners to excavate on his and his extended family’s land (at both Grand Bay and Sabazan) later claimed in interviewing that he was not aware that the AP had removed all excavated human remains from these lands.³³¹ They did note that the archaeologists “sign papers for everything” they take, but said that they were under the impression that they only removed small things for testing, such as charcoal for radiocarbon dating. These data raised concerns since AP leadership reported that remains could only be removed with the permission from the landowner.³³²

One of the AP co-directors disputed the above claim when I raised this issue during a follow up interview; they expressed surprise that the landowner didn’t know about the removed human remains, and suggested that maybe they were “having memory issues” or were just not “in the know,”³³³ which is somewhat confusing since the landowner had served on the CHS board for many of the years while the AP operated and was arguably one of the AP’s strongest local supporters. Yet the co-director was adamant that they “had to be very clear” with local parties about the removal of human remains. Another

³³⁰ Interview, 11/29/18.

³³¹ Interview, 9/14/15.

³³² Interview, 3/20/18. At this point, the co-director did not comment on what was stipulated in such permissions or how they were documented.

³³³ Ibid.

co-director said CHS board members “don’t look closely at things” before they granted approval for certain AP operations.³³⁴ In the end, it was difficult to ascertain whether the landowner had actually given their informed consent for the removal of human remains from Carriacou in light of their interview data.³³⁵

Why were the human remains removed from Carriacou?

Based upon interviewing with AP leadership, there seem to have been two reasons why permissions were sought to remove the Indigenous human remains from Carriacou: 1) for research and 2) for climate-controlled storage.

For the first few years of operation (2003-2005), the AP researchers brought all recovered human remains to the Carriacou Museum. An area of the Museum was turned into an ad hoc laboratory space where an AP student participant conducted osteological analyses of some of these remains on the island.³³⁶ As their excavations into the midden of Grand Bay produced more and more burials, the leadership recognized that the “decent collection” of Indigenous human remains they had excavated were 1) “were pretty rare” in the region, and 2) presented “some opportunities to have some really good

³³⁴ Personal communication, 7/22/14. In this instance, the co-director was speaking about drafts of Museum signage that the researchers wanted them to review and sign off on.

³³⁵ This discussion is not intended to arbitrate the truth of this matter; it is a “they said/they said” situation in the absence of additional documentation on the issue. What is noteworthy, however, is the marked disjuncture between stakeholders regarding such an important subject such as the removal of human remains from Carriacou.

³³⁶ Interview, 3/20/18. This analysis was conducted by a former undergraduate student of one of the AP co-directors. It provided the data necessary for that student’s master’s thesis, which the co-director also oversaw (see Reeves 2006). This arrangement ended up frustrating the CHS president, who felt that the AP had used them and their museum as a laboratory and storage facility (personal communication, 11/29/18).

information.”³³⁷ They realized that they couldn’t possibly “do the analysis on island” because the Museum “didn’t have the facilities or analytical tools” that they would need to conduct the analyses they wanted to do.³³⁸ Thus, they requested to remove these remains off island (see above). When I asked how this request was received, a co-director said that “there wasn’t much interest in keeping them there or not keeping them there... they were pretty ambivalent about it.”³³⁹

Once all the human remains were brought to various laboratories in the U.S.,³⁴⁰ AP leadership, affiliated colleagues, and an array of American undergraduate and graduate students had the access to the remains necessary to conduct a host of analyses, including an osteological inventory, radiocarbon dating, isotope analyses, tooth chipping and enamel hypoplasia, and dental calculus for oral microbiome sequencing.³⁴¹ Ancient DNA extraction and sequencing is also in progress.³⁴² AP leadership conveyed that they had a bioarchaeologist who joined them in the field meet with members of the CHS board to tell them “the implication of those [human] remains” for research value as well as “what they had done and what they were going to do” to them in the analysis stage.³⁴³

³³⁷ Ibid. The kind of data that can be extracted from excavated human remains is extensive. Such analyses are typically used to reconstruct past lifeways. For these remains, the AP and its colleagues have published information on mortuary rituals (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2014), paleodiet (e.g., Krigbaum et al. 2013, morality rates (Fitzpatrick et al. 2009), among others. A list of the tests conducted on these remains will be listed below.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Most of these human remains are in the university laboratory of one of the AP co-directors. However, some of these remains have been “loaned” to a bioarchaeologist at another university laboratory. It is unclear if this arrangement was approved by the CHS board.

³⁴¹ Interview, 3/20/18. Some of these studies and other analyses of the human remains have been published (e.g., Krigbaum et al. 2013; Napolitano et al. 2019), while others are ongoing.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid. It is unclear if these issues were mutually decided through consultation or if the board simply “signed off” on some of these tests after the fact. It is further unclear if Kayak stakeholders were made

The second reason that AP leadership provided for removing the human remains was because the Carriacou Museum lacked climate-controlled facilities in which to store them.³⁴⁴ One AP co-director noted that such remains would degrade unless stored climate-controlled facility.³⁴⁵ By “degrade,” they are indicating that the human remains would deteriorate over time and thus lose scientific value.³⁴⁶ I eventually asked one of the AP co-directors if they realistically thought that the Carriacou Museum could ever gain climate-controlled capacity. They acknowledged that this was not likely to happen unless the organization received a significant investiture of private funds.³⁴⁷ After conferring with several heritage preservation professionals in Grenada, there is consensus that the Carriacou Museum will never have climate-controlled facilities,³⁴⁸ and visiting archaeologists need to accept that they are “working in a developing country” and that’s the way it is.³⁴⁹ Even though the heat and humidity of the region would have an impact, human remains from other salvaged contexts have been stored in the Carriacou Museum

aware in advance that some of these tests necessitate the destruction 5-8 grams of skeletal material (Interview, 3/20/18).

³⁴⁴ The capacity for climate-controlled facilities where temperature, humidity, and light are regulated is but one part of the professional standards that accredited museums in the Global North are expected to have for the display and storage of certain sensitive collections such as human remains (see Elkadi et al. 2021).

³⁴⁵ Interview, 3/20/18.

³⁴⁶ The capacity for climate-controlled facilities where temperature, humidity, and light are regulated is but one part of the professional standards that accredited museums in the Global North are expected to have for the display and storage of certain sensitive collections including human remains (see Elkadi et al. 2021). Apart from certain hotel rooms and a few public buildings, not that many residents in Carriacou have air conditioning. Screens are not regularly used on windows and perishable materials must be carefully safeguarded from various pests, heat, and humidity.

³⁴⁷ Interview, 3/20/18. At the time of writing, the Carriacou Museum is in worse shape than when AP last operated on the island (2014) (personal communication, 10/7/22) due to several issues, including a large termite problem and the CHS going dormant (personal communication, 8/26/22) after the death of their longstanding president, Mr. Stephen Alexander. As a reminder, the Museum receives no funding from the government and operates on membership and admittance fees and the revenue from gift shop sales (see Chapter 4).

³⁴⁸ Interview, 8/28/17; personal communication, 10/7/22.

³⁴⁹ Interview, 8/28/17.

throughout the years and archaeologists in Grenada are currently storing salvaged and excavated human remains in the Grenada National Museum, which is also not climate controlled.³⁵⁰

In a related line of questioning, I inquired if AP leadership anticipated encountering Indigenous human remains at the outset of their project. They did, noting that they saw them eroding out of the coastlines at both Grand Bay and Sabazan where they eventually decided to excavate.³⁵¹ But not all were salvaged- additional human remains were later excavated farther back from the eroding coastline of Grand Bay.³⁵² In interviewing with another co-director, I attempted to ascertain how the decision was made to remove the human remains off island. One co-director seemed to convey that the idea organically developed once they reached a critical mass of skeletal material that would constitute a robust data set for analyses. However, after asking another co-director if they believed from the beginning of the project that the Carriacou Museum or any local facility would be appropriate for the storage of human remains they replied, “Oh, absolutely, yes.”³⁵³

Perhaps one of the most confusing aspects of this saga is that the majority of these human remains are currently not being stored in climate-controlled facilities in the U.S.³⁵⁴ They

³⁵⁰ A visiting archaeologist recently deposited salvaged remains at the Grenada National Museum that they were asked to salvage from an eroding coastline (Interview, 9/11/19).

³⁵¹ Interview, 3/20/18. Lesley Suttty also noted the presence of visible human remains at Grand Bay in her archaeological reports as well (1990).

³⁵² Several burials were found in proximity to each other indicating that the settlement site had also been used as a burial ground, with Indigenous families interring their decedents in the midden of the site and sometimes beneath their structures (Fitzpatrick et al. 2009:260).

³⁵³ Interview, 8/11/14.

³⁵⁴ The location of these remains was shared in an interview with an AP co-director on 3/20/18. I make this claim after visiting the location in person and speaking with laboratory staff. I am unfamiliar with the storage conditions of those remains that an AP co-director “loaned” to a colleague at a different university.

are not accessioned into the nearby university museum³⁵⁵ collections where they would receive state-of-the-art collections care in true climate-controlled facilities in compliance with the American Alliance of Museums (AAM) standards, but are housed in an archaeology laboratory. Although this university-owned out building indeed stays cooler and drier than near equatorial locations such as Carriacou, it is nevertheless not considered to be climate-controlled in the “museum collections care” sense of the term.³⁵⁶

During the course of this ethnographic research, I interviewed several archaeologists who have operated as guest researchers in Grenada to learn about their approaches to human remains. Two of such interlocutors made an obvious point that seems to have only recently become more common for Caribbean archaeology: all heritage resources should be left on island because they fundamentally belong to the islanders.³⁵⁷ After one of these practitioners was asked to help salvage human remains that had eroded out of the coastline of Grenada, they brought them to the Grenada National Museum despite having state of the art storage facilities in their home country. They explained this decision, saying, it was not their “decision to decide where these remains are going to” and that this was “the only way to break away from the colonial dynamic.”³⁵⁸ Another visiting

³⁵⁵ This is a museum that is part of a state university in the US. It therefore receives both state and federal funding, making it subject to NAGPRA compliance (See Chapter 2). It has also been accredited by the American Alliance of Museums, which means that it is held to a set of “core standards” that represent best museal practices. For both of these reasons, this museum has an official policy of not accessioning new human remains.

³⁵⁶ To be clear, I am not arguing here that these remains should be accessioned into this US university museum, as this would make the potential repatriation of such remains prohibitively difficult (see Chapter 2). However, the decision to not accession them into museum holdings also prevents them from receiving proper collections care for human remains as established by the American Alliance of Museums.

³⁵⁷ Interview, 8/29/17; Interview, 9/11/19.

³⁵⁸ Interview, 9/11/19. This was a perspective that they eventually arrived to after working in the region since the late 1980s and having received local criticism for removing heritage materials off island in the past (*ibid.*).

archaeologist with experience working in both Grenada and Carriacou agreed that removing human remains off island is “not the right approach” even in the absence of formal collections care standards that are more common in the Global North.³⁵⁹

Kayak Perspectives on Human Remains

This section addresses local perspectives on the excavation as well as the removal of the Indigenous human remains by the AP. However, it is important to remember that the AP was not the only group of outsiders removing human remains in Carriacou. As discussed previously, the small Caucasian expatriate community of Carriacou is widely known to both Kayak residents and AP leadership to be behind much of the looting of the island’s pre-Columbian tangible heritage.³⁶⁰ Expatriate residents often openly shared such information about this during interviewing.³⁶¹ As one of the AP co-directors said, it is a “well- worn path” for expatriates living on Caribbean islands to “bone hunt.”³⁶² This is important context when considering Kayak responses to the AP’s removal of human remains, for it was already an extremely painful subject.

³⁵⁹ Interview, 8/29/17.

³⁶⁰ Interview, 8/17/17; Interview 3/20/18.

³⁶¹ E.g., Interview, 7/29/14; Interview, 8/1/14.

During the 2003 AP survey, an expatriate resident serving on the CHS board invited the teams to their house to see her collection of pre-Columbian materials (Interview, 3/20/18), which included both artifacts and Native human remains. While aware that it was looting, one of the AP co-directors said that they “didn’t lecture them on what they should or should not do.”

³⁶² Interview, 3/20/18. In 2014, this same director recounted that an expatriate resident, who they had allowed to come help at the dig in the past, told them that they had dug out a flexed skeleton from its burial out at Grand Bay and mailed it back home to the U.S.³⁶² I later interviewed this expatriate and they seemed to think that such behavior was permissible, adding that she was under the impression that the archaeologists were “stealing” as well (Interview, 8/1/14). It is unclear what they meant by this, but perhaps it was in reference to the human remains being taken back to the U.S. for testing and storage.

Disinterment and Collection

To begin, brief ethnographic research amongst Kalinago communities in Dominica revealed that they not only view themselves as the descendants of Indigenous in the region, but that they see such archaeological treatment of Native burials as a deep spiritual injustice.³⁶³ Carriacou is part of what they view as the broader “Kalinago Islands,” and thus contains the remains of their ancestors who are still part of their natural and spiritual world, guarding and protecting them through medicinal dreams.³⁶⁴ However, this research has also found that a contingency of Kayaks regards Indigenous remains as not just part of their PBH, but remnants of their ancestors.³⁶⁵ When speaking of the excavated remains, a political leader and educator in Carriacou said “they were already buried, they were cared for,”³⁶⁶ later adding, “if we want to leave our ancestors as they are, [the archaeologists] should respect that.”³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Interview, 6/13/19. In 2019, I invited representatives from the CHS and Grenada National Museum to accompany me to Dominica to meet with Kalinago leaders. The goal of this trip was to better understand Indigenous perspectives on the treatment of Carriacou and Grenada’s pre-Columbian heritage, as well as to discuss future Kalinago/Kayak/Grenadian collaborations regarding this in the future.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Interview, 11/29/18; Interview 12/5/18; Interview 10/11/18; Interview, 8/17/15; Interview, 10/11/18; Interview, 8/24/15; the issue of Kayak ancestry linked to Indigenous will be further addressed in the following section.

³⁶⁶ Although much of the human remains recovered by the AP were eroding out of the coastline at Grand Bay, some were excavated *in situ* with their grave goods. Some of these are intimate scenes. In one instance, an AP publication describes “unusual mortuary behaviors and rarely found grave offerings, including one with a skull placed on top” which they speculated could signify ancestor veneration (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:155). In another, a body was found “sitting in a crouched position” surrounded by “large, purposefully placed stones” and with a “flat stone placed on [their] lap and another held in [their] arms” (Kaye et al. 2011:95). To illustrate this positioning, AP leadership had undergraduate field school students photographed next to exposed remains and attempt to pose like the interred individual. These pictures were included in AP publications (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:156; Kaye et al. 2011:96) and at times posted on the social media of project participants. It was a conscious decision of the author to not include those pictures here.

³⁶⁷ Interview, 12/5/18.

However, not all Kayaks view the Indigenous as their ancestors, even if they see their remains and remnants as part of their PBH. Like most peoples around the world, Kayaks have robust traditions surrounding death and burial. In Carriacou, death has been marked by various traditional observances including a wake, prayer meetings, the singing of songs and chants, perhaps a walking procession, a tomb-stone feast,³⁶⁸ and various libations as part of ancestor commemoration (David 2004).³⁶⁹ It is not unusual for Kayaks to inter their deceased kin on family land.³⁷⁰ But All Saints Night is also still actively observed on the first of every November when families gather at their village's graveyard to light candles and make libations for the dead (ibid.:24). These local traditions contextualize why certain Kayak residents have reacted adversely to the disinterment of those who were laid to rest by their loved ones, no matter how long ago. Thus, some Kayak community members interviewed have taken issue with the interference with any burials full stop, regardless of possible ancestral linkages,³⁷¹ viewing the disturbance of their graves as a desecration.³⁷²

The AP researchers became aware that a contingency of Kayak residents viewed the salvage and excavation of Indigenous graves as a desecration. During interviewing, a

³⁶⁸ The stone feast closes the death ritual (David 2004:24). It is currently marked by a community feast that is thrown for the entire neighborhood (and beyond) when the tomb stone is finally erected at the grave site of the decedent. This might occur a year or more after death, a delay that historically allowed for the family to save money and commission the gravestone and currently allows for the organization of a family reunion for family members living in the diaspora (ibid.:28). Guests are fed traditional communal meals such as *saraca* and the event sometimes features Big Drum dance ceremonies, another important West African cultural retention in Carriacou (ibid.)

³⁶⁹ The beliefs of Kayaks are creolized, just like its peoples. They are flavored by Catholic and Protestant religiosity, West African spiritual practices such as Obeah, and, to a lesser extent, Rastafarianism.

³⁷⁰ This is another reason why the trespassing onto family land by outsiders is seen as offensive.

³⁷¹ E.g., Interview, 8/17/15. This view was not shared by all local interlocutors, but was raised often enough to be addressed here.

³⁷² Interview, 12/14/18.

former undergraduate who attended the 2007 AP field school recalled a scenario that has stayed with them for over a decade:

So, one of the first few days we were at Grand Bay we found a human skeleton. It was a mother and a child. The mother was, like, holding the child. I guess they had both died. I guess she died... I don't know how it happened. That was the first time I had ever seen a real skeleton. I don't even know what even happened to it, I guess it got shipped off to the US to be carbon dated.³⁷³

The student recounted how the burial in question was partially eroded out of the embankment and about to collapse into the sea. As they were working one day, one of the co-directors approached and told them that “the people in the village” said that they “were desecrating graves.” The thought of local peoples seeing their work in that way horrified the student, but the co-director offered words of encouragement, which the student paraphrased as: “We are absolutely not desecrating graves, we’re saving history!”³⁷⁴

Exporting Human Remains from Carriacou

Because no community is monolithic, it is important to note that a contingency of Kayaks participating in this study did not take particular issue with the excavation of these Indigenous burials.³⁷⁵ However, when it came to the issue of these remains being taken

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Interview, 8/20/15; Interview, 9/21/15; Interview, 8/25/17.

away, nearly every Kayak interviewed to a person felt strongly that this should not happen. Although two leaders in local heritage preservation expressed being open to the human remains being temporarily taken to laboratories abroad for testing and analysis, both were adamant that they should have been immediately returned.³⁷⁶ When AP leadership eventually requested to take human remains off island, they claim that the CHS board seemed “ambivalent” about the issue.³⁷⁷ On the contrary, this ethnographic research has found that the issue of any heritage materials being taken off island by outsiders evokes extremely strong reactions from Kayak interlocutors, as the previous two chapters addressed at length. Such sentiments were only amplified in the case of human remains.

A community leader and heritage preservationist recalled when the co-directors told the CHS board that Carriacou didn’t have the “proper facilities” to store the human remains their project had collected. They bitterly described how “condescending” this felt, and how board members felt spoken down to when they asked questions.³⁷⁸ Another CHS officer said that it felt very judgmental when they “assum[ed] they know what’s best for Carriacou.”³⁷⁹ Additional Kayak interlocutors familiar with this situation have described this situation as paternalistic, that it seemed to imply that local people cannot adequately take care of their PBH and so outsiders had to step in to take them away for their own good.³⁸⁰ All the while, it is they as outsiders who have “[have] no place to come and

³⁷⁶ Interview, 8/20/15; personal communication 10/7/22.

³⁷⁷ Interview, 3/20/18.

³⁷⁸ Interview, 8/17/15.

³⁷⁹ Interview, 8/24/15. Kayaks also have shared experiences of being subjected to policies written in Grenada by people who they believe ‘don’t know what’s best’ for them (See Chapter 4).

³⁸⁰ This situation is perhaps akin to Lesley Suttty’s reasoning as she removed both artifacts and human remains from Carriacou in the 1980’s. Her reports note that she removed these materials a year after the

take!”³⁸¹ This perceived paternalism was then linked to colonial dynamics, with a community leader remarking, “I’ve learned a lot from their work... [but there’s] the feeling that they think they are the higher authority...it’s not the colonial days anymore.”³⁸²

In response to the AP claims that climate-controlled storage was most appropriate for these human remains, a museum professional from Grenada said that outsiders “don’t get to decide that” on behalf of Kayaks. Their response to this would have been, “then build me one!”³⁸³ However, certain CHS officers sensed that the researchers’ reasoning for taking the human remains away extended beyond the issue of collections care protocols. They outlined some of the reasons behind the tensions between certain members of the CHS board and the AP co-directors, adding that things took a turn for the worse when the archaeologists told the board that they didn’t think that Kayaks “value what they have” because pre-Columbian heritage materials were being lost to erosion at sites like Grand Bay.³⁸⁴ They seemed to think that Carriacou’s communities were somehow able but

first Carriacou Museum had been severely damaged by Hurricane Klaus (Sutty 1990:250) (see Chapter 6); however, half of its collections had been dramatically salvaged by Kayaks who braved the sea surges to go in after them. Though the situation looked bleak, local leaders sheltered their remaining precious collections at the local police station until another permanent museum space could be found (Whyte 2016).

³⁸¹ Interview, 8/24/15.

³⁸² Interview, 8/17/15. The *raison d’être* of the intradisciplinary field of Critical Heritage Studies is problematizing issues such as this- the projection of “best practices” for heritage management from the Global North onto other spaces with different values and heritage preservation resources (Smith 2004) (see Chapter 2). This is particularly relevant for decolonizing archaeological practices when that space is in the Global South and has been on the receiving end of European neo/colonialism and American imperialism like the islands of Grenada.

³⁸³ Interview, 10/7/22. At the same time, this same interlocutor has been somewhat sympathetic to the AP leadership’s decision to remove Indigenous human remains from Carriacou. Although they said that they would also like to see the remains repatriated, they acknowledged that the region’s the high temperatures and humidity tend to quickly degrade certain materials. Because of this, they have argued that others taking away their heritage materials has ironically led to their long-term preservation. In their opinion, the government of Grenada has not dedicated the resources necessary protect them at home (personal communication, 10/7/22).

³⁸⁴ Interview, 8/17/15.

unwilling to protect these heritage resources, and that this meant that they didn't value it. The archaeologists, on the other hand, did value these remains, and therefore were becoming their primary stewards.

Understandably, some CHS board members took umbrage at such assumptions for many reasons. They too were aware of this erosion issue, but knew that not all the erosion could be blamed on sandmining;³⁸⁵ there were many other forces beyond their control.³⁸⁶ Moreover, the CHS board shared the AP leadership's frustration over sandmining's effects upon both historic and pre-Columbian heritage sites; they too had been advocating for its cessation yet the AP leadership had not made them partners in their political lobbying efforts in Grenada over the issue. But what perhaps frustrated certain officers the most was that the AP leadership didn't seem to understand that the CHS simply didn't "have the funds or resources" to implement the heritage protections and management techniques that the visiting researchers thought that they should.³⁸⁷

In the end, this saga has sown bitterness, cynicism, and increasing distrust of visiting archaeological projects within Carriacou's heritage preservationists. One of the original CHS officers serving when the AP first arrived remarked that they never would have consented to the project had they known that human remains would be taken of island; they "belong to the Museum."³⁸⁸ The person who was serving as the CHS president in the

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ As discussed in Chapter 5, this coastal erosion is due to a host of factors, including colonial era deforestation, rain runoff, hurricanes, sea surges, as well as climate-change driven sea level rise.

³⁸⁷ Interview, 8/17/15.

³⁸⁸ Interview, 8/25/17. Other local interlocutors have alternatively expressed desires for these remains to be reburied (personal communication, 10/7/22).

AP's first season said that the board was initially concerned about the project because "in the past, archaeologists didn't share enough and took things away," taking advantage of them "on false pretenses."³⁸⁹ They took a chance on the AP only to be bitterly disappointed when its researchers ended up taking away their heritage resources just like their predecessors had.³⁹⁰ They concluded that it was the AP's "responsibility to assist with the storage for human remains [in Carriacou] if they had prior knowledge of how human remains needed to be stored."³⁹¹ This perspective was also shared by another community leader, who expressed frustration that Indigenous remains were collected in the first place if the archaeologists believed they shouldn't remain in Carriacou. This aroused their suspicion that the researchers knew all along that they would take them. They concluded by saying, "they shouldn't have pulled them out of the ground. They sought their own interest."³⁹²

AP Responses to Kayak Perspectives

At a certain point during the course of this ethnographic research, I made the community concerns over the removal of human remains known to one of the co-directors and was curious about their thoughts on the on the matter.³⁹³ In an email exchange, they said that they saw the "[i]rony" of this issue, seeing as "[Kayaks] can't protect their resources." If the AP's removal of these human remains "seems to be the primary issue," it "is so

³⁸⁹ Interview, 9/21/15. Here, the interlocutor mentioned Lesley Suttty and Janet Wall by name.

³⁹⁰ Ibid. This was a sentiment similar to those shared by other Kayak interlocutors. The felt as though their trust had been abused and felt foolish for it.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Interview, 8/17/15.

³⁹³ One of the goals of this ethnography was to platform community concerns so that they might reform archaeological practices.

minimal compared to other phenomena (i.e., erosion and development).”³⁹⁴ Kayak residents do often feel as though they can’t protect their pre-Columbian PBH- not only from erosion, but also from visiting archaeologists. In response to this framing, that the removal of the Indigenous remains is “minimal” compared to those lost to erosion, a local heritage preservationist said, “maybe it’s not bad thing that they are being washed into the sea... it’s better than decaying in a museum.”³⁹⁵ Over the years of this ethnographic research, additional Kayak interlocutors have echoed similar sentiments- that the elements washing these materials to sea is preferable to outsiders taking them away.

I also shared community concerns about the AP’s removal of the human remains with another of the co-directors to learn to what extent these disparate perspectives could be brought into closer alignment. They didn’t seem to understand what the big deal was, asking “Why would they specifically be worried about human remains?” It then seemed as though they tried to put their removal of the human remains into a larger perspective as the other co-director (above):

Are those same people [who are concerned about the removal of human remains] aware of anything else in archaeology that we do? ...Whatever we’ve managed to save, a thousand times more than that has been washed into the sea. It’s disappeared forever. What we’ve done is save a pinprick, if we’re talking about a history book, we’ve saved a page. Barely a page. And the rest has disappeared.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ Email communication with AP director, 6/16/2017.

³⁹⁵ Personal communication, 10/7/22.

³⁹⁶ Interview, 8/11/14.

While both of these co-directors' responses (above) emphasized the salvage component of the AP, they also minimize Kayak concerns in arguing that the materials they've taken are negligible compared to how much is being lost.³⁹⁷ Again, the community perspectives don't seem well understood: Kayaks are fully aware that they are hemorrhaging heritage resources and often feel powerless to stop it. They view the AP's removal of Kayak PBH as part of this problem and compounding their existing sense of loss.

The Issue of Repatriation

No community is monolithic, and this ethnographic research has certainly encountered a range of local opinions regarding heritage and its preservation in Carriacou. However, there is no single topic that Kayaks seem more unified over than this: It is unacceptable for outsiders to come and take their place-based heritage. All materials that have been taken should be returned to the island, where they belong. Even though AP leadership had the impression that a former iteration of the CHS board many years ago was "ambivalent" about their removal of the Indigenous human remains off island, this ethnographic research has found Kayak interlocutors to be anything but. Local support for the repatriation of the human remains removed by the AP has received overwhelming support from the Kayak interlocutors interviewed for this study, which includes CHS officers past and present, ministry officials, community elders and heritage protectors, educators, heritage tourism personnel, local activists, and so forth.³⁹⁸ An objective of this

³⁹⁷ What's more, such conversations did not seem to move the needle on the issue of repatriation.

³⁹⁸ E.g., Interview, 9/21/15; Interview, 8/25/17; Interview, 8/17/15; Interview, 8/10/14. See Appendix B for charts depicting interlocutors by type.

ethnography was to therefore learn whether repatriation was already on the horizon for these human remains, and if not, how this process might occur. After all, the first human remains to be removed have been in various U.S. laboratories for over 15 years and the last to be taken for about ten years at present.³⁹⁹

Because I had encountered many Kayak interlocutors supportive of repatriation, I finally asked one of the co-directors point blank: Has anyone in Carriacou requested them to be returned? “No” they said.⁴⁰⁰

However, this is difficult to reconcile with the accounts of others. As part of my participant observation with the AP teams in 2014, I joined one of the other co-directors as they drove to the hurricane shelter where the excavated materials were being stored. This was on the heels of the leadership’s tense meeting with the CHS board after they first arrived (see Chapter 1). I listened as they recounted the meeting, trying my best to take notes as our rented jeep bounced over bumpy terrain. In their words, one of the co-vice presidents who was leading the meeting caught the AP leadership off guard by getting “very aggressive right away” and “demand[ing] the repatriation of all excavated materials.”⁴⁰¹ This co-director ended up storming out of the meeting; they and another co-director said that they were cutting contact with this board member, to not return any of

³⁹⁹ However, as of 2018, analyses of these remains were ongoing (e.g., ancient DNA extraction) (Interview, 3/20/18).

⁴⁰⁰ Interview, 3/20/18.

⁴⁰¹ Personal communication, 7/22/14. The co-director added how caught off guard they felt at this demand and that they didn’t know why it was happening. What they found so infuriating was that the CHS didn’t want the human remains back to analyze them, but out of “sheer principle.” They concluded this rant by calling Carriacou a “God forsaken island” and saying, “The people of the Caribbean think they are gods of their domains!” (ibid.).

their calls or emails. Another Kayak officer present at this meeting was turned off by the accusatory and confrontational way the archaeologists were addressed, but confirmed that the issue of repatriation of the human remains was raised.⁴⁰² Years later, another CHS officer claimed that they “asked about the human remains” and “[the archaeologists] took offense.”⁴⁰³ Regardless, the AP seemed to operate as usual after this meeting, with participants continuing to collect Indigenous human remains that would also be taken off island.⁴⁰⁴

In addition to disagreeing about whether Kayak representatives have already requested the remains back or not, AP leadership also seems to be on different pages regarding their plans for repatriation in general. One of the co-directors told me that they had agreed that “[t]he human bones will be repatriated” but didn’t say when.⁴⁰⁵ When another co-director made a short visit to Carriacou in 2019 to try to get traction for a new archaeology project, the (then) Permanent Secretary of the Ministry for Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs asked them point blank what materials the AP had removed from the island. They said that nothing had, which makes repatriation a moot point.⁴⁰⁶ As the years went by and more and more Kayak interlocutors expressed desires for the repatriation of

⁴⁰² Interview, 8/26/15.

⁴⁰³ Personal communication, 11/29/18.

⁴⁰⁴ Information about the human remains that were taken off Carriacou in the 2014 field season can be found in Fitzpatrick et al. 2014.

⁴⁰⁵ Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/25/14.

⁴⁰⁶ Interview, 11/29/18. It is difficult to make sense of this answer. If giving benefit of the doubt, perhaps they thought that the co-director who had the human remains in their custody had already repatriated them, as they were aware that they had taken all excavated Indigenous human remains off island (personal communication, 7/22/14). I followed up with one of their colleagues who was present at the meeting for clarification, they said that the co-director perhaps didn’t hear the question correctly (Interview, 12/6/18).

materials taken off island, I tried to learn more about how this process might occur. What follows is an excerpt of some follow up questions that I sent to another co-director:

Question: When the team takes materials off island for analysis, is there an agreement that all these materials will eventually be returned? If so, is that agreement formal or informal? With what parties?

Answer: No, not really.⁴⁰⁷

In follow up interviews, I asked one of the AP co-directors if they were open to returning the human remains. They answered in the affirmative, saying that if someone reached out to them, they “would discuss with them the best way to do this.”⁴⁰⁸ They gave no indication that they would initiate this process themselves. However, there seem to be barriers for Kayak parties to overcome if they were to seek the repatriation of these remains. To begin, it seems that Kayak representatives would have to be the ones to initiate this process. This is far from straightforward if the landowner, CHS, and local government lack a paper trail on what has been taken, when, by whom, and to what location(s) abroad. Furthermore, there is no clear repatriation process in place that outlines which parties to contact, how to do so, and the institution(s) they are affiliated with.⁴⁰⁹ Even if Kayak representatives were to reach out to AP leadership on this matter, they would likely get different responses depending on which co-director they contacted in light of the different understandings they seem to have about these issues.

⁴⁰⁷ Interview conducted via email, with written answers provided on 4/29/17.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ The laboratory facilities that the majority of these Native human remains are stored are part of a university which, unfortunately, lacks a campus-wide protocol on the collection, treatment, and storage of human remains.

Another issue that may present a barrier to any Kayaks parties who may seek the repatriation of these human remains is the issue of who actually owns them. There are various perspectives on this issue. While AP researchers have no ownership claims, three different perspectives have emerged during the course of this research. According to the laws in place at the time, all materials found on privately held land belong to the landowner(s). As a reminder, Kayak land tends to be jointly owned by many family members, which could mean that multiple claims could be made on such items. While some CHS officers have claimed that the CHS technically has no say over what landowners do with their property,⁴¹⁰ other officers have argued that the CHS actually should be the stewards of these excavated remains.⁴¹¹ However, the data from this study suggest that it would be highly unlikely for a Kayak landowner to refuse to allow the CHS and Carriacou Museum to store or display any artifacts found on their land.⁴¹²

On the other hand, two AP co-directors have been under the false impression that the material they've excavated doesn't actually belong to Kayaks at all, the landowner or otherwise.⁴¹³ In the following interview excerpt, a co-director is discussing a tense exchange that the project leadership had with the CHS over where the nearly 8,000 lbs. of excavated materials should be stored, and who bore the responsibility for paying for it:

AP co-director: They treated it like their own, like they own, it!

⁴¹⁰ Interview, 8/17/15.

⁴¹¹ Interview, 8/17/17. That said, the CHS has felt the need to turn away Kayak residents who have attempted to donate artifacts or historic relics to the Carriacou Museum due to limited space and resources available for any collections care.

⁴¹² This may not extend to the expatriate residents in Carriacou in light of how many of them claim to have private collections of pre-Columbian artifacts and human remains.

⁴¹³ However, AP leadership has also claimed that they only needed the permission of the landowner to both excavate and remove the human remains off island (see above).

Interviewer: The material?

AP co-director: Yes. Which is not the case, obviously, it's Grenada's, it's the State's. What can I use for the word--they look after it?

Interviewer: Stewards?

AP co-director: Maybe something like that.⁴¹⁴

In interviewing, another one of the co-directors also claimed that all of the material they've excavated belong "to the State."⁴¹⁵ However, I am raising the issue here because these false impressions could impact who AP leadership thought had the authority to negotiate the return of the Native remains.

In sum, the AP leadership, by their own admission, have no standing agreement to return these remains. This leaves Kayak stakeholders in a very vulnerable position. Some of the more cynical Kayak interlocutors suspected that this opaque situation was by design, and that the archaeologists took advantage of the CHS's disorganization and lack of assertiveness.⁴¹⁶ Another local heritage protector who interacted with the AP came to a similar conclusion, claiming that Kayaks have trusted and deferred to foreign researchers too much in the past, but they have only "taken advantage of that trust" and "have taken advantage of [Grenada's] lack of laws."⁴¹⁷ Once again, the challenges that Kayaks face in

⁴¹⁴ Interview, 8/26/14.

⁴¹⁵ Interview, 8/11/14. It is unclear exactly where such misunderstandings emanated from, but perhaps the co-directors in question are both from European nations where this is the case. While it is true that the 2017 Grenada National Museum Bill essentially nationalized Carriacou's heritage resources, making them the property of the State, this law was not in effect during AP operations (2003-2014) and would not be relevant here.

⁴¹⁶ Personal communication, 11/29/18.

⁴¹⁷ Interview, 8/17/15. However, I would add "lack of enforced laws" here as well (see below).

protecting their heritage resources is being connected to a lack of support from the Grenadian government (see Chapter 4).

In sum, this convoluted situation presents many possible barriers to Kayaks who would like to see the repatriation of these remains. The above considerations are some of the reasons why other visiting archaeologists operating on Grenada have started utilizing memoranda of understanding (MOU) in their field sites (see Chapter 4). In interviewing, one such practitioner stressed how important it is to negotiate project parameters that are mutually beneficial to all parties and clearly document them well before any research gets underway.⁴¹⁸ Heritage professionals in Carriacou have learned of such MOUs, and the former president of CHS expressed interest in working with Grenada-based archaeologists, heritage managers, and officials to craft a MOU that the CHS could use in case additional researchers arrive on their shores.⁴¹⁹

Local Efforts for Repatriation

In addition to potentially crafting an MOU to implement with any future visiting researchers, this same CHS president also had the goal of getting the 39 sets of Indigenous remains repatriated to Carriacou;⁴²⁰ like the majority of Kayaks engaged in

⁴¹⁸ Interview, 9/11/19.

⁴¹⁹ Personal communication, 6/11/19.

⁴²⁰ That said, it would then be up to the CHS board, their members, and the wider communities of Carriacou to decide what should then be done with the remains. In the course of this research, many Kayaks expressed a desire for them to be stored, and even displayed, in the Carriacou Museum. However, a smaller yet vocal contingency preferred the idea of reburial. In 2019, I traveled to Dominica with this CHS president and the head of the Grenada National Museum (which also has Indigenous remains in its holdings) in order to meet with representatives of the Kalinago nation. One of the objectives of this trip was to learn if and how they related Carriacou's Indigenous heritage. Once it was clear that they viewed them as

this study, he⁴²¹ was passionate in the belief that Carriacou's heritage was place-based, considered to be inalienable to their land and inseparable from their landscape.⁴²²

Although appealing to government officials to assist the CHS recover their material heritage from foreign researchers has failed in the past,⁴²³ he nevertheless reached out to a local official in the Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs over this issue (see Figure 2, below).⁴²⁴

ancestral to their communities, we then set out to learn their thoughts on what should happen (and not happen) to them. This trip was productive and has inspired a closer collaborative relationship between Grenadians, Kayaks, and the Kalinago regarding issues of Native heritage preservation.

⁴²¹ Instead of using the gender neutral "they," I am using the CHS president's actual pronoun here because his name is included below in official correspondence.

⁴²² Interview, 8/20/15. The CHS president cited the NAGPRA legislation of the U.S. as his inspiration. For information on NAGPRA, see Chapter 2.

⁴²³ See Chapter 4.

⁴²⁴ This letter also appears in Chapter 4. The CHS president emailed me a copy because he knew that I was interested in tracking such local developments for my research.



CARRIACOU HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
PATERSON STREET
HILLSBOROUGH, CARRIACOU
TELEPHONE: 473-443-8288
E-mail: carriacoumuseum@gmail.com, Ltd.

November 30, 2018

Ms. Rholda Quamina
Permanent Secretary (Ag.)
Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs
Beausejour
Carriacou

Dear Ms. Quamina,

I was disappointed that we did not get to have a one-on-one meeting before I left to discuss our work in the Carriacou Historical Society as it relates to the preservation of our heritage. I am very pleased to learn of your interest in this area, particularly, the work that visiting archaeologists have been doing in Carriacou over the years.

I just had a conversation with Annie Caruso who has been working closely with the society for the past few years while conducting interviews in connection with her doctoral dissertation research. Annie, has been quite aware of many of the problems that emanated from the Carriacou Archeology Project which started in 2003, before I became president of the society; and she knows that I have grave concerns about the way that the project was handled. For example, many tons of excavated artifacts were left at society's expense for storage; many human remains that were extracted have been taken away and have not been returned.

Annie, unlike many of the persons who have been doing excavation over the years, seem to be genuine and a credible witness to the problems. Many of these folks took us in Carriacou for granted, and unfortunately, some of us put our heads down and accept their lack of respect for us and our values.

I plan to be back in Carriacou early in the coming year, so I hope that we could discuss some of the issues which need to be addressed with respect to the past project and any future archaeology work in Carriacou. In fact, I just received a copy of a letter addressed to the Hon. Minister and yourself from Ms. Abigail Bernard regarding permission being sought for archeological work on the Quashie's property in Breteche area. Where the problem lies with the lack of communication with the Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs over the years, is in the National Heritage Act Chapter 204, Sec. 3(b) which gives the minister responsible for culture the powers to grant license to extract, excavate, etc. after consultation with the Grenada National Trust (GNT).

What is very troubling to me is the lack of government initiatives in the area of heritage preservation in Carriacou and Petite Martinique. Here I am referring to the tangible heritage, our historic structures and relics, including artifacts excavated by researchers. Many of the laws on the books make no reference to

heritage preservation in Carriacou, except the Grand Bay site which has been given limited legal protection in Chapter 204 referred to above. The recent enactment of legislation for cultural activities in Carriacou and Petite Martinique is just a step in the right direction.

The Carriacou Historical Society has been in existence for over 40 years, and no recognition has been given to the work that the society has been doing in the preservation of our cultural and tangible heritage. Luckily, I have been working collaboratively with the GNT recently to get some recognition for the society, since the GNT is entrusted with the nation's heritage preservation under the National Trust Act, Chapter 207 of 1967. Yet, the act makes no reference to Carriacou.

I trust that I would have an opportunity to discuss these concerns with both you and the honorable Minister whenever I return.

Let me wish you a Merry Christmas and a Bright and Prosperous New Year.

Sincerely,

Stephen Alexander

President and chairman of the Board

Figure 2

Though this letter has been previously discussed in terms of Kayaks relative power to protect their heritage resources (see Chapter 4), it is being reintroduced here due to the mention of the human remains that have been removed from Carriacou and to highlight the former CHS president's position on the matter. If CHS officers intended to seek their repatriation, having Grenadian government's backing would make a potential appeal all the more likely to succeed. By writing this letter, Mr. Alexander is also attempting to build solidarity with Carriacou-based officials as a first step toward lobbying Grenadian legislators to reform the nation's heritage preservation laws to be more inclusive of Carriacou and Petite Martinique. While this campaign might not have brought the remains home, it could have closed some loopholes and provided Kayaks with more heritage protections for their island patrimony in the future. It is situations such as this that have prompted other island governments in the region to require visiting archaeologists to go through special permitting as to ensure that artifacts and human

remains “are not permanently removed in the name of timeless research” (Ahlman and Scudder-Temple 2011:66)).

Sadly, Mr. Stephen Alexander passed away in January 2021. His legacy includes registering the CHS under the Grenada Company’s Act, pushing for a Kayak majority on the CHS board,⁴²⁵ building inroads with heritage preservation professionals in Grenada, and advocating for Carriacou’s PBH within Grenada’s heritage preservation legislative framework. Another lasting impact that he had involves helping to shift the status quo between the AP and the CHS.⁴²⁶

The representative of the families who own the land where the AP operated has also since passed away (2018). Many of the remaining CHS officers who served during the AP’s years of operation are now elderly as well. With each loss, the barrier to repatriation grows larger. As the ministry official addressed in the above letter lamented, “I don’t even know what to ask for!”⁴²⁷ That said, this official is no longer serving in ministry because a new political party has come into power (June of 2022). In this saga it is clear that the turnover of CHS officers, ministry officials, and political parties has created additional challenges for Kayak stakeholders, hindering institutional memory and creating confusion. It is thus unclear whether any Kayak leaders have the necessary information to request the repatriation of any of these remains. But one thing is certain:

⁴²⁵ Although the number of Carriacou’s fulltime Caucasian expatriate residents is less than 1% of the total population, these individuals have had disproportionate representation on the CHS board in the past. This trend was slowly and consciously reversed in the past decade+ under Mr. Alexander’s tenure. This move was controversial at the time, with expatriate members balking at the initiative and arguing that the CHS board should have an equal number of Black and white officers (personal communication, 6/12/19).

⁴²⁶ This will be further addressed in the concluding chapter.

⁴²⁷ Interview, 12/5/18.

this outcome is sure to become part of the community canon, inferred by the bitter refrain, “They come and take things and go away.”⁴²⁸

Conclusion

It is abundantly clear that stakeholders involved in this study regard human remains in different ways. While there is a diversity of thought within each broad group, some diametrically opposed views have emerged. While the human remains are referred to as “specimens” in AP reporting (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:157), they are considered to be ancestors to certain Kayaks. Where some see the excavation of burials, another sees the desecration of graves. While some interlocutors understood the AP’s intervention as serving to preserve these remains, others saw it as placing them at greater risk.⁴²⁹

Although AP leadership has disputed some of the Kayak testimonies presented here, this research has identified several important points in this matter: 1) Some local concerns over the excavation and/or removal of human remains from the island had been communicated and/or become known to AP leadership over the years. 2) Some of these concerns were raised by certain CHS officers in person during the final meeting between AP leadership and the CHS board at the start of its last season of fieldwork to date (2014). 3) Human remains continued to be salvaged, excavated, and removed during the

⁴²⁸ Interview, 8/11/14.

⁴²⁹ See Chapter 5 for a presentation of various views regarding these risks from different stakeholders’ perspectives.

2014 field season. 4) These same concerns remained salient years later and had crystallized into overt lobbying efforts calling for repatriation.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

When I first started this study in 2014, I had aimed to ethnographically investigate the Archaeology Project (AP) and its dynamics with the broader communities of Carriacou with the goal identifying “any neocolonial archaeological practices past and present, efforts to decolonize these practices, and recommendations for future reforms.”⁴³⁰

However, I was under the false impression that I was bringing such ideas to Carriacou, that is, that I would be the one to apply a decolonizing theoretical lens. A humbling truth that I soon learned was that Kayak communities had already been theorizing their own experiences in such a way for quite some time, and that they had also already been taking steps toward decolonizing their own heritage management, of which the AP was part, for years prior to my arrival and the start of this project. I soon learned that my involvement, then, would be to document, contextualize, and platform such perspectives and recollections within broader archaeological discourse. Furthermore, another important and surprising conclusion that I arrived at was that a faction within the CHS had been attempting to decolonize their heritage preservation *by pushing out the AP*, culminating with the contentious final meeting between certain CHS officers and AP co-directors in 2014.⁴³¹

⁴³⁰ This is a quotation directly from my initial grant proposals and dissertation prospectus.

⁴³¹ This by no means is to say that every CHS officer of each year’s board during the AP’s decade of operations felt the same or shared in this goal.

Interview data and participant observation found that the co-directors shared a belief that a cadre of CHS officers may have simply gone rogue, and that the specific critiques and concerns that they had been confronted with in 2014 did not represent the views of the majority of Kayaks. In the months after the conclusion of the 2014 season, AP leadership wrote about the “the importance of establishing strong community ties as part of long-term research efforts” in their official excavation report (Fitzpatrick et al. 2014:160). But in person centered interviewing they shared feelings of rejection and frustration when reflecting upon their work in Carriacou, as well as the sentiment that their intentions and efforts there over the years had been misunderstood and unappreciated by certain Carriacou community members.

Importantly, such perspectives did not simply result from their experiences in 2014. Person-centered interviewing with the co-directors and staff who had returned season after season revealed that they had felt that their various outreach efforts had been rebuffed and rejected by Carriacou’s community members over the years.

As one co-director put it,

for each project [season] we come away with the same sentiment:

‘Overall, is this place is fucked. We're just so tired of working here. Don't they realize what we're doing? And what we're trying to do?’... as time goes on, it becomes, like, this dark cloud of ‘God, not only are we like very well trained in what we're doing have been making an increasingly great effort to try and make what we're doing significant... That's one of the biggest frustrations- for somebody who's devoted their career to do

something, and for people standing right next to you to, like, purposely not try and understand or think that there's ulterior motives to what you're doing.”⁴³²

AP leadership therefore had been aware of certain disjunctures in view between themselves and certain Kayak community members. They had been directly experiencing the consequences of heritage preservation as a site of contestation, an important factor is identifying an archaeology project as a “contact zone” (Pratt 1991 & 1992).⁴³³

In interviewing another AP co-director, I inquired about tensions with certain CHS officers during the 2014 season and where they thought that such tensions originated:

Interviewer: Okay so, what do you--where do you think that some of this push back that you guys got came from? There seems to be some misunderstanding or...?

AP co-director: Well, I think it's mainly, partly it's ignorance.

Interviewer: For what you guys are doing, you mean?

AP co-director: Yes, yes, like, “We don't understand what you do,” of course, for the last ten years we have tried to explain, not always people are open for that, or understand that.

Overall, these ethnographic data reveal that the archaeological co-directors believed that if only Kayak community members properly understood what archaeology *was* as a discipline, then they would have accepted what they were trying to do in Carriacou and

⁴³² Interview, 9/16/14.

⁴³³ See the Introduction for a fuller discussion of the “contact zone.”

how. From the leadership's perspective, this was seen as the fundamental origin of tensions between stakeholder groups- localized ignorance that gave rise to a series of unfortunate misunderstandings.

In light of such views, a considerable amount of ethnographic inquiry was dedicated to determining what Kayak community members knew about archaeology as a discipline, their feelings regarding it, and which experiences informed such views. Although the communities of Carriacou are far from monolithic and perspectives varied, this research found that many Kayak interlocutors *were* in fact quite clear on what archaeology is. In fact, the discipline was found to be regarded favorably by several prominent community members. These views were frequently expressed by Kayaks who had served on the CHS board over the years.

However, this is not to say that the discipline was viewed exactly the same as AP participants or that such Kayak interlocutors who had a positive view of the discipline did not also have issues with certain archaeological practices in Carriacou over the years, including those of the AP. In other words, the problem was not archaeology "in theory;" Kayak perspectives identified problems with it "in practice." While AP participants viewed archaeology as a mechanism for positive change and as a critical tool for heritage preservation, archaeology was not necessarily regarded as an inherently benevolent process by many Kayaks involved in this study. Certain Kayak interlocutors argued that many of the kinds of archaeology that had been practiced in Carriacou over the past century had not empowered them to preserve their own heritage, but had instead

functioned to disempower and alienate them from the heritage preservation process as well as from their actual place-based heritage.

Instead, Kayak informants overwhelmingly expressed perspectives which framed archaeology as a set of practices that has been conducted by outsiders and for the benefit of outsiders. Kayaks who have such views cited the fact that no local parties had been hired to excavate or systematically trained in archaeological practices during the near decade of AP operations.⁴³⁴ As Chapter 6 demonstrated, archaeological practices in Carriacou over the years, both before the AP as well as during its operation, have resulted in outsiders coming onto Kayak land, sometimes without their knowledge and informed consent, and removing their tangible heritage and/or human remains from the island. The overwhelming trend has been that once this material is taken away, it is never returned. For many Kayaks interviewed during the course of this study, antiquarian collecting, looting, amateur or academic archaeology are differences without a distinction; examples of each have led to the extraction of their heritage resources and has left many citizens feeling exploited.⁴³⁵ A commonly expressed sentiment regarding archaeologists could be paraphrased as “they’ve come to take and not to give.”

It is crucial to understand that such dynamics and local perspectives regarding archaeology had been circulating long before the AP’s pilot season in 2003. However, as

⁴³⁴ Even though this is the case, this does not negate the fact that AP leadership conducted several site tours and public talks regarding their work in Carriacou over the years. Furthermore, elementary school aged children were also periodically invited to work along with AP field school students on at least two occasions. Interviewing amongst the co-directors revealed that the view that no systematic training of local parties occurred due to Kayak’s general lack of interest in archaeology as a discipline (Interview, 8/11/14).

⁴³⁵ E.g., Interview, 8/11/14; Interview, 11/29/18.

previous chapters address, disjunctures and tensions did also arise between AP participants and certain local community members over the years, the most significant of such examples including local accusations of both trespassing and looting during its survey stage (see Chapter 6) as well as many Kayak residents taking umbrage with the excavation and removal of human remains from the island (see Chapter 7). It is therefore not surprising that AP leadership had sensed resistance to their project and outreach efforts over the years. Even though things “came to a head” by the 2014 field season, interviewing with the project’s practitioners revealed that they had experienced forms of local “pushback” for quite some time. As one co-director acknowledged, “[i]t seemed like it was getting harder and harder every year” and that “the more and more we did, the less and less impact it had... everything was an uphill battle.”⁴³⁶ During participant observation at the project’s orientation for the 2014 season, one of the co-directors warned the group of study abroad students that “there is no path of least resistance here.”

Pushback

The resistance that AP leadership had sensed from both CHS board members as well as from the broader Kayak community came in many forms over the years. From the AP’s leadership’s perspective, Kayak residents seemed “uninterested” in their work despite their outreach efforts, with expatriate residents and visitors being the majority attendees of their public presentations. They had great difficulty finding local people who were willing to come to volunteer on the project. While it is true that many Kayaks seemed

⁴³⁶ Interview, 9/16/14.

uninterested in the AP, it would be more accurate to say that the project produced an ambivalence in many. Some did not see how the AP's goals were relevant to them. Others claimed that they didn't volunteer because they didn't feel welcomed; the AP had no local representative who worked with them in the field, or project participants who looked like them.⁴³⁷ Some local interlocutors argued that many Kayaks cannot afford to spend their time volunteering without a clear benefit. These are just some of the reasons why the public archaeology project was missing its public.

During interviewing, AP co-directors noted that CHS board members were increasingly uncooperative, aggressive, and demanding of them over the years as the rotating members of the CHS became increasingly dissatisfied with the project. It unsettled them that CHS officers were increasingly questioning and pushing back against AP initiatives and operations, including the archaeologists' attempt to amend the branding of the historical society (by adding "archaeological center" to it), their exclusive use of the upper level of the museum for the storage of excavated material, or their lack of repatriation of Native human remains. It seemed like the harder they tried to meet some of their project objectives, which included trying to utilize archaeology to shape national identities for Kayaks, the less local cooperation and support they seemed to garner. One AP co-director concluded that the project's relationship with the CHS "seems to have taken several steps backwards" in 2014.⁴³⁸ Now that the AP leadership was faced with a Kayak dominated CHS board pushing more for Kayak interests, another co-director

⁴³⁷ Interview, 7/29/14.

⁴³⁸ Interview, 8/11/14.

claimed that the expatriate CHS officers who they had become accustomed to working had been “the most reasonable to deal with.”⁴³⁹

The previous chapter ended with a brief mention of the legacy of Mr. Stephen Alexander, the longtime CHS president who served on the board from 2008-2010 and from 2011-2020. His tenure overlapped with the latter AP seasons when the co-directors claim to have noticed a distinct sea change, a new level of resistance from CHS board members.⁴⁴⁰ Although AP leadership had viewed Alexander as obstructionist to their aims over the years, he actually was not against archaeology itself, but against the status quo that had developed between the AP and the CHS. In interviewing, Mr. Alexander said that “the archaeologists got used to doing things a certain way” until he got involved on the board, but that he had “different opinions about how the [AP] project should be run” compared to his CHS predecessors.⁴⁴¹

In addition to wanting the recovered and excavated human remains repatriated to Carriacou, Alexander desired a more equitable collaboration between the CHS and the AP and for Kayaks to benefit from the archaeological work more directly. Like many other residents interviewed for this study, he wanted the archaeologists to invest in local people by truly hiring and training them, or perhaps by offering a scholarship to support a local person to study archaeology, all so Kayaks might eventually take over the work

⁴³⁹ Personal communication, 7/22/14.

⁴⁴⁰ Interview, 8/11/14; Interview, 9/16/14.

⁴⁴¹ Interview, 8/20/14.

themselves.⁴⁴² Some of these same sentiments were also expressed in an email that I received from the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs (see Figure 3, below).⁴⁴³ However, it has already been stated that the AP leadership had had great difficulty recruiting local volunteers themselves; this study's research strongly suggests that the AP would have needed to be collaboratively redesigned and center Kayak values, interests, and needs for the project to have had success in recruiting local participants.

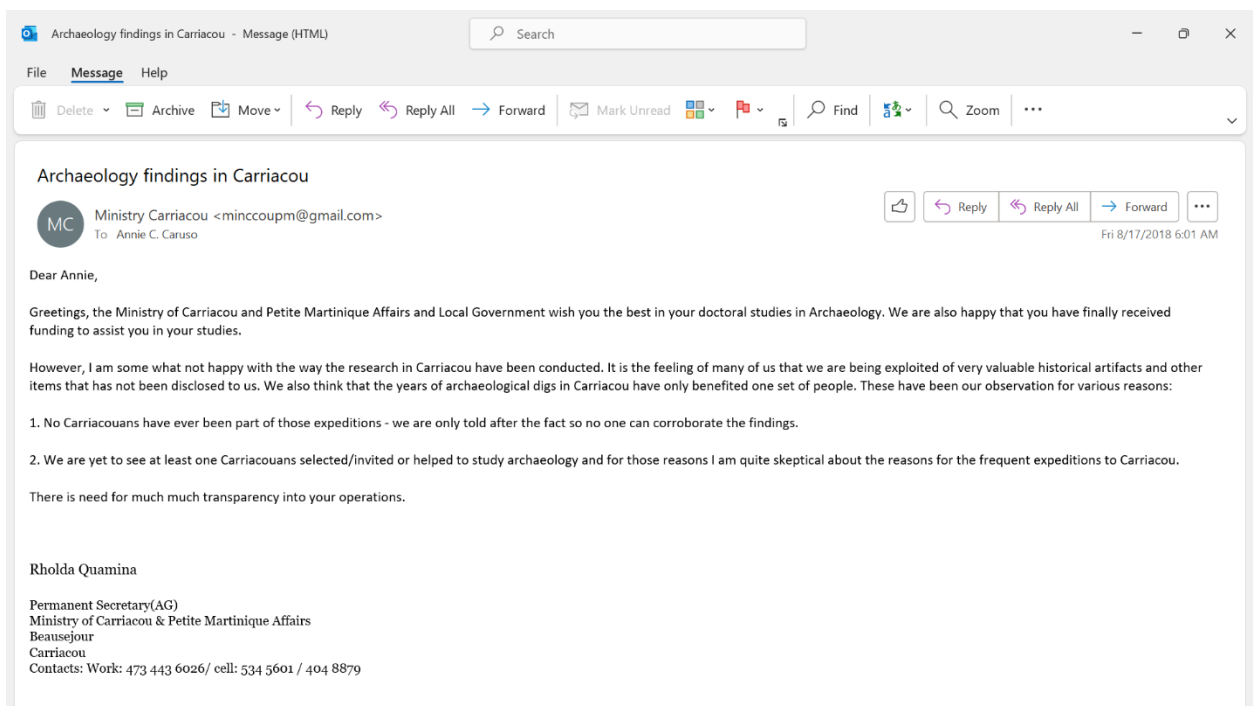


Figure 3

⁴⁴² E.g., Interview 11/29/18; Interview 8/10/14; Interview 9/14/15. As Pyburn and Wilk (2000) reminds us, “if archaeology belongs to the world, then by implication it cannot belong to archaeologists” (78).

⁴⁴³ I received this email after I had reached out to gauge her interest in participating in this study. I was not initially met with success. I soon learned that she had erroneously assumed that I was part of the AP. Nevertheless, she listed some of the issues that she had had with the AP that tie into some of the themes mentioned above as well as in the preceding sections.

Pushed Out

To conclude, I am arguing here that the AP was slowly pushed out of Carriacou because it was not perceived by many Kayaks as being of, by, or for the people of Carriacou. The researchers traveled to Carriacou from other countries because of their academic interest in one of Carriacou's heritage resources- its rich pre-Columbian settlement sites, which are admittedly rare in the region. Kayaks just happen to live there.⁴⁴⁴ In interviews, many Kayaks communicated that they only interacted with AP leadership when the latter needed their cooperation to achieve their project objectives. Furthermore, the project's objectives were unilaterally designed and deployed by the archaeological stakeholders. In interviewing with both archaeological and local stakeholders, it became clear that the outreach component of this public archaeology project was mainly designed and executed in order to gain local buy-in and support for their existing project objectives, not to "reach out" to connect with other ideas or Kayak values. From certain Kayak perspectives, the AP's outreach efforts were done to try to convince others to see things their way when it came to Carriacou's heritage preservation. This research has revealed that the AP was more likely to have gained more local support if its leadership had tried to see things Kayaks' ways, incorporating local values, interests, and aspirations into their research model. Smith and Waterton (2009) urge archaeological practitioners to remember that "it is the process by which community groups are engaged with that is

⁴⁴⁴ This is a sentiment that many Caribbean islanders are familiar with. As much discourse surrounding tourism in the Caribbean has found, the average tourist visiting the Caribbean is often motivated by the fantasy of a deserted and pristine beach, for the sand, sea, and sun. They typically do not come for the culture or the people (Sheller 2004). Local community members are often aware of dynamic, and it has caused tensions between them and visiting tourists. I observed this firsthand in Carriacou upon many occasions.

important, and this should be a process that is open to- and accepting of- difference in the richest sense of the term. This orientation to difference allows for an awareness of competing definitions and understandings of the same thing, prompting useful and rewarding two-way exchanges of ideas, experiences and interpretations of heritage” (15).

It is the AP’s relationships with the local communities of Carriacou that reveal the tension in branding the AP as both a salvage and public archaeology project. This research has found that AP researchers did not feel beholden to many local concerns that were raised during the course of their work. In the previous chapter, this issue was raised regarding local perspectives on disinterring burials and repatriating human remains to the island. This dynamic is also evident in the following interview excerpt with one of the AP co-directors:

Interviewer: Do you think that there’s a place for archaeological projects when a community doesn’t seem to be receptive to it?

AP co-director: I think there’s a place for archaeological projects when the archaeology is in danger of being swept away.

Interviewer: So that’s the priority?

AP co-director: And I think that the Indigenous heritage is worth an awful lot in terms of being able to be preserved. And if the local community isn’t particularly excited about that, I still think it’s worth doing because I think it’s worth preserving, which is the only reason I’m here.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁵ Interview, 8/11/14.

Here, the co-director has communicated that preserving the archaeological record is prioritized, even over the interests or buy-in of the source community. Interviewing with Kayak stakeholders who had interactions with AP participants over the years revealed that this fundamental orientation was clear to them; some reported sensing that AP participants did treat them as though they were relevant or necessary to their research. Further, other local interlocutors sensed that AP participants were uninterested in or even dismissive of them.

Another interview excerpt with a different AP co-director also demonstrates this orientation toward the communities of Carriacou.

Interviewer: So, have--what do you think about the culture in Carriacou, like how would you describe the way, describe the Caribbean way?

AP co-director: I hate it.

Interviewer: You hate it? Tell me about why?

AP co-director: I don't like--yeah, in general. But maybe I've spent too many years there.

Interviewer: Getting burnout maybe?

AP co-director: Yeah, and maybe too long in the Caribbean in general.

Interviewer: How do you describe Caribbean culture then? From your experience?

AP co-director: Usually, the women do all the work, the men do nothing, they just hang around. It's only about power, money, alcohol, and sex, that's Caribbean culture. In my opinion. From what I was confronted with.

But I don't know, yeah. It's something I hardly get involved with local community. In the beginning that was bit more, but over the years I kept away.⁴⁴⁶

As mentioned previously, some Kayaks reported keeping their distance from the AP because they did not feel welcomed. In other cases, certain Kayak interlocutors reported sensing disdain or antipathy from its researchers. The above quote potentially validates some of those perceptions.

While the rotating field school students tended to go into the villages of Carriacou in their free time, in order to eat, drink, or take in some local music, the AP leadership unanimously reported not really socializing with Kayaks over the course of their decade-long project. When first starting this study, I asked one of the AP co-directors about any friendships that they had formed with Kayaks over the years. I was surprised to hear that they didn't have any.⁴⁴⁷ As stated in Chapter 6, another one of the AP co-directors reported that the project's relationship with Carriacou's local communities has *always* been "difficult." This outcome was certainly not aided by the fact that its leadership, those AP participants who consistently returned season after season, had not really forged meaningful personal or professional relationships with many Kayaks. A substantial (if not obvious) finding of this study is that this dynamic was a significant factor in the AP failing to gain widespread and sustainable local support. During my fieldwork in Carriacou as I also strove to gain public support and buy-in for my own research project, I learned that it's all about relationships and the networks that you become part of.

⁴⁴⁶ Interview, 8/26/14.

⁴⁴⁷ Interview, 9/16/14.

When it was still unclear whether the archaeologists were ever coming back to Carriacou after their 2014 field season, there was much speculation amongst local heritage preservationists and CHS officers as to what would happen. Some were not sure, but didn't think it was likely.⁴⁴⁸ The CHS president said that although he was not opposed to their return, he thought that they would not because he thought that the AP leadership couldn't stand to take any local criticism.⁴⁴⁹ Another former CHS officer flatly stated that it was definitely over and done with, no question. While other CHS officers fretted about the AP over the years, this interlocutor reported being at peace with the project concluding the way that it did because they always knew that it would not succeed.⁴⁵⁰ I asked why they thought this. Their insightful explanation for this has stayed with me over the years and I pondered it every single time that I returned to Carriacou to conduct my own ethnographic research:

Carriacou will chew you up and spit you out... [it] is a strange place... very particular. If anything is against Carriacou, it's not happening. This is why the archaeologists were not successful. They had no place to come and take... you can't just pop in. You are either called [here] or you want something... They want what we have...[but] who are you to interpret the past? What authority do you have? ... When you allow someone into a special place you really have to ask why they are here. They have to justify themselves.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ E.g., Interview, 8/17/15.

⁴⁴⁹ Interview, 8/20/15.

⁴⁵⁰ Interview, 8/24/18.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

The AP leadership felt as though they had done their best, but the project wasn't working because of the community. Kayaks were just not allowing it to work. Ironically, they were right, but not for the reasons they thought.

APPENDIX A

SUGGESTIONS FOR DECOLONIZING PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN A CARIBBEAN CONTEXT

The following suggestions are intended to be starting point for guest researchers⁴⁵² who wish to conduct an ethical and decolonizing public archaeology project in a Caribbean context. What follows was greatly informed by the critical feedback provided by the people of Carriacou during this dissertation's case study, as well as by the resources provided in the "Suggestions for Further Reading" section at the end of this appendix.

Community Interest

Guest researchers should only attempt to begin an archaeology project if a contingency of host community members have indicated that such a project would be welcomed and would receive a certain amount of public support. The best way to ensure community interest in a potential research project is for members of a host community to invite the project themselves.

It would be positive for guest researchers to gauge wider public interest and to solicit community feedback regarding a potential project before it is designed. Furthermore, a pilot project to assess the heritage preservation needs and aspirations of local stakeholders could reveal how guest researchers' expertise may be best leveraged to advance such interests.

Local Liaison

A locally based project liaison should be established as soon as possible during the early planning stages of a project to facilitate clear communication between the guest researchers and local parties and institutions, as well as to help guest researchers comprehend and navigate pertinent permitting/permissions processes wherever applicable. It is important that such a person (or persons) 1) has the capacity to do this work and 2) is fairly compensated (if appropriate) with project funds.

Collaboration with Local Scholars

Guest researchers should make every effort to collaborate with local and/or regional archaeologists and/or cultural anthropologists wherever possible. Such professionals may assist guest researchers with issues of cultural competency and with understanding the historical context of the field site (see below).

⁴⁵² Although "guest researchers" may be conceptualized in many ways according to various criteria, the term is used here with foreign nationals in mind.

Cultural Competency

A local person (or persons) should be hired as soon as possible to train guest researchers in matters of cultural competency for all stages of a potential project. Such a liaison may assist guest researchers in better understanding the cultural context of the field site/region so they may operate as respectfully and unobtrusively as possible. Such a training may serve to better integrate visiting practitioners within the host community, as well as potentially minimize sources of friction that may arise between stakeholders. Ultimately, a person serving in such a role may advise beyond how visitors may “do no harm,” and help practitioners understand how they may give back in local terms and create positive impacts within the community.

Understanding the Historical Context of Research

Guest researchers should make every effort to learn about the broader genealogy of academic and amateur research that has conducted by visiting practitioners in the area, whether archaeological or not, as well as seek to understand how such projects have impacted the host community. Local community members may hold preconceived notions regarding certain disciplines and guest research projects in light of their history of engagement with previous operations. Becoming sensitized to this background may aid new researchers in avoiding the pitfalls of previous guest researchers or to help them respond to local concerns where necessary.

Understanding Colonial History

The recent history of the country/region is still important and pertinent to a research project's operations, even if a potential archaeological project is focused upon pre-contact periods. Cultivating cultural competency for an area requires guest researchers to understand the colonial history of the region. This background will inform the contemporary socio-political systems with which guest researchers engage within the host community, as well as contextualize local responses to a potential archaeology project.

Learning & Honoring Indigenous Histories & Practices

When a potential archaeology project will involve investigating Indigenous remains and lifeways, guest researchers should diligently work to identify any descendant communities and understand Native stakeholdership so they can meaningfully consult pertinent groups when designing and executing the project. It is also critical to learn about and honor relevant Indigenous histories and pertinent practices, especially those related to contemporary issues of Native survival, revival, and retentions in the region, so such topics can be engaged within the archaeological discourse generated from the research of Indigenous material culture.

If a potential research project that is likely to encounter Indigenous mortuary contexts and/or spiritual objects, it is critical to consult descendant communities ahead of time in

order to establish the cultural competency to respectfully and sensitively proceed. If there is an objection to researchers disinterring Native human remains or spiritual objects, such wishes should be respected. If there is no objection, informed consent to investigate such remains should be obtained from Native stakeholders ahead of time, which should include clear communication and consent about processes of disinterment, scientific testing, storage, analysis, and discussion of any Native human remains or spiritual objects.

Collaborative & Equitable Project Design

Archaeological research projects should be collaboratively and equitably designed with local and descendant stakeholders with a long-term horizon in mind. This should include, but may not be limited to, the project aims, field work logistics, collections care/storage of excavated materials, and any community outreach strategies/heritage education linked with the project. It is essential to ensure that the process is equitable throughout and that local partners are not unduly burdened during the collaborative process. Guest researchers should reconsider starting a project in a certain region if there is not a potential for or interest in true local collaboration.

During the design stage, local concerns and feedback regarding the potential project should be taken seriously; project leadership should have the willingness to compromise and/or defer to local ideas and concerns. It is important for guest researchers to be open, ask questions, and meet community members and local heritage preservation professionals where they are, as opposed to trying to get them “on side” with their own goals. Ultimately, this necessitates a willingness for project leadership to cede power and defer to local expertise and concerns.

Clear & Flexible Project Operations

It is important for project leadership to collaboratively create a clear memorandum of understanding with local stakeholders regarding the project’s design, scope, and expected operations before it begins. Such mutually agreed upon parameters should then be periodically reviewed with local partners for the sake of maintaining clear communication and be amended as needed. For example, significant changes to the membership of the local organization(s) that initially approved the memorandum or modifications of local heritage preservation legislation(s) would necessitate a review of such an agreement. During the operations stage, guest researchers should remain receptive and meaningfully respond to community concerns regarding the project as soon as possible (e.g., sensitivities regarding the excavation of human remains).

Collaborative Execution

Guest researchers should endeavor to execute their project in a collaborative fashion from start to finish. During the operations phase, this collaboration should include opportunities for meaningful local contributions. For example, this might include using the project’s budget to hire local community members to assist with excavation or

compensating local partners to conduct educational outreach within the wider community. When it comes to writing, publishing, and/or presenting project findings, guest researchers should make every effort to collaborate with local partners and/or make space for their perspectives.

Local Integration

Guest researchers should make every effort to respectfully integrate themselves and the project into the host community as much as possible. A local partner advising in issues of cultural competency may inform how this is best done. Such integration will likely include networking and socializing in a professional manner within the community, attending public events, and staying in close communication with local partners in between field seasons. The success of the project may hinge upon the strength of local relationships and resulting networks.

Mentoring & Giving Back

Collaborative partnerships between guest researchers and local and/or descendant stakeholders should not be designed to just benefit project operations and guest researchers' interests. Guest researchers should attempt to tangibly benefit local community members with their project, expertise, skill sets, and/or service as well. Ultimately, guest researchers will need to learn how they can best give back (in local terms) by communicating with local partners. For example, this could include providing training in specialized project tasks that can lend transferable skills to local employment sectors, such as the use of a total station, which is used in both archaeological survey as well as construction. Alternatively, this could include helping to obtain grant funding for local heritage preservation efforts.

Guest researchers should also be willing to mentor local partners and provide opportunities for their professional development through the project where appropriate. For example, this could include providing co-authorship opportunities or sponsoring local partners to attend academic conferences when presenting research stemming from the project. In order for this kind of support to feasibly occur, project funding will likely need to be allocated in advance and therefore such activities should be part of the project's design at the outset as the budget is crafted.

Respect

Visiting researchers must remember that they are guests; they do not inherently "have a right" to conduct their research or operate unilaterally. It is of paramount importance to remain respectful of local community members and project partners, and of their time and resources.

Suggestions for Further Reading

- Atalay, S. 2012. *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for indigenous and local communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brighton, S. 2011. "Applied Archaeology and Community Collaboration: Uncovering the past and empowering the present." *Human Organization* 4: 344-354.
- Bruchac, M., S. Hart, and H. Wobst. 2010. *Indigenous Archaeologies: A reader on decolonization*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Carman, J. 2011. "Stories We Tell: Myths at the heart of 'community archaeology.'" *Archaeologies* 7 (3): 490-501.
- Haviser, J. 2015. "Community Archaeology as an Essential Element for Successful Archaeological Heritage Management." In *Managing Our Past into the Future*, ed. by C. Hofman and J. Haviser, pp.133-151. Leiden: Sidestone Press.
- Hollowell, J. and G. Nicholas. 2009. "Using Ethnographic Methods to Articulate Community-Based Conceptions of Cultural Heritage Management." *Public Archaeology* 8 (2-3): 141-160.
- Oland, M., S. Hart, and L. Frink (eds.). 2012. *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring prehistoric/colonial transitions in archaeology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Pyburn, K. 2007. "Archeology as Activism." In *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, ed. by H. Silverman and D. Ruggles, pp. 172-183. New York: Springer.
- Pyburn, K. and R. Wilk. 2000. "Responsible Archaeology is Applied Anthropology." In *Ethics in American Archaeology*, ed. by M. Lynott and A. Wylie, pp. 78-83. Washington DC: Society for American Archaeology.
- Scudder, K.
2007. "The Role of Archaeologists in the Caribbean: Ethics and Responsibilities." In *Proceedings of the 21st Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* (IACA, 2007), pp. 113-116.
2009. "Archaeological Landscapes and Cultural Heritage Management in Marginalized Communities in the British West Indies." *Practicing Anthropology* 31 (3): 40-44.
- Shepherd, N. 2010. "What Does It Mean 'To give the past back to the people'?" *Archaeology and ethics in the postcolony*." In *Archaeology and Capitalism*, ed. by Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, pp. 99-114. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.

- Sillitoe, P. (ed.) 2016. *Indigenous Studies and Engaged Anthropology: The collaborative moment*. New York: Routledge.
- Singleton, T. and C. Orser. 2003. "Descendant Communities: Linking people in the present to the past." In *Ethical Issues in Archaeology*, ed. by L. Zimmerman, K. Vitelli, and J. Hollowell-Zimmer, pp. 143-152. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Smith, C. and H. Wobst. 2005a. *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing theory and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, L. and E. Waterton. 2009. *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*. London: Duckworth.
- Smith, L. 2004. *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Supernant, K., J. Baxter, N. Lyons, and S. Atalay (eds.). 2020. *Archaeologies of the Heart*. New York: Springer.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. New York: Zed Books Ltd.
- Watkins, J.
2003. "Beyond the Margin: American Indians, first nations, and archaeology in North America." *American Antiquity* 68 (2): 273-285.
2008. "Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging descendant communities." *Collaborative Anthropologies* 1 (1): 187-191.

APPENDIX B

INTERLOCUTOR DATA AND MAPPING

Table 1. Raw numbers of interviewed interlocutors

Field Season	Method of Documentation		Total Interviews	*Repeat Interviews	Total Interlocutors	Interlocutor Sex	
	Recorded	Hand-written				Male	Female
2014	32	8	40	1	39	19	20
2015	19	11	30	6	25	12	13
2017	1	12	13	7	6	4	2
2018	22	12	34	15	19	8	11
2019	15	6	21	8	15	10	5
2022		1	1	1			
Total	89	50	139	38	104	53	51
*Certain interlocutors were interviewed repeatedly. Repeat interviews are not counted toward the total interlocutor number.							
Interlocutor age range: 20-90 years old							

Because the above graph does not describe or delineate interlocutors by type, I have included the following graphs to represent the broad stakeholder groups of interlocutors who were interviewed over the course of five field seasons. The first five graphs represent the percentage of interlocutor types within a single season, while the final graph represents the percentage of interlocutor types across all five field seasons.

It should be noted that certain interviewed interlocutors may be categorized in multiple ways. However, the decision to categorize interlocutors was primarily based upon their origin (E.g. from Carriacou, Grenada, or elsewhere). The percentages in the single season breakdowns include those individuals who were reinterviewed in later field seasons. For example, if Person X was interviewed in 2014 and again in 2019, they will be counted once in each instance in generating the percentages of interlocutor types. This is not the

case for the final graph, where interlocutors are only counted once no matter how many times they were interviewed.

Notes on stakeholder categories

1. The category “Kalinago Members” includes Indigenous people from Dominica.
2. The category “Non-AP Archaeologists” indicates archaeologists specializing in Caribbean archaeology. Most of these professionals were from the U.S. or Europe, with one of European ancestry who was born and raised in the Caribbean.
3. The category “Regional Heritage Preservation Professionals” includes those who were professionally operating in Grenada or Carriacou but were born on/from other Caribbean islands (e.g., Dominica & Jamaica).

Figure 1.1

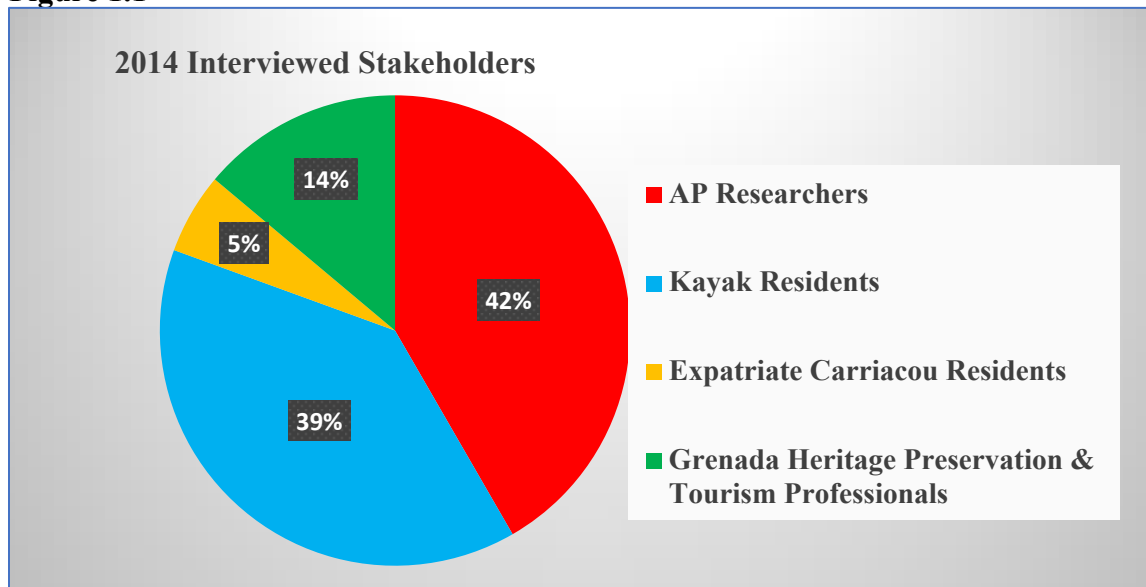


Figure 1.2

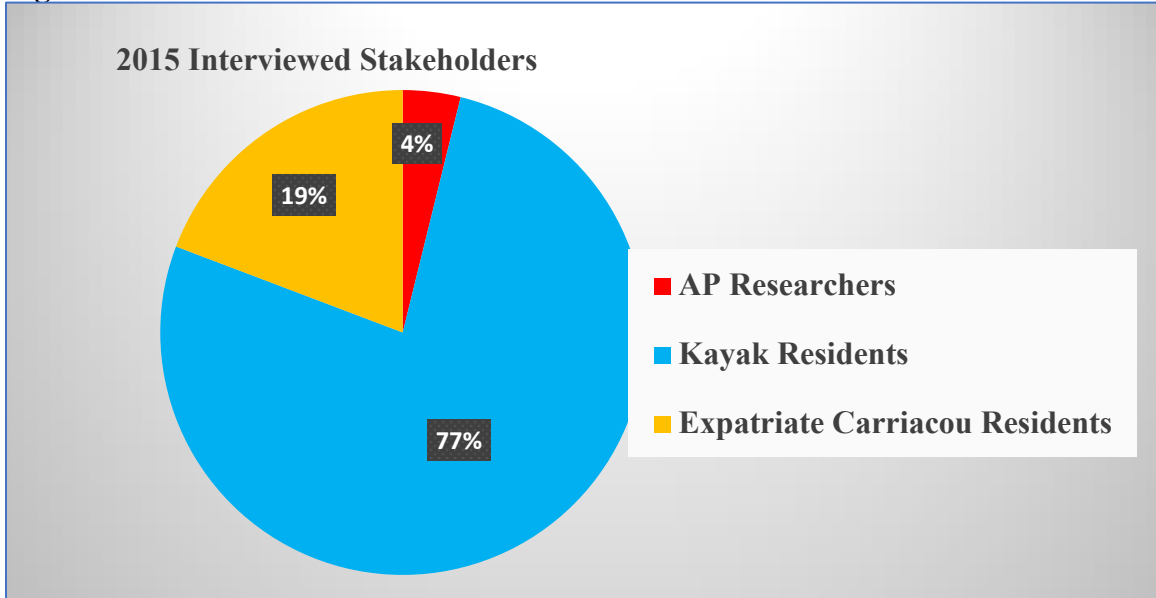


Figure 1.3

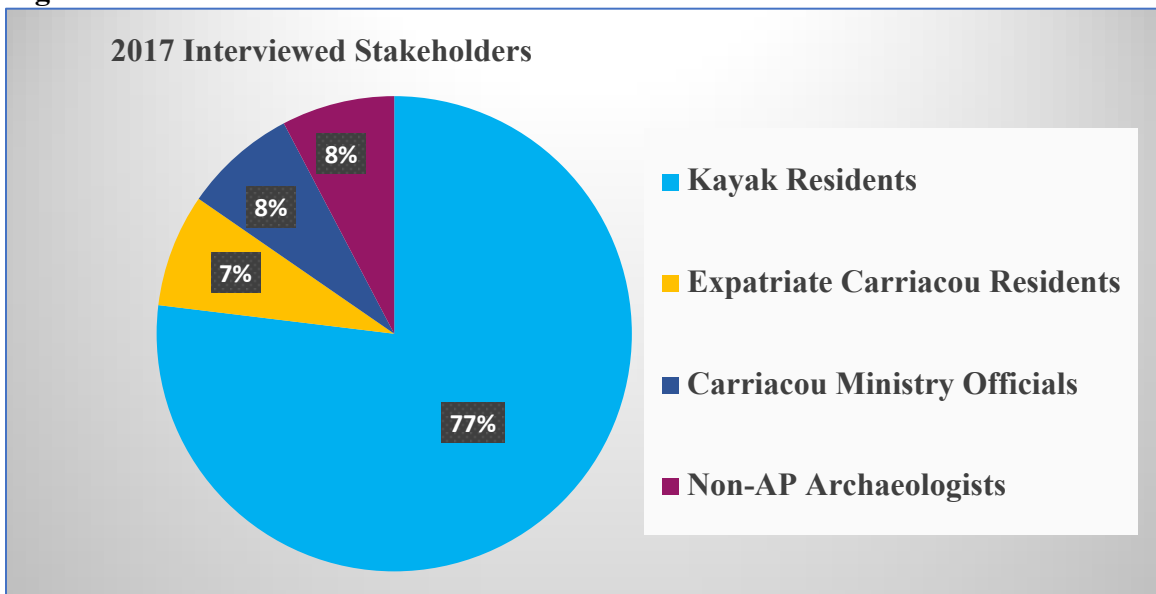


Figure 1.4

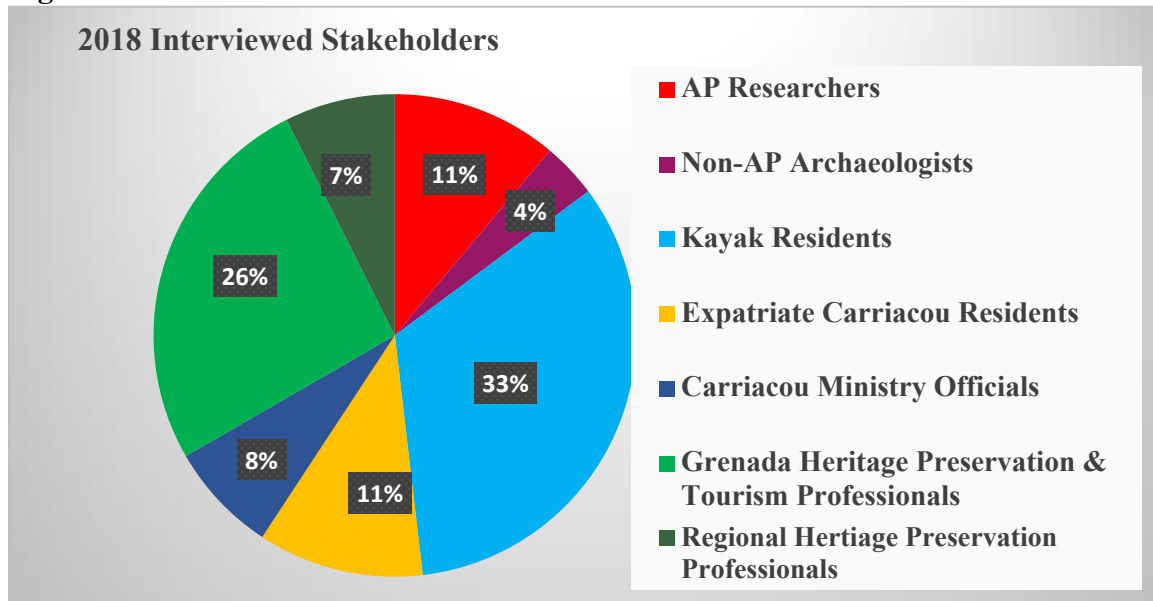


Figure 1.5

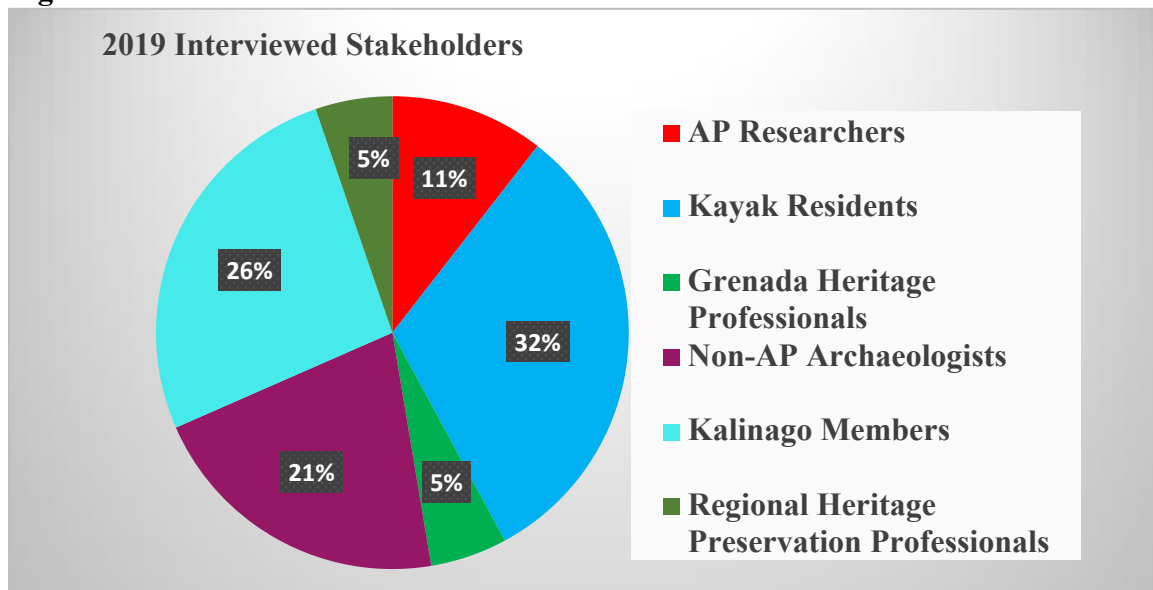
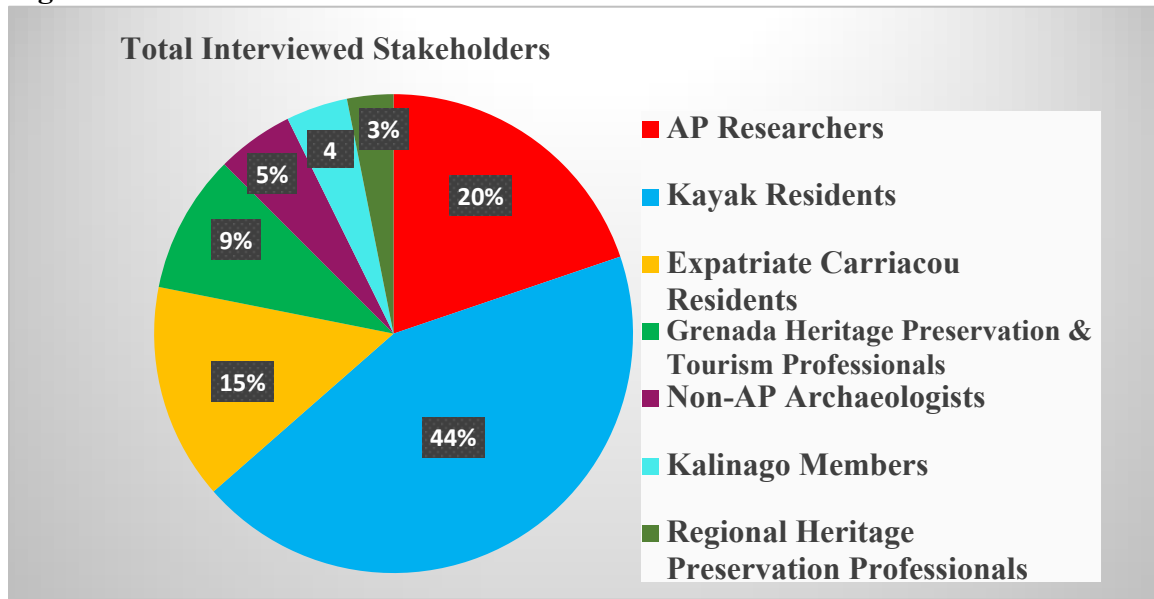


Figure 1.6



APPENDIX C
GRENADA NATIONAL HERITAGE PROTECTION ACT

NATIONAL HERITAGE PROTECTION ACT

• Act • Subsidiary Legislation •

ACT

Act No. 18 of 1990

Amended by

SRO 22 of 2009

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 1. | Short title. |
| 2. | Protected areas. |
| 3. | Powers of the Minister. |
| 4. | Offence of excavation or extraction in protected area. |
| 5. | Illegal trading. |
| 6. | Increased penalties. |
| 7. | Forfeiture. |
| Schedule | Protected Areas |

CHAPTER 204

NATIONAL HERITAGE PROTECTION ACT

An Act to provide for the protection of Indigenous art work and Pre-Columbian artefacts and archaeological remains, and for connected matters.

[Act No. 18 of 1990 amended by SRO 22 of 2009.]

[23rd November, 1990.]

1. Short title

This Act may be cited as the National Heritage Protection Act.

2. Protected areas

The areas listed in the Schedule are protected areas for the purposes of this Act.

Powers of the Minister

The Minister for the time being responsible for matters concerning the cultural heritage of Grenada shall have the following powers—

- (a) to amend the Schedule by adding any area of Grenada which he or she is satisfied requires to be protected under this Act;
- (b) to issue, after consultation with the Grenada National Trust, licences to persons authorising them to extract, excavate for, purchase, sell or otherwise enter into any transaction concerning Indigenous art work, Pre-Columbian artefacts or archaeological remains;
- (c) to appoint officers for the purpose of the enforcement of this Act who shall be known as National Heritage Protection Officers.

Offence of excavation or extraction in protected area

Whosoever shall, without a licence to do so, in a protected area excavate for or extract any Indigenous art work, Pre-Columbian artefact or archaeological remains is guilty of an offence and liable, on summary conviction, to a fine of five thousand dollars and to imprisonment for two years.

Illegal trading

Whosoever purchases or sells or otherwise enters into any transaction concerning any Indigenous art work, Pre-Columbian artefact or archaeological remains without a licence is guilty of an offence and liable, on summary conviction, to a fine of seven thousand dollars and to imprisonment for three years.

Increased penalties

Whosoever is convicted of a second or any subsequent offence under section 4 or 5 shall be liable to a fine of ten thousand dollars and to imprisonment for four years.

Forfeiture

The court before which a person is convicted of an offence under section 4 or 5 shall order the forfeiture of every Indigenous art work, Pre-Columbian artefact and archaeological remains seized by a police officer or National Heritage Protection Officer in connection with the offence, and every article so forfeited shall be lodged at the National Museum.

Schedule

NATIONAL HERITAGE PROTECTION ACT

Protected Areas

[Sections 2 and 3(a).]

All the Crown Lands situated at Pearls in the Parish of St. Andrew Grand
Bay Archaeological Site

CHAPTER 204

NATIONAL HERITAGE PROTECTION ACT

SUBSIDIARY LEGISLATION

No Subsidiary Legislation

APPENDIX D

THE GRENADA NATIONAL MUSEUM BILL

GRENADA NATIONAL MUSEUM BILL, 2017

EXPLANATORY NOTES

This Bill seeks to establish the Grenada National Museum as a body corporate with a Board to manage and preserve the National Collection of objects, records and other historical and cultural material that provide evidence of the history of the people of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique. This Bill contains 5 parts and 24 clauses.

Part I provides for the preliminary provisions, and contains **Clauses 1 and 2**.

Clause 1 provides for the short title and **Clause 2** provides for interpretation provisions and the definitions of terms used in the Act for which this is the Bill.

Part II provides for the establishment of the National Museum as a body corporate and statutory body, and contains **Clauses 3 to 11**.

Clause 3 provides for establishment the National Museum and **Clause 4** provides for the functions of the National Museum as an entity.

Clause 5 provides for the Governor-General to vest a legal interest in real property to the National Museum by Order subject to affirmative resolution.

Clause 6 provides for the establishment of a Board to manage the National Museum. **Clauses 7 and 8** provide respectively for the functions and powers of the Board.

Clauses 9 and 10 provide respectively for the appointment of a Director of the National Museum by the Minister with responsibility for Culture and the appointment of a Secretary of the National Museum by the Board.

Clause 11 provides for the composition and expertise of individuals who should compose the Board.

Part III provides for the financial provisions of the National Museum in accordance with the *Public Finance Management Act, 2015*, and contains **Clauses 12 to 20**.

Clauses 12, 13 and 14 provide for the assets of the National Museum, the manner in which funds of the National Museum must be kept and the manner in which the funds must be used.

Clause 15 provides for the National Museum to borrow money in a manner that is consistent with the *Public Finance Management Act, 2015*.

Clause 16 provides for the National Museum to keep proper accounts which must be audited, in accordance with the *Public Finance Management Act, 2015*.

Clause 17 provides generally for the application of Part XII of the *Public Finance Management Act, 2015*, and that, in the event of any conflict, the Part shall prevail over any provision of the Act.

Clauses 18 and 19 provide for the National Museum to be exempted from stamp duties, import duties and other charges by Government.

Clause 20 provides for the National Museum to prepare and submit to the Minister with responsibility for Culture an annual budget and quarterly reports. The Minister is empowered to give policy directions to the Board in respect of the performance of the National Museum.

Part IV provides for the ownership and management of antiquities before the antiquities are taken into custody by the National Museum, and contains **Clauses 21 and 22**.

Clause 21 provides for the ownerships and rights of the State in respect of every artefact in the State of Grenada. The Government is entitled to exercise a right over any artefact in Grenada immediately upon commencement of the Act for which this is the Bill. A person who resists the Government's exercise of such a right commits a summary offence, punishable by a fine of \$10,000.00. However, in the case of an artefact discovered after the commencement of the Act, the Government has ownership of the artefact and excavation or removal of the artefact would constitute a summary offence under **Clause 22 (3)** punishable by a fine of \$10,000. **Clause 21** also provides for the Minister with responsibility for Culture to waive Government's rights over an artefact, including ownership of the artefact.

Clause 22 primarily provides for the procedure for mandatory reporting of discovery of antiquities, which includes artefacts, and prohibition of excavation or removal of any antiquity after the commencement of the Act for which this is the Bill.

Part V provides for the miscellaneous provisions, and contains **Clauses 23 and 24**.

Clause 23 provides for the Minister with responsibility for Culture to make regulations to effect the provisions of the Act for which this is the Bill. **Clause 24** provides for the repeal of the National Heritage Protection Act Chapter 204.

.....

Cajeton A. K. Hood
ATTORNEY GENERAL

GRENADA NATIONAL MUSEUM BILL, 2017

ARRANGEMENT OF CLAUSES

PART I PRELIMINARY

1. Short title
2. Interpretation

PART II ESTABLISHMENT, FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

3. Establishment of National Museum
4. Functions of the National Museum
5. Vesting of property
6. Establishment of the Board
7. Functions of the Board
8. Powers of the Board
9. Director of the National Museum
10. Secretary of the National Museum
11. Qualifications of the Board

PART III FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

12. Funds and resources of the National Museum
13. Fund deposited to General Account
14. Application of funds
15. Borrowing power
16. Accounts and audit
17. Application of Public Finance Management Act
18. Exemption from stamp duty and other charges
19. Exemption from import duties
20. Reporting to and directions by Minister

PART IV ANTIQUITIES

21. Ownership by Government
22. Discovery of antiquities

PART V
MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

- 23. Regulations
- 24. Repeal

SCHEDULE - CONSTITUTION AND PROCEDURE OF THE BOARD

NATIONAL MUSEUM BILL, 2017

GRENADA

ACT NO. OF 2017

AN ACT for the purpose of establishing the Grenada National Museum, to provide for preservation of the National Collection of artefacts, specimens and other historical and cultural material and for matters incidental thereto.

BE IT ENACTED by the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and by the authority of same as follows—

PART I PRELIMINARY

Short title

1. This Act may be cited as the

GRENADA NATIONAL MUSEUM ACT, 2017.

Interpretation

2. In this Act—

“antiquity” means—

- (a) an artefact; or
- (b) a place, building, site or structure erected, formed or built by human agency which is at least fifty years old and the ruins or remains of any such place, building, site or structure, whether or not the same has been modified, added to or restored at any time;

“artefact” means—

- (a) a movable object made, shaped, painted, carved, inscribed, or otherwise created, manufactured, produced, used or modified by human agency which is at least fifty years old, whether or not it has been modified, added to or restored at any time; or
- (b) fossil remains or impressions;

“Board” means the Board of the National Museum established under section 6;

“Chairperson” means the Chairperson of the Board;

“Director” means the Director of the National Museum appointed in accordance with section 9;

“historical and cultural material” means material in whatever form, pertaining to the “historical, geological, biological, cultural or artistic heritage” of Grenada;

“Minister” means the Minister with responsibility for cultural preservation;

“monument” means a place, building, site or structure, which the Minister considers to be of public interest by reason of its historical, anthropological, archaeological or palaeontological significance;

“National Collection” means the national collection of objects, records and other historical and cultural material that provide evidence of the history of the people of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique, and is in the sole ownership of the National Museum;

“National Museum” means the Grenada National Museum established by section 3;

“records” means papers, documents, records, registers, printed materials, books, maps, plans, drawings, photographs, microfilms, digital disks, cinematograph films, audio and video recordings of any kind whatsoever;

“Secretary” means the Secretary of the National Museum appointed by virtue of section 10;

“specimen” means an animal or plant or part of an animal or plant preserved for scientific use.

PART II ESTABLISHMENT, FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

Establishment of National Museum

3. (1) There is hereby established a body corporate, to be called the Grenada National Museum.

(2) The National Museum—

- (a) shall have perpetual succession and a common seal;
- (b) may sue and be sued in its corporate name;

- (c) may acquire, hold and dispose of movable and immovable property in accordance with section 5; and
 - (d) may do all other things necessary for or incidental to the purposes for which it is constituted or established, unless such or any other written law expressly otherwise provides.
- (3) The design of the seal of the National Museum shall be as determined by the National Museum.
 - (4) The seal of the National Museum shall be kept in such custody as the National Museum directs and shall not be used except as authorised by the National Museum.
 - (5) All persons acting judicially shall take judicial notice of the seal of the National Museum and shall presume that the seal was duly affixed.
 - (6) Where there is a requirement for a document to be executed by the National Museum, affixation of the seal of the National Museum by the National Museum shall constitute due execution of the document.

Functions of the National Museum

- 4. (1) The functions of the National Museum shall be—
 - (a) to establish, operate, administer and oversee museums in the State of Grenada;
 - (b) to secure, receive, preserve, hold and display specimens, artefacts, and other materials that illustrate the natural or human history of Grenada;
 - (c) to maintain and provide access to the National Collection in accordance with the National Collections Policy;
 - (d) to increase and communicate knowledge of the natural and human history of Grenada by research, exhibits, publications and other means;
 - (e) to serve as an educational organisation;
 - (f) to develop exhibits that are of interest to the public;
 - (g) to perform all other functions usually performed by a museum.
- (2) Without prejudice to subsection (1), the National Museum may secure, receive, preserve, hold and display records and archival materials, that the Director determines to be enduring national or historical value or both.

Vesting of property

5. (1) The Governor-General may from time to time by Order, subject to affirmative resolution, vest real property in the National Museum so as to enable it to carry out its functions under this Act.

(2) All property transferred to or vested in the National Museum, under this Act or however otherwise acquired by the National Museum, shall be held in trust for the State of Grenada.

Establishment of the Board

6. There shall be a Board of the National Museum in which management, control and administration of the National Museum shall be vested.

Functions of the Board

7. (1) The Board shall make policy directives for the manner in which the functions of the National Museum are to be performed.

(2) Without limiting the generality of subsection (1), this shall include policy directives for the following—

- (a) establishment of a National Collections Policy and all other policies required for the facilitation of the operations of the National Museum;
- (b) research and excavation of historical and cultural material relevant to the national collection;
- (c) collection and dissemination of information relating to the national collection, and to the museum and its functions;
- (d) delivery, receipt, declassification, withdrawal, disposal, review of and access to public records;
- (e) exhibiting Grenada's historical and cultural material in Grenada and abroad; and
- (f) proper keeping and control of the finances of the National Museum.

Powers of the Board

8. (1) Subject to this Act, the Board has power to do all things that are necessary to enable it to perform its functions.

(2) Without limiting the generality of subsection (1), the powers of the Board shall include—

- (a) controlling and superintending the property of the National Museum;

- (b) establishing committees of the Board to assist the Board;
 - (c) forming one or more bodies corporate to further the purposes of the National Museum;
 - (d) receiving on behalf of the National Museum gifts, grants or other moneys;
 - (e) acquiring or accept historical and cultural material, on loan or as a gift;
 - (f) purchasing or taking on hire, or accepting as a gift or loan, and disposing of or otherwise dealing with furnishing, equipment and other goods.
- (3) All acts and things done in the name of, or on behalf of, the Board by the members shall be deemed to have been done by the Board.
- (4) The provisions of the Schedule shall have effect with respect to the Constitution of the Board and otherwise in relation thereto.

Director of the National Museum

9. (1) There shall be a Director of the National Museum who shall be appointed by the Minister on such terms and conditions (including salaries, allowances and other remuneration) as the Minister may determine.
- (2) The Director shall, subject to the directions of and in accordance with the policies determined by the Board, be responsible generally for the management of the affairs of the National Museum.
- (3) Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (2), the Director shall supervise and direct the work of the National Museum, the administrative and other staff of the National Museum and also perform such other functions as may from time to time be assigned to him or her by the Board.

Secretary of the National Museum

10. The Board may appoint a suitably qualified person to be Secretary on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit.

Qualifications of the Board

11. Members of the Board shall be selected based on the following expertise—
- (a) technical or scholarly expertise relevant to the collection and interpretation of historical, natural and cultural material;
 - (b) public law, company law or intellectual property law;
 - (c) qualifications or adequate knowledge in history, the natural sciences, pedagogy or heritage management;

- (d) technical knowledge in the field of the visual and performing arts;
- (e) qualifications in accounting or marketing and fundraising experience; or
- (f) qualifications or experience relating to the functions, operations and management of museums, archives and analogous institutions.

PART III FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

Funds and resources of the National Museum

12. The funds and resources of the National Museum shall consist of—
- (a) money allocated by Parliament and such amounts as the Government may advance from general revenues by way of subvention or otherwise;
 - (b) property vested in or granted to the National Museum;
 - (c) funds and donations given by way of gifts, grant or otherwise, in accordance with section 62 of the Public Finance Management Act;
 - (d) funds accruing from operations;
 - (e) sums borrowed from time to time for the purpose of meeting any of its obligations or discharging any of its functions; and
 - (f) all other sums or property which may be payable or vested in the Museum in respect of any matter incidental to its powers and duties.

Fund deposited to General Account

13. (1) All funds received by the National Museum shall be deposited into an account (to be known as “the General Account”) to be maintained by the National Museum with such bank or banks as the Board may determine.
- (2) The National Museum shall keep in respect of the General Account, two separate accounts—
- (a) an account to be known as “the General Current Account” in which shall be recorded all deposits into and withdrawals from the General Account for applications towards defraying current expenses; and
 - (b) an account to be known as “the General Capital Account” in which shall be recorded all deposits into and withdrawals from the General Account for applications towards defraying capital expenses.

(3) The accounts of the National Museum shall be maintained in accordance with the generally accepted accounting principles.

Application of funds

14. Funds may be applied in defraying the following expenses—

- (a) acquisition and care of historical and cultural material for the National Collection;
- (b) the remuneration, fees and allowances of members of the Board or of any committee of the National Museum, as required;
- (c) the salaries, fees, remuneration and gratuities of its officers, agents and servants, and technical and other advisers, where appropriate;
- (d) maintenance, upgrading and protection of the property belonging to the National Museum;
- (e) attendance of members of the Board or the appropriate members of staff at conferences, seminars, training programmes that may benefit museum operations; and
- (f) any other expenditure authorised by the Board and properly chargeable to the revenue account.

Borrowing power

15. (1) Subject to subsection (2), the National Museum may borrow money for the purpose of discharging any of its functions and for meeting any of its obligations under this Act.

(2) The power of the National Museum to borrow shall be exercisable only with the approval of the Minister and the Minister with responsibility for Finance in accordance with the Public Finance Management Act as to the amount, as to the source of the borrowing, and as to the terms on which the borrowing is to be effected.

(3) The Minister with responsibility for Finance may, after approval by resolution of the House of Representatives, advance for the use of the National Museum out of the Consolidated Fund such sums as may be required for the performance of its functions under this Act or any other Act.

(4) The National Museum shall make to the Accountant-General, at such times and in such manner as the Minister with responsibility for Finance may direct, payments of such amounts as may be so directed in or towards—

- (a) repayments of such amounts as have been advanced under subsection (3); and

- (b) payments of interest on what is outstanding for the time being (in respect of any sums so advanced) at such rates as the Minister with responsibility for finance may direct, and different rates of interest may be directed as regards different sums and as regards interest for different periods.

Accounts and audit

16. (1) The National Museum shall, in accordance with section 74 of the Public Finance Management Act—

- (a) keep proper books of accounts in such form which would conform to generally accepted accounting standards;
- (b) record its transactions to the satisfaction of the Minister; and
- (c) prepare and retain financial statements in respect of each financial year,

and, in accordance with section 74 of the Public Finance Management Act, submit the annual financial accounts to the Director of Audit.

(2) Not later than three months after receipt of the financial statements and annual report from the National Museum, the Director of Audit shall audit the financial statements in accordance with the Audit Act, Chapter 22A.

(3) Without delay after the completion of his or her audit of the National Museum, the Director of Audit shall submit a copy of his or her report together with the financial statements and annual report to the Minister with responsibility for finance, the Minister and the National Museum.

(4) The Director of Audit is entitled, on being required by the Minister or the Minister with responsibility for Finance, to carry out at any time an investigation into, or special audit of, the accounts of the National Museum in accordance with section 76 of the Public Finance Management Act.

Application of Public Finance Management Act

17. (1) In this Part, “**Public Finance Management Act**” means the Public Finance Management Act No. 17 of 2015.

(2) Part XII of the Public Finance Management Act shall apply to the National Museum and, this Act shall be read in conformity with Part XII of the Public Finance Management Act.

Exemption from stamp duty and other charges

18. Notwithstanding the provisions of any law providing for the registration of documents or the payment of stamp duty, no certificate, receipt, instrument, or other document issued by the National Museum shall be subject to stamp duty, registration fee for charges of a similar nature, nor shall the National Museum be liable for the payment of any search or inspection fee in any registration office.

Exemption from import duties

19. Notwithstanding the provisions of any law providing for the payment of customs duties, all equipment, software, advertising and promotional material, stationery and ticket supplies imported by the National Museum for the conduct of its activities shall not be liable to customs duty.

Reporting to and directions by Minister

20. (1) Without prejudice to sections 71 and 72 of the Public Finance Management Act, the Board shall, no later than four months before the beginning of the financial year, prepare an annual budget that shall be submitted to the Minister for approval.

(2) Without prejudice to section 72 of the Public Finance Management Act, the Board shall submit quarterly reports to the Minister, no later than fourteen days after the beginning of the following quarter.

(3) The Minister may, in consultation with the Chairperson, give to the Board, directions of a general nature as to the policy to be followed in the performance of its functions and in relation to matters appearing to the Minister to be of public interest and the Board shall give effect to directions by the Minister.

PART IV ANTIQUITIES

Ownership by Government

21. (1) The Government shall have a right over every artefact in the State of Grenada and no person shall seek to exercise any right over any artefact, if the Minister, on the behalf of Government, makes a request in writing to the person for the surrender of any artefact in his or her possession.

(2) A person who refuses or fails to surrender an artefact that has been requested in accordance with subsection (1) commits an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, unless the artefact is the subject of a disclaimer under subsection (4).

(3) The ownership of every artefact in the State of Grenada, is vested in the Government and shall be subject to section 22, unless—

- (a) the artefact was discovered before the commencement of this Act; or
- (b) the artefact is the subject matter of a disclaimer under subsection (4).

(4) The Minister may, on behalf of the Government, disclaim in writing the ownership of and rights over an artefact, and upon such written disclaimer—

- (a) the ownership of the Government in the artefact shall be extinguished; and
- (b) the ownership of the artefact shall vest in the person who, but for the enactment of this Act, would otherwise have been the owner of the artefact.

Discovery of antiquities

22. (1) Any person who discovers, or knows of the discovery of an antiquity shall forthwith—

- (a) report the discovery to the Director, or to a designated person; and
- (b) take all reasonable measures to protect it.

(2) A person who makes a report under subsection (1) shall, if so requested by the Director or the designated person, identify the antiquity and its exact location.

(3) A person, other than the Minister and a designated person authorised by the Minister, who—

- (a) excavates or searches for antiquity;
- (b) removes any undiscovered artefact from a monument or collects any object which he or she supposes to be an artefact from the site of discovery, otherwise than for the purpose of protecting the same,

commits an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars.

(4) The Minister, after consultation with the Board, may award to a person who makes a report under subsection (1) such sum by way of a reward as the Minister thinks fit.

(5) Where a report under subsection (1) is made to a designated person, that person receiving the report shall, forthwith and in writing, inform the Director of the report.

(6) Subject to subsection (7), the Director, on the advice of the Minister, and any designated person authorised by the Director in writing, may enter upon and inspect the site of the discovery of an artefact.

(7) The Director, or a designated person, shall not enter any premises in the exercise of powers conferred under subsection (6) without first notifying the owner or occupier of the premises of the intention to do so, unless the Minister considers it necessary to dispense with the notification.

PART V MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Regulations

23. (1) The Minister may, in consultation with the Board, make regulations for the carrying out of the provisions of the Act.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (2), the Minister may, in consultation with the Board, make regulations—

- (a) regulating the conduct of excavations and searches for antiquities;
 - (b) providing for the preservation, conservation, restoration, analysis, documentation and presentation of antiquities;
 - (c) providing for the management and control of antiquities and monuments;
 - (d) providing for the prohibition and control of access to excavations, monuments and sites, and for the payment, restriction and regulation of entrance fees thereto;
 - (e) providing for the establishment, operation and administration of the National Museum;
 - (f) providing for the regulation of the entry of persons onto or into any relevant area that is owned by or under the control of the National Museum;
 - (g) prescribing the fees for entering any relevant area that is vested in or under the control of the National Museum, including charges or additional charges that relate to special exhibitions or other special events;
 - (h) providing for the restriction or regulation of the making, using, printing, publishing, exhibiting, selling or offering for sale of replicas, photographs, representations or copies of material in the ownership or possession of the National Museum;
 - (i) for the purpose of giving effect to the objects of this Act, prohibiting conduct in relation to antiquities and specimen and prescribing appropriate fines not exceeding one thousand dollars for contravention; and
 - (j) anything necessary or convenient for carrying out or giving effect to this Act.
- (2) No regulations made under this Act shall—

- (a) prohibit or restrict access to a monument of the owner or lawful occupier of the monument or of any person beneficially interested therein, or of any person authorised by the owner, occupier or person beneficially interested; or
- (b) confer upon a person any right which he or she would not otherwise have had to enter upon private land.

Repeal

24. The National Heritage Protection Act, Chapter 204 is hereby repealed.

SCHEDULE

CONSTITUTION AND PROCEDURE OF THE BOARD

(section 8 (9))

1. (1) Subject to the provisions of this paragraph, the Board may regulate its own procedure.
 - (2) The Board may make arrangements for any of its functions, other than the power to acquire or dispose of land, to be discharged by committees.
 - (3) Any such committee shall be appointed, and may be dissolved, by the Board.
 - (4) A committee may include as members, persons who are not trustees, but at least one of the members must be a trustee.
 - (5) A committee shall act in accordance with such directions as the Board may give from time to time.
 - (6) Anything done by a committee under the arrangements shall, if the arrangements so provide, have effect as if done by the Board.
2. (1) The Board shall consists of nine members of whom—
 - (a) one shall be the Director of the National Museum *ex officio*;
 - (b) one shall be a representative of the Ministry with responsibility for Culture;
 - (c) one shall be a representative of the Grenada National Trust appointed by the Minister;

- (d) one shall be a representative of the Grenada Cultural Foundation appointed by the Minister; and
- (e) five shall be appointed by the Minister after consultation with the Director, academia, civil society and other relevant bodies or associations from which the Minister considers that such members should be selected.

(2) In exercise of his or her powers of appointment under this paragraph, the Minister shall ensure that, after the initial constitution of the Board, the members of the Board shall not consist entirely of persons previously appointed to membership of the Board at the same time.

3. A member of the Board other than the persons referred to in paragraph 1 (1) (a) to (f) shall hold office for a period not exceeding three years, and shall be eligible for re-appointment.

4. The Minister shall appoint a Chairperson and a Deputy Chairperson from amongst the persons appointed pursuant to subsection (2).

5. (1) Any member of the Board, other than the Chairperson, may at any time resign his or her office by instrument in writing addressed to the Minister and transmitted through the Chairperson, and from the date of receipt by the Minister of such instrument such member shall cease to be a member of the Board.

(2) The Chairperson may at any time resign his or her office by instrument in writing addressed to the Minister and such resignation shall take effect as from the date of receipt by the Minister of such instrument.

6. The Minister may at any time revoke the appointment of any member of the Board.

7. If any vacancy occurs in the membership of the Board, such vacancy shall be filled by the appointment of another member who shall, subject to the provisions of this Schedule, hold office for the remainder of the period for which the previous member was appointed, so that such appointment shall be made in the same manner and from the same category of persons, if any, as the appointment of the previous member.

8. The names of all members of the Board as first constituted and every change in membership thereof shall be published in the *Gazette*.

9. All documents, other than those required to be under seal, made by, and all decisions of, the Board may be signified under the hands of the Chairperson, or any other member authorised to act in that behalf, and the Secretary.

10. (1) The Board shall meet at least once every three months and at such other times as may be necessary or expedient for transaction of its business and such meetings shall be held at such places and times and on such days as the Board may determine.

(2) The Chairperson shall preside at all meetings of the Board at which he or she is present and, in the case of the absence of the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson from any meeting, the members present and constituting a quorum shall elect a Chairperson from among their number to preside at that meeting.

(3) A quorum of the Board shall consist of five members.

(4) The decisions of the Board shall be by a majority of votes and, in addition to an original vote the Chairperson or other person presiding at a meeting shall have a casting vote in any case in which the voting is equal.

(5) Minutes in proper form of each meeting of the Board shall be kept by the Secretary of the Board and a copy of the minutes of every meeting shall be submitted to the Minister as soon as possible thereafter.

11. There shall be paid from the funds of the National Museum to the Chairperson, other members of the Board and members of any committee such remuneration, if any, whether by way of honorarium, salary or fees such allowances, if any, as the Minister may determine.

Passed by the House of Representatives this day of , 2017.

.....
Clerk to the House of Representatives.

Passed by the Senate this day of , 2017.

.....
Clerk to the Senate.

REFERENCES CITED

- Adams, T., C. Ellis, and S. Jones. 2017. "Autoethnography." In *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*, ed. by J. Matthes, C. Davis, and R. Potter, pp. 1-11. Hoboken, Wiley.
- Agbe-Davies, A.
- 2010a. "Concepts of Community in the Pursuit of an Inclusive Archaeology." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16 (6): 373-389.
- 2010b. "Archaeology as a Tool to Illuminate and Support Community Struggles in the Black Metropolis of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries." *Public Archaeology* 9 (4): 171-193.
- Ahlman, T. and K. Scudder-Temple. 2011. "St. Kitts and Nevis." In *Protecting heritage in the Caribbean*, ed. by P. Siegel and E. Richter, pp. 65-72. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Akena, F. 2012. "Critical analysis of the production of Western Knowledge and its Implications for Indigenous Knowledge and Decolonization." *Journal of Black Studies* 43 (6): 599-619.
- Alexander, S. 2016. "Chairman's Message." *Carriacou Historical Society & Museum Anniversary Magazine: 40 years*: pp. 5.
- Alfred, T. and J. Corntassel. 2005. "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against contemporary colonialism." *Government and Opposition* 40 (4): 597-614.
- Allaire, L.
1987. "Some Comments on the Ethnic Identity of the Taino-Carib Frontier." In *Ethnicity and Culture*, ed. by R. Auger, M. Glass, S. MacEachern, and P. McCartney, pp. 127-133. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
1997. "The Lesser Antilles before Columbus." In *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. by S. Wilson, pp. 20-28. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
2013. "Ethnohistory of the Caribs." In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, ed. by W. Keegan, C. Hofman, and R. Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 97-108. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Allsopp, R. 2001. "Caribbean Identity and Belonging." In *Caribbean Cultural Identities*, ed. by G. Griffith, pp. 32-54. London: Bucknell University Press.
- American Anthropological Association

- 2021a. "About AAA." <https://www.americananthro.org/ConnectWithAAA/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=1665&navItemNumber=586>. Accessed 6/15/2021.
- 2021b. "Ethics and Methods." [Ethics and Methods - Learn and Teach \(americananthro.org\)](https://www.americananthro.org/EthicsandMethods-LearnandTeach). Accessed 6/15/2021.
- 2021c. "American Anthropological Association Statement on Ethnography and IRBs." <https://www.americananthro.org/ParticipateAndAdvocate/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=1652>. Accessed 6/17/2021.
- Andrews, A. 2015. *Vanishing Sail*. Indian Creek Films.
- Antczak, A., M. Antczak, G. Hurtado, and K. Antczak. 2013. "Community Archaeology in Los Roques Archipelago National Park, Venezuela." *Politeja* 10 (2(24)): 201-232.
- Appiah, A. 1985. "The Uncompleted Argument: Du Bois and the Illusion of Race." *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1): 21-37.
- Armstrong, D. and M. Hauser. 2009. "A Sea of Diversity: Historical archaeology in the Caribbean." In *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, ed. by T. Majewski and D. Gaimster, pp. 583-612. New York: Springer.
- Arens, W. 1979. *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and anthropophagy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Asad, T. 1973. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press.
- Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin (eds.). 2006. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. Milton Park: Routledge.
- Ashie-Nikoi, E. 2007. *Beating the Pen on the Drum: A socio-cultural history of Carriacou, Grenada, 1750–1920*. Doctoral Dissertation, New York University.
- Association of Critical Heritage Studies. N.d. "History." <https://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/history>. Accessed 4/22/2023.
- Atalay, S.
2006. "Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice." *American Indian Quarterly* 30 (3-4): 280-310.
2012. *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for indigenous and local communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

2019. "Can Archaeology Help Decolonize the Way Institutions Think? How community-based research is transforming the archaeology training toolbox and helping to transform institutions." *Archaeologies* 15 (3): 514-535.
- Atalay, S., L. Clauss, R. McGuire, and J. Welch. 2014. "Transforming Archaeology." In *Transforming Archaeology: Activist practices and prospects*, ed. by S. Atalay, L. Clauss, R. McGuire, and J. Welch, pp. 7-28. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Baldwin, E. and S. McCracken. 2014. "Discourse." In *Introducing Cultural Studies*, eds. E. Baldwin and S. McCracken, pp. 30-31. New York: Routledge.
- Barrett, S. 1996. *Anthropology: A student's guide to theory and method*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Barreiro, J. 2006. "Taíno Survivals." In *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Indigenous survival and revival*, ed. by M. Forte, pp. 21-39. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bartu, A. 2000. "Where is Çatalhöyük? Multiple sites in the construction of an archaeological site." In *Towards a Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The example at Çatalhöyük*, ed. by I. Hodder, pp. 101-109. London: The British Institute at Ankara.
- Bartu Candan, A. 2005. "Entanglements/Encounters/Engagements with Prehistory: Çatalhöyük and its Publics." In *Çatalhöyük Perspectives*, ed. by I. Hodder, pp. 27-38. London: British Institute at Ankara.
- Beckles, H.
1992. "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to European Colonisation [sic] of the Caribbean." *Caribbean Quarterly* 38 (2-3): 1-124.
2008. "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to European Colonisation [sic] of the Caribbean." *Caribbean Quarterly* 54 (4): 77-94.
- Beckles, H. and V. Shepherd. 1993. *Caribbean Freedom: Society and economy from Emancipation to the present*. Kinston: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Benn Torres, J.
2014. "Prospecting the Past: Genetic perspectives on the extinction and survival of indigenous peoples of the Caribbean." *New Genetics and Society* 33 (1): 21-41.
2021. "Genetic Anthropological Perspectives on the Ancestry of Peoples of the Lesser Antilles." *Facebook Live*, uploaded by The Grenada Genealogical and Historical Society. January 10, 2021. Viewed live.

- Bernard, H. 2017. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bernbeck, R. and S. Pollock. 1996. "Ayodhya, Archaeology, and Identity." *Current Anthropology* 37 (S1): S138-S142.
- Besson, J. 1995. "Land, Kindship, and Community in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean." In *Small Islands, Large Questions*, ed. by K. Olwig, pp. 73-99. London: Frank Cass.
- Bilby, K. 1995. "The Caribbean as a Musical Region." In *Caribbean Currents*, ed. by P. Manuel, K. Bilby, and M. Largey, pp. 181-218. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Biolsi, T. 1998. "The Anthropological Construction of "Indians." In *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology*, ed. by T. Biolsi and L. Zimmerman, pp. 133-159. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Blackman-Stephens, C. "Sand Mining Returning to Grenada." *The New Today*, April 28th, 2013. <http://thenewtoday.gd/local-news/2013/04/28/sand-mining-returning-grenada/>. Accessed 5/4/2015.⁴⁵³
- Blaut, J.
1989. "Colonialism and the Rise of Capitalism." *Science & Society* 53 (3): 260-296.
1999. "Marxism and Eurocentric Diffusionism." In *The Political Economy of Imperialism: Critical Appraisals*, ed. by R. Chilcote, pp. 127-140. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Boast, R. 2011. "Neocolonial Collaboration: Museum as contact zone revisited." *Museum Anthropology* 34 (1): 56-70.
- Boccagni, P. 2019. "Multi-Sited Ethnography." In *SAGE Research Methods Foundations*, ed. by P. Atkinson, S. Delamont, A. Cernat, J. Sakshaug, and R. Williams, pp. 1-9. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Boccardi, G. 2019. "Authenticity in the Heritage Context." *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 10 (1): 4-18.
- Bolland, O. 2006. "Reconsidering Creolization and Creole Societies." *Shibboleths: Journal of Comparative Theory* 1 (1): 1-14.
- Boucher, P. 1992. *Cannibal Encounters: Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492-1763*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

⁴⁵³ This link is no longer functional.

- Bowleg, L. 2021. "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House: Ten critical lessons for black and other health equity researchers of color." *Health Education & Behavior* 48 (3): 237-249.
- Boytner, R., L. Dodd, and B. Parker (eds.). 2010. *Controlling the Past, Owning the future: The political uses of archaeology in the Middle East*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Brodie, N., M. Kersel, and K. Tubb. 2006. "A Model Investigative Protocol for Looting and Anti-looting Educational Program. In *Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, and the Antiquities Trade*, ed. by N. Brodie, M. Kersel, C. Luke, and K. Tubb, pp.133-146. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Breglia, L.
- 2006a. "Complicit Agendas: Ethnography of archaeology as ethical research practice." *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice*, ed. M. Edgeworth, pp.173-183. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- 2006b. *Monumental Ambivalence: The politics of heritage*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Brighton, S. 2011. "Applied Archaeology and Community Collaboration: Uncovering the past and empowering the present." *Human Organization* 4: 344-354.
- Bruchac, M. 2014. "Decolonization in Archaeological Theory." In *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, ed. by C. Smith, pp. 2069-2077. New York: Springer.
- Bruchac, M., S. Hart, and H. Wobst. 2010. *Indigenous Archaeologies: A reader on decolonization*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Bullen, R.
1964. *The Archaeology of Grenada, West Indies*. Contributions of the Florida State Museum. No. 11. Gainesville: University of Florida.
1965. "Archaeological Chronology of Grenada." *Society of American Archaeology* 31 (2): 237-241.
- Bullen, R. and A. Bullen. 1972. "Archaeological Investigations on St. Vincent and the Grenadines, West Indies." *American Studies Report* (8). Orlando: Bryant Foundation.

- Butler, B. 2006. "Heritage and the Present Past. In *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands, and P. Spyer, pp. 463-479. London: Sage Publications.
- Byrd, W. and M. Hughey. 2015. "Biological Determinism and Racial Essentialism." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 661 (1): 8-22.
- Byrne, D. 1991. "Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management." *History and Anthropology* 5 (2): 269-276.
- Campbell, C.
2020. "Sale of Grenada Pre-Columbian Pottery Fragments on eBay Sparks Outrage." 21 February 2020. [Sale of Grenada Pre-Columbian pottery fragments on eBay sparks outrage | NOW Grenada](#). Accessed 3/28/2020.
2021. "Illegally Removed Indigenous Artefacts Donated to GNM." 30 August 2021. [Illegally removed Indigenous artefacts donated to GNM | NOW Grenada](#). Accessed 9/1/2021.
- Campbell, G. and L. Smith. 2012. "About ACHS." *Association of Critical Heritage Studies*. <http://criticalheritagestudies.org/site-admin/site-content/about-achs>. Accessed 6/20/2015.⁴⁵⁴
- Cariacom Capacity Development Programme. 2001 "National Census Report: Grenada." <http://www.caricomstats.org/Files/Publications/NCR%20Reports/Grenada.pdf>. Accessed 5/13/2015.
- Carman, J.
2002. *Archaeology and Heritage: An introduction*. London: Continuum.
2005. *Against Cultural Property: Archaeology, heritage and ownership*. London: Duckworth.
2011. "Stories We Tell: Myths at the heart of 'community archaeology.'" *Archaeologies* 7 (3): 490-501.
- Carriacou Historical Society. 2016. *Carriacou Historical Society & Museum Anniversary Magazine: 40 years*.
- Castañeda, Q. and C. Matthews (eds.) 2008. *Ethnographic Archaeologies: Reflections on stakeholders and archaeological practices*. Lanham: Rowman AltaMira.

⁴⁵⁴ This link is now defunct. See the updated reference under "Association of Critical Heritage Studies."

- Cerulo, K. 1997. "Identity Construction: New issues, new directions." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1): 385-409.
- Césaire, A. 1972. *Discourse on Colonialism*. Trans. Joan Pinkham. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Chamberlain, M. (ed.). 1998. *Caribbean Migration: Globalized identities*. London: Routledge.
- Chatters, J. 2014. "Wild-type colonizers and high levels of violence among Paleoamericans." In *Violence and warfare among hunter-gatherers*, ed. by M. Allen and T. Jones, pp. 70-96. New York: Routledge.
- Clark, L. and A. Kingsolver. 2022. "Briefing Paper on Informed Consent." AAA Committee on Ethics. American Anthropological Association.
<https://www.americananthro.org/ParticipateAndAdvocate/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=13144>. Accessed 10/21/2022.
- Coates, J. and T. Hetherington. 2016. *Decolonizing Social Work*. London: Routledge.
- Cohen, J. 2003. "An Examination of Archaeological Ethics and the Repatriation Movement Respecting Cultural Property (Part One)." *Environs* 27 (2): 349-442.
- Cole, N. "What is Cultural Hegemony?" *ThoughtCo*. January 6, 2020.
<https://www.thoughtco.com/cultural-hegemony-3026121#>: Accessed 1/22/2021.
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C.
2004. "Those Obscure Objects of Desire: Collecting cultures and the archaeological landscape in the San Pedro Valley of Arizona." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 33 (5): 571-601.
2007. "History, Justice, and Reconciliation." In *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement*, ed. by B. Little and P. Shackel, pp. 23-45. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C. and T. Ferguson (Eds.). 2007. *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging descendant communities*. Walnut Creek: Rowman AltaMira Press.
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C., J. Hollowell, and D. McGill. 2008. *Ethics in Action: Case Studies in Archaeological Dilemmas*. Washington, D.C.: The Society for American Archaeology.
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C., T. Ferguson, D. Lippert, R. McGuire, G. Nicholas, J. Watkins, and L. Zimmerman. 2010. "The Premise and Promise of Indigenous Archaeology." *American Antiquity* 75 (2): 228-238.

- Commonwealth Secretariat. 2021. "About Us." *The Commonwealth*.
<https://thecommonwealth.org/about-us>. Accessed 3/18/2021.
- Conkey, M. 2005. "Dwelling at the Margins, Action at the Intersection? Feminist and Indigenous archaeologies." *Archaeologies* 1 (1): 9-59.
- Conkey, M. and J. Spector. 1984. "Archaeology and the Study of Gender." *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7: 1-38.
- Conway, D. 2003. "The Caribbean Diaspora". In *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. by R. Hillman and T. D'Agostino, pp. 333-353. Boulder: L. Rienner.
- Council of Europe. 1992. "European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Revised)." *European Treaty Series* (143).
<https://rm.coe.int/168007bd25>. Accessed 4/23/2021.
- Cowlishaw, G. 1992. "Studying Aborigines: Changing canons in anthropology and history." *Journal of Australian Studies* 16 (35): 20-31.
- Cox-Peters, C. 2016. "Ms. Frances Kay Brinkley." *Carriacou Historical Society & Museum Anniversary Magazine: 40 years*: pp. 18.
- Cunningham, R. 1997. "The Biological Impacts of 1492." In *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. by S. Wilson, pp. 31-35. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Curet, L.
2003. "Issues on the Diversity and Emergence of Middle-Range Societies of the Ancient Caribbean: A critique." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 11 (1): 1-42.
2005. *Caribbean Paleodemography: Population, culture history, and sociopolitical processes in ancient Puerto Rico*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
2014. "The Taino: Phenomena, concepts, and terms." *Ethnohistory* 61 (3): 467-495.
2015. "Indigenous Revival, Indigeneity, and the Jíbaro in Borikén." *Centro Journal* 27 (1): 207-247.
- Darvill, T. 2008. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://www-oxfordreference-com.libproxy.uoregon.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199534043.001.0001/acref-9780199534043-e-3660>. Accessed 9/2/2021.

- Datta, R. 2018. "Decolonizing Both Researcher and Research and its Effectiveness in Indigenous Research." *Research Ethics* 14 (2): 1-24.
- Dávila, A. 2001. "Local/Diasporic Taínos: Towards a cultural politics of memory, reality and imagery." In *Taíno Revival*, ed. by G. Haslip-Viera, pp. 33–53. Princeton: Markus Wiener.
- David, C. 2004. *Folk Traditions of Carriacou and Petite Martinique*. Belmont: Christine David.
- Davis, D. and R. Goodwin. 1990. "Island Carib Origins: Evidence and nonevidence." *American Antiquity* 55 (1): 37-48.
- De Figueiredo, M. 2018. "Problematizing the Idea of Heritage Management." In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Heritage Theory and Practice*, ed. by A. Labrador and N. Silberman, pp. 95-105. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Deagan, K. 1988. "The Archaeology of the Spanish Contact Period in the Caribbean." *Journal of World Prehistory* 2 (2): 187-233.
- Deloria Jr, V. 1969. *Custer Died for your Sins: An Indian manifesto*. London: MacMillan.
- Denzin, N. and Y. Lincoln
- 2008a. "Preface." In *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, ed. by N. Denzin, Y. Lincoln, and L. Tuhiwai Smith, pp. ix-xiii. Los Angeles: Sage.
- 2008b. "Introduction." In *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, ed. by N. Denzin, Y. Lincoln, and L. Tuhiwai Smith, pp. 1-20. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Denzin, N., Y. Lincoln, and L. Tuhiwai Smith (eds.). 2008. *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Derry, L. and M. Malloy (eds.) 2003. *Archaeologists and Local Communities: Partners in exploring the past*. Washington DC: Society for American Archaeology.
- Dew, S. 2019. "'Sole Property and Domain': Intellectual property law and the contemporary Puerto Rican Taíno Indigenous movement." *American Religion* 1 (1): 67-87.
- Díaz-Andreu Garcia, M. 2007. *A World History of Nineteenth-century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Diversi, M. and C. Moreira. 2016. *Between Talk: Decolonizing knowledge production, pedagogy, and praxis*. London: Routledge.

- Downes, S. 2021. "The Role of Ancient DNA Research in Archaeology." *Topoi* 40: 285–293.
- Dratler Jr., J. 1994. *Licensing of Intellectual Property*. New York: Law Journal-Seminars Press.
- Duke, P. and D. Saitta. 1998. "An Emancipatory Archaeology for the Working Class." *Assemblage* 4: 1-7.
- Earle, T. and R. Preucel. 1987. "Processual Archaeology and the Radical Critique" *Current Anthropology* 28 (4): 501-538.
- Edgeworth, M. 2006. *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural encounters, material transformations*. Lanham: Rowman AltaMira Press.
- Egloff, B. 2006. "Conservation, Researchers, and Aboriginal Heritage." In *Of the Past, for the Future*, ed. By N. Agnew and J. Bridgland, pp. 87-93. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.
- Einhorn, A. 2006. "Before, We Were Asleep: Now we must awake from our sleep and move forward." In *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. by M. Forte, pp. 271-286. New York: Peter Lang.
- Elkadi, H., S. Al-Maiyah, K. Fielder, I. Kenawy, and D. Martinson. 2021. "The Regulations and Reality of Indoor Environmental Standards for Objects and Visitors in Museums." *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 152: 111653
- Ellis, C., T. Adams, and A. Bochner. 2011. "Autoethnography: An overview." *Historical Social Research* 36 (4): 273-290.
- ESRI. N.d. "Garifuna Culture and People: A story map." <https://arcg.is/14Cqaj>. Accessed 7/30/2021.⁴⁵⁵
- Estevez, J. 2008. "Indigenous mtDNA in Puerto Rico: when does DNA matter?" *Centro* 20 (2): 219-229.
- Fabian, J. 2014. *Time and the Other: How anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Falzon, M. (ed.). 2016. *Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research*. New York: Routledge.
- Fanon, F. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

⁴⁵⁵ This link is now defunct.

- Fayer, J. 2003. "The Carriacou Shakespeare Mas': Linguistic creativity in a Creole community." In *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean*, ed. by M. Aceto and J. Williams, pp. 211-226. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fayer, J. and J. McMurray
1994. "Shakespeare in Carriacou." *Caribbean Studies* 27 (3-4): 242-254.
1999. "The Carriacou Mas' as Syncretic Artifact." *Journal of American Folklore* 112 (443): 58-73.
- Fenwick, M. 2011. "All Strangers Here": 'Native' as invasive in the poetry of Derek Walcott." *Journal of West Indian Literature* 20 (1): 10-35.
- Ferbel-Azcarate, P. 2002. "Not Everyone Who Speaks Spanish is From Spain: Taino survival in the 21st century Dominican Republic." Special issue of the *Journal of Caribbean Indigenous History and Anthropology*, 1-16.
- Ferguson, T. 2001. "Applied Anthropology in the Management of Native American Cultural Resources: Archaeology, Ethnography, and History of Traditional Cultural Places." *NAPA Bulletin* 20 (1): 15-17.
- Fernandes, D., K. Sirak, H. Ringbauer, J. Sedig, N. Rohland, O. Cheronet, M. Mah, S. Mallick, I. Olalde, B. Culleton, and N. Adamski. 2021. "A Genetic History of the Pre-Contact Caribbean." *Nature* 590 (7844): 103-110.
- Fewkes, J. 1907. "The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighbouring [sic] Islands." In *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1903-04*. New York, NY.
- Finneran, N. and C. Welch. 2019. "Out of the Shadow of Balliceaux: From Garifuna place of memory to Garifuna sense of place in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Eastern Caribbean." *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 8 (3): 226-251.
- Fitzpatrick, S.
2009. "Caribbean Treasures: Digging Forgotten Lives in Carriacou." *Current World Archaeology*. November 26th, 2009.
2012. "On the Shoals of Giants: natural catastrophes and the overall destruction of the Caribbean's archaeological record." *Journal of Coastal Conservation* 16: 173-186.
- Fitzpatrick, S., J. Carstensen, K. Marsaglia, C. Descantes, M. Glascock, Q. Kaye, and M. Kappers. 2008. "Preliminary Petrographic and Chemical Analyses of Prehistoric

- Ceramics from Carriacou, West Indies.” *Journal of Caribbean Archaeology* 8 (2): 59-83.
- Fitzpatrick, S., M. Kappers, and Q. Kaye
2006. “Coastal Erosion and Site Destruction on Carriacou, West Indies.” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31 (3): 251-262.
2007. “Archaeological Research in the Grenadine Islands, West Indies.” *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 2 (2): 251-255.
- Fitzpatrick, S., M. Kappers, Q. Kaye, C. Giovas, M. LeFebvre, M. Harris, S. Burnett, J. Pavia, K. Marsaglia, and J. Feathers. 2009. “Precolumbian Settlements on Carriacou, West Indies.” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 34 (3): 247-266.
- Fitzpatrick, S., Q. Kaye, and M. Kappers. 2004. “A Radiocarbon Sequence for the Sabazan Site, Carriacou, West Indies.” *Journal of Caribbean Archaeology* 5 (1): 1-11.
- Fitzpatrick, S., Q. Kaye, M. Kappers, and C. Giovas. 2014. “A Decade of Archaeological Research on Carriacou, Grenadine Islands, West Indies.” *Caribbean Journal of Science* 48 (2-3): 151-161.
- Foley, D. 2002. “Critical Ethnography: The reflexive turn.” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 15 (4): 469-490.
- Foner, P. 1970. *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, 1890-1919*. New York: Pathfinder Press.
- Forte, M.
2005. *Ruins of Absence, Presence of Caribs: (Post)colonial representations of aboriginality in Trinidad and Tobago*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- 2006a. (ed.) *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Indigenous survival and revival*. New York: Peter Lang.
- 2006b. “Introduction: The Dual Absences of Extinction and Marginality.” In *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. by M. Forte, pp. 1-17. New York: Peter Lang.
2013. (ed.) *Who Is an Indian? Race, place, and the politics of Indigeneity in the Americas*. London: University of Toronto Press.
- Fortier, C. 2017. “Unsettling Methodologies/Decolonizing Movements.” *Journal of Indigenous Social Development* 6 (1): 20-36.

Foucault, M.

1971. *The Order of Things: An archaeology of the human sciences* (1st American edition). New York: Pantheon Books.

1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by A. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books.

2019. *Power: The Essential works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*. Translated by R. Hurley. London: Penguin Books.

Found, W. 2004. "Historic Sites, Material Culture, and Tourism in the Caribbean Islands." In *Tourism in the Caribbean: Trends, development, prospects*, ed. by D. Duval, pp. 136-151. New York: Routledge

Freire, P. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Translated by M. Ramos. New York: Seabury Press.

Gamblin, R. N.d. "Land Back! What do we mean?" 4Rs Youth Movement.
<https://4rsyouth.ca/land-back-what-do-we-mean/>. Accessed 3/22/2021.

Gathercole, P., and D. Lowenthal (Eds.). 1995. *The Politics of the Past* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge.

Gero, J.

1985. "Socio-politics and the woman-at-home ideology." *American Antiquity* 50 (2): 342-350.

2008. "The History of the World Archaeological Congress." The World Archaeological Conference. <http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/about-wac/history/146-history-wac>. Accessed 6/29/2015.

Gero, J., D. Lacy, and M. Blakey. 1983. *The Socio-politics of Archaeology*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Giovas, C.

2016. "Though she be but little: Resource resilience, Indigenous foraging, and long-term adaptive strategies in the Grenadines, West Indies. *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 11 (2): 238-263.

2018a. "Impact of Analytic Protocols on Archaeofish Abundance, Richness, and Similarity: a Caribbean-Pacific crossover study. In *Zooarchaeology in Practice*, ed. by C. Giovas and M. Lefebvre, pp. 59-89. New York: Springer.

- 2018b. "Pre-Columbian Indigenous Lifeways at the Sabazan Site, Carriacou, West Indies." *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 13 (2): 161-190.
2021. "Sustainable Indigenous Fishing in the Pre-Contact Caribbean: Evidence and Critical Considerations from Carriacou, Grenada." *Sustainability* 13 (16): p.9152.
- Giovas, C., M. LeFebvre, and S. Fitzpatrick. 2012. "New Records for Prehistoric Introduction of Neotropical Mammals to the West Indies: Evidence from Carriacou, Lesser Antilles." *Journal of Biogeography* 39 (3): 476-487.
- Giovas, C., G. Kamenov, S. Fitzpatrick, and J. Krigbaum. 2016. "Sr and Pb Isotopic Investigation of Mammal Introductions: Pre-Columbian zoogeographic records from the Lesser Antilles, West Indies." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 69: 39-53.
- Giovas, C., M. Kappers, K. Lowe, and L. Termes. 2020. "The Carriacou Ecodynamics Archaeology Project: First Results of Geophysical Survey and Landscape Archaeology at the Sabazan Site, The Grenadines." *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 15 (3): 421-435.
- Gonzalez, N. 1997. "The Garifuna of Central America." In *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. by S. Wilson, pp. 199-205. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- González-Tennant, E. 2014. "The "Color" of Heritage: Decolonizing collaborative archaeology in the Caribbean." *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 3 (1): 26-50.
- Gosden, C. 2012. "Postcolonial archaeology". In *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. by I. Hodder, pp. 251-266. Malden: Polity Press.
- Gould, S. 1996. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Government of Grenada
2017. "Extending water availability to the rural areas of Carriacou." [https://www.mite.gov.it/sites/default/files/archivio/allegati/trasparenza_valutazione_merito/SVI/allegati/2017/maggio_2017/04/Grenada%20project%20\(2\).pdf](https://www.mite.gov.it/sites/default/files/archivio/allegati/trasparenza_valutazione_merito/SVI/allegati/2017/maggio_2017/04/Grenada%20project%20(2).pdf). Accessed 5/7/2021.
2022. "Ministry of Carriacou & Petite Martinique Affairs & Local Government." <https://www.gov.gd/index.php/cpma>. Accessed 8/25/2021.
- Gnecco, C. and D. Lippert (eds.). 2015. *Ethics and Archaeological Praxis*. New York: Springer.

- Gnecco, C. and P. Ayala (eds.). 2011. *Indigenous Peoples and Archaeology in Latin America*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Gravel Concrete & Emulsion Production Corporation. 2013. <https://www.gravel.gd/sand.htm>. Accessed 1/2/2022.
- Green, L., D. Green, and E. Neves. 2003. "Indigenous Knowledge and Archaeological Science: The challenges of public archaeology in the Reserva Uaçá." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3 (3): 366-398.
- Grenade, W. 2010. "Reflections on Politics in Post-Revolutionary Grenada (1984-2008)." *Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies* 35: 108-139.
- Griffith, G. (ed.). 2001. *Caribbean Cultural Identities*. London: Bucknell University Press.
- Guerrón Montero, C.
2011. "On Tourism and the Constructions of 'Paradise Islands' in Central America and the Caribbean." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 30 (1): 21-34.
2015. "Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Regional Identities in the Isle of Spice." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 13 (1): 1-21.
- Guest, K. 2020. *Essentials of Cultural Anthropology: A toolkit for a global age* (3rd edition). New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Guitar, L. P. Ferbel-Azarate, and J. Etevez. 2006. "Ocama-Daca Taíno (Hear Me, I Am Taíno: Taíno survival on Hispaniola, focusing on the Dominican Republic." In *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. by M. Forte, pp. 41-67. New York: Peter Lang.
- Hale, C. 2008. "Introduction." In *Engaging Contradictions*, ed. by C. Hale, pp. 1-30. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hale, C. and L. Stephen
- 2014a. (eds.) *Otro Saberes: Collaborative research on indigenous and afro-descendant cultural politics*. Santa Fe: SAR Press.
- 2014b. "Introduction." In *Otro Saberes: Collaborative Research on Indigenous and Afro-Descendant Cultural Politics*, ed. by C. Hale and L. Stephen, pp. 1-31. Santa Fe: SAR Press.
- Hall, S.
1986. "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10 (2): 5-27.

1997. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory*, ed. by P. Mongia, pp. 110-121. London: Arnold Press.

2001. "Negotiating Caribbean Identities." In *New Caribbean Thought*, ed. by B. Meeks and F. Lindahl, pp. 24-39. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Hamilakis, Y.

2010. "From Ethics to Politics." In *Archaeology and Capitalism*, ed. by Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, pp. 15-40. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.

2011. "Archaeological Ethnography: A multitemporal meeting ground for archaeology and anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40: 399-414.

2016. "Decolonial Archaeologies: From ethnoarchaeology to archaeological ethnography." *World Archaeology* 48 (5): 678-682.

Hamilakis, Y. and A. Anagnostopoulos. 2009. "What is Archaeological Ethnography?" *Public Archaeology* 8 (2-3): 65-87.

Hamilakis, Y. and P. Duke. 2010. *Archaeology and Capitalism: From ethics to politics*. New York: Routledge.

Hanna, J.

2017. "The Status of Grenada's Prehistoric Sites: Report on the 2016 Survey and Inventory of Known Sites." Open Access. doi:10.18113/S1QG64.
<https://scholarsphere.psu.edu/resources/98eb0511-7852-4c65-bc17-730da2d05a2f>

2021. *Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Site at Black Bay, Carriacou*.

Hannerz, U. 2003. "Being There... and There... and There! Reflections on multi-site ethnography." *Ethnography* 4 (2): 201-216.

Harney, S. 1996. *Nationalism and Identity: Culture and the imagination in a Caribbean diaspora*. London: Zed Books.

Harrison, F. 1991. "Anthropology as an Agent of Transformation: Introductory comments and queries." In *Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving further toward an anthropology for liberation*, ed. by F. Harrison, pp.1-14. Arlington: American Anthropological Association.

Harrison, R. 2010. *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Bottom of Form

- Hauser, M. and D. Armstrong. 2012. "The Archaeology of Not Being Governed: A counterpoint to a history of settlement of two colonies in the Eastern Caribbean." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 12 (3): 310-333.
- Haviser, J. 2015. "Community Archaeology as an Essential Element for Successful Archaeological Heritage Management." In *Managing Our Past into the Future*, ed. by C. Hofman and J. Haviser, pp.133-151. Leiden: Sidestone Press.
- Haviser, J. and R. Gilmore III. 2011. "A Brief Summary of Cultural Heritage Management and legislation in the former-Netherlands Antilles. In *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*, ed. by P. Siegel and H. Richter, pp. 190-202. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Hill, D.
1974. "More on Truth, Fact, and Tradition in Carriacou." *Caribbean Quarterly* 20 (1): 45-59.
1977. "The Impact of Migration on the Metropolitan and Folk Society of Carriacou, Grenada." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History New York, NY* 54 (2): 193-391.
- Hofman, C. and M. Hoogland. 2016. "Connecting stakeholders: Collaborative preventive archaeology projects at sites affected by natural and/or human impacts." *Caribbean Connections* 5 (1): 1-31.
- Hofman, C., J. Ulloa Hung, E. Malatsta, J. Jan, T. Sonnemann, and M. Hoogland. 2018. "Indigenous Caribbean Perspectives: Archaeologies and legacies of the first colonised [sic] region in the New World." *Antiquity* 92 (361): 200-216.
- Hofman, C., L. Borck, J. Laffoon, E. Slayton, R. Scott, T. Breukel, C. Falci, M. Favre, and M. Hoogland. 2021. "Island Networks: Transformations of inter-community social relationships in the Lesser Antilles at the advent of European colonialism." *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 16 (2-4): 290-316.
- Hollowell, J. 2006. "The Moral Arguments of Subsistence Digging." In *The Ethics of Archaeology*, ed. by C. and G. Scarre, pp. 69-93. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hollowell, J. and G. Nicholas. 2009. "Using Ethnographic Methods to Articulate Community-Based Conceptions of Cultural Heritage Management." *Public Archaeology* 8 (2-3): 141-160.
- Honychurch, L.
1997. "Crossroads in the Caribbean: a site of encounter and exchange on Dominica." *World Archaeology* 28 (3): 291-304.

2019. *In the Forests of Freedom: The fighting maroons of Dominica*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
2021. "Maintaining Indigenous Peoples' Presence on Islands Lost to Them." The Institute for People's Enlightenment Indigenous Peoples' Heritage Panel. May 30, 2021 [Video]. Facebook.
- Howard, P. 2003. *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*. London: Continuum.
- Hudepohl, K. 2008. "Kalinago Ethnicity and Ancestral Knowledge." *Southern Anthropologist* 33 (1-2): 1-23.
- Hulme, P. 1995. "Including America." *ARIEL* 26 (1): 117-123.
1978. "Columbus and the Cannibals: A study of the reports of anthropophagy in the journal of Christopher Columbus." *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 4 (2): 115-139.
1986. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797*. London: Methuen.
1993. "Making Sense of the Native Caribbean." *New West Indian Guide* 67 (3/4): 189-220.
- Hulme, P. and N. Whitehead (eds.). 1992. *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hume, Y. and A. Kamugisha (eds.). 2013. *Caribbean Cultural Thought from Plantation to Diaspora*. Kinston: Ian Randle Publishers.
- The International Association for Caribbean Archaeology (IACA). 1991. "Minutes of the IACA business meeting held at the fourteenth international congress for Caribbean archaeology in Barbados." July 27, 1991. Pp. 681-694. <http://ufdcimages.uflib.ufl.edu/AA/00/06/19/61/00522/14-56.pdf>
- Isaacson, K. and S. Ford. 2005. "Looking Forward- Looking Back: Shaping a Shared Future." In *Indigenous Archaeologies*, ed. by C. Smith and H. Wobst, pp. 354-367. London: Routledge.
- Isherwood, R. 2011. "Community Archaeology: conceptual and political issues." In *Community Archaeology*, ed. by G. Moshenska and S. Dhanjal, pp. 6-17. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Iyer, P. 2020. "Do Not Colonize Decolonization." *The Peace Chronicle*. <https://www.peacejusticestudies.org/chronicle/do-not-colonize-decolonization/>. Accessed 3/22/2021.

- Jafari Allen, S. and R. Jobson. 2016. "The Decolonizing Generation: (Race and) theory in anthropology since the eighties." *Current Anthropology* 57 (2): 129-148.
- James, C. 1989 [1938]. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. (2nd revised edition). New York: Vintage Books.
- Jane, C. 1960. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*. New York: Wentworth Press.
- Jicha, K. 2011. *Individual-level predictors of social capital and participation in collective action on the Island of Carriacou, Grenada*. Doctorial Dissertation, North Carolina State University.
<https://repository.lib.ncsu.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/91b50fa1-835c-4e36-a9f6-25c124cad149/content>.
- Jicha, K., E. Kick, G. Fulkerson, and G. Thompson. 2019. "Explaining Social Capital Formation in a Hinterlands Context: The case of Carriacou, Grenada." *Comparative Sociology* 18 (1): 33-65.
- Jiménez, M. "Taíno Zemis and Duhos." *Smarthistory*, January 4, 2021.
<https://smarthistory.org/taino-zemis-and-duhos/>. Accessed 4/25/2022.
- Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Psychology Press.
- Joseph, V. 2015. "An Ethnography of African Diasporic Affiliation and Disaffiliation in Carriacou: How Anglo-Caribbean Preadolescent Girls Express Attachments to Africa." *Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst*.
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_2/370.
- Kaestle, F. and K. Horsburgh. 2002. "Ancient DNA in anthropology: methods, applications, and ethics." *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 45: 92-130.
- Kaye, Q.
2003. "A Field Survey of the Island of Carriacou, West Indies, March 2003." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 14: 129-135.
2004. "Carriacou Archaeological Project 2004," letter to Mr. George Prime, 31 Aug. 2004.
2014. "A Public Presentation of Research up to 2014 by the Carriacou Archaeological Field Project, July 21st – August 15, 2014." August 19, 2014. Hillsborough, Carriacou, Grenada.
- Kaye, Q., S. Fitzpatrick, and M. Kappers

2004. "A Preliminary Report on the Excavation at Grand Bay, Carriacou, West Indies, June 28th-July 31st, 2004." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 15: 82-89.
2005. "Continued Archaeological Investigations at Grand Bay, Carriacou, West Indies (May 23rd-July 22nd, 2005), and the Impact the Hurricanes and Other Erosive Processes." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 16: 108-114.
- Kaye, Q., S. Burnett, S. Fitzpatrick, and M. Kappers. 2007. "Ongoing Archaeological Investigations on Carriacou, West Indies: 2nd July-3rd August, 2007." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 18: 167-176.
- Kaye, Q., S. Burnett, S. Fitzpatrick, M. Kappers, and J. Swogger. 2009. "Archaeological Investigations on Carriacou, West Indies, 7th July-9th August 2008: Fieldwork and Public Archaeology." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 19: 91-99.
- Kaye, Q., S. Fitzpatrick, S., M. Harris, and M. Kappers. 2012. "Bowls and Burials—an Update from Grand Bay, Carriacou, West Indies: May-June 2011." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 21: 91-100.
- Keegan, W.
1992. *The People who Discovered Columbus: The prehistory of the Bahamas*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
1996. "West Indian Archaeology: After Columbus." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 4 (4): 265-294.
2013. "The "Classic" Taíno." In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, ed. by W. Keegan, C. Hofman, and R. Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 70-83. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2021. "Who First Made the Caribbean Home?" SAPIENS Field Notes. 4 FEB 2021. Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. University of Chicago Press.
<https://www.sapiens.org/biology/indigenous-caribbean/>
- Keegan, W. and L. Carison. 2008. *Talking Taino: Caribbean natural history from a native perspective*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Keegan, W. and C. Hofman. 2016. *The Caribbean before Columbus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keegan, W., C. Hofman, and R. Rodríguez Ramos
- 2013a. *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford U. Oxford Handbooks. Web.

- 2013b. "Introduction." In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, ed. by W. Keegan, C. Hofman, and R. Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 1-18. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keegan, W. and W. Phulgence. 2011. "Patrimony or Patricide?" In *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*, ed. by P. Siegel and E. Richter, pp. 143-151. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Khan, A. 2001. "Journey to the center of the earth: The Caribbean as master symbol." *Cultural Anthropology* 16 (3): 271-303.
- Kimura, B., M. LeFebvre, S. deFrance, H. Knodel, M. Turner, N. Fitzsimmons, S. Fitzpatrick, and C. Mulligan. 2016. "Origin of pre-Columbian Guinea Pigs from Caribbean Archeological Sites Revealed through Genetic Analysis." *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 5: 442-452.
- King, T. 2008. *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice* (3rd edition). Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Knorr-Cetina, K. 1983. "The Ethnographic Study of Scientific Work: Towards a constructivist interpretation of science." In *Science Observed: Perspectives on the Social Study of Science*, ed. by K. Knorr-Cetina and M. Mulkay, pp. 115-140. London: Sage.
- Kovach, M. 2010. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, conversations and contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Krigbaum, J., S. Fitzpatrick, and J. Bankaitis. 2013. "Human Paleodiet at Grand Gay, Carriacou, Lesser Antilles." *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 8 (2): 210-227.
- Kurtz, D. 1996. "Hegemony and Anthropology: Gramsci, exegeses, reinterpretations." *Critique of Anthropology* 16 (2): 103-135.
- La Salle, M. and R. Hutchings. 2018. "'What Could be More Reasonable?' Collaboration in colonial contexts." In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Heritage Theory and Practice*, ed. by A. Labrador and N. Silberman, pp. 223-237. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Langford, R. 1983. "Our Heritage- Your Playground." *Australian Archaeology* 16 (1): 1-6.
- Layton, R. 1994. *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge.

- Leone, M., P. Potter Jr, P. Shackel, M. Blakey, R. Bradley, B. Durrans, J. Gero, G. Grigoriev, I. Hodder, J. Lanata, and T. Levy. 1987. "Toward a Critical Archaeology." *Current Anthropology* 28 (3): 283-302.
- Leone, M. and R. Preucel. 1992. "Archaeology in a Democratic society: A critical theory perspective." In *Quandaries and Quests: Visions of archaeology's future*, ed. by L. Wandsnider, pp. 115-135. New York: Plenum Publishers.
- Leucci, G., N. Masini, and R. Lasaponara. 2014. "Investigating Archaeological Looting Using Satellite Images and GEORADAR." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 42: 216-230.
- Levy, R. and D. Hollan. 1998. "Person-centered Interviewing and Observation." In *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. by H. Bernard and C. Gravlee, pp. 333-364. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Lewis, D. 1973. "Anthropology and Colonialism." *Current Anthropology* 14 (5): 581-602.
- Liebmann, M. 2008. "Introduction: The Intersections of Archaeology and Postcolonial Studies." In *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*, edited by M. Liebmann and U. Rizvi, pp. 1-20. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Liebmann, M. and U. Rizvi (eds.). 2008. *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Little, B. 2002. *Public Benefits of Archaeology*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Little, B. and P. Shackel (eds.). 2007. *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Lilley, I. 2006. "Archaeology, Diaspora and Decolonization." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 6 (1): 28-47.
- Lloyd, D. and P. Wolfe. 2016. "Settler Colonial Logics and the Neoliberal Regime." *Settler Colonial Studies* 6 (2): 109-118.
- Lonetree, A. 2012. *Decolonizing Museums*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Loomba, A. 1998. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Lorde, A. 1983. "'The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House.'" In *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, ed. by C. Moraga and G. Anzaldúa, pp. 94-101. New York: Kitchen Table Press.

Lynott, M. and A. Wylie (eds.). 2000. *Ethics in American Archaeology* (2nd revised edition). Washington DC: Society of American Archaeology.

McDaniel, L.

1985. "The Stone Feast and Big Drum of Carriacou." *The Black Perspective in Music* 13 (2): 179-194.

1992. "The Concept of Nation in the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou, Grenada. In *Musical repercussions of 1492*, ed. by C. Robertson, pp. 395-411. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

1998. *The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou: Praisesongs in rememory of flight*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

2002. "Musical Thoughts on Unresolved Questions and Recent Findings in Big Drum Research." *Black Music Research Journal* 22 (1): 127-139.

2009. *The World of Music* 51 (1): 152-154. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41699872>. Accessed 8/31/2021.

McDavid, C.

2007. "Beyond Strategy and Good Intentions: Archaeology, Race and White Privilege." In *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement*, ed. by B. Little and P. Shackel, pp. 67-88. Lanham: AltaMira Press.

2008. "Archaeologies that Hurt; Descendants that Matter." In *The Heritage Reader*, ed. by G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. Jameson, Jr., and J. Schofield, pp. 514-523. London: Routledge.

McDavid, C. and T. Brock. 2015. "The Differing Forms of Public Archaeology: Where we have been, where we are now, and thoughts for the future." In *Ethics and Archaeological Praxis*, ed. by C. Gnecco and D. Lippert, pp. 159-183. New York: Springer.

McEwan, C. 2009. "Subaltern." In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by N. Thrift and R. Kitchin, pp. 59-64. Oxford: Elsevier.

McGibbon, E., F. Mulaudzi, P. Didham, S. Barton, and A. Sochan. 2014. "Toward Decolonizing Nursing: The colonization of nursing and strategies for increasing the counter-narrative." *Nursing Inquiry* 21 (3): 179-191.

McGregor, D. 2003. "The Environment and Ecology." In *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. by R. Hillman and T. d'Agostino, pp. 179-207. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.

McGuire, R.

1992. *A Marxist Archaeology*. Cambridge: Academic Press.

2003. "Forward." In *Ethical Issues in Archaeology*, ed. by L. Zimmerman, K. Vitelli, and J. Hollowell, pp. vii-ix. Walnut Creek: Rowman AltaMira Press.

2006. "Marx, Childe, and Trigger." In *The Archaeology of Bruce Trigger: Theoretical Empiricism*, ed. by R. Williamson and M. Bisson, pp. 61-79. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

2008. *Archaeology as Political Action*. Oakland: University of California Press.

McGuire, R., M. O'Donovan, and L. Wurst. 2005. "Probing Praxis in Archaeology: The last eighty years." *Rethinking Marxism* 17 (3): 355-372.

McIntyre, W., S. Mole, L. Ashworth, T. Shaw, and A. May. 2007. "Whose Commonwealth? Responses to Krishnan Srinivasan's *The Rise, Decline and Future of the British Commonwealth*." *Round Table (London)* 96 (388): 57-70.

McGranahan, C. and U. Rizvi. 2016. "Decolonizing Anthropology." *Savage Minds*, April 19, 2016. <https://savageminds.org/2016/04/19/decolonizing-anthropology/>. Accessed 6/1/2017.

McNiven, I. and L. Russell

2005. *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous peoples and the colonial culture of archaeology*. Walnut Creek: Rowman AltaMira Press.

2009. "Toward a Postcolonial Archaeology of Indigenous Australia." In *Handbook of Archaeological Theories*, ed. by A. Bentley, H. Maschner, and C. Chippindale, pp. 423-443. Lanham: AltaMira Press.

Malloy, M. 2003. "Introduction." In *Archaeologists and Local Communities*, ed. by L. Derry and M. Malloy, pp. ix-xiii. Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology.

Marcus, G.

1995. "Ethnography In/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 95-117.

2009. "Multi-sited Ethnography: Notes and queries." In *Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, praxis, and locality in contemporary research*, ed. by M. Falzon, pp. 181-196. New York: Routledge.

Marshall, Y. 2002. "What is Community Archaeology?" *World Archaeology* 34 (2): 211-219.

Martin, J.

2013. *Island Caribs and French Settlers in Grenada, 1498-1763*. St. Georges: The Grenada National Museum Press.

2022. "My Navel-String Buried Here: Thoughts on identity and belonging in the Grenada landscape." Grenada Cultural Foundation. October 8th, 2022. A reading and discussion.

2023. "We Navel-String Bury Here": Landscape History, Representation and Identity in the Grenada Islandscape." Doctoral Dissertation, Leiden University.

Martin, J., J. Opala, and C. Schmidt. 2016. *The Temne Nation of Carriacou*. Chattanooga: Polyphemus Press.

Martínez-Cruzado, J., G. Toro-Labrador, J. Viera-Vera, M. Rivera-Vega, J. Startek, M. Latorre-Esteves, A. Román-Colón, R. Rivera-Torres, I. Navarro-Millán, E. Gómez-Sánchez, H. Caro-González, and P. Valencia-Rivera. 2005. "Reconstructing the population history of Puerto Rico by means of mtDNA phylogeographic analysis." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 128: 131-155.

Matsuda, A. 2004. "The Concept of 'The Public' and the Aims of Public Archaeology." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 15: 66-76.

Matthews, C. 2005. "Public Dialectics: Marxist reflection in archaeology." *Historical Archaeology* 39 (4): 26-44.

Matthews, C., C. McDavid, and P. Jeppson. 2011. "Dynamics of inclusion in public archaeology: An introduction." *Archaeologies* 7: 482-489.

Merriman, N. 2004. "Introduction: Diversity and dissonance in public archaeology." In *Public Archaeology*, ed. by N. Merriman, pp. 1-17. London: Routledge.

Meskel, L.

2005. "Archaeological Ethnography: Conversations around Kruger National Park." *Archaeologies* 1 (1): 81-100.

2007. "Falling Walls and Mending Fences: Archaeological ethnography in the Limpopo." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33 (2): 383-400.

2013. "UNESCO and the fate of the World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE)." *IJCP* 20: 155-174.
- Meskel, L. and P. Pels (eds.). 2005. *Embedding Ethics*. New York: Routledge.
- Messenger, P. and G. Smith. 2010. *Cultural Heritage Management: A global perspective*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Mihesuah, D. (ed.). 2000. *Repatriation Reader: Who owns American Indian remains?* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Miller, D. 2008. "Migration, Material Culture and Tragedy: Four moments in Caribbean migration." *Mobilities* 3 (3): 397-413.
- Miller, R. 2005. "Performing Ambivalence: The case of quadrille music and dance in Carriacou, Grenada." *Ethnomusicology* 49 (3): 403-440.
- Mills, B.
2004. "Hucksters and homemakers: Gender responses to opportunities in the tourism market in Carriacou, Grenada." In *Tourism in the Caribbean*, ed. by D. Duval, pp. 273-286. London: Routledge.
2005. "The Transnational Community as an Agent for Caribbean Development: Aid from New York City and Toronto to Carriacou, Grenada." *Southeastern Geographer* 45 (2): 174-191.
- Mills, P. and K. Kawelu. 2013. "Decolonizing Heritage Management in Hawai'i." *Advances in Anthropology* 3 (3): 127-132.
- Mintz, S. 1974. "The Caribbean Region." *Daedalus* 103 (2): 45-71.
- Mogstad, H. and L. Tse. 2018. "Decolonizing Anthropology: Reflections from Cambridge." *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 36 (2): 53-72.
- Moore, R. 1973. "Carib" Cannibalism": A study in anthropological stereotyping." *Caribbean Studies* 13 (3): 117-135.
- Moore-Gilbert, B. 2000. "Spivak and Bhabha." In *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, ed. by H. Schwarz and S. Ray, pp. 451-466. Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons.
- Morales, A. 1999. *Medicine Stories: History, culture, and politics of integrity*. Cambridge: South End Press.

- Morse, B. 1997. "The Salt River Site, St. Croix, at the Time of the Encounter." In *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. by S. Wilson, pp. 36-45. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Moshenska, G. and S. Dhanjal (eds.). 2011. *Community Archaeology: Themes, methods and practices*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Murphey, R. 2011. "Antigua and Barbuda." In *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*, ed. by P. Siegel and E. Richter, pp. 73-79. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Murray, T. 2011. "Archaeologists and Indigenous People: A maturing relationship?" *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40: 363-378.
- Mutare Fashu Kanu, J. 2021. "Decolonizing Healthcare: A Black Feminist Analysis of Sisters Informing Sisters on Topics of AIDS (SISTA)." Doctorial Dissertation: Portland State University. <https://doi.org/10.15760/etd.7498>.
- Myers, R. 1984. "Island Carib Cannibalism." *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 58 (3/4): 147-184.
- Napolitano, M., R. DiNapoli, J. Stone, M. Levin, N. Jew, B. Lane, J. O'Connor, and S. Fitzpatrick. 2019. "Reevaluating Human Colonization of the Caribbean using Chronometric Hygiene and Bayesian Modeling." *Science Advances* 5 (12): p.eaar7806.
- The National Assessment Team of Grenada. 2008. "County Poverty Assessment: Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique." <http://www.caribank.org/uploads/publications-reports/economics-statistics/country-poverty-assessment-reports/Grenada+CPA+-+TechnicalStatisticalAppendicesfinal.pdf>. Accessed 5/4/2015.
- The National Portal of Grenada, Carriacou & Petite Martinique. Ministry of Carriacou & Petite Martinique Affairs & Local Government. <https://gov.gd/mocpm/>. Accessed 8/25/2021.
- NDN Collective. N.d. "Manifesto." <https://landback.org/manifesto/>. Accessed 3/22/2021.
- Neeganagwedgin E. 2015. "Rooted in the Land: Taíno identity, oral history and stories of reclamation in contemporary contexts." *AlterNative* 11 (4): 376-388.
- News 784. "Breaking: Irene Clouden, age 104, of Carriacou, dies of COVID-19." 25, September 2021. Retrieved 11/13/21. <https://news784.com/2021/09/25/breaking-centurion-irene-clouden-age-104-of-carriacou-dies-of-covid-19/>.
- Nicholas, G.

2005. "The Persistence of Memory; the Politics of Desire: Archaeological impacts on Aboriginal peoples and their response." In *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing Theory and Practice*, ed. by C. Smith and H. Wobst, pp. 81-103. London: Routledge.
2006. "Decolonizing the Archaeological Landscape: The Practice and Politics of Archaeology in British Columbia." *The American Indian Quarterly* 30 (3 & 4): 350-380.
2008. "Native Peoples and Archaeology." In *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, ed. by D. Pearsall, pp. 1660-1669. Cambridge: Academic Press.
- 2010a. "Seeking the End of Indigenous Archaeology." In *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous communities and archaeology into the 21st century*, ed. by C. Phillips and H. Allen, pp. 233-252. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- 2010b (ed.). *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Nicholas, G., K. Bannister, M. Brown, Y. Hamilakis, S. Ouzman, and K. Vitelli. 2004. "Copyrighting the past? Emerging intellectual property rights issues in archaeology." *Current Anthropology* 45 (3): 327-350.
- Nicholas, G. and J. Hollowell. 2010. "Ethical Challenges to a Postcolonial Archaeology: The legacy of scientific colonialism." In *Archaeology and Capitalism*, ed. by Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, pp. 59-82. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Norander, S. 2017. "Critical Ethnography." In *The Sage Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*, ed. by M. Allen, pp. 296-297. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483381411>.
- Norwood, K. 2015. "If You Is White, You's Alright. . . ." Stories about colorism in America." *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* 14: 585, https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_globalstudies/vol14/iss4/8. Accessed 2/8/2021.
- NOW Grenada. 2020. "GNM statement: Human Remains at True Blue." NOW Grenada. 28 October 2020. https://www.nowgrenada.com/2020/10/gnm-statement-human-remains-at-true-blue/?fbclid=IwAR2r0-0_DcNgMnb1nGd4hH-jOIXtpl_StvSIB_JL4bRFbGuezk0BjYGdaY. Accessed 11/1/2020.
- NOW Grenada. "First Covid-19 Related Death in Carriacou." 19, September 2021. Retrieved 11/13/21. <https://www.nowgrenada.com/2021/09/first-covid-19-related-death-in-carriacou/>.

- Odewale, A., J. Dunnavant, A. Flewellen, and A. Jones. 2018. "Archaeology for the Next Generation." *Anthropology News* 59: e210-e215. <https://doi-org.libproxy.uoregon.edu/10.1111/AN.729>. Accessed 12/5/2022.
- Office of the Vice President for Research and Innovation. n.d. "Human Subjects Research." University of Oregon. <https://research.uoregon.edu/manage/research-integrity-compliance/human-subjects-research>. Accessed 10/21/2022.
- Oland, M. 2012. "Public and Postcolonial Practices in Latin American Archaeology: Engaging with non-descendant communities in northern Belize." *Chungara, Revista de Antropología Chilena* 44 (3): 467-474.
- Oland, M., S. Hart, and L. Frink (eds.). 2012. *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring prehistoric/colonial transitions in archaeology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Olwig, K.
1995. (ed.). *Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, culture, and resistance in the post-emancipation Caribbean*. London: Frank Cass.
- 1999a. "Caribbean Place Identity: From family land to region and beyond." *Identities* 5 (4): 435-467.
- 1999b. "The Burden of Heritage: Claiming a place for a West Indian culture." *American Ethnologist* 26 (2): 370-388.
- Owsley, D. and R. Jantz. 2001. "Archaeological Politics and Public Interest in Paleoamerican Studies: Lessons from Gordon Creek Woman and Kennewick Man." *American Antiquity* 66 (4): 565-575.
- Pagán-Jiménez, J. 2004. "Is All Archaeology at Present a Postcolonial One?" *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4 (2): 200-213.
- Paragg, R. 1980. "Canadian Aid in the Commonwealth Caribbean: Neo-Colonialism or Development?" *Canadian Public Policy/Analyse de Politique* 6 (4): 628-641.
- Pattullo, P. 1996. *Last Resorts: The cost of tourism in the Caribbean*. London: Cassel.
- Pels, P. 2008. "What has Anthropology Learned from the Anthropology of Colonialism?" *Social Anthropology* 16 (3): 280-299.
- Petitjean Roget, H. 2005. "Une Collection Archéologique des Petites Antilles entre au Musée Régional d'histoire et d'ethnographie de la Martinique." *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 55 (2): 37-46.

- Phillips, N. 2019. "Indigenous Groups look to Ancient DNA to Bring their Ancestors Home." *Nature* 16, April 2019. <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-019-01167-w>.
- Piscitelli, M. 2019. "Bones and Chromosomes: The ancient DNA revolution in archaeology (Part 1)." *SAA Archaeological Record* 19 (1): 15-17.
- Pollock, S. 2010. "Decolonizing Archaeology: Political economy and archaeological practice in the Middle East." In *Controlling the Past, Owning the Future*, ed. by R. Boytner, L. Swartz Dodd, and B. Parker, pp. 196-216. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Potter, P. 1994. *Public Archaeology in Annapolis: A critical approach to history in Maryland's ancient city*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Pratt, M.
1991. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession*: 33-40.
2007. *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*. London: Routledge.
- Preucel, R. 1995. "The Postprocessual Condition." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 3 (2): 147-175.
- Preucel, R. and C. Cipolla. 2008. "Indigenous and Postcolonial Archaeologies." In *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*, ed. by M. Liebmann and U. Rivzi, pp. 129-140. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Pyburn, K. 2007. "Archeology as Activism." In *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, ed. by H. Silverman and D. Ruggles, pp. 172-183. New York: Springer.
- Pyburn, K. and R. Wilk. 2000. "Responsible Archaeology is Applied Anthropology." In *Ethics in American Archaeology*, ed. by M. Lynott and A. Wylie, pp. 78-83. Washington DC: Society for American Archaeology.
- Rappaport, J. 2008. "Beyond Participant Observation: Collaborative ethnography as theoretical innovation." *Collaborative Anthropologies* 1 (1): 1-31.
- Razack, N. 2009. "Decolonizing the pedagogy and practice of international social work." *International Social Work* 52 (1): 9-21.
- Reeves, R. 2006. "Bioarchaeology at Grand Bay and Tyrell Bay, two contemporary Indigenous sites on Carriacou Island, Grenada, West Indies." Master's Thesis, University of Montana. <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/1675>.
- Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA)

- 2020a. "About the Register." <https://rpanet.org/about-the-register>. Accessed 6/24/2021.
- 2020b. "Codes and Standards." <https://rpanet.org/code-and-standards>. Accessed 6/16/2021.
- Reid, B. (ed.) 2012. *Caribbean Heritage*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
- Reidpath, D. and P. Allotey. 2019. "The Problem of 'trickle-down science' from the Global North to the Global South." *BMJ Global Health* 4 (4): p.e001719.
- Renfrew, C. 2000. *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership*. London: Duckworth.
- Renfrew, C. and P. Bahn. 2000. *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- Reynolds, K. 1999. "Discourse and Social Change." *Krotoba* 20: 18-34.
- Richardson, B. 1975. "The Overdevelopment of Carriacou." *Geographical Review* 65 (3): 390-399.
- Riggs, C. 2010. "Cultural Sensitivity, Science and Ethical Imperatives." In *Archaeology and Capitalism*, ed. by Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, pp. 83-97. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Roberts, D. 2011. *Fatal Invention: How science, politics, and big business re-create race in the twenty-first century*. New York: The New Press.
- Rose, N. and P. Miller. 1992. "Political power beyond the state: Problematics of government." *British Journal of Sociology* 43 (2): 173-205.
- Ross, A., W. Keegan, M. Pateman, and C. Young. 2020. "Faces Divulge the Origins of Caribbean Prehistoric Inhabitants." *Scientific Reports* 10 (147): 1-9.
- Rouse, I.
1948. "The Caribs." In *Handbook of South American Indians* (Vol. 4): *The Circum-Caribbean Tribes*, ed. by J. Steward, pp. 547-565. Washington DC: Smithsonian.
1964. "Prehistory of the West Indies." *Science* 144 (3618): 499-513.
1986. *Migrations in Prehistory: Inferring population movement from cultural remains*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1991. "Ancestries of the Taino: Amazonian or Circum-Caribbean." In *Proceedings of the 13 International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*, ed. by E. Ayubi and J.

- Haviser. *Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles* (8): 682-702.
1992. *The Tainos: The rise and decline of the people who greeted Columbus*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Safa, H. 1987. "Popular Culture, National Identity, and Race in the Caribbean." *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 61 (3-4): 115-126.
- Said, E. 2013. "Knowing the Oriental [1979]." In *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, ed. by P. Erickson and L. Murphy, pp. 392-404. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Saitta, D. 2010. "Ethics, Objectivity and Emancipatory Archaeology." In *Archaeology and Capitalism*, ed. by Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, pp. 267-280. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Sanicharan, R. 2021. "Afro-Caribbean and Indigenous Religions as subject in Caribbean Art." *Caribbean Quilt* 6 (1): 115-121.
- Santana, C. 2019. "We are Still Here: The first Taíno movement exhibition." Smithsonian Latino Center. October 15, 2019.
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/blogs/smithsonian-latino-center/2019/10/15/we-are-still-here-first-taino-movement-exhibition/>. Accessed 11/1/2019.
- Sarukkai, S. 1997. "The 'Other' in Anthropology and Philosophy." *Economic and Political Weekly* 32 (24): 1406-1409.
- Sauer, C. 1966. *The Early Spanish Main*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Saunders, N. 2005. *The Peoples of the Caribbean: An encyclopedia of archaeology and traditional culture*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Scarre, C. and G. Scarre (eds.) 2006. *The Ethics of Archaeology: Philosophical perspectives on archaeological practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schensul, S., J. Schensul, and M. LeCompte. 1999. *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, interviews, and questionnaires* (Vol. 2). Lanham: Rowman AltaMira Press.
- Scher, P. 2004. "[Leftovers / The Day of the Remains: Battle Over Bodies.](#)" *Cabinet Magazine* 15: N.p.
- Schmidt, R. 2011. "American Indian identity and Blood Quantum in the 21st century: A critical review." *Journal of Anthropology* 2011:1-9.

- Schmidt, P. and T. Patterson. 1995. *Making Alternative Histories: The practice of archaeology and history in non-western settings*. Santa Fe: SAR Press.
- Scudder, K.
2007. "The Role of Archaeologists in the Caribbean: Ethics and Responsibilities." In *Proceedings of the 21st Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* (IACA, 2007), pp. 113-116.
2009. "Archaeological Landscapes and Cultural Heritage Management in Marginalized Communities in the British West Indies." *Practicing Anthropology* 31 (3): 40-44.
- Scudder-Temple, K. 2009. "An Absence of Presence: The Voices of Marginalized Communities in the Development and Implementation of Cultural Resource Management Initiatives in the British West Indies: A Case Study". Doctoral Dissertation, University of S. Florida.
<https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/3678>
- Seder, S. "Gov. Cuomo Resigns + From Bordertown Violence to Native Liberation with Nick Estes." *The Majority Report*. Episode #2649, 8/10/21.
- Shackel, P. and E. Chambers. 2004. *Places in Mind: Public archaeology as applied anthropology*. New York: Routledge.
- Shanks, M. and C. Tilley. 1987. *Reconstructing Archaeology: Theory and practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Sharpe, J. 1993. "'The Original Paradise:' Grenada ten years after the US invasion." *Transition* 2: 48-57.
- Sheller, M. 2004. "Demobilizing and Remobilizing Caribbean Paradise. In *Tourism Mobilities: Places to play, places in play*, ed. by M. Sheller and J. Urry, pp. 13-21. London: Routledge.
- Shennan, S.
- 2003a. (ed.). *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Routledge.
- 2003b. "Introduction." In *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, ed. by S. Shennan, pp. 1-30. London: Routledge.
- Shepherd, N. 2010. "What Does It Mean 'To give the past back to the people'?" *Archaeology and ethics in the postcolony*. In *Archaeology and Capitalism*, ed. by Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, pp. 99-114. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.

- Siegel, P. and E. Richter (eds.). 2011. *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Sillitoe, P. (ed.) 2016. *Indigenous Studies and Engaged Anthropology: The collaborative moment*. New York: Routledge.
- Silliman, S.
2008. (ed.). *Collaborating at the Trowel's Edge: Teaching and learning in Indigenous archaeology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
2020. "Colonialism in Historical Archaeology." In *The Routledge Handbook of Global Historical Archaeology*, ed. by C. Orser Jr., A. Zarankin, P. Funari, S. Lawrence, and J. Symonds, pp. 41-60. New York: Routledge.
- Simpson, F. 2008. "Community archaeology under scrutiny." *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 10 (1): 3-16.
- Singleton, T. and C. Orser. 2003. "Descendant Communities: Linking people in the present to the past." In *Ethical Issues in Archaeology*, ed. by L. Zimmerman, K. Vitelli, and J. Hollowell-Zimmer, pp. 143-152. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Skeates, R. 2000. *Debating the Archaeological Heritage*. London: Duckworth.
- Skeates, R., C. McDavid, and J. Carman.
- 2012a. (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 2012b. "Introduction." In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, ed. by R. Skeates, C. McDavid, J. Carman, pp. 1-10. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Slocum, K. 2001. "Negotiating Identity and Black Feminist Politics in Caribbean Research." In *Black Feminist Anthropology*, ed. by I. McClaurin, pp. 126-149. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Smith, C. and H. Burke. 2010. "In the Spirit of the Code." *Indigenous Archaeologies: A reader on decolonization*, ed. by M. Bruchac, S. Hart, and H. Wobst, pp. 105-108. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Smith, C. and H. Wobst
- 2005a. (eds.). *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing theory and practice*. London: Routledge.

- 2005b. "Decolonizing Archaeological Theory and Practice." In *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing theory and practice*, ed. by C. Smith and H. Wobst, pp. 5-16. London: Routledge.
- Smith, C., G. Nicholas, and K. Bannister. 2004. "On Intellectual Property Rights and Archaeology: Discussion and reply." *Current Anthropology* 45 (4): 527-529.
- Smith, G., P. Messenger, and H. Soderland (eds.). 2017. *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, L.
1994. "Heritage Management as Postprocessual Archaeology?" *Antiquity* 68 (259): 300-309.
1995. "What is this Thing Called Postprocessual Archaeology... and is it Relevant for Australian Archaeology?" *Australian Archaeology* 40: 28-32.
2000. "Doing Archaeology": Cultural heritage management and its role in identifying the link between archaeological practice and theory. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6 (4): 309-316.
2004. *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. London: Routledge.
2006. *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.
2010. "Ethics or Social Justice? Heritage and the Politics of Recognition." *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2: 60-68.
- 2012a. "Discourses of Heritage: Implications for archaeological community practice." *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos [online]*. Mondes Américains. <http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/64148>.
- 2012b. "Editorial: A critical heritage studies?" *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18 (6): 533-540.
- Smith, L. and E. Waterton
2012. "Constrained by Commonsense: The authorized heritage discourse in contemporary debates." In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, ed. by R. Skeates, C. McDavid, and J. Carman, pp. 153-171. New York: Oxford University Press.
2009. *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*. London: Duckworth.
- Smith, M.

1956. "The Transformation of Land Rights by Transmission in Carriacou." *Social and Economic Studies* 5 (2): 103-138.
1961. "Kinship and household in Carriacou." *Social and Economic Studies* 10 (4): 455-477.
1971. "A Note on Truth, Fact and Tradition in Carriacou." *Caribbean Quarterly* 17 (3-4): 128-138.

Society for American Archaeology (SAA)

N.d. "Ethics in Professional Archaeology." Society for American Archaeology, Career and Practice. <https://www.saa.org/career-practice/ethics-in-professional-archaeology>. Accessed 4/29/2021.

2021. "SAA Statement Concerning the Treatment of Human Remains (2021)." [https://www.saa.org/quick-nav/saa-media-room/news-article/2021/04/29/draft-statement-concerning-the-treatment-of-human-remains-\(2021\)](https://www.saa.org/quick-nav/saa-media-room/news-article/2021/04/29/draft-statement-concerning-the-treatment-of-human-remains-(2021)). Accessed 6/16/2021.

Society of Black Archaeologists (SBA). 2020. "Reclaiming the Ancestors: Indigenous and Black perspectives on repatriation, human rights, and justice." September 2, 2020. <https://vimeo.com/449844367>. Accessed 5/20/2021.

Speed, S. 2019. *Incarcerated Stories: Indigenous women migrants and violence in the settler-capitalist state*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books.

Spector, J. 2000. "Collaboration at *Inyan Ceyaka Atonwan*." In *Working Together: Native Americans and archaeologists*, ed. K. Dongoske, M. Aldenderfer, and K. Doehner, pp. 133-138. Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology.

Spivak, G. 1991. "Neocolonialism and the Secret Agent of Knowledge." *Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1): 220-251.

Srinivasan, K. 2005. *The Rise, Decline and Future of the British Commonwealth*. New York: Springer.

Stottman, M.

2010a. (ed.). *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

2010b. "Introduction: Archaeologists as Activists." In *Archaeologists as Activists: Can archaeologists change the world?*, ed. by M. Stottman, pp. 1-16. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

- Straker, L. 2020. "Human Remains Discovered on Beach Do Not Belong to 1983 Victims." NOW Grenada. 27 Oct 2020.
https://www.nowgrenada.com/2020/10/human-remains-discovered-on-beach-do-not-belong-to-1983-victims/?fbclid=IwAR1CzVTOM7aqYOzzJJuuCS0o3R00_h8nX30iwKCkLsmCJqMIJEw6-pOLW5c. Accessed 11/1/2020.
- Sued-Badillo, J.
1992. "Facing up to Caribbean History." *American Antiquity* 57 (4): 599-607.
1994. Review of *The Tainos: Rise and decline of the people who greeted Columbus*. *American Historical Review* 99 (1): 332-333.
1995. "The Theme of the Indigenous in the National Projects of the Hispanic Caribbean." In *Making Alternative Histories*, ed. by P. Schmidt and T. Patterson, pp. 25-46. Santa Fe: SAR Press.
- Supernant, K., J. Baxter, N. Lyons, and S. Atalay (eds.). 2020. *Archaeologies of the Heart*. New York: Springer.
- Sutty, L.
1990. A Listing of Indigenous Settlements on the Island of Carriacou in the Southern Grenadines and a Report on the Most Important of These: Grand Bay. In *Proceedings of the XI Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* (IACA, 1985), pp. 242–259. <https://dloc.com/AA00061961/00344>.
- 1991a. "Paleoecological formations in the Grenadines of Grenada and their relationship to Preceramic and Ceramic settlements: Carriacou." In *Proceedings of the XIII Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* (IACA, 1989), pp. 127–147. <https://dloc.com/AA00061961/00406>.
- 1991b. "A Preliminary Inventory and Short Essay on Ceramic and Stone Artifacts from Recent Excavations on Grenada and in the Southern Grenadines." In *Proceedings of the XII Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* (IACA, 1987), pp. 73–86. <https://dloc.com/AA00061961/00378>.
- Swidler, N., K. Dongoske, R. Anyon, and A. Downer (eds.). 1997. *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping stones to common ground*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Taylor, C. 2012. *The Black Carib Wars: Freedom, survival and the making of the Garifuna*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

- Thambinathan V. and E. Kinsella. 2021. "Decolonizing Methodologies in Qualitative Research: Creating spaces for transformative praxis." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 20: 1-9.
- Thomas, D. 2001. *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, archaeology, and the battle for Native American identity*. New York: Basic Books.
- Thompson, K. 2007. *An Eye for the Tropics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. New York: Zed Books Ltd.
- Trigger, B.
1984. "Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, colonialist, imperialist." *Man* 19 (3): 355-370.
2006. *A History of Archaeological Thought* (2nd edition). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Trouillot, M.
1992. "The Caribbean Region: An open frontier in anthropological theory." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1): 19-42.
1995. *Silencing the Past: Power and the production of history*. Boston: Beacon Press.
2003. *Global Transformations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tuck, E. and K. Yang. 2012. "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1: 1-40.
- Tully, G. 2007. "Community Archaeology: General methods and standards of practice." *Public archaeology* 6 (3): 155-187.
- United Confederation of Taino People (UCTP) Taino News. "Carib and Taino Nations Sign Historic Treaty." October 18, 2007. <http://uctp.blogspot.com/2007/10/carib-and-taino-nations-sign-historic.html>. Accessed 4/23/2019.
- Villazor, R. 2008. "Blood Quantum Land Laws and the Race versus Political Identity Dilemma." *California Law Review* 96 (3): 801-837.
- Vitelli, K., C. Colwell-Chanthaphonh, and J. Colwell (eds.) 2006. *Archaeological Ethics*. Walnut Creek: Rowman AltaMira Press.

- Walker, A. 1983. *In Search of Our Mothers' Garden*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Watkins, J.
2000. *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
2003. "Beyond the Margin: American Indians, first nations, and archaeology in North America." *American Antiquity* 68 (2): 273-285.
2004. "Becoming American or Becoming Indian? NAGPRA, Kennewick and Cultural Affiliation." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4 (1): 60-80.
2008. "Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging descendant communities." *Collaborative Anthropologies* 1 (1): 187-191.
- Watters, D. 1997. "Maritime Trade in the Prehistoric Eastern Caribbean." In *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. by S. Wilson, pp. 88-99. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Weber-Pillwax, C. 2004. "Indigenous Researchers and Indigenous Research Methods: Cultural influences or cultural determinants of research methods." *Pimatisiwin* 2 (1): 77-90.
- Whitehead, N.
1984. "Carib Cannibalism. The historical evidence." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 70: 69-87.
- 1995a. (ed.). *Wolves from the Sea: Readings in the Anthropology of the Native Caribbean* (Vol. 14). Leiden: KITLV Press.
- 1995b. "Introduction: The Island Carib as Anthropological Icon." In *Wolves from the Sea: Readings in the Anthropology of the Native Caribbean* (Vol. 14), ed. by N Whitehead, pp. 11-22. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Whyte, B. 2016. "Resilient and determined to Survive Against all Odds: A Brief History of the Carriacou Historical Society." *Carriacou Historical Society & Museum Anniversary Magazine: 40 years*: pp. 13-15.
- Wilkie, L. and K. Bartoy. 2000. "A Critical Archaeology Revisited." *Current Anthropology* 41 (5): 747-777.
- Williams, E. 1971. *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969*. New York: Harper & Row.

Wilson, S. 2008. *Research is Ceremony*. Winnipeg: Fernwood.

Wilson, S.

1993. "The Cultural Mosaic of the Indigenous Caribbean." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 81: 37-66.

1994. "The Cultural Mosaic of the Indigenous Caribbean in Europe and America." *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Europe and the Americas 1492-1650*, ed. by W. Bray, pp. 37-66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1997a. *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

1997b. "Introduction to the Study of Indigenous People of the Caribbean." In *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. by S. Wilson, pp. 1-8. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

1997c. "The Legacy of the Indigenous People of the Caribbean." In *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. by S. Wilson, pp. 206-213. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Wintle, C.

2013. "Decolonising [sic] the Museum: The case of the Imperial and Commonwealth Institutes." *Museum and Society* 11 (2): 185-201.

2016. "Decolonizing the Smithsonian: Museums as microcosms of political encounter." *The American Historical Review* 121 (5): 1492-1520.

Wylie, A.

1992. "The Interplay of Evidential Constraints and Political Interests: Recent archaeological research on gender." *American Antiquity* 57 (1): 15-35.

1996. Ethical Dilemmas in Archaeological Practice: Looting, repatriation, stewardship, and the (trans) formation of disciplinary identity. *Perspectives on Science* 4 (2): 154-194.

2020. "The Promise and Perils of an Ethic of Stewardship." In *Embedding Ethics*, ed. by L. Meskell and P. Pels, pp. 47-68. London: Berg Press.

Zimmer, C. "Ancient DNA Shows Humans Settled Caribbean in 2 Distinct Waves. The New York Times. Dec. 23, 2020.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/23/science/dna-caribbean-islands.html?searchResultPosition=1>.

Zimmerman, L.

1997. "Remythologizing the Relationship Between Indians and Archaeologists." In *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*, edited by N. Swidler, K. E. Dongoske, R. Anyon, and A. Downer, pp. 55-56. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- 1998a. "Toward an Ethnocritical Archaeology of Indian-White Relationships on the Plains." In *Explorations in American Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Wesley R. Hunt, Plew*, ed. by G. Mark, pp. 311-320. Lanham: University Press of America.
- 1998b. "When Data Become People: Archaeological ethics, reburial, and the past as public heritage." *IJCP* 7: 69-86.
2008. "Real People or Reconstructed People? Ethnocritical archaeology, ethnography, and community building." In *Ethnographic Archaeologies: Reflections on Stakeholders and Archaeological Practice*, ed. by Q. Castañeda and C. Matthews, pp. 183-204. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
2010. "Remythologizing the Relationship between Indians and Archaeologists." In *Indigenous Archaeologies: A Reader on Decolonization*, ed. by M. Bruchac, S. Hart, and H. Wobst, pp. 69-75. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Zimmerman, L., K. Vitelli, and J. Hollowell (eds.). 2003. *Ethical Issues in Archaeology*. Walnut Creek: Rowman AltaMira Press.
- Zorich, Z. 2015. "Analysis Establishes Kennewick Man's Ancestry." *Discover Magazine*, Nov 29, 2015. <https://www.discovermagazine.com/planet-earth/analysis-establishes-kennewick-mans-ancestry>.