Narratives of nation branding: Intellectual property governance and identity politics in Jamaica

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Summary
The structure of this thesis is fourfold, yet intrinsically intertwined. Firstly, it identifies and examines in detail Jamaica’s strong and highly identifiable worldwide image and symbolic narrative. On the one hand, Jamaica is the home of Bob Marley, reggae and Rastafarianism, as well as being a tropical sultry island-dream boasting sun, sand and sea. On the other hand, Jamaica is also associated with violent crime and virulent homophobia. Based on the romanticized and imaginary notion that Jamaicans are dreadlocked and laze on the beach under a coconut tree smoking ganja while listening to reggae music, the symbols and cultural expressions that have emerged from and are indigenous to Jamaica are readily identified and analyzed within the discourse of the mythical construction of images. This discussion suggestively argues that the somewhat dichotomous and stereotyped cultural representations of Jamaica may in fact be an external, discursive reading of prominent internal Jamaican cultural cues in a manner detached from its original signifiers.

Secondly, based on the narrative placement of Jamaica, the thesis looks at possible nation branding strategies for Jamaica. Simultaneously, specific cases of nation brand strategies are scrutinized. Looking at Jamaica’s strong name, yet apparent inability to transform this into real revenue, the discussion suggestively argues that Jamaica may be lacking a centrally administered or holistically implemented nation brand strategy, and that such an approach may put Jamaica in a more progressive mode in the realm of nation branding. It becomes apparent – through examples being proffered – that Jamaica could greatly improve its strategic position vis à vis a more structurally governing of its cultural products and intangible resources. However, certain nation branding policies have recently been implemented, and the Brand Jamaica strategy geared at attracting businesses to Jamaica, is just now assuming an early form of success.

Thirdly, grounded in the analysis that Jamaica has been reluctant to see the potential economic value of its own cultural symbols, possible approximations to proactive intellectual property (IP) governance are discussed. It becomes apparent that Jamaican stakeholders can better ensure that Jamaican cultural and symbolic expressions are appropriated and projected in a manner that serves Jamaican interests and the Jamaican people as a whole. This discussion scrutinizes the economic and judicial viability of a more structured approach to IP
governance, primarily suggesting that it may be the attitudes towards Jamaica’s benefit of IP that represent the biggest challenge.

Fourthly and finally, this thesis scrutinizes the consternating proclivity of Jamaican symbols and cultural expressions being misappropriated and may have their meanings diluted, devalued or be associated with unwarranted (and unsolicited) connotations. This argument seeks to suggest that Jamaican interests can indeed be secured through adequate intellectual property rights’ protection and that this might be achievable for Jamaican stakeholders so as not only to reclaim moral but also economic and judicial ownership of their own symbols and culture. The discussion suggests and argues that this may be a consequence of the unlucky combination of external stakeholders’ economic interest in Jamaican symbols, combined with Jamaica’s propensity to undervalue its own symbolic capital. Jamaica may, however, be able to reclaim ownership of its own symbols and narrative through proactive deployment of identity politics. This must be cleverly done so that the nation itself is able to yield economic return on its symbols and narratives; and that when the symbols are externally appropriated this does not corrupt the symbols, drain the symbols for meaning and prevent Jamaica from creating revenue. Furthermore, it is decisive to understand the potential consequences for the national identity when Jamaican symbolisms are externally appropriated, and how this may impact on the Jamaican narrative construction and have a detrimental impact on the Jamaican national identity formation.
The main thread is that Jamaica has so much potential with regards to its culture, but we have not realised it yet and are still far away from learning to harness that cultural capital. If any money should be made from our culture we should be the ones to package, sell and benefit from it. (…) And yet it’s this kind of limbo space to occupy; there’s this potential and some of us know the potential, but we’re unable to move this actual potential to any bigger meaningful value – equity. It’s a kind of liminality – caught between a rock and a hard place. It’s sad because everyone else is benefiting from it – whether it’s the record distribution companies, the film companies, clothes producers, shoe producers, whatever it is – people around the world cashing in on Jamaican culture by reproducing and selling Jamaican related products, using reggae or Rastafari images. They benefit and Jamaica doesn’t benefit in any way. Because as a nation we haven’t come to accept the very indigenous products and the value of those indigenous products we’ve created. It’s important that we understand branding. I think, as a nation, we’ve come to terms with that very late. *When will we wake up and smell the coffee?*

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Preface

Countries are often associated with specific landmarks, people or cultural attributes. These associations are generally moulded from stereotypes and a limited pool of knowledge, portraying a simplistic and appealing notion of a country. This is aptly exemplified in the case of Panama which is stereotypically linked with The Panama Canal and Panama hats\(^1\). Likewise, Brazil is associated with football, samba and Rio de Janeiro’s world famous carnival. China is synonymous with The Great Wall, Mao Zedong, Chinese food and most recently unfavourable press concerning the Tibetan human rights situation. Senegal is associated with Youssou N'Dour and the Dakar Rally. And Cuba is inexorably associated with Fidel Castro, the Cuban revolution, sex tourism, salsa and cigars.

And then there is Jamaica. Jamaica seems to conjure up a plethora of images and ideas: Bob Marley, reggae, Rastafarianism, ganja\(^2\), dreadlocks, the image of the paradise island in the sun, rum, pirates, the rent-a-dread phenomenon\(^3\), Blue Mountain coffee, irie vibes\(^4\) and world class athletics – to name a few. These are all true associations, but are to a greater or lesser extent de-contextualized from their original meaning and often assume a life of their own. Already before initiating the research – given Jamaica’s well-defined profile as a foundational premise – it was striking how Jamaica holds up such a disproportionately strong position in the global realm of symbolic and cultural narrative construction. Or put bluntly, it was intriguing why Jamaica has become so famous, what is embodied in this fame, how this has impacted the nation and how the fame can be exploited for Jamaican affluence.

These complex questions have no simple answers. However, these intertwined questions are fundamental for this thesis, and in many ways supply the framework for this investigative approach to Jamaica – in what way has Jamaica’s image and its symbols been narrated, how has Jamaica been branded, how can symbolic capital be stolen/corrupted and how can Jamaica better benefit from the concepts of intellectual property to regain moral and economic ownership of its own symbols? These questions encompass a wide ranging field of interest with far-reaching relevance and implications, and do not solely apply to Jamaica. In a world

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\(^1\) Which startlingly originate from Ecuador, but were popularized during the building of the Canal.
\(^2\) Marijuana, also known as sensimilla.
\(^3\) Beach boy gigolo; male provider of sexual services.
\(^4\) A nice feeling; positive emotions and peaceful vibrations.
where protection of intellectual property is assuming increasing importance, this research seeks to illustrate how people and nations can protect ownership of their own symbols, culture, identity, and heritage. Jamaica happens to be a model case in this respect, although the implications of these issues under scrutiny may pertain to other nations in a similar predicament, and may have far reaching relevance to other areas concerning moral rights to symbols and ownership of one’s own identity.

This research discusses questions of normative character. In attempting to understand the mechanisms under scrutiny, suggestive advances to the specific challenges that face Jamaica in the relevant context will be provided. The challenge of such an approach is that as the complexity of the issues discussed in this thesis clearly cannot be fully (re-)solved based on the research and humble suggestions made in this thesis alone. However, it is the sincere wish that this thesis can be one of several critical contributions to the Jamaican – and greater international – debate that pertains to the issues discussed in this thesis.

This thesis has deliberately been structured and written in such a manner that it has a potential appeal to what may be termed an academic general public. This has been done in order to ensure greater probability that the thesis’ promise will reach significant stakeholders involved in this relevant discussion and hence exercise its aim to add depth to this ongoing discourse. However, it is important to emphasize that this approach has been done without compromise regarding both theoretical approximations or linguistic simplification.

Jamaica is small in a global context, but has in many respects seductively claimed a disproportionately prominent position in the world arena, symbolically and culturally speaking. The title *Wi Likkle but Wi Tallawah* is a Jamaican proverb in Patois meaning *we are small, but we are powerful*. The title is a reference to Jamaica’s relatively small geographical size, while still epitomizing the strength and assertive pride that can be found in the Jamaican people and in the nation. Therefore, this title is meant as an ode to a nation which is still waiting for its due place. This thesis can be conceptualized as the writer’s contribution to the initiatives to empower Jamaica in realizing and appreciating its self-worth and deservedly prosper from the great value embedded in the Jamaican brand name and culture.
All seven chapters are annotated with the titles of Jamaican songs. This is done to phrase the issues in discussion with Jamaica’s own words. Paradoxically, however, given the nature and approach of this research, this taps into a circular reference logic pointing back to the original referent. While this methodology proves effective in illustrating the chapters’ discursive target, it simultaneously plays into the idiosyncratic narratives of Jamaica in a manner which will be the subsequent subject of scrutiny.

Taking into consideration the affinity and fascination for Jamaica and all things Jamaican, this thesis could easily have been considerably more extensive. However, due to word limitation, there are of necessity many topics and aspects that can only be dealt with perfunctorily and in a manner that is pertinently conducive to the specific issues under scrutiny. There has also been a disciplined focus in the largest degree possible preventing that the affinity for Jamaica constitutes an undue bias. Having lived in Jamaica for one year altogether, travelled the island extensively, interacted with Jamaicans from all socio-economic strata and formed personal bonds, it is difficult to be completely unbiased. Taking this into consideration, however, attempts will be made to minimize these biases, and to give an account of Jamaica that is as accurate, and as harmonious with the perception of how Jamaicans feel about their own nation. Conducting the fieldwork, researching and writing this thesis has been both a learning and a growing experience, and has been justifiably satisfying. It is the sincere wish that the reader will appreciate reading this thesis just as the author enjoyed writing it.
1. Welcome to Jamrock\textsuperscript{5}: The starting point

The premises
In today’s world, individuals are bombarded with a plethora of signs, symbols and visual stimuli. Signs are representations of stories and discourses which communicates a message to the reader (Berkaak & Frønes 2005). The use of signs and symbols ranges from promoting products and selling them, to making customers deploy services and also to entice people to visit or buy products or services from certain countries. In the jungle of symbols it is striking how Jamaica has been branded \textit{explicitly} and \textit{implicitly} through various mechanisms, and today enjoys some from of \textit{larger-than-life} status. Ostensibly, almost everyone seems to know something about Jamaica; the exotic sounding name, the home country of Bob Marley, Rastafarianism, dreadlocks, \textit{ganja} (marijuana) and reggae. These are all \textit{true} impressions, but more often than not, represented in an incomplete, de-contextualized and stereotyped manner. The result of this is the image of a mythical and intriguing island in the sun with a disproportionately large name.

Jamaica is full of human and natural resources, but like many other countries considered periphery/semi-periphery (depending on the parameters in question) (UNDP/PIOJ 2005), it has been drained of natural and economic resources in both the colonial and post-colonial eras (Ashcroft et. al 1995, Prakash 1994, Sherlock & Bennett 1998). Based on the three research questions and the delineated structure\textsuperscript{6}, the overarching questions to be answered in this thesis are: How can symbols be stolen, and how can this misappropriation affect the symbols’ meaning? Furthermore, it will be essential to look at how this deprives Jamaica of potential revenue and how Jamaica can better position itself to improve economic gains and otherwise benefit from its strong name.

The current situation where these symbols are being misused and misappropriated has at least two significant consequences; firstly, the symbols’ original meaning may be altered and/or diluted; and secondly, the symbols are often sold by external stakeholders, which entails that Jamaica is partially limited and prevented from selling the symbols themselves. Hence, it is

\textsuperscript{5} Damian Marley. Welcome to Jamrock. 2005.
imperative for Jamaica to thwart this scenario, so that the nation and its stakeholders are empowered to manage their own symbolic portfolio. Of the issues previously raised but not yet dealt with, this last issue will prove to be one of the most difficult, yet important to address. The above mentioned issues will be kept in abeyance for the time being, as there are more fundamental issues that must be dealt with first to lay a solid foundation on which these overarching issues can be discussed with the necessary gravity.

Introduction
Jamaica is a Caribbean island nation in the Greater Antilles, originally settled by indigenous Arawakan-speaking Taíno Indians between 4000 and 1000 B.C., who named the island Xaymaca, meaning the The Land of Wood and Water. In 1494 Christopher Columbus discovered and claimed the island for the Spanish, and in 1655, the British seized Jamaica. Today, the 10.991 km² former British West Indian Colony with a population of approximately 2.8 million people is the third most populous Anglophone country in the Americas, after the United States and Canada. Jamaica gained its independence on 6 August 1962, and has a two-party system, with power alternating between the social democratic People's National Party (PNP) and the now ruling conservative Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Jamaica is a full and participating member of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), as well as proactive member in Caribbean Single Market Economy (CSME) and has a service-dependent economy. This sector accounts for more than 60% of the GDP. The nation derives most of its foreign exchange from (in descending order of importance) tourism, remittances, and bauxite/alumina exportation. Jamaica is also a full member of The Commonwealth of Nations.

Set aside from all the factual markers of the nation – for some reason that is hard to pin-point exactly – the name Jamaica seems to strikes a cord with many people. Jamaica as a semantic concept appears to be enchanting. It represents something magical, mythical and mysterious. Jamaica titillates the mind, tickles the senses and uplifts the spirit. This relatively small island nation in the Caribbean Sea evokes so many emotions. More often than not, Jamaica is

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6 These research questions and the outlined structure will be introduced shortly.
conceived in a stereotypical, romanticized way as a place of fun and frolic. This imagined authenticity\(^9\) is transmitted or replicated into an image often conceived in the form of a tropical island paradise where the locals hang around on the beach all day, smoking ganja under a coconut tree, dancing limbo, listening to reggae and enjoying life. This impression of Jamaica is not completely untrue; the problem is that it is an incomplete representation.

On this backdrop, inquisitive questions emerged: From where did the exoticized and vibrantly positive image of Jamaica emerge? Why does it seem to prevail? Why has Jamaica attained an image so relatively disproportionate to its size? And what is the relationship between myth and reality in the narrative construction of Jamaica? These are the initial questions that triggered the imagination that led to the conceptualization of the subsequent body of research.

**Research questions and structure**

The following research questions and structure outline will delineate which specific questions will be dealt with in this thesis, and furthermore guide the dynamic of the argumental structure. These research questions will of course spark further sub-questions, which will be introduced and dealt with progressively. The three main research questions are:

- How is the cultural and symbolic narrative of Jamaica constructed, and how has this narrative contributed to creating a particular image of Jamaica?
- How has Jamaica been branded, and how can the principles of nation branding be applied to Jamaica in a manner that ensures the nation exercises greater influence over how it is perceived and what it achieves?
- How can Jamaican stakeholders benefit from intellectual property governance, how can symbolic capital be misappropriated and/or corrupted, how can this affect Jamaican national identity, and how can Jamaica better take advantage of the promises of intellectual property and identity politics to warrant greater moral and economic ownership over its own culture and symbolic capital?

\(^9\) Gladstone (2005). Refers to a hyper-reality based on the signification process of symbols or experiences.
Furthermore, it may be clarifying to outline the thesis’ structure. The thesis will be administrated progressively in the following manner:

- Firstly, the theoretical foundation and the methodical approximation to the research will be dealt with. Then, Jamaica will be given a cultural and symbolic introduction. The purpose of doing this is to place Jamaica constructively within cultural and symbolic narratives, as well as to unearth how its symbolic capital is engendered. This will constitute a basis on which the thesis’ further discussions can be conducted.
- Secondly, nation branding approaches and initiatives that may be appropriate to Jamaica will be discussed. Based on the scrutinizing of these promises for Jamaica, and looking at the commercial success of the Puma Jamaica line, specific present day and prospective nation branding strategies will discussed.
- Thirdly, a discussion will be conducted on the pertinence of intellectual property governance policies in the Jamaican case, in order to examine whether – and if so, how – these principles can be applied in a manner that is conducive to the long term strategic interests of Jamaica regarding nation branding and image management.
- Fourthly, and conclusively, the previous arguments will culminate in a final discussion of how Jamaican symbols can be subject to misappropriation, as well as how these symbols – when used unwarranted – may have their meaning watered down and/or corrupted. This discussion will be conducted in the context of how symbolic ownership can be understood within the sociological paradigm, as well as how cultural narratives and ownership of symbolic capital can be understood in the context of intellectual property governance and identity politics.

To be able to offer decisive and suggestive answers to these questions, the outlined structure will pose as the structural foundation whereupon the research questions will be discussed. While the chapters on the cultural and symbolic narratives will deal with mechanisms presently in effect, it is momentous to emphasize that the chapters on the nation branding of Jamaica, intellectual property governance and identity politics will amass their dynamism from charting possible future promises for Jamaica.
Related research
This specific body of research and the angle of approach to the issues raised in this thesis, are – to the best of my knowledge – un-chartered territory, academically speaking. However, a large body of research on issues concerning Jamaica, symbolic value, symbolic capital, narratives, identity, marketing, nation branding, intellectual property, and identity politics has been conducted. In other words, there are large quantities of related and bordering research readily available. The challenge of this thesis will therefore be to weave these bodies of knowledge together with this specific research, and apply these perspectives in a manner pertaining to the specifically delineated challenges facing Jamaica.

Sociological justification and societal relevance of thesis
The issues and questions dealt with in this thesis are not solely specific to Jamaica. In a post-modern world where protection of intellectual property and identity politics is assuming increasing importance, this piece of research will seek to illuminate how individuals and groups of people can protect ownership of their own symbols, culture, heritage and identity. The implications of these issues under scrutiny may have far reaching relevance to other areas concerning moral rights to cultural and symbolic expressions, and ownership of one’s own identity, and essentially oneself. Jamaica happens to be a strikingly illustrative case in this respect.

The sociological and societal relevance and impact of this research leans on phenomena and mechanisms discussed within the paradigms of Sociology and Cultural Studies, as well as nation branding and intellectual property governance. These issues include symbolic capital, cultural globalization, identity transition from colonial to post-colonial societies, cultural self-determination, to name a few (Ashcroft et. al. 1995; Bourdieu 2006; Barker 2003; Klein 2002; Prakash 1994; Ries & Ries 2002; Sherlock & Bennett 1998). In the light of ongoing debates about market-liberalization and neo-imperialism and the increasing impact of globalization, it may be particularly interesting to look at how boundarylessness and exploitative commercialization may lead to corruption of brand names, in this case a nation-state (Klein 2002).
To draw a comparison and put things into a pragmatic perspective; Brazil finds itself in a somewhat similar situation as Jamaica. Its flag and its colours are depicted on everything from flip flops and towels to underwear, bags and football shirts. Based on the visible prevalence of such products in (Western) popular culture and street fashion, it is apparent that these products are well received by the market. Without delving too deeply into the Brazilian case, it might be fair to say that this marketable concept of Brazil often leans on the popular perceptions about that nation – the Carnival in Rio de Janeiro, Samba, acrobatic football and the beautiful girls on the Copacabana beach. Norway also finds itself in a similar situation regarding “unauthorized” usage of its flag; however, of a slightly more complicated and political nature. The German clothing line Thor Steinar uses the Norwegian flag, place names like Hammerfest, Tønsberg and Narvik written in rune/futhark-like letters\(^{10}\) (the old Norse symbols) and implicitly leans them on the backdrop of the national romantic perceptions of Norway; blonde, blue eyed (incorrectly referred to as *Aryan*) people, deep fjords, high mountains and Vikings. The gravity of the Thor Steinar case is constituted by the fact that the brand is marketed towards right-wing extremists and neo-Nazis in Germany and Eastern Europe. Obviously, Norwegian authorities are not interested in Norway being associated with such groups, and have discussed this delicate issue with high ranking German Government officials\(^{11}\). Unfortunately, there is a lack of adequate legal means to stop the production, distribution or promotion of these clothes, as the intellectual property (IP) rights do not allow a nation to trademark its flag or name\(^{12}\). This means Thor Steinar can continue to misappropriate the Norwegian flag – with the detrimental effect of corrupting the flag’s embedded symbolism.

The Brazilian and the Norwegian cases – although possibly more farfetched in nature – somehow encapsulate the core essence of this specific research on Jamaica; a nation’s right to protect its own name, its flag and its cultural symbols from misuse and misrepresentation.

http://www.dagbladet.no/tekstarkiv/artikkel.php?id=5001050076809&tag=item&words=thor%3Bsteinar%3Bthor+steinar

\(^{11}\) Aftenposten 3 December 2006. Norge krever stans av "høyreextreme" klær. NTB.
http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/article1555109.ece

\(^{12}\) This specific issue will be discussed in brevity in the subsequent discussion on intellectual property rights, more specifically Article 6ter of the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, pertaining to the Protection of State Emblems, and Names, Abbreviations and Emblems of International Intergovernmental Organizations. Pertaining specifically to this case, as of 15 February 2008, the case is pending in the German courts. Der Tagesspiegel. Politik. 15 February 2008. Norwegen klagt gegen Thor Steinar. Johannes Radke.
http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/div/art771,2476984
Jamaica finds itself in a precarious situation, and the best way to prevent the continuation of this and other similar cases of what may tentatively be termed *symbolic exploitation*, is to provide a fundamental understanding of the mechanisms involved. If Jamaica, as well as other nations administering valuable symbolic capital are able to acknowledge their vulnerability – but also their relative strength – knowledge and understanding of ways in which to protect this symbolism can lead to empowerment. The importance of this becomes particularly evident when apprehending how cultural symbolism is often intrinsically intertwined with national identity, and misappropriation and corruption of such symbolism can potentially have detrimental consequences for the ability to contain indigenous national identity.

One of the most respected authorities on intellectual property, Dr. R. A. Mashelkar asserts that “issues of generation, protection and exploitation of intellectual property (IP) and identity are assuming increasing importance” (Mashelkar 2006:2). He argues that there should be a greater sharing of intellectual property between the industrialised and the periphery and semi-periphery nations, combined with the creation of appropriate physical and intellectual infrastructure and awareness building (Mashelkar 2006). In post-modern societies intellectual property issues are increasingly becoming fields of contestation, and allegories such as intellectual property being the oil of the 21st century have been used to illustrate its ever emerging significance (Cornish 2006, Gollin 2008, Mashelkar 2006). This taps into the core of this research; how Jamaica – in its present-day lesser fortunate socio-economic position – can utilize the provisions of IP to its advantage, both with regards to socio-economic growth and protective measures as regards to the harnessing of cultural symbols. It is in this predicament Jamaica presently finds itself.
2. Rocksteady\textsuperscript{13}: The theoretical backdrop

The premises
Before getting to the core of the matter, the following chapter will introduce the main theoretical framework for approaching the research questions. The advantage of choosing this structure is that it enables the substantial discussions in the subsequent chapters to be conducted in a smooth flowing manner, without being broken up by theoretical insertions. However, where there is an apparent need for more specific theoretical approaches, these will be introduced progressively as they become relevant.

Signs, symbols and social meaning
In the human world, signs are basic constituents of social meaning, and intrinsically connected with social practice. A sign can be understood as an entity which signifies another entity, and is in Sociological theory often associated with the semiotic teachings of Ferdinand de Saussure and the semantic teachings of Charles Sanders Pierce (Berkaak & Frønes 2005, Pierce 1991, Sanders 2005). Semiology is the study of sign processes – signification and communication through signs and symbols, both individually and grouped into sign systems. Signs are constituted by the signifier – the sound image of the sign – and the signified – the concept of the sign (Berkaak & Frønes 2005). The semantic concept is in this respect the referent – the object(s) the sign designates or establishes a link to (Pierce 1991). The sign’s meaning is constantly modified or altered for every instance the sign is referred to, depending on the context of its use/misuse.

A sign’s denotation is its surface meaning encoded to a signifier – its most conventional meaning – whilst the sign’s connotation describes the unconventional or inadequate denotative relationship between the signifier and its signified – the pool of possible meanings that can be attributed to a sign, depending on context and reader. It is important to accentuate that a sign does not refer to an essentialist reality in an objective world. Rather, signs are social constructs that assume meaning in a given context, and depending on the reader’s interpretation. Stuart Hall (1997), in analyzing critical questions of meaning, truth,

\textsuperscript{13} Alton Ellis. Rocksteady. 1966.
knowledge, and power in representation, argues that meaning is embedded in the sign. When the sign is created in a form detached from the referent, the sign works reciprocally back on the referent’s role as significant. This process – described as the signifying practice in a rich diversity of social contexts – is part of the *systems of representation*, and assumes relevance in the construction of national identity and culture. The semiotic and semantic perspectives on signs, denotations and connotations constitute significant distinctions when construing the symbolic world, and will assume practical relevance when analysing functions and distinctions regarding Jamaica and its socio-cultural meaning as a sign.

A symbol refers to an intertwining concept which is often used interchangeably with signs – symbols are pictures, objects, or other tangible or intangible representations of ideas, concepts, abstractions or identity (Becker & McCall 1993, Giddens 2001). Pierce (1991) abets that symbols are only meaningful in the context of narratives, which means that symbols must be seen in relation to a greater story. An example of an institutionalized group of symbols are nation flags, which symbolize a nation and everything that nation is associated with. In the context of George Herbert Mead (1981) and Herbert Blumer’s (1986) perspective on symbolic interactionism, human interaction is mediated by the use of language, symbols and signification. Through interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another’s actions, humans are able to make sense of each other’s actions and understand not only literal communication but also multi-layered communication (Baldwin 2002, Blumer 1986, Giddens 2001). Hence, there is an interpretative process between stimulus and response, although this theory relies on shared meaning of symbols. This is not necessarily true, and will be discussed later in the context of Jamaica’s narrative construction.

With reference to *economic-, social-, and cultural capital*, Pierre Bourdieu (1991) describes *symbolic capital* as “the form assumed by these different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu 1991:230). Symbolic capital refers to the disguised yet added value manifestation of the other capital forms, and purports to be symbol-based on its ostensibly self-evident legitimacy. The resources embodied in a carrier of symbolic meaning are based on honour, prestige or recognition, and functions as an authoritative epithet of cultural value. Symbolic capital cannot necessarily be converted to other forms of capital, but rather constitutes a value in itself. However, the value of any given object is always the sum of its symbolic and other capital – economic, cultural or social – and
defined by the very system in which it is valued (Bourdieu 1991). In the context of this research on Jamaica, symbolic capital will be understood as the present and potential value embedded in the symbols – seen as concomitant with economic and cultural capital – and allegorically constituted as a form of capital awarded in a given measure. This understanding entails that the symbolic capital appears in a limited amount, and to the extent it is disbursed, the strength of the embedded symbolism will decrease or deteriorate. Hence, symbolic capital may be embedded in a nation as semantic concept, and its cultural manifestations and economic potential may be assessed along the parameters of the symbolic capital.

A metaphor is a rhetorical trope that describes the first subject as being or equal to the second subject in some way (Berkaak & Frønes 2005). Metonymy is the use of a word for a concept or object which is associated with the original concept/object denoted by the word. One example of metonymy could be how the picture of a dreadlocked Rasta-man may evoke associations of reggae, ganja and irie vibes. Metonymy may be instructively contrasted with metaphor. Both figures involve the substitution of one term for another. In metaphor, the substitution is based on similarity, while in metonymy the substitution is based on contiguity. Metonymical associations have historical roots – they develop over time and become a part of cultural patterns (Berkaak & Frønes 2005). Metonymical logics can contribute valuable insight into suggestively explaining how the cultural and symbolic sentiment Jamaica is often connoted with. Metaphors and metonyms are often used effectively in media and culture, where they point to commonly known narratives for reference. This process often points to the highest level symbols; key symbols (Ortner 1973) which play on analogical, iconic and metaphoric logics. The way in which Bob Marley is synonymous with reggae and Rastafarianism can illustrate this. According to Roland Barthes (1983), both metaphors and metonyms are socially constructed through the process of mythologization (Barthes & Sontag 1983). This process describes the tendency of notions, narratives and basic assumptions to become naturalized – unquestioningly accepted within a particular culture. This perspective – possibly capable of suggesting why certain representations and stereotypes of Jamaica are often held as true – will become useful when analyzing Jamaica’s symbolic narration and the myths’ ability to triumph in perception.

14 See appendix 9 for examples of how symbolic strength can be decreased.
**Discourse, narratives and identity**

In the tradition of Foucault (2003), a discourse is considered to be an institutionalized way of mentally constructing a social boundary defining what can be said about a specific topic and how it can be said. Discourses are seen to affect our perceptions and attitudes on all comprehensible human and social constructs (Berkaak & Frønes 2005). For example, Jamaican society has traditionally viewed Rastafarians as lazy, unproductive ganja smokers. However, in the outside world this same group has been viewed as highly spiritual cultural bearers; the chosen discourse delivers the vocabulary, expressions and style needed to communicate effectively. In line with the cultural discourses objective to push the envelope, creatively speaking, discourses may provide an interesting perspective when suggesting possible reasons to how and why Jamaican culture – especially reggae – rose to prominence in the 1970’s and still continues to exercise cultural influence. Jamaican cultural expressions have been able to penetrate what is often termed the hegemonic Western worldview, and this perspective can provide insight into the discourse of how Jamaican culture relates to the cultural expressions more commonly found in the industrialized world, while at the same time, in the context of cultural pluralism relates to countless numbers of legitimate worldviews (Berkaak & Frønes 2005:116).

As a built in concept of meaning in the realm of signs, a narrative is a construct created to describe a sequence of events, and normally describes the relationship between the teller and the addressee in the tale being told (Berger & Quinney 2004, Cobley 2001). Commonly, the narrative is known as the storyteller’s voice. However, as a Sociological concept, the narrative is often used to describe the spatiotemporally linguistic orchestration of a social or symbolic phenomenon, and hence relates to the concept of discourse. In the case of Jamaica, the narrative perspective can contribute to an understanding of how Jamaica as a semiotic and semantic entity and as an exerciser of cultural and symbolic persuasion has been written into the more all-encompassing narratives and discourses of Western popular culture and global culture at large. Furthermore, given the subjects within these systems of representation, Michel Foucault (1999) can provide further insight onto these processes.

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15 An example of this could be an analysis of how the US Presidential Campaign is narrated through the media and assumes a life of its own which is in many ways detached from the chief objective of electing a new US President.
Foucault (1999) argues that *subject positions* address us with particular semiotic codes that are defined by the ways in which relations between addressee and addresser are constructed in a cultural dialogue (Foucault 1999). The subject is a set of roles constructed and allocated to the individual through dominant cultural and ideological discourses. The individual can occupy several subject positions, some of them contradictory. In this context, identity can be viewed as a matrix of subject positions, often assuming fluid and fragmented representations of identity. The concept of subject positions can be said to position subjects in systems of representation, and hence become enlightening approximations in deciphering where the subjects are positioned in the discursive symbolic representation of Jamaica.

In Sociology the notion of identity is often understood as the way individuals label themselves as members of particular groups – essentially who they are and what is meaningful to them (Cote & Levine 2002, Giddens 2001). Important markers of identity include gender, sexual orientation, nationality and ethnicity. The paradigm of symbolic interactionism ascertains that identity can influence – and be influenced by – social reality at large (Cote & Levine 2002). In the world of signs and symbols, identity is often projected through the use of these. As stipulated in the outlined structure, a discussion on the relationship between national/cultural symbols and identity may shed light on the possible discursive consequences that face Jamaica and its symbols in the context of being subjected to the level of recognition and portrayal that Jamaica has. These mechanisms’ effects on Jamaican identity will be discussed thoroughly in the last chapter on identity politics.

**Branding**

According to de Chernatony & McDonald (2003) *branding* is the process that distinguishes “an identifiable product, service, person or place, augmented in such a way that the buyer or user perceives relevant unique added values which match their needs most closely” (2003:12). Furthermore, they argue that “successful branding thus results from being able to sustain these added values in the face of competition” (2003:18). In other words, branding refers to the intangible concept of adding symbolic value to a product or a service and positioning it positively in relation to competitors. The exploitation of nuanced differentiation has given rise to the practice of branding, in which markets and consumption are tied to the realms of meaning and experience. The all-pervasiveness of branding in today’s post-modern economy
has somehow transfigured itself; thus the role of this persuasion is now pre-eminent (Ries & Ries 2002). Notable examples of strong worldwide brands are Coca-Cola, Nokia and Marlboro. Common for these brands are that they not only sell soft drinks, cell phones and cigarettes/clothes – they sell an identity and an (often misconceived) individuality. Therefore, the core composite of a brand is not necessarily the actual product or service marketed, but rather the added values that are manifested as representations of the product or service.

Although the definition of branding provided suggests that literally anything can be branded, traditionally tangible products have been branded. Murphy (1991) and Keller (2007) argue that the concept of branding has existed for centuries. However, it was not until the mid 20th century when consumerism as an aspect of the neo-liberalistic economies championed that branding was recognized as a discipline and considered an important factor in product identification and segmentation (Thomas 1998). Today, brands are the episteme of a company and constitute a critical component of consumers’ behavioural intentions: Whether or not to purchase a product or service – or to visit or buy products from a certain country.

According to Murphy (1991) the concept of branding has evolved in three important ways. First, legal systems have recognized the value of brands to both producers and consumers, enabling the creation and recognition of trademarks, patents, designs and copyright - thus conferring the rights on the owners of such intellectual property. Second, by extending the branding concept to embrace services, providers of services are now offered the same legal protection as branded tangible products, providing that the service can be differentiated from those of competitors. Third, with the creation of service brands, the ways in which these services are differentiated from each other have increasingly embraced intangible factors, as well as tangible factors such as size, shape, make up and price. This development provides companies with the ability to distinguish their product in increasingly subtle ways, which are both relevant and meaningful to consumers and helps the consumer to understand the brand’s gestalt or aura (Murphy 1991). These logics also pertain to nation branding.
**Nation branding**

Simon Anholt\(^{16}\) is normally credited as a pioneer in the field of nation branding. He conducts an annual global survey known as the Anholt Nation Brands Index. Nation branding can be described as the management of a nation’s image through a coordinated approach to the nation’s economic, social and cultural development – a practice aimed at measuring, building, changing and protecting the reputation of a nation (WIPO/JIPO 2007). It is based on the assumption that the brand images of nations are just as important to their success in the global marketplace as those of products and services, and intrinsically connected to such (Anholt 2006 & 2007, Dinnie 2007). Increasing interconnectivity through advances in information technology, coupled with an increasing importance of the symbolic value of products, has led countries to emphasize their distinctive characteristics and attractiveness.

A nation brand is much more than a logo or a slogan. It is a unifying and identifiable platform that is manifested in the country experience, communicated by officials and citizens, and delivered through different government and private agencies. The idea of a nation brand is not merely to be a market wrapper, but even more so a value proposition that changes perception and preference, drives usage and increases the economic interest of the nation. However, while the commercial brand management has complete control over the product and how it is best marketed and promoted, managing a nation brand raises issues such as personal and organisational competition and conflicting interests of partiality, as well as the factors that are difficult to control, like natural disasters, political turmoil, and poverty, crime and violence (Rose-Howell 2003).

Nation branding as a policy approach has primarily been associated with the industrialized world. Australia, New Zealand, the United States, the United Kingdom, South Africa, and most Western European countries have already and continue to put great effort and resources into what is often euphemistically referred to as *public diplomacy*; building strong national brands through enhancing their country images and managing their external reputation. However, there is an increasing interest in this concept from socio-economically lesser developed nations on the grounds that an enhanced image and reputation is likely to create more attractive conditions for foreign investment, tourism, trade and even political relations.

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\(^{16}\) British Government advisor within the field of nation branding. He is one of the world’s most respected and consulted experts on nation branding and was in 2005 contracted by the Jamaican Government to conduct a nation brand feasibility study.
with other states (Anholt 2006). The image and branding of a nation and the successful transference of these added values to its exports may actually be as important as what they actually produce and sell, and may potentially constitute one of several routes of socio-economic progression.

In determining the strength and perception of a national brand, the Anholt National Brand Index\(^\text{17}\) expediently analyses factors such as export, governance, investment and immigration, culture and heritage, people and tourism. These factors are relevant in determining not only a country’s visibility, but also appeal. Jamaica was not placed on the 2007 Anholt National Brand Index, which only ranked 38 countries. Not unexpectedly, well managed nation brands such as The United Kingdom, Germany, France, Canada and Switzerland rank top five\(^\text{18}\).

This is interesting, because as already argued Jamaica has a high level of recognition. However, in the light of Jamaica’s present day socio-economic position, it is understandable that it – due to its relative size and its lack of a comprehensive branding strategy – has not been able to compete in the same league or even in the same arena as these top ranked champion nation brands. The nation’s appeal may also be limited in this respect due to negative factors such as violent crime, poverty and corruption\(^\text{19}\). Furthermore, a possible explanation for this may also be that the nation brand index’ methodology does not capture the parameters that have distinguished and brought fame to Jamaica. The nature of the Jamaica recognition will be discussed subsequently.

A criticism of nation branding is that it is one of many negative aspects of globalization; in essence threatening and diminishing local diversity. This can be the effect of misguided nation branding, resulting in a generic “packaging” of otherwise illustrious nations (Klein 2000, True 2006). However, advocates of nation branding claim that in order to compete against the backdrop of global cultural homogeneity, nations must strive to accentuate and promote the distinctiveness of local characteristics and competitive advantages. Antagonists claim that a well managed national branding initiative can facilitate the nation in this


\(^{19}\)
challenge (Anholt 2006). If Jamaica is able to engage in the sustainable strategies of nation branding, its promise can be undertaken and realized.

**WIPO, JIPO and IP**
The primary advisory international body of intellectual property (IP) rights, The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), is a specialized agency of the United Nations, based in Geneva, Switzerland. The organization was established by the WIPO Convention in 1967 with a mandate from its Member States to facilitate and encourage the protection of IP throughout the world. However, the concept of intellectual property and industrial property are much older, with the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property signed already in 1883. WIPO is dedicated to developing a balanced and accessible international IP system, which rewards creativity, stimulates innovation and contributes to economic development while safeguarding the public interest. WIPO’s main task is to administer the treaties operated by that same organisation, and to ensure a unison international understanding of IP.

WIPO is also the primary body for IP policy development. It is WIPO’s objective that a consistent understanding of IP fosters fair competition on the global marketplace. This is ensured in tight cooperation with the World Trade Organisation’s (WTO) Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), an agreement geared at guaranteeing a trans-nationally recognised consistency in the protection and enforcement of IP laws and principles, as well as stipulating requirements for national laws regarding IP rights enforcement and dispute resolution procedures. In relation to this it is worth noting that WIPO is the only UN body that is a revenue agent. WIPO’s local office, Jamaica Intellectual Property Office (JIPO), facilitates the protection of IP in Jamaica and falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Commerce, Science and Technology. The authority

19 These factors will be discussed subsequently in the section on the “headaches” of Jamaica.

responsible for enforcing intellectual property law in Jamaica is the Industrial Property tribunal, a division of the Supreme Court.

WIPO defines IP as “creations of the mind: Inventions, literary and artistic works, and symbols, names, images, and designs used in commerce.”21 The significant legal distinction in this case is that while such creations are covered by copyright laws, the mentioned inventions are covered by patent law. In practice IP and its conceptions extends into virtually all aspects of modern life. However, the protection of such is a legal field. Under IP law, the holder of one of these abstract "properties" has certain exclusive rights to the creative work, commercial symbol, or invention which is covered by it. A fundamental principle is that the IP sought to protect, must be in demand. If the particular IP is not in demand, it is pointless protecting it. This is a relevant perspective as it pertains to Jamaica. While Jamaican IP continues to create significant revenue – as Dr. Stanley-Niaah argues fundamentally introductorily – Jamaican stakeholders have not empowered themselves through the IP infrastructure. Whereas Jamaica has apparently had an inclination to undervalue its IP, this IP may in fact be invaluable. This preliminary and provisional presupposition will guide the further research.

3. Station Underground Report\textsuperscript{22}: The methodical approximation

The premises
Enquiring into and analyzing the above delineated research questions raises the demand for a clear-cut methodical approximation. This is to ensure a structured academic approach and an expedient instrument in examining and effectively communicating the substance and findings of this body of research. A continuous challenge throughout this research has been to maintain the broadest focus possible, incorporating all aspects that can illuminate the topic under scrutiny, while at the same time ensuring loyal adherence to the paramount goal of providing unyielding, academically sound and suggestive discussions relevant to the research questions.

Choice of methods and information gathering
Choosing a specific qualitative approach caters for the need to take certain practical and ethical considerations. Silverman (2004) emphasizes the researcher’s need for a reflected approach to the research topic and how this relates to a given methodical approach. What was soon realized after giving birth to, developing and designing the initial conceptualization of this thesis, was that on one level one can seek to understand a set of mechanisms that are very specific to Jamaica, yet on another level one must understand Jamaica in an extremely wide-reaching context.

The methodological starting point considered the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods for this body of research. However, it was soon realized that an eclectic approach to the task did not necessarily facilitate the research in the best manner, taking into consideration its subject matter and the exigency to capture complex cultural processes of a great scope. Therefore, it became clear that reaching the paramount goal of understanding Jamaica symbolically within a context not yet fully illuminated, the issues under scrutiny would most expediently be understood using a body of qualitative methods.

Although the interviews – which will be discussed subsequently – represented the most defined methodological approximation and an abundant source of knowledge and understanding, these needed to be supplemented further. In addition to being immersed in Jamaican culture, extensive readings on Jamaica were conducted to form a broad and multifaceted understanding of Jamaica’s placement in the symbolic and cultural sphere. Prior and subsequent to the interviews, books, magazines, music, films, Internet pages, pictures and other imaginable vehicles of cultural and symbolic dissemination were consumed and studied. These sources provided multi dimensional perspectives on Jamaica and may be seen as the backbone needed to scrutinize Jamaica’s symbolic projection. There was also conducted informal observation of the appropriation of Jamaican symbols in public, international spaces and more generally within the hyper-reality of popular culture, in order to form a notion of how Jamaican cultural and symbolism manifests itself outside Jamaica.

It is important to emphasize that the interviews have not merely been deployed explicitly to argue the research case, but also as a gateway to get on the inside of the research matter. Interviewing knowledgeable and reflective persons facilitated a unique and nuanced illumination of questions of specific interest to the research. In addition to providing qualified perspectives and opinions, the interviews also catered for the opportunity to interpret the emotional reaction that Jamaicans themselves have regarding questions of the nature what makes Jamaica so special? and how do you feel about foreign stakeholders making significant money from Jamaican symbols? Furthermore, in the process of conducting the actual research, the interviews assumed somewhat of a dialectic dynamic with the written sources of information, and hence guided the research in a fruitful and explorative manner. The interviews provided an unprecedented opportunity to thoroughly inquire into and illuminate issues of interest in order to gain the fullest understanding possible. This will be elaborated on subsequently.

23 This observation includes seeing the explicit appropriation of (what will subsequently be argued is) Jamaican symbolism and even shops exclusively dedicated to selling clothes, shoes and other Jamaican “inspired” products in as diverse spaces as Athens, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Hong Kong, London, Madrid, Moscow, New Delhi, New York, Panama City, Paris, Rome, San Francisco, Santiago de Chile and Tokyo.
**Scientific ethos**

The problem of deciding what is *real* and *true* has been one of the great challenges for philosophers and scientists from Plato and his cave through Descartes to post-modern philosophers like Zygmund Bauman and Roy Bhaskar (Bishop 2007, Honderich 2005, Rosenberg 2005, Schick 1999). In the school of critical realism of Roy Bhaskar (2008) and within the philosophy of perception, critical realism refers to the theory that some of our sensory-data (e.g. those of primary qualities\(^24\)) can and do accurately represent external objects, properties, and events, while our other sensory-data (e.g. those of secondary qualities and perceptual illusions\(^25\)) do not accurately represent any external objects, properties, and events. Hence, critical realism refers to a position that maintains existence of an objectively knowable, mind-independent reality, whilst acknowledging the roles of perception and cognition in the interpretation of this reality (Sayer 2008).

Within the school of post structuralism\(^26\), there is a focus on the inseparability of the signifier and signified, as opposed to structuralism’s notion of an independent signifier and superior to the signified (Colebrook 2005). A given sender’s intended meaning is therefore secondary to the meaning that the reader perceives. Post structuralism rejects the idea of a sign having one single purpose or one single meaning. On the contrary, every individual reader creates a new and individual meaning and existence for a given sign. Meaning\(^27\) is constructed by an individual from a signifier, and the signified is said to *slide* under the signifier, explaining the concept of the *primacy of the signifier* (Colebrook 2005). Pertaining to research, post structuralism focuses on how a certain methodological approximation and a set of models can bias the research and the interpretation of results. The manner in which to best prevent this bias is to ensure that the *glasses* used to critically look at a given issue are appropriately fitted to the given research.

The most apposite manner to prevent bias in both research and in the actual discussions will therefore be to enact the specific theoretical framework deployed at any given time, to allow

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\(^24\) These include sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch.

\(^25\) These include pressure, temperature, pain and proprioception.

\(^26\) The prefix “post” refers to the fact that several contributors such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Julia Kristeva rejected the classical structuralism and became critical of it. Post structuralism largely encompasses the intellectual developments of critical theorists and continental philosophers that wrote within the paradigm of twentieth-century French philosophy.

\(^27\) Also understood as the signified in Saussure’s scheme, which is heavily presumed upon both in post structuralism and structuralism.
the reader to interpret the discussions in an informed, critical manner. This was already done in the preceding theoretical chapter, and this approximation will be consistently followed through this research. Furthermore, various assertions and claims have already, and will subsequently be made about Jamaica. In working on this research, there has been a constant weighing of which assertions can be accepted as true, and which need founding to be scientifically sound. Hopefully this constant implicit evaluation has been done in an academically appropriate and satisfactory manner.

**Ethics of science**

In accordance with scientific norms for confidentiality, it was necessary to assess to which degree these norms would have practical consequences for the accomplishment of the research. The research conducted was of such a nature that it is unlikely to touch on sensitive areas as personal integrity, sensitive or classified information (Thagaard 2003; Fog 2004). However, the ethical implications of this research were in constant focus, and where necessary, appropriate ethical assessments were made. As a researcher based in Norway, all research processing procedures must be implemented in accordance with The Norwegian Social Science Data Services’ (NSD) stringent standards for research ethics. Doing social scientific research through a Norwegian academic institution – in Norway or internationally – normally entails that the researcher needs to be granted permission by NSD to acquire personal information. All participating parties were informed that their names and the information provided would be used solely in this thesis, and would not be published in any other form, unless further consent was granted. All the interviewees agreed to these terms without hesitation. Although none of the conducted interviews revealed sensitive personal information, a permission to store the interviews for the longevity of the project was obtained.

It is also essential to emphasize that there has been consignment to follow The Terms of Reference for the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities as published by The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities.

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28 NSD granted a permission to store the interviews in a safe manner until 31 July 2008. Accordingly, on this date all interview files will be deleted. See appendix 2 for original and translated letter from NSD. On request, the interviews can exclusively be obtained by the committee academically evaluating this thesis.

29 The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities.
Sciences and the Humanities (NESH) in Norway. Although not performing research of a particularly sensitive manner, these ethical guidelines offer valid points of reference concerning social scientific research, and in turn raised the awareness of the responsibilities one has as a social researcher.

Reflexivity
Before introducing the interviewees, it is important to emphasize that in addition to the information provided by these, numerous encounters with Jamaicans of all walks of life – ghetto children, uptown socialites, police-officers, politicians, students, farmers, fishermen, the elderly, the poor, the deprived, church goers, pastors, heathens, drivers, Rastafarians, sex-workers, musicians, dancers and businessmen – have all compounded to an intuitive grasp of Jamaica and its society and culture. This information has not been referred to explicitly in the subsequent discussions.

However, all these encounters have contributed to shape a complex and empathetic understanding of Jamaica, and served as facilitating contributors in the enterprise to write about Jamaica and issues concerning Jamaica with a certain level of credibility. Having lived in Jamaica in periods prior to the field work, travelled the island widely and holding elaborate knowledge of the culture, the field work was not commenced in total ignorance. This has impacted the role as a researcher positively in the sense that a complex understanding of Jamaica was acquired prior to commencing the field work. On the other hand, this can also have biased the ability to see Jamaica in a distanced perspective. However, given the nature of the research one can argue that a too exoticized perception of Jamaica could have distorted the chances of capturing the more essential notions of Jamaica this research required. Hence, being more on the inside of Jamaica may have facilitated the research and enabled a more comprehensive understanding of Jamaica based on internal perspectives and perceptions.

This approach is tantamount to the ethnographical concept of participant observation (Fife 2005, Giddens 2001, Gray 2002). This methodical approximation enables the researcher to interact with the persons or culture under study, and to uncover the meanings that underpin social actions or manifestations. Such an approach allows the researcher an insider’s

http://www.etikkom.no/English/NESH/guidelines/ (Read 09.10.2007)
perspective, but this can also prevent the researcher from seeing the mechanisms under scrutiny with the necessary distanced perspective. These concerns may be real in this case. However, returning from Jamaica subsequent to the fieldwork has entailed a certain geographical and otherwise distance that has facilitated the methodological requirement of understanding and scrutinizing the research matter with the necessary level of clarity.

**The fieldwork**
The fieldwork for this research was conducted in Kingston, Jamaica January – June 2007, and was done on location in the nation in order to optimize the possibilities of getting the most reliable and pertinent information available on the issues under scrutiny. This also entailed a first hand experience of the island, meeting the people and experiencing the culture from the inside, essentially facilitating an intuitive and compound grasp of what may arguably be understood as the essence of Jamaica and what it represents.

Enrolling as a Specially Admitted Student at the University of The West Indies (UWI), Mona Campus, Kingston enabled valuable access to the Main Library, the departmental libraries, as well as helpful and encouraging professors and other employees. To get the ball rolling, the project’s initial supervisor at UWI, Dr. Kingsley Stewart, PhD. of Social Anthropology, provided creative perspectives and suggested potential interviewees. Several of these interviewees also turned out to be valuable door openers, providing the imprimatur of approval and leading to other interviewees (Widerberg 2001). Several of the interviewees encouraged the research and its importance, while at the same time – in good spirit – commented on the irony that a foreign student had taken an interest and identified this approach to the specific situation facing Jamaica. One interviewee pointed to the potential practical significance of the research in the ongoing debate. This encouragement and readiness was highly motivating and provided a sense of conducting research that was appreciated and worth while. Although the supervisional relationship with Dr. Stewart was involuntarily disbanded after three weeks due to his time-constraints, his assistance proved sufficient. By this stage the research was largely self driven and where methodical or other challenges arose, the primary supervisor in Norway, Prof. Ivar Frønes at the Department of Sociology and Human Geography at the University of Oslo was approached for advice. The research as a whole assumed a learning-by-doing nature, and was very instructive.
The interviews: Selection, preparation and execution
In March 2007, the interview sessions commenced. Altogether, twenty three interviews were conducted with twenty two interviewees. It was important that the interviewees represented a broad spectre of persons entitled to an opinion on the matters concerning the research. Based on this, interviewees with significant institutional attachments, positions of influence or relevant experience were targeted. The majority of the interviewees were contacted via email or phone. However, many were also approached in social settings through acquaintances. Strikingly many of the interviewees were deemed interesting by tip offs, or through the phenomena termed snowballing (Hannemann & Riddle 2005). This refers to focal actors being connected to each other, and these actors recommending each other often marshals for smooth operations.

Thirteen scholars at UWI, both professors and doctorates, two persons at the Jamaican Promotions Agency (JamPro), one official at the Jamaican Tourist Board (JTB), one official at Jamaica Intellectual Property Office (JIPO), two persons in advertising, one person from the Coconut Industry Board and one independent sociologist. It is reasonable to assert that these interviewees were able to provide substantial understanding of the subject matter. Although all interviews may be deemed relevant, eleven of the interviews were more directly pertinent to the research, and will be referred to explicitly in the subsequent discussions. The interviews specifically referred to disclose the names of the interviewees. This is done because the interviewees deliberately proffered their opinions, and their arguments receive much of their significance based on their positions and who they are. Leaving their names undisclosed would have undermined the significance of the opinions proffered. The remaining twelve interviews, contributed to the background understanding of the specific questions under scrutiny, and have hence contributed to constituting a holistic understanding of the matter in subject.

The interviews were initiated by informing the interviewees about the nature of the research, and from there the initial questions set the premises. The interviewees were, obviously, the informed party and in many cases their perspectives decided the direction. None of the

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30 See appendix 3 for complete list of interviewees.
31 One of these interviewees, Jeff Kiel of Draft FCB, was the Creative Director of the current Once you go you know campaign promoting Jamaica as a tourist destination. This campaign which will be discussed subsequently in chapter 5 on branding.
interviews were undertaken in a particularly formalized manner, and no interview guide was prepared. Rather, the questions were memorized in advance and a written guide might have bound the discussions to larger degree, and possibly thwarted the creative directions that the discussions in many cases assumed. In hindsight, the potential pragmatic use of an interview guide can be divulged. The interviews took on a nature more like a reasoning session. Within the Rastafarian terminology reasoning refers to the mental (cognitive) process of identifying reasons for beliefs, conclusions, actions or feelings, and then verbalizing these in what is more commonly known as a discussion (Murrell et. al. 1998). However, for research purposes and adherence to conventional uses of terms within the social sciences, these reasoning sessions will be referred to as interviews.\(^{32}\)

This delineated approach allowed a liberated take on the topics that largely enabled the interviewee to highlight what he or she found relevant. Although it could have been advantageous using an interview guide to achieve a greater degree of structure in the interviews, Album (1996) focuses on the constructive value of choosing an approach that one is comfortable with and feels one masters. This is why verbal appropriation of information was the primary method of choice, and the free flowing conduction of the interviews further facilitated the accolade of this. The interview sessions came off as highly positive experiences. All the interviewees were courteous and gracious, and the more that was learned about the issues under research, the more the research was fuelled by fascination and enthusiasm.

**Situations. Locations. People. Structure.**

The actual interviews provided many interesting and occasionally even peculiar situations. The following section is dedicated to a select few of these to illustrate the instructive/obstructive challenges that were dealt with in order to obtain the best quality information.

The interviews were conducted at a location chosen by the interviewee. In most cases the interviewees were in a position where they had an office space at their disposal, and this was

\(^{32}\) Furthermore, it is important to specify that the commonly used social scientific term of informant (with reference to police informant) will not be used, as this is a term with strong negative connotations in Jamaican society.
utilized. However, four of the interviews were conducted in what may be described as alternate ways. One of these was with Mr. Jeff Kiel, Creative Director at Draft FCB, New York, who was contacted by email and interviewed by telephone. He was called at his Manhattan office; the phone was put on loud speaker and taped. Mr. Kiel was very open and communicative, and a constructive discussion was conducted about Jamaica as a tourist destination and the challenges faced in this respect. The interview was a surprising success.

Another of the unconventional interviews – meaning not locked in an office space – was Mr. Billy Grimsley. A former professor of Sociology at Lee College, Baytown, Texas, Mr. Grimsley was interviewed at the Almond Lodge in Orange Bay, Portland, Jamaica. The interview was conducted in the communal space by the pool table. However, the session was peculiarly disturbed by some twenty young Cubans returning from their Fidel Castro appointed Energy Revolution mission to personally change every single light bulb in Jamaica. Operations were then moved to the seaside where the discussions continued.

On discussing the structure and execution of the interviews, one interview distinguished itself particularly. While interviewing Dr. Carolyn Hayle, Senior Programme Officer at the Institute for Hospitality and Tourism– 45 minutes into the interview – the session was interrupted by Dr. Mathew Harvey who incidentally dropped by for something completely unrelated. Dr. Hayle brought him into the discussions and he ended up staying for almost half an hour. He contributed immensely to the discussion and his perspectives will be referred to subsequently. This serves to show how an open, non-reserved approach to the interview situation enables spontaneous input which may be both unexpected and remarkable.

Regarding the Puma Jamaica case specifically, Ms. Debbie Leyow, General Manager of Puma in Jamaica was contacted upon arrival in Kingston. She immediately responded enthusiastically to the research, and was accommodating in forwarding an inquisitive email to the creative management of Puma International to obtain information on the concept and the processes leading to the development of the Puma Jamaica line. Unfortunately, however, during the duration of the fieldwork, a fruitful communication was never established with the central creative management of Puma International. Slightly despondent by this insufficient progress, General Manager of Puma’s Norwegian division, Mr. Børge Kvinge was contacted upon arrival back in Norway. In September 2007, a meeting at his office was arranged, informally discussing the Puma Jamaica line and the success it represented for Puma. Mr.
Kvinge also provided a CD with all the Puma Jamaica commercials and slides showing aspects of how the Jamaica line was conceived and how it was marketed. This meeting represented a breakthrough in getting on the inside of Puma’s perspective. On the other hand, the Jamaican Amateurs Athletic Association Ltd. (JAAA) also appeared to be inapproachable during the initial fieldwork. Being the body responsible for negotiating Puma’s endorsement of Jamaica, their perspective was obviously desired. However, during a quick return to Jamaica in early 2008 they were finally reached, and their perspective will, of course, be given significant attention in the discussion of the Puma Jamaica case. This proves persistence can pay off, and how detours in the research have lead to information needed to illuminate all aspects of this research.

**Processing the interviews: The technical side of operations**

All the interviews were taped, using the sound recording function on a digital camera. The interviews were then transferred to a computer, and to an external hard-disk for back up purposes. This recording and storage was done with the consent of the interviewees. The total interview time was 22 hours and 18 minutes, the interviews lasting from 15 minutes to 3 hours and 15 minutes. This gives an average interview time of just over one hour. In addition, crucial notes were taken during the session. In accordance with primary supervisor, Prof. Frønes, a conclusion has been reached that spending valuable time transcribing the interviews would not be purposeful in this case; no linguistic analysis of text that would require transcription will be conducted, nor would this be necessary to access the information acquired. Hence, the quotes referred to from the interviews are relevant excerpts that have been transcribed for this purpose.

**Relations and culture**

Social scientists like Album (1996) and Fog (2004) have emphasized the value and importance of a positive relationship between interviewer and interviewee. Not only is a good relationship important for a fruitful and open flow of information, it is also an important premise for trust. These are commonly known as foundational factors governing the relations in all forms of human conduct, but may, if possible, be even more significant in a scientific setting as interviews represent. The interview is a social situation largely narrated by genre logics, with a set agenda. In addition to the mutual acknowledgement of the situation there is
also an implicit social contract in effect of which especially the researcher must be extremely circumspect of. As a researcher, it is important to assess the various factors that may affect the nature and outcome of interviews.

The information gathering and the interviews conducted on location in Jamaica is what may allegorically be understood as a bottom-up perspective within the social psychology paradigm. In this context this would refer to understanding Jamaica’s symbolic place in the world from Jamaica’s own viewpoint (Pole & Lampard 2001). Taking on the opposite perspective, understanding Jamaica’s symbolic position at large would conversely be referred as a top-down perspective (Pole & Lampard 2001). This would pragmatically involve taking on the perspective of the stakeholders that on their own initiative have put themselves in the position of administering Jamaica’s symbolic capital.

Culture, or differences in culture, is a factor that may to some degree affect the outcome of the interview situation. To exemplify, the Jamaican interviewees discursively talked about our culture as an authentic cultural expression being exploited by those external stakeholders. This creates a particular climate being a foreigner interviewing Jamaicans. However, this did not appear to affect the interviews noticeably. As already mentioned, there was a clear impression that many of the interviewees were intrigued by a foreign student’s interest in this particular research topic. Being from a different culture than the Jamaican, but still possessing knowledge of the Jamaican culture, meant that the interviewees appeared to be more positively inclined towards discussing the issues earnestly on what they may have felt was their own premises.

**Generalization**

Doing research on one specific subject matter often raises questions about generalization to other vocational areas. Generalization is most commonly associated with quantitative research, and qualitative studies have often been criticised for largely being explorative (Giddens 2001, Kvale 2001). Although this criticism may have some legitimacy, it is also important to ascertain that not all social scientific phenomena can be scrutinized solely by using quantitative methods. However, this does not mean that it is completely unable to say something more general and provide lessons to be learned. Within the historical sciences, it is
common to make predictions about the future based on lessons learned from history. The given research is an example of phenomena and mechanisms best understood through the deployment of qualitative methods. This, however, does not necessarily mean that this research has no relevance or application outside this particular thesis.

As argued briefly in the preface, perspectives on harnessing cultural capital, branding and adequate intellectual property protection is assuming increasing importance. This will be discussed at length at a later stage. However, it is already now worth noting that although the focus of this research is specifically on Jamaica, there is a paramount intention that this illustrating case can raise awareness regarding the potentially detrimental effects of symbols and cultural expressions being misappropriated and misused, and assume a certain level of adaptability and applicability outside the Jamaican case. This applies to both nation states and commercial corporations, and essentially concerns moral rights to symbols and ownership of one’s own identity, and essentially oneself. While Jamaica is the nation this thesis is focusing on, all nations and organizations, as is alluded to, must be vigilant as to the implications and ramifications of the exploitation of readily identifiable symbols and emblems.
4. Cornerstone\textsuperscript{33}: The narratives of Jamaica

The premises
As argued cursorily in the introduction, Jamaica is a nation rich in symbols and which has been narrated in a distinctly characteristic manner. In this chapter the objective will be to identify, deconstruct and contextualize the symbolic capital associated with and embedded Jamaica. This will be done in order to provide a solid and substantial foundation on which the thesis’ further discussions can be conducted. Firstly, an account of the most important and recognized positive Jamaican contributions to the world will be given, as well as an account of the negative attachments Jamaica has to its name; both have contributed to the particular narrative construction of Jamaica. In the extension of these accounts, a discussion on this narrative structure of Jamaica will be conducted, and the metaphorical chains of association that the symbols evoke, the metonymical mechanisms governing the construction and interpretation of Jamaican symbols, and the somewhat mythical nature of the Jamaican narrative will be scrutinized.

Jamaica’s claim to fame

The romance of the Jamaican who’s into ganja – a bad guy of some sort – increases the sense of notoriety of the Jamaican character. Just look at the Jamaican walk. Everything bent, every angle, the whole demeanour, the posture, the way they stand up, the talk, the colours, there’s so much body noise it’s just disturbing. (...) Jamaicans are projecting an image of themselves as ready to take on the world. So in a sense the Jamaicans themselves contribute to the image. That is the kind of behaviour by Jamaicans that feed to that kind of mythology. Apart from the image though, there are Jamaicans making achievements.

Dr. Michael Witter (26 April 2007)
PhD, Economics
UWI

As abstractly argued, Jamaica has made numerous significant contributions on the global arena. However, it is important to have a concrete and substantial notion of Jamaica’s impact, so that the implicit mantra that \textit{Jamaica is famous} is not left hanging as a vague and unsubstantiated assertion. Particularly outstanding individuals have ensured Jamaica’s long withstanding impact in a wide number of spaces and have with their achievements placed

\textsuperscript{33} The Wailers. Cornerstone. 1970.
Jamaica on the map; especially in the cultural realm and in the minds of people worldwide. Accurately pin-pointing Jamaica’s proverbial claim to fame is a highly subjective matter. However, emphasizing some of the contributions and achievements may provide cues in the placement of Jamaica culturally and otherwise.

Jamaica is known as a musical force, having the highest per capita musical production of any country in the world (Bradley 2000, Veal 2007, Witter 2003). What is even more impressive is that this distinct musical creativity has been able to flourish despite – or possibly as a function of – a demeaned socio-economic situation, bringing forth an unprecedented lyrical, musical and technical creativity (Bradley 2000, Katz 2000). The list of notable Jamaican artists and producers is long. The two most famous are actor and social activist Harry Belafonte, and of course, the King of Reggae – the Honourable Robert Nesta Marley O.M., better known as Bob Marley. Not only is Bob Marley celebrated as the greatest Jamaican icon to ever have lived; his status is grounded in his timeless music and his role as a universal messenger of peace and unity; a positive freedom fighter for liberation and empowerment (Barker 2003, Budd 1992).

Further – more generally as a lyrical art-form and a cultural expression – reggae has had a tremendous local and global impact as a vehicle of human expression and socio-political commentary. Drawing the listeners’ attention towards issues such as criticism of oppressive political systems, as well as issues of identity, poverty, education and the needs of the younger generation; reggae poetry has always maintained a strong social consciousness. Reggae has furthermore thematized personal issues of love, sex and relationships; spiritual

34 Notable Jamaican artistes and producers that have contributed considerably to the promotion and development of Jamaican music, and hence its fame, include (in no particular order of importance): Dr. Alimantado, Althea & Donna, Horace Andy, Baby Cham, Buju Banton, Beenie Man, Dennis Brown, Burning Spear, Bounty Killer, Capleton, Jimmy Cliff, Desmond Dekker, Clement “Coxsone” Dodd, Eek-A-Mouse, Elephant Man, Diana King, Lady Saw, Barrington Levy, Bob Marley, Damian Marley, Stephen Marley, Ziggy Marley, Maxi Priest, Ninjaman, Lee “Scratch” Perry, Prince Buster, Sean Paul, Shabba Ranks, Shaggy, Sizzla, Sly & Robbie, Millie Smalls, Spragga Benz, Tanya Stephens, Peter Tosh, Vybz Kartel, Bunny Wailer and Yellowman. In addition famous band artist groups that originated from Jamaica include Black Uhuru, Culture, the Heptones, Inner Circle, the Meditations, the Melodians, the Mighty Diamonds, Morgan Heritage, the Paragons, the Skatalites, Third World, T.O.K., Voicemail and the Wailers.

35 Reggae music has been acknowledged for its socio-political impact for several important freedom fighting movements all over the world. From the MPLA in Angola to the Māori people in New Zealand to the civil war in Sierra Leone and the oppressed inhabitants of the Brazilian favelas; reggae music has provided the soundtrack of these (and other) movements and delivered hope in disparaging times. Most notably, reggae also constituted an important force as part of the struggle, the resistance and the liberation for the massive movement that
songs of praise and worship; and of course songs advocating the use of ganja and the resistance of *Babylon*. Significantly, while making critical social commentary, reggae lyrics often convey the message of perseverance and hope, believing that a better day will come (Davis & Simon 1983, Dawes 2002, Reckord 1982). Dr. Matthew Harvey, PhD of Human Geography at UWI, reasons around reggae’s force and its sustainable significance:

(...) the reggae music emerging in the later part of the 1960’s, coincided with the black power movements, the hippies and the conscious movements. You have this little place producing a culture that converges with the expectations of the generations of that time. And these people grow over time and are now the people in power. Through the independent struggles in Africa, through the Apartheid struggles, through the fall of the Berlin wall, Jamaica was always there in a number of different ways, especially through the music. So Jamaica actually got into those mind spaces in a covert way, and is not seen as much as a nation but maybe more so as a philosophy and a set of values. A *livity* that comes out of a particular space. But *livity* is universal. It is the *livity* of the oppressed and you can find it all over the world. A philosophy that challenges the existing society.

Dr. Matthew Harvey (25 April 2007)

Reggae music speaks to humans in a holistic manner and deploys the logic of double communication: On the one hand, the lyrics communicate intellectually; on the other hand, the rhythm communicates emotionally – the *one drop* beat is moulded on the beat of the heart. In this respect reggae operates in a subversive, yet seductive way. Perhaps this may partially explain reggae’s massive point of conversion – its ability to transcend cultures and languages – and is understood universally. And – relevant in this context – reggae music and culture is readily recognized as Jamaican.

36 Within the Rastafarian terminology Babylon refers to the established Western exploitative and corrupted capitalistic society that has physically and economically enslaved the black race for centuries. It stands in dialectic opposition to Zion, the promised land (Africa). For Rastafarians Babylon manifests itself as the police and oppressive Government systems.

37 In Rastafarian terms *livity* is best described as the ethos of living morally right and in harmony with the guiding principles of Rastafari.

38 Reggae music has sparked significant cultural inventions which may appear to be unrelated. It is lesser known that Jamaican DJ Kool Herc, now considered to be the Godfather of Hip Hop, introduced the style of toasting or deejaying (toasting and deejaying are synonymous and refer to the Jamaican version of jive talking on top of or vocally riding pre-recorded reggae rhythms) to New York, spun two plates of funk, and let a MC rap on top of it. Before he knew it Hip Hop was born out of the basic principles and chemistry of reggae (Bradley 2000, Stolzoff 2000). Today Hip Hop music and lifestyle is considered a major global cultural force, much thanks to a creative Jamaican soul. As a musical genre reggae has also been highly influential within more mainstream Western popular music, also here in a somewhat covert way. The Beatles’ *Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da* has a predominant reggae beat (This has been explained as an effect of Paul McCartney’s fascination for reggae, and the character of Desmond supposedly is a reference to Jamaican artist Desmond Dekker (Katz 2000)), so has *The Eagles*’ 1977 hit *Hotel California* also displays the same identifiable rhythm. These are just two arbitrary examples – a whole array of important artists have obviously and admittedly been inspired by Jamaican music. This may contribute to validating the argument of Jamaica’s immense...
The Rastafarian aesthetic often associated with reggae provides a distinctive link to reggae culture, and may have further cemented reggae culture within a readily recognizable and explicit cultural discourse. However, there is more to reggae and Rastafarianism than just an appealing aesthetic. Prof. Ian Boxill, Professor of Sociology at UWI, elaborates on Jamaican culture’s tremendous force:

It has to do with reggae and Rastafari, which have played a critical role in helping to locate the society. And this culture was rooted in a certain philosophy. You have the emergence of this new music and you have this emergence of this new religion/philosophy. And these two make for a phenomenal combination which took the world by storm. There is an interesting thing about global culture which is this; for it to be successful it has to appeal to not only to general aesthetics, but it also has to appeal philosophically. Like Hip Hop; which has a philosophy of the streets. Rock ’n’ roll; same thing, it has a philosophy. And the issue of music, the issue of philosophy – these create a movement which people globally can relate to; the issues of oppression, the issues of violence, the issues of justice, these issues are universal. They appeal to people irrespective of society, even though they are based on the experiences of black Jamaica. But what is true of the experiences of black Jamaica is true of non-black people wherever in terms of the whole struggle against oppression, violation of human rights etc. This is why reggae has been so powerful.

Prof. Ian Boxill (25 April 2007)

The Rastafarianism religion/philosophy which Prof. Boxill speaks about is another significant Jamaican contribution to the world. Journalist and leader of the Pan-African movement United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), Marcus Mosiah Garvey (1877-1940) prophesied that when a black king was crowned in Africa, redemption was near (Cronon 2006). In 1930, Haile Selassie I was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, and this was seen as the return of the black Messiah (Murrell et. al. 1998). The Rastafarians sport dreadlocks as a symbol of resistance to Babylon, smoke ganja as a holy sacrament for meditation and often exhibit the colours red, gold and green, as in the Ethiopian flag.

Garvey not only became a significant political leader in his own right, advocating black pride and empowerment, he also provided an important inspiration to powerful and influential cultural influence, and furthermore in part explain Jamaica’s central position in the cultural spaces. Non-Jamaican bands and artistes to acknowledge reggae and/or Jamaican music at large as an important influence are as diverse as Ace of Base, Basement Jaxx, Beastie Boys, The Beatles, Blondie, Boney M, Johnny Cash, The Clash, Elvis Costello, Culture Club (Boy George), Dr. Alban, Eddy Grant, The Fugees, Ben Harper, Led Zeppelin, Leftfield, Matisyahu, The Mighty Mighty Bosstones, Willie Nelson, No Doubt, The Police (Sting), The Prodigy, Lionel Richie, The Rolling Stones, Sex Pistols, Simply Red, Bruce Springsteen, Gwen Stefani, Sublime, U2, UB40, Amy Winehouse and Stevie Wonder, as well as the British 2 Tone Ska genre and associated subcultural movement fronted by bands such as Bad Manners, The Beat, Madness, The Selecter and The Specials.
leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther-King, Nelson Mandela and Malcolm X. Bob Marley, a convert to the faith, together with others spread the message of Rastafari to the world through reggae music. This may arguably be a major reason for Rastafari’s worldwide recognition, and there are now estimated to be more than a million Rastafarians throughout the world and many more sympathisers. Despite Bob Marley advocacy, Rastafarians have long been shunned in Jamaica, due to their perceived laziness, non-productivity and often blatant ganja smoking. However, most recently the 2007 Miss Jamaica Zahra Redwood, a devout Rastafarian represented Jamaica in the 2007 Miss Universe contest in Mexico City, an unambiguous sign that the times are changing.

As argued, the Jamaican people must be awarded much of the credit for Jamaica having such a strong name. Importantly though, this does not only include the people in Jamaica itself, but also the diaspora – especially in the USA and Great Britain. Dr. Harvey accentuates how the diaspora has exercised a significant international impact:

We have to look at the dynamics of how this developed. Look at the diaspora. They have always had a significant impact on a number of important North American and European spaces. Furthermore, Jamaica has since the 1930’s expelled great influence through various distinguished persons, starting from Marcus Garvey. Then you have the attraction of the Caribbean, which often collapses into Jamaica because Jamaica is a very popular place.

Dr. Matthew Harvey (25 April 2007)

39 A common misconception, however, is that Rastafarianism is the most prominent religious movement in Jamaica. This misconception has possibly occurred due to the intrinsic link between reggae culture, the most prominent cultural expression of Jamaica, and Rastafarianism, which has strong followers within the outspoken musical fraternity. However, besides not being a religion per se, but more correctly a philosophy (much in the same way as Buddhism) (Barrett 1992, Chevannes 1994), the Rastafari faith only attracts between 2-3% of the Jamaican population. Christians make up 65.3% of the population, with the majority being Protestant, partly due to the influence of the Christian leadership in the British Anti-Slavery Society, and later the influence of abolitionist denominations from the USA. In spite of resistance by the slave owners, the Christian faith spread rapidly as British Christian abolitionists and educated former slaves joined local Jamaican Christian leaders in the struggle against slavery. Today, the five largest denominations in Jamaica are the Church of God, Seventh-Day Adventists, Baptists, Pentecostalism and Anglicanism. Other churches include the Roman Catholic, the Methodist, Jehovah’s Witnesses, the Congregational and the Ethiopian Orthodox. Other sizable non-Christian religions in Jamaica include Bahá’í, Buddhism, Islam, and Hinduism. There is also a small population of Reform Jews in Jamaica who trace their roots back to early 15th century Spain and Portugal. In urban poor and rural areas ancient West African folk cult practices of Obeah, Kumina and Pocomania can be found. Religion and worship plays a major part in many Jamaicans’ lives, and especially Christianity is visible; driving around Jamaica on a Sunday one would have problems counting all the people dressed up for service in their Sunday-best.


Much like the global Jewish, Irish or Sikh diaspora, the Jamaican diaspora—while maintaining close ties to home—has a strong ethic on making a positive impact in their new communities (Olwig 2005). The diaspora—estimated to be as large as the population itself—has been a major factor in ensuring the visibility of Jamaica and the Jamaican community internationally, exercising colossal cultural and otherwise influence on world metropolis’ like New York, Miami, Toronto and London, as well as a number of other spaces. This influence comes in the form of music, style, fashion, and cuisine, as well as the people themselves. In several spaces this influence has been so strong that Jamaican key narratives have to some degree been institutionalized in urban culture and have assumed the status as common points of reference. This is particularly apparent in the world of film.

Jamaicans are known to be survivors and strong leader figures—it has been in their blood since the first maroons—and the Jamaicans that emigrated have often made an effort to make a pronounced contribution to the spaces and domains in which they operate. As the interviews were conducted, it soon became apparent that many of the interviewees—while giving their personal accounts of why Jamaica is so internationally recognised—pointed to the fact that so many of the Jamaicans who emigrated and their decedents have excelled in various spaces.

42 The case of Ireland in the context of nation branding will be discussed subsequently in chapter 5.
43. Ian Fleming wrote all the James Bond books at his Golden Eye residence in Jamaica, and many of the books were set there and scenes for Dr. No (1962) and Live and Let Die (1973) were shot on location in Jamaica. Furthermore, legendary pirate hub Port Royal, was awarded thematic reference in the acclaimed Pirates of the Caribbean trilogy, featuring Johnny Depp. The Simpsons have also made several Jamaican references, and cult cartoon Futurama features a Jamaican character. On the flip side, Jamaica has often been given a caricatured image. Looking to the entertainment sphere, the prime example may be the 1993 Walt Disney motion picture Cool Runnings, about the National Jamaican Bobsled Team. Although this film portrays Jamaica in a humoristic and, arguably, ridiculous way, it nevertheless draws attention to Jamaica and further strengthens the island’s profile, and in doing so, reinforcing certain stereotypes.
44 Maroons were the runaway slaves that hid in the hills, and from small community bases fought the British colonialists (Sherlock & Bennett 1998).
45 Notable Jamaicans or people of Jamaican descent exercising, or having exercised great power and influence include Colin Powell, 65th United States Secretary of State; Canadian-based entrepreneur Michael Lee-Chin; cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall; humanitarian nurse Mary Seacole; Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan; revolutionary dub poet Linton Kwesi Johnson; novelist Zadie Smith; journalist Malcolm Gladwell; film director/musician Don Letts; ground-breaking Hip-Hop artists Busta Rhymes, KRS-One and Notorious B.I.G; Hip-Hop MC Roots Manuva; multi-million record selling Grammy-winning soul singer/actress/philanthropist Alicia Keys; super model Naomi Campbell; artist/actress/model/diva Grace Jones and curiously enough 7 July 2005 London terrorist bomber Germaine Lindsay. Looking to sports, Jamaica has produced some of modern age’s greatest and most outstanding sporting personalities. The island has been labelled as a sprinting factory, most recently current 9.74 seconds men’s 100 meter world record holder Asafa Powell, in addition to sprinters Donovan Bailey, Linford Christie, Merlene Ottey, Veronica Campbell, Usain Bolt, former NBA-superstar Patrick Ewing, heavyweight boxer Lennox Lewis, and English Premier League footballers Sol Campbell and Andy Cole. Bernard Burrell of Radio Jamaica is regularly invited, and participates in the popular BBC World current affairs discussion programme “Dateline London” chaired by Gavin Esler where foreign...
Such a small nation producing what may appear to be a disproportionately large number of outstanding individuals, may suggest that there is an ethos or a particular composite of factors that may explain this impact. However, before further scrutinizing this, it is important to bear in mind that Jamaica is not only known for its positives.

The Jamaican ‘headaches’

Circumstances made me what I am,
was I born a violent man?

Generally, the perception of Jamaica is positive. However, Kovaleski (1999) argues that “despite its reputation as a happy-go-lucky island of sun, sand and reggae”, there is a large discrepancy between the manner in which many outsiders romanticize about life in Jamaica and the actual living conditions for a large part of the population (Kovaleski 1999, USAID 2005). The nation is riven by social problems and (violent) crime that is intrinsically connected with the high poverty and unemployment rate, and the level of corruption is creating major challenges for the Government and businesses. To compound this, Jamaica plays an important role as a transfer point in central Caribbean corridor which facilitates transport of cocaine and marijuana from Colombia to the United States.

Several of the interviewees suggested that the surmission of these aforementioned factors in combination with idiosyncrasies in the Jamaican persona to a large degree can explain the

47 The poverty rate is estimated to be 14.8 %. The unemployment rate is estimated to be between 12% and 22%. CIA World Fact Book. Jamaica.https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/jm.html#Econ
and http://www.globalis.no/land/jamaica/(show)/indicators (Read 16.12.2008)
49 A Comparative Criminology Tour of the World. San Diego State University.
island having the world’s third highest murder-rate\(^{50}\) (UNDP 2006, Kovaleski 1999). However, to Jamaica’s credit, the violent crime problem has been taken seriously by the Government and other stakeholders\(^{51}\). The homicide rate has declined from 1671 homicides in 2005 to 1304 homicides in 2006\(^{52}\), representing a 22% decline\(^{53}\). Unfortunately, however, statistics from the Jamaica Constabulary Force indicate that the murder rate rose by 17% in 2007, totalling in 1,574 murders\(^{54}\). Hopefully this is just a minor setback from the positive trend in 2006.

Furthermore, Jamaica has received a bad reputation for being one of the most homophobic societies in the world. Jamaican masculinity is stereotypically associated with superior physical strength, affirmativeness, aggression and sexual prowess; homosexuality is perceived as a threat to and a feminization of this \textit{real} masculinity (Gutzmore 2004, Hope 2006). Widespread negative attitudes against homosexuals – including verbal and occasional physical violence against this group – has brought Jamaica an unfortunate amount of negative attention. According to the UNICEF (2006), Jamaica has a 1,5% HIV/AIDS prevalence\(^{55}\), highlighted in the 2006 Human Rights Watch\(^{56}\) to be intrinsically connected to the situation with homophobia\(^{57}\). To further compound this, prominent dancehall artistes have been

\(^{50}\) Jamaica follows South Africa and Brazil in this detrimental statistic. These interviewees most notable include Prof. Barry Chevannes, Prof. Bernhard Headley and Dr. Michael Witter. The idiosyncrasy of what is spoken about is the particularly Jamaican assertiveness, which in this case is channelled in its most negative form. The Jamaican assertiveness will be discussed subsequently.


\(^{52}\) This represents a 58 per 100.000 rate (1671 homicides) in 2005 to 49 per 100.000 rate (1304 homicides) in 2006.


\(^{57}\) On MTV’s World AIDS Day 1 December 2007 special, Jamaica was one of three countries featured for insufficiently dealing with the problem of HIV/AIDS, the stigma surrounding the disease and its linkage to homophobia. The homophobia in Jamaica has also been discussed on the influential Oprah Winfrey show. In the Gay around the world theme show, the segment Far From Paradise was dedicated to Jamaican exiled activist Stacyann Chin, who talks about the vicious hatecrimes against gays that made her flee her native home. The show created a stir and brought strongly negative attention to this aspect of Jamaican society. Originally aired 24 October 2007.
accused of perpetuating violently hateful attitudes towards homosexuals\(^\text{58}\) (Amani 2007, Gutzmore 2004, Hope 2006). Pioneer work by the gay rights pressure group *OutRage!* as well as the positive change group *Stop Murder Music*, however, ultimately led to the petition and signing of the *Reggae Compassionate Act* in 2007 by major artistes such as Beenie Man, Sizzla and Capleton\(^\text{59}\). The artistes agreed to refrain from misogynist, racist, sexist and homophobic lyrics, and rather focus on positive attitudes such as respect and understanding. This marks a step in the right direction in a nation plagued by homophobia, and where dancehall artistes are viewed as important role models and inspirations\(^\text{60}\).

According to Bernard Headley, Professor of Criminology at UWI, the composite of all these negative factors have had – and to some degree still have – a stranglehold effect on the socio-economic development in Jamaica. The economy has historically been saddled with a record of sluggish growth. The nation is heavily indebted and currently owes the World Bank, the IMF and the Inter-American Development Bank USD 4.5 billion, stipulated at 133% of GDP\(^\text{61}\). Particularly, the problem of violent crime is linked to this sluggish economic development\(^\text{62}\). Significant numbers of the workforce are tied up in the security industry – an industry that is essentially non-productive – and merely keeps the social crime situation in a perceived equilibrium (Clarke et. al. 2000). The economy faces serious long-term challenges;

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\(^\text{58}\) These artists most notably include Buju Banton, Beenie Man, Bounty Killer, Capleton, Elephant Man and Sizzla. Estimations suggest that these artists have lost over GDP 5 million in revenues, due to concert cancellations and record deal/sponsorship losses triggered by the reactions to the homophobic lyrical content. Guardian Unlimited. 12 December 2004. Pride and Prejudice. http://arts.guardian.co.uk/fridayreview/story/0,,1369875,00.html


\(^\text{60}\) To further validate that there is a level of understanding for the outside world’s disapproval of homophobic lyrics in the reggae fraternity, it is worth noting that the three biggest selling contemporary reggae album artistes – Shaggy, Sean Paul and Damian Marley all avoid the mention of homosexuality in their lyrics. This can be interpreted as silent acknowledgment of the international disapproval of such misogynist lyrics, and how this could potentially devastate their careers. Furthermore, in 1992 on the British Channel Four programme The Word, Shabba Ranks argued “God created Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve” and advocated the crucifixion of homosexuals to great disapproval by the audience and condemnation for his comments by presenter Mark Lamarr. This incident and an incident at the 1993 MTV Music awards where Shabba Ranks kisses what appears to be a beautiful woman, but what in fact turns out to be a man in drag, is often used to explain the plummet in Shabba Ranks career. Shabba Ranks was predicted and promised a skyrocketing career in the US and Europe, but because of these incidents in addition to his violently homophobic songs he was dropped by his record label, banned from radio and he never became the superstar many anticipated. Murder inna Dancehall: http://www.soulrebels.org/dancehall/d_history.htm

\(^\text{61}\) Following a strategy begun in 2004, Jamaica has started to reduce its public debt and inflation has declined to 5.8% per annum at the end of 2006. CIA World Fact Book. Jamaica. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/jm.html#Econ (Read 23.02.2008)

high but declining interest rates, increased foreign competition attributable to globalization, exchange-rate instability, a sizable merchandise trade deficit, large-scale unemployment and underemployment⁶³, and a high debt burden – the result of government bailouts to ailing sectors of the economy⁶⁴ (Blavy 2006, Panth et. al. 2006). Jamaica has been the beneficiary of several EU-funded projects, and due to this financial and infrastructural support the nation has been able to significantly improve its schools, infrastructure, healthcare system and business environment⁶⁵. The anticipation is that the implications of these socio-economic measures will diminish social problems, and put the Jamaican economy and the society at large in more progressive mode and increase the standard of living (Panth et.al 2006, UNDP/PIOJ 2005). Professor Headley predicts that if the nation is able to diminish the influence of the composite of the negative factors, Jamaica would become a better place to live for its people and the nation’s image would benefit greatly (Headley 2007).

The identification of the positive and negative contributions and attachments to the Jamaican name can provide a concrete notion of the factors constructing and constituting the discursive concept of Jamaica. The dichotomous qualities represented in these cultural and otherwise subsidies, may contribute to an intriguing conception of Jamaica.

**The amalgamation of the flags: The Jamaican flag. The Ethiopian colours**

Generally, one can ascertain that a nation’s flag stands as its foremost defining symbol. The flag is considered to be the episteme of a nation’s process of identity building, and is approached with pride and humility. Also in Jamaica’s case it is the flag that has the most directly and undeviating symbolic link to the nation. While speaking proudly about Jamaica, Jamaicans also continue to fly the flag high.

On 13 July 1962, just under a month before independence – and after substituting the colonial predecessor; a navy blue flag depicting the Coat of Arms and the Union Jack in the top left corner – the new independent Jamaican flag was unveiled for the first time. It consists of the colours green, gold, and black. Green represents the agricultural richness and hope for the

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⁶³ The Planning Institute of Jamaica: Economic and Social Survey Jamaica (2006)
⁶⁴ Interview with Michael Manley in Life and Debt (2001)
future. Gold represents the sunlight and the country's natural wealth. Black symbolises the strength and creativity of the Jamaican people. Visiting Jamaica one is readily exposed to the flag: Wall paintings depicting the flag with *Proud to be Jamaican* written over, people wearing green or yellow t-shirts depicting the flag, Jamaican flags as bumper-stickers, the flag in ear-rings, the flag on slippers – wherever the Jamaican flag can be displayed, it will be displayed. This zealous exhibition of the flag denotes a passion for the nation, its culture and its heritage, and this panoply is, arguably, one of defining factors of the Jamaican people.

However, while the flag belongs to the nation, it is simultaneously de-contextualized; operating in a liminal space where it is often appropriated indebtedly. Jamaica’s relationship to its flag is one of intricacy; a daedal that embraces an expansive symbolic space:

Brand Jamaica, in terms of what you know it to be, comes out of a cultural expression. The flag that is most associated with this cultural expression is red, green and gold – because at the front line is Rastafari. Look at Jamaica in terms of what it really is. Jamaica is driven by the informal sector and it is in this sector the cultural enterprise thrives. That is represented by red, green and gold. The formal sector of Jamaica has not grown for the last umpteen amount of years, is represented by black, green and yellow. So if you look at the new strategy that is being rolled out by JamPro – *today’s Jamaica means business* – what they use is the black, green and gold. But if you move outside of that formal space, you see what really drives that brand; at stage shows, at sporting events, even the athletes have the red, green and gold bead around their neck or red, green and gold sweatband. And you even see some people use the red, green, gold and black, which bridges both Rastafari, Marcus Garvey’s ideas and Jamaica. So there is an amalgamation there. Either flag leads to the same place.

Dr. Matthew Harvey (30 May 2007)

The vexillological phenomenon where both the Ethiopian colours – due to Rastafarianism’s tremendous exposure through reggae music – and the Jamaican colours collapse into the symbolic space that Jamaica discursively allocates and designates. Rastafarians, who are firmly represented in the Jamaican music fraternity, commonly display the Ethiopian colours as well as the flag itself, to show their beliefs in the Rastafarian faith. Of a total of fifty six African nations, twenty two of these display the Pan African colours. Fascinatingly, however, these three colours are through metonymical chains of association often connotated with Rastafarianism which again symbolically leads to reggae music and to Jamaica itself (Berkaak & Frønes 2005). This is validated by the fact that a large majority of products explicitly displaying red, green and gold are by the producers’ epithet with an unambiguous reference to

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66 Vexillology is the scholarly study of flags.
either Rasta, reggae or Jamaica (Barker 2000, Edmonds 2003, Waters 1989). This expansive symbolism Jamaica has awarded itself – or has been awarded – compounded by real contributions, may have allocated Jamaica to a disproportionately large symbolic space, and compounded with the unique and indiscrete Jamaican pride, may in part explain Jamaica’s ability to position itself at centre stage, culturally speaking.

The people: Proud to be Jamaican!

Most Jamaicans consider that their country is the centre of the world, which may not be entirely true or entirely wrong. It is true that when you travel around the world people know about Jamaica. Marco Mazzocchi-Alemanni
EU-Ambassador to Jamaica

Mr. Mazzocchi-Alemanni’s analysis of Jamaica’s socio-geographic and socio-cultural placement in the world highlights an experience one will easily be exposed to if spending time on the island; Jamaicans often have an indubitable, yet confident discursive way of clamouring Jamaica. In some delectable metaphysical way Jamaica is placed at the centre of human existence, and the rest of the world is somehow just surrounding appendage. Obviously, this is account is exaggerated, and Mr. Mazzocchi-Alemanni rightfully admits that this mind-set is neither entirely true or entirely wrong. It is rather an expression of an unrepentant pride in being Jamaican and the glory of the Jamaican nation. Jamaica knows it is small, but yet exhibits unprecedented strength and willpower, hence the proverb *wi likkle but wi tallawah*, which essentializes this ethos.

In understanding the emergence of the Jamaican pride, one has to go back in history. In 1655, when the British seized Jamaica from the Spaniards, the slaves went from experiencing ill treatment to full fledged dehumanizing conditions. The number of runaway slaves – maroons – increased drastically. They formed communities in the interior mountains, fighting the British colonialists with great resistance and vigour (Sherlock & Bennett 1998). From this psyche, and within the sentiment of colonialism and post-colonialism, the Jamaican people have endured unbearable hardships. Through slavery and oppression, the Jamaican people

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67 See appendix 4.
have always risen proud and strong. The motto *Out of many, one people*, and signifies the mixed heritage of the majority of Jamaicans, while at the same time encapsulates the fortitude spirit of unity\(^69\).

However, while the Jamaican pride may have existed for centuries, it has not always been as blatantly expressed. According to several of the interviewees, The Reggae Boyz\(^70\) qualifying for the 1998 World Cup in France proved seminal in this respect. This feat proved a major unifying force, and the subdued and repressed pride found a point of conversion; ostensibly culminating in a brazen patriotism that has brandished persistence. When questioned directly about what may be the single most defining trait of Jamaicans, several of the interviewees (Aris 2007, Chevannes 2007, Hayle 2007, Witter 2007) pointed to the distinctive and pronounced *assertiveness*. This assertiveness is often expressed through confidence, boldness and a certain sense of being invulnerable and undefeatable. Dr. Witter illustrates this by using a Jamaican archetypical character to corporally express this assertiveness:

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(\ldots) \text{Here in Jamaica you don’t notice it, but if you take that kind of behaviour and put it in a much more structured context, it was so clear to me in Geneva, Switzerland when I was there. You could see a Swiss policeman being dubiously at him. And his wits endered when he saw something like this come walking down the street. He had to arrest it, what else could he do? The whole body noise, everything about him is different. It was the projection of that assertive persona. (\ldots) What is the essence? I can do anything I want to do. Nobody can stop me from doing it. And I am going to do it with as much flair and style I feel like. How much colour, how much smell, how much noise, whatever.}
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Dr. Michael Witter (26 April 2007)

According to Dr. Witter’s account, the Jamaican assertiveness has an unapologetic mannerism to it that allows and enables the carrier to conquer any challenge. Perhaps this persona can also suggest a constituent factor in explaining why Jamaica seemingly have a disproportionate

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\(^69\) The Spanish started minor trans-Atlantic importation of African slaves in the 17th century, mainly from The Gold Coast (present day Ghana), which the British continued upon their colonization of Jamaica in 1655. By the beginning of the 19th century, the United Kingdom's heavy import of slaves resulted in blacks outnumbering white Europeans by a ratio of 10 to 1, leading to constant opportunities for revolt. Following a series of rebellions and shifting of the attitudes of the colonial powers mainly due to the decline of the profitability of slave labour with the onset of the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century, slavery was formally abolished in 1834, with full emancipation from chattel slavery declared in 1838. Today over 90% of Jamaica’s population is of African descent, the remainder is of Indian, Chinese, Lebanese, Syrian (mostly descendents of indentured labourers) or White European descent (Sherlock & Bennett 1998).

\(^70\) The national Jamaican football team.
number of outstandingly successful individuals. However, the bold-faced aspect of the Jamaican psyche cannot alone explain Jamaican excellence and pride in own achievements. Prof. Barry Chevannes, Professor of Social Anthropology at UWI, argues metaphorically of an appropriation of an anansi\(^1\) sensibility:

> More than perhaps other countries there is an internalization of that anansi ethos: A celebration of with wit being able to overcome might from opposition of vulnerability. Which is multi dimensional, not only overcoming might and power with wit. There is also in anansi the power of ambiguity. An ability to negotiate ambiguous spaces. (…) I think we have imbued this ethos as a part of living. We have a concept of always moving upward. And not to move up is a terrible fault, it means you have no ambition.

Prof. Barry Chevannes (30 April 2007)

The audacity, the impudence and the unmitigated effrontery embedded in the Jamaican psyche is often expressed through perseverance and persistent ambition. This ethos prolificaly entails that success is the only option. If the embedded power of ambiguity is channelled towards taking full advantage of the mythical character of the Jamaican cultural and symbolic narrative, the assertiveness and bold energy may possibly through consistent commitment to excellence culminate in proud and constructive nation branding. However, before discussing this issue it is decisive to de-construct the mythical construction of the Jamaican narrative.

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\(^1\) The anansi spider is a folklore character believed to originate from the Ashanti tribe in present day Ghana. Anansi is quick-witted and intelligent, surviving the odds and tricking those around him. He was great at disguises, omniscient but nonetheless willing to be chopped to prove a moral. He represents an investment in hope through his indestructibility, knowledge and wit, and personifies the quality of survival so admired by Jamaicans. The anansi spider has somewhat the same folkloristic role as the Coyote in Native American cultures or the crow in European legends, the rabbit in Chinese, Japanese, Aztec, American and European folklore and mythology.
The symbolic narrative of Jamaica: The myth construction of images

Natty dread is the most subversive phenomenon I can imagine – yet the least constructive. On the one hand, the image of the dreadlock on a motorcycle without any shirt on or shoes or helmet and the dreads flying, defies gravity. No physical law at all can stop him. But then try to sit down and make the simplest agreement with him, to do the simplest thing. It’s a problem. (…) On the other hand, Bob Marley represented something completely opposite. Wherever he went, whatever he did, the language he used, the concepts he used, forced you to rethink, to re-feel, to feel differently, to act differently. I knew that even before he got big in Jamaica, he was not a normal human being. The way he sound, the way he looked, the way he walked, the way he talked – he operated in another dimension. It reinforces the sense of the Jamaican exceptionally. I think it sparked a mythical construction that has assumed a life of its own and again feeds into the mythology.

Dr. Michael Witter (26 April 2007)

Dr. Witter verbalizes the mythical nature of the Jamaican image, and the apparent double communication of the narratives – on the one hand, the narrative construction of Jamaica is the story of a backward, laidback place; on the other hand, the story of Jamaica is one of an exceptional place almost in a different dimension. The Jamaican cultural symbols and its narrative construction have assumed a nature that has provided fertile growing conditions for myth to emerge and endure.

In 2007, Norwegian lifestyle magazine LiveIn had an article about vacationing in Jamaica called Caribbean Paradise. The message communicated in this article may serve as a cue to illustrate stereotypes about the nation. The introduction starts off with stating that “Jamaica has bred sprint legend Merlene Ottey and World record holder Asafa Powell. But more typical for the inhabitants is diving, swimming and rum drinking”72. For the nonchalant reader, this leaves the clichéd impression that this is what Jamaicans do all day, every day. Looking away from the article’s obvious ignorance, the article is interesting because it blatantly feeds into and symptomatically reinforces an already established and somewhat dominant narrative – the mentioned misrepresentation that most Jamaicans chill out on the beach and enjoy life. In another article in Aftenposten’s travel section, Ronny Kristoffersen73 comments on how “Jamaica has managed to create a paradise picture of the island. There’s reggae, a laid-back

73 Of the Norwegian travel duo Nils & Ronny, who host travel programmes on the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, NRK.
mood and Bob Marley’s everlasting chanting of *One Love*, before commenting laconically on how many HIV positive people are treated: “There’s not much *One Love* going on there”.

Numerous other examples similar in nature regarding these perceptions and expectations could easily be found. With reference to Mr. Kristoffersen’s formulation; this raises primordial questions whether it is Jamaica that has created this mythologized image themselves; is it outsiders like himself that have ascribed this image, or is it a reciprocal combination of the two factors? These questions pertain unswervingly to an understanding of how the image and perception of Jamaica is narrated, both by Jamaica itself and by outsiders, and who is the primary deliverer of the premises. To be able to decipher this, it is essential to understand the underlying narratives that are played into and how their perseverance can cater for embezzling the underlying symbolic structures.

There appears to be certain hegemonic perceptions of Jamaica that prevail and that are hard to eradicate, or even correct. The prevailing stereotypical notion of Jamaica as this *One Love – No Problem – reggae – Rasta – ganja* place seems to take denotative precedence over other more factually grounded denotations. For example – possibly because of Bob Marley’s and other reggae artistes’ fervent promotion of ganja – Jamaica is arguably viewed discursively as somewhat of a ganja haven. The romanticized picture of a dreadlocked Rastaman smoking a big spliff under a coconut tree is often sketched. Meeting and talking to people from all over the world, two popular perceptions regarding ganja in Jamaica seem to prevail: Ganja is legal, and everybody smokes it. The first is incorrect. The cultivation, retail and consumption of ganja is illegal. And, needless to say, not *everybody* in Jamaica smokes ganja. However, it *is* widely used and commonly accepted – arguably more so than in many other places – and is to a greater degree viewed discursively as a meditative and healing herb rather than a drug. Furthermore it is intrinsically connected with Rastafari; and in the reggae fraternity it is commonly used.

The prominence ganja has achieved status as a key symbol and root metaphor of what is perceived to be Jamaican culture, and can be a two-edged sword: On the one hand, excessive and compulsive use of ganja can constitute a social problem for the society. On the other

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hand, it represents the *irie vibes*; reinforcing dominant denotative discourses, and hence precluding the possibilities of new, yet more holistically true connotative interpretations to be read into the narrative of Jamaica. The implication of this is that the notion of Jamaica as a ganja haven becomes indisposed for replacement by other narratives of Jamaica, and continues to be reinforced as a valid representation. Carolyn Hayle, Senior Programme Officer at the Institute of Hospitality and Tourism, UWI, exemplifies:

> They have created this image of the Rastaman on the beach smoking his spliff and that’s what the tourists come to find. But when the tourists come they don’t necessarily find them. If we don’t contain this business of the mythical projection of images, the tourists will find Rastaman but not necessarily in a mood they would want to be with them in.

Carolyn Hayle (25 April 2007)

The *they* Ms. Hayle refers to are external stakeholder with economic or other incentives to uphold this mythical image of Jamaica, and continue selling a myth that does not necessarily correspond with reality. This somewhat mythical character – exemplified through the discourse of the ganja metonymy – is a semantic construct. To a certain degree, the perception of Jamaica is socio-linguistically constructed, and various audiences project various values onto Jamaica, depending on their cultural reference points. While some would associate Jamaica with musical expressions, others will primarily think of Jamaica in the realms of tourism. However, not withholding individual interpretation, the hegemonic perception of Jamaica applies the logic of key narratives. This has already been illustrated by how Bob Marley has become synonymous with Jamaica, reggae and Rastafarianism. Bob Marley has achieved the status of a key symbol, a role he to a large degree has been assigned by outsiders. Boldly one may claim that for Jamaicans he is *one of many* reggae artistes; for the majority of outsiders he is *the only one*. The problem is that when the bulk of symbolism embedded in Jamaica collapses onto the image of Bob Marley, this runs the danger of decomposing and disintegrating the symbol, essentially creating fertile grounds for the emergence of an illusion; the unsubstantiated myth.

Pragmatically, these mechanisms are marshalled by exploitative commercialization, an instrumentation that may eradicate and in the extreme case obliterate the original signifiers of what is believed to be Jamaican culture. The effect will be that visitors coming to Jamaica will

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be unable to find the cultural signifiers they in the first instance came to experience. Like argued introductorily, the dominant perception of Jamaica is narrated within the discourse of an *imagined authenticity*. Based of this stereotypical mythical narrative, many visitors come to Jamaica with a preconceived notion. Prof. Boxill further validates Ms. Hayle’s elucidation:

(...)

All of these things create a sort of mythical existence, so when you’re away and you see videos of Bob Marley and hear the music, and then you come to Jamaica and expect that on a daily basis. But it doesn’t happen, because what becomes mainstream in many other cultures is in some respects marginal in Jamaica. And it is because of its marginal status that it has its greatest edge.

Prof. Ian Boxill (25 April 2007)

This myth feeds into the mainstream notion, the commonly held *truth* about Jamaica. At the same time, the myth’s *actual* marginal status in Jamaican society awards it its substantial force, and hence allocates its socio-cultural compelling power to persist. Expressions that eventually become mainstream cultural narratives are often created in and reinforced by marginal cultural forces or subcultures. What is exceptional in this case, however, is that while reggae and Rastafarian culture may assume the role of dominant hegemonic narratives outside Jamaica, they represent a marginal space in Jamaica. This is much the same way as hip-hop culture which constitutes a major cultural narrative of the USA, although this does not mean that everybody living in the USA lives a thug life in Brooklyn. Hence, the illusion of reggae sound systems on every street corner and from every beach bar is a representational illusion.

Stuart Hall (1997) has argued that commercialization that reaches a certain level with regards to magnitude and scope may provide challenges for the producers of symbolic meaning and cultural expression. These producers may potentially, if not vigilant, endanger themselves in losing self-governing control over the symbolism’s embodied meaning and trajectory projective direction. This could entail a cheapening of the symbolic landscape – secessing reggae and Rastafarian symbols from their original ideological attachments that in the first place enhanced their significance – enabling new discourses to re-create a symbolic landscape detached form its original signifiers. The manifestation of this is readily seen in the projection of symbols commonly associated with Jamaica on merchandise sold in the tourist areas76. These specific symbolic projections are almost exclusively produced overseas, are of inferior

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76 See appendix 5. Tourism in the Jamaican context will be discussed subsequently in chapter 5 on the branding of Jamaica.
quality and design, and are marketed in an inflative manner towards tourists. This compound can potentially lead to a detrimental situation where the symbols may lose their clout and be exposed to symbolic derogation. As Pierre Bourdieu (1984) has pointed out, the value of symbolic capital is defined relationally. The social game of cultural distinction is an ongoing process whereby social agents classify, and are classified, according to their taste:

Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their positions in the objective classification is expressed and betrayed (Bourdieu 1984:6).

Both Bourdieu’s own research and subsequent research making use of his theoretical-methodological model suggests that it is agents from the upper social strata that most commonly search for social distinction through exotic cultural consumption. Through commercialization, and thus popularization, of reggae music and Rastafarian symbols, these cultural products lose their aura in the eyes of cultural consumers on the lookout for social distinction. Thus, the distinctive value of cultural consumption is inflated as the given practice becomes common. In other words: As the “vulgar” western tourist from the lower social strata crosses the Jamaican border, the “authentic” distinction conscious traveller is long gone.

Who defines Jamaica externally, and how it is defined depends on mechanisms invigilated by agents and stakeholder who often operate with conflicting interests. While the cheap, mass produced Rasta-inspired, tourist-geared paraphernalia shipped in from overseas and sold in Jamaica may cheapen the visual discourse of Rastafari, Nike and Dior’s Rasta-inspired products may serve to refine and distinguish the perception of these symbols and elevate that same visual discourse Rastafari inhabits. In other words, these two opposing projections compete for the ruling discourse. In the middle of this belligerency for commercial symbolic domination, but not necessarily involved in the contestation, are the Rastafarians – and possibly even Jamaicans in general, given the scope of this all-persuasive discourse in a Jamaican context – who constitute the referent, but exercise little or no actual say in the symbolic projection. This symbolic contestation then becomes a question of who has the symbolic authority and power to define the ruling discourse and the power to impose their definitions, and how this effects the referents. Furthermore it becomes a question of who

77 See appendix 5.
78 See appendix 4.
makes money, and at what expense? One may question if a Jamaican Rastaman might feel slightly disenfranchised and alienated when sporting Dior Rasta. On the other hand, one may argue that the stereotyped over-weight and sunburnt American tourists on the North Coast of Jamaica running around with Rasta-coloured tams with fake dreadlocks and a red, green and gold tie died T-shirt saying *Yah man* demean the Rastafarian symbolism’s ideological and culturally edgy character. Both these projections involve a conundrum of contradictions that one can argue demean the symbolism and disjoints it from its original signifier, while raising ideological questions pertaining to Rasta’s embedded and intrinsically intertwining groundation in identity.

As already introduced, Hall (1996, 1997, 2000), Foucault (1999) and Bourdieu (1984) discuss the signifying practice in the systems of representation that allocates the subject positions in a social and/or symbolic realm. They argue symbolic meaning is embedded in the sign, and when the signification process is altered, the altered meaning in the sign may influence the signification of reality. Identity is embedded in and created through the sign, and when the sign’s denotative and connotative meaning is altered, this may affect processes of identity creation and negotiation. In practice, the representational image construction entices that the raised eloquence of the visual discourse of Rasta through Nike and Dior may operate in Paris and Tokyo, while the lesser distinguished version of Rasta symbolism operates in Jamaica, where it has the greatest chance of projecting Rasta in a less favourable denotative discourse. This is not to imply that there is a real Jamaican culture in the ontological sense – on the one hand detached from its original referent by distinguished fashion brands, while at the same time threatened by symbolic corruption by stakeholders operating for example towards the tourism segment in Jamaica – that is threatened by commercial interests operating within opposing symbolic trajectories. Rather, it is important to be aware of the potential narrative consequences of this strategic recycling of images, while at the same time understanding the economic incentives that benefit from keeping the mythical representation of Jamaica alive.

It is precisely in this polemic landscape of narrative and symbolic post-colonial image construction Jamaica may attain its mythical status. In *Mythologies* (1972) and *The Fashion System* (1990), Roland Barthes discusses how language and symbolic entities objects have in common the organized capacity to communicate, while at the same time being signs that have the ability always to seductively appear natural to their consumer or interpreter, as if what
they were eternal and true, instead of arbitrary and contingent. Barthes argues that the adulteration of signs has the overall utility of demystifying cultural codes.

In the divergence between Jamaica’s negotiation and contestation for a national and symbolic identity the nation itself feels is aligned with its cultural heritage, it may appear that Jamaican symbols have – through cultural assimilation – assumed a certain status as common ownership. Through significant utilization of Jamaican symbolism, international manufacturers – and distributors of Jamaican symbolism – have, in addition to Jamaica itself, contributed to the building and the strengthening of Jamaica’s narratives and symbolism. Paradoxically, it may arguably be due to the Jamaican symbolic narrative taking on a dynamic of its own through external appropriation – with Jamaica not strategically claiming its ownership – that may have been an important factor in explaining Jamaica’s fame and its somewhat cult status.

The particular compound of concrete and distinct positives and negatives – giving Jamaica a unique flavour and personality – has catered for the narrative construction of Jamaica as a place where the representation of the nation is secessed from the symbol’s original meaning. In practice this may mean that the representation of Jamaica may not necessarily represent the reality of Jamaica, but rather an equivocal construct de-contextualized form its original signifier – operating in a space where a distinct internal dynamism drives its manifestation – and hence appears somewhat mythical. It may possibly here – appearing as symbolic capital – the narrative construction appearing ostensibly legitimate in its portrayal. This mythical nature is fed into to the de-contextualized nature of the semiotic concept of Jamaica. The prevalence of Jamaican cultural references in various spaces says something about a readily recognizable narrative, and contributes to the narrative’s self-enhancing nature – the more often this Jamaica narrative is referred to, the stronger it becomes – which again stimulates its reuse and re-construction.

The essential question is then if Jamaica’s narrative – the narrative based on the self-governed projection – is subjugated by this preponderated myth? This question is actuated by the perspective on who narrates the production of the prevailing myths about Jamaica, and will de scrutinized in the last chapter on identity politics. Before doing this, however, based on the
narrative deconstruction and contextualization of Jamaica, the focus will be turned towards understanding and scrutinizing Jamaica within the discourse of nation branding.
5. Steppin’ Up Operations\textsuperscript{79}: The branding of Jamaica

The premises
If a nation fails to control and manage its international reputation in its favour, it caters for the widening of the gap between reputation and reality, and hence the image remains prey to stereotypes and ignorance. Such a scenario can constitute actual and potential barriers to real socio-economic development, and may have been in effect in Jamaica’s case. This propensity is exactly what a nation brand strategy should thwart, and building and managing one’s reputation should increasingly be built on actual change. Passivity allows the determining factors in a nation’s reputation to be shaped by accident, and those could as easily be negative as positive. Active engagement, however, allows for spotlighting the positive aspects that will cater for further stimulation and impact on trade, culture, tourism and politics.

With regards to the branding of Jamaica it may be illuminative to distinguish between what may be termed the intentional and unintentional branding. To some degree, the previous chapter dealt with the unintentional branding of Jamaica. The symbolic narrative of Jamaica is not a result of deliberate branding strategies, but rather a reflection of Jamaica’s unprecedented ability to market and promote itself. Essentially, Jamaica has just been exercising its \textit{Jamaicaness} – spellbinding the world with its expressive vibrancy and unique flavour. However, recently Jamaican stakeholders, most notably JamPro (Jamaica Promotions Agency), have made efforts to encapsulate Jamaica in a branding strategy. The challenge now will be able to incorporate the unintentionally emerged brand image into a more intentional branding strategy, and hence to a greater degree benefit and profit from the embodiment of its values. A pertinent approximation will be to understand at the nature of the Jamaican brand; how it is perceived by locals, visitors and the group that represents a great potential marketing segment for Jamaica: The people who have never visited the island. This last group is particularly vulnerable to a biased perception of Jamaica, as they have never had a first hand experience of the island, and hence may be more susceptible to buying into the stereotypical myth.

\textsuperscript{79} Capleton. Steppin’ Up. 2004
The branding of Jamaica

Nation branding may be seen as an intentionally projected key narrative. The story of a nation is written into a discourse – often, in Jamaica’s case, easy living and cultural vibrancy. Therefore in a nation branding strategy for Jamaica, it will be important to take these narratives into consideration when devising a new strategy to enable Jamaica to secede itself from a role which has been discursively awarded. In addition to Jamaica’s strong, almost iconic cultural reputation, its image is firmly rooted in the discourse of tourism. However, it might be beneficial to Jamaica to diversify the nation’s image, and in this respect determining the right branding approach is crucial. The first priority of such an exercise is not necessarily to form logos, trademarks, slogans, signage and posters. Rather, it is rudimental to identify the essence of the brand – how it is perceived, how the nation’s stakeholders want Jamaica to be perceived and how to best communicate and promote a unison and consistent nation brand.

The purpose of this is to distil and communicate the essence – the heart, head and soul – of Jamaica in a way that is relevant to the commercial concerns of Jamaica’s target groups. However, an overly branded approach that trivializes important issues can lead to negative perceptions, cynicism and backlash. Therefore, aligning suitable brand and business solutions with sustainable development is essential. This must be done with the full support of the Government, in an incentive way with Jamaican companies and in accordance with organisations, in order to harmonise the way they do business and promote products and services. Only in this way can all involved stakeholders tell the same powerful, believable story – with one voice and with one synergy and lift the Jamaican brand to new heights.

In December 2004, a joint WIPO and JIPO workshop was held in Kingston, with the intention of discussing possible approaches to a national brand strategy for Jamaica. Subsequently to this workshop, a feasibility study was initiated. In 2006, the National Branding Feasibility Study 2005 was presented to key stakeholders. It concluded that the most potentially successful and feasible approach for a national brand strategy for Jamaica would best be implemented by concentrating on cultural, historical, physical and human capital (WIPO/JIPO 2007), and hence suggested that a reshaping and tuning of the already powerful Jamaican image was most likely to succeed. Furthermore, the purpose of this feasibility study was to assess whether a national branding programme would represent a fruitful allocation of resources regarding facilitating positive socio-economic development. In January 2007,
WIPO in cooperation with JIPO held a follow-up workshop in Kingston on a national branding strategy for Jamaica. This workshop was initiated by the Jamaican Government, who at this point showed a more substantial interest in the importance of a national brand initiative.

The follow-up workshop consisted of participants from most sectors of the Anholt National Branding Hexagon\(^{80}\), and discussions centred on how to devise and implement a national branding strategy – how core platforms could catapult the initiative and how existing strategies such as those by the JamPro could be incorporated and built upon within the context of new holistic national branding strategy (WIPO/JIPO 2007). The report argues “it is the culture and heritage of Jamaica which forms and supports that national identity, self confidence and dignity of its people”, deeming Jamaica’s cultural and symbolic assets front runners in the implementation of a national branding strategy (WIPO/JIPO 2007:3). Many of the values already embedded in the Jamaican brand identity have transfusional qualities that can creatively be written into new discourses signifying values that are more readily conducive to attracting not only tourists, but also business and investment. An example of this is how Jamaican assertiveness and creativity can be channelled into constructive business energy.

Nation branding is all about training nations and people to channel their behaviour in a common direction that’s positive and productive for the country’s reputation, so they can start to earn the reputation they need and deserve (Anholt 2006: 3).

Nation branding is a painstaking and rigorous process, which takes patience and persistence. However, once given the required effort, the potential benefits can be worth while. In the Report on the Brand Jamaica Feasibility Study, Simon Anholt delineates four audits that Jamaica is advised to undertake in order to succeed with a national branding strategy (Anholt 2006). These following audits are geared to facilitating Jamaica in the development of a feasible national branding strategy within a long term perspective.

\(^{80}\) The Anholt National Branding Hexagon involves; tourism, exports, governance, investment & immigration, culture & heritage and people. This hexagon includes all major factors relevant for nation branding, and provides a structured focal point for conducting a nation brand analysis and subsequently devising a nation brand strategy. Anholt Nation Brand Index: http://www.nationbrandindex.com/ (Read 11.03.2008)
Firstly, Jamaica needs to create an audience map to identify who it needs to influence and involve in order to reach its short, medium and long term ambitions regarding its branding strategy. This applies to export sectors, inward investment, encouragement of talent, tourism and attracting diaspora money back into the country. Once the stakeholders involved have been identified, one must deconstruct the reputation of Jamaica; is the nation perceived to have any significant weaknesses that would impact any of the involved targets, and if so, what caused these negative perceptions and how can they be diminished or eradicated? Then, most importantly; how is Jamaica best be perceived in order for the strategic ambitions to be reached? These issues should be subjected to monitoring, so that Jamaican stakeholders can be assured that the brand strategy has the intended effect.

Secondly, Mr. Anholt suggests that, a task map be designed to alternate the perceptions of Jamaica in a desirable way. This implies not as much changing Jamaica, as changing how Jamaica projects its self image and how it is perceived.

Thirdly, a market map must be devised to assess the competitive environment regarding trade and other considerable economic involvement. Nations that can be sifted to operate in the same brand segment as Jamaica must be identified, and these competitors’ relative strength must be appraised. Furthermore, similarities and disparities must be acknowledged in order for Jamaica to uphold its competitive edge and relevant difference.

Fourthly, a brand asset audit must be conducted to identify which attributes should comprise the brand, in order to add the potential value to the already existing brand. The power of the brand must attempt to be distinctive, creative, representative, memorable, motivating, inspiring, powerful and ownable, while at the same time being relevant to as many targets as possible, consistent with innovation and socio-economic development.

A strategic instigation of these audits should enable Jamaica to develop a credible nation brand ensuring and providing even greater international reverence and recognition. A well

81 A concrete example of this is Jamaican-born, Canadian-based entrepreneur Michael Lee-Chin (with an estimated net worth USD 1.8 Billion) who has pledged to provide financial backing for development to bring his home town Port Antonio back to its old glory as a hot spot of the north coast. The Jamaica Gleaner. 13 March 2006. Michael Lee Chin: Man on a mission. http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060313/business/business1.html
devised and managed nation branding programme should cater for a new look at Jamaica; narrowing the gap between reality and perception to create substantial positive beliefs about Jamaica based on new, relevant information. The promise of a nation brand should facilitate the nation’s ambitions of socio-economic, political, educational and cultural attitude growth, while at the same time fostering a climate of innovation which would further improve revenues and reputation. It is important that such an initiative provides a foundation for unity and mutual understanding for the stakeholders and the people of Jamaica.

Whether the future drivers of the economy are sustainable tourism and cultural tourism, outsourced services, enhanced sports, becoming the ‘culture hub’ of the region, or any combination of these, the brand strategy must answer the questions ‘how are we perceived today’ and ‘how would we need to be perceived in order for these ambitions to be fulfilled’? (Anholt 2006:13)

Anholt (2006) insists that a reinvention of Jamaica’s brand is not feasible; nor is it the desired way to proceed. Rather; emphasizing, managing, correcting and enriching the existing brand in a manner that adds value to nation brand endorsement of Jamaica is the most progressive route to success. It is decisive for the feasibility of this nation branding strategy that it has the endorsement and commitment of the highest level of Government, to ensure real policy changes conducive to the new brand identity are implemented, and that these are communicated to and transacted by the foot soldiers so that the values of the new nation brand are lived out. Jamaica is still a young nation, bursting with energy and pride. If these values can be channelled into an emphasis of bringing everyone on board in a national movement to implement a collective cultural undertaking, one will ensure that the Jamaican brand is promoted in an enhancing way. Rather than leaving the creation of Jamaica’s image and reputation to others, the Jamaican people should shape the projection of their own identity and brand profile.

Country image vs. country of origin effect
The concept of country image is intrinsically connected with the concept of nation branding, which has been discussed earlier in the context of the narrative discourses on Jamaica. Martin and Eroglu (1993:193) define country image as “the total of all descriptive, inferential and informational beliefs one has about a particular country”. In other words, country image refers to a subjective, mental construct, and assumes a compound composure of positives and negatives. It is clear that the image, reputation and brand value of a country impacts the
perception of its population, its tourism products, investment opportunities and even foreign aid or funding. However, before looking closer at the country of origin effect, it is important to note that this effect is intimately linked to the IP concept of geographical indications, which will be discussed in the following chapter. While the country of origin effect pertains to brand value and the commercial appeal of tangible and intangible assets, the discussion on geographic indications will concentrate more on the protection and governance of this specific aspect of IP.

A pertinent question regarding Jamaica’s country image, is if this image is conducive to making a positive impact in a country of origin respect. Essentially, the country of origin effect reflects the set of beliefs and feelings that enhance any product or service emanating from that country. It is important that this reputation is the one that is nurtured, not the one that has emerged by fault. The country of origin effect pertains to a differentiating marketing perspective that entails certain products – depending on the product’s nature – as more or less attractive depending on from which country they originate. Examples of products deemed attractive are cigars from Cuba, cars from Germany and tea from Sri Lanka. Jamaica’s prerogative is its association with positive intangible attributes such as cultural vibrancy, creativity and \textit{irie vibes}.

Research suggests that Jamaica has stronger brand recognition as a destination than Jamaican-made products\textsuperscript{82}. Unlike Japan and Germany, Jamaica presently hardly evokes values such as technical finesse and reliability. Therefore, Jamaica’s image and its perception would not necessarily entice customers to buy technical equipment produced in Jamaica. However, Jamaica has a country image conducive to the export of food and beverages, coffee and clothes. When consumers buy Jamaican products, or even products that are purporting to be Jamaican, they buy into a vibrant and colourful – yet mythical – story of reggae, Rastafarianism and \textit{irie vibes}. When buying Blue Mountain Coffee they buy a product narrated within a discourse of luxury and sophistication. This taps into the country of origin

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effect and the significance of authenticity\(^83\) in successful branding. In this context the concept of champion brands becomes relevant.

A champion brand is a brand that offers such outstanding qualities and representations that they excel above the rest of the brands within a specific brand category (Ries & Ries 2002). Prime examples of champion brands in Jamaica’s case could be Walkerswood\(^84\) and Appleton Estate\(^85\). However, the condiment and rum producer operate in a market segment that has strong competitors with already well developed distribution and marketing channels. American food conglomerate Uncle Ben’s promotes Jamaican jerk rice\(^86\), while the Jamaican owned company Walkerswood produces the same product, but signified through its authenticity. Walkerwood’s challenge is hence to win market share from Uncle Ben’s product. A similar challenge exists for Appleton Estate, which is experiencing a great loss of market shares to British produced Captain Morgan rum\(^87\). Appleton Estate arguably produces finer rum, but at a lower price and could to a much greater degree capitalize on this if able to absorb market shares from Captain Morgan, or re-position itself. Research shows that humans are effectively genetically programmed to associate expensive products with quality, and one way of re-positioning these products may be by markedly increasing the price and re-

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83 Ries & Ries (2002) in their branding law of credentials claim that: “The crucial ingredient in the success of a brand is its claim to authenticity” (2002:29)

84 Walkerswood Foods, registered in 1978, started life as part of a rural community’s effort to create employment for its people. It now has a full time staff of over 150. The company’s main business idea is to bring a taste of the Caribbean to the world with an innovative line of traditional cooking sauces, spices, seasonings, preserves and canned vegetables. With the growing demand for spicy food, Walkerswood developed its own Jerk Seasoning and was the first company to export Jerk Seasoning from Jamaica. Since then, the range of products has grown to over 20 and includes popular sauces such as Coconut Rundown, Escoveitch Pickle Sauce as well as Ackee for Jamaica's national dish. Walkerswood upholds a commitment to authenticity and quality. Raw materials are purchased fresh from local farmers across Jamaica. Walkerswood has managed to combine a vibrant colourful appeal that many associate with Jamaica cuisine with a business-wise approach to branding and marketing. Today Walkerswood is the most trusted and sought after export food brand from Jamaica. Walkerswood Home Page: http://www.walkerswood.com/index.htm (Read 02.04.2008)

85 Appleton Estate has a rich heritage as the oldest and most famous of all of Jamaica's sugar estates and distilleries, producing the finest aged rums since 1749. Its origins go all the way back to 1655, the year when the English captured Jamaica from the Spaniards. Appleton Estate was an established rum-producing sugar plantation by the year 1749, and has been in continuous operation for two and a half centuries. Today, Appleton Estate comprises a total of over 4,500 hectares in sugar cane cultivation. The factory can produce up to 160 tons of sugar per day and the distillery has a production capacity of ten million liters of rum on an annual basis from both pot and column stills. On average 80% is exported. Today, recognizing the international potential for Appleton Jamaica Rum, the company is focusing its efforts on promoting this brand on the world market through the development of international marketing and distribution channels, as well as the introduction of new Appleton brands. Appleton Estate Homepage: http://www.appletonrum.com/appletonestate/index.php (Read 02.04.2008)


87 Captain Morgan lends its story from the old Welsh privateer who became famous as leader for the buccaneers in Jamaica’s capital Port Royal, the main hub for Caribbean pirates in the 17th and 18th centuries. http://www.captainmorgan.com/en-us/ (Read 02.04.2008)
marketing them within a new discourse (Clegg 2000, Keller 2002). Both Walkerswood and Appleton Estate – products of first class quality and distinguished design – elude sophistication which would most likely be conducive to more exclusive market segmentation. Catering for this market segment – in the same way as Blue Mountain Coffee – may be a possible route to success.

Further examples are Jamaican clothing brands Cooyah\(^{88}\) and La Pluma Negra\(^{89}\), who promote authentic Jamaican designs in a market segment presently dominated by large multinational corporations such as Nike, Adidas and Dior\(^{90}\). These companies play into the same symbolic narrative as the Jamaican brands, and hence leave limited market space for the Jamaican companies selling their own symbolism. A potential benefit of a holistically managed national branding strategy leaning on the country of origin effect would be to enable Jamaican stakeholders to seriously take on the challenge posed by competitors with a strong foothold, and more systematically and powerfully enable the promotion of authentic Jamaican produced goods embodying Jamaican vibrancy and symbolism.

**Puma Jamaica**

In 2002, sports- and leisure brand *Puma* introduced the *Puma Jamaica* line for competing Jamaican athletes. The line, which comprised a full line of shoes and sporting/lifestyle apparel\(^{91}\), was given a massive commercial launch at the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens, Greece. The launch was in synchronization with a colourful, feel-good advertising campaign that played into the stereotypical impression of Jamaica as this cool, laid-back island, where people hang out in the streets, joke around and move & groove to reggae music. According to the Boston Business Journal the result of the campaign was considerable, noting that “Puma AG (…) reported a 48 percent jump in the quarterly profit”\(^{92}\). This positive conjuncture was explained by an extremely successful *Puma Jamaica* line, well promoted through a clever

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88 Cooyah: www.cooyah.com (Read 03.04.2008)
89 La Pluma Negra: www.plumanegra.com (Read 03.04.2008)
90 See appendix 4.
91 See appendix 8.
marketing campaign and further cemented by the high visibility and strong results of Jamaican athletes in the 2004 Olympics\textsuperscript{93}.

The line was leveraged by the concept *perform and celebrate*, and combined values of Jamaica such as music and culture lifestyle with Puma’s values of high performance active urban street wear\textsuperscript{94}. Promoted as a second skin, this bold yellow and green line of shoes, clothes, apparel and even a fragrance (!) was more geared towards enthusiasts than athletes. Through the participating Jamaican Olympic athletes, the line was backed by Jamaican cultural events at the games, as well as a humorous and witty audio-visual campaign and Elephant Man’s up tempo and sexually explicit song *All Out*\textsuperscript{95}. This new Puma line presented Jamaica in an edgy, colourful and energetic way. Not only did Puma utilize the Jamaican colours, but also explicitly displayed the Jamaican flag on all products – leaning on the symbolic strength already embodied in the flag, while at the same time further strengthening the flag itself. The cleverness of the Puma Jamaica line was its ability to arouse curiosity by capturing the essence of Jamaica in a manner conducive to Puma’s interests; playing into the remarkable speed of the Jamaican athletes, while at the same time leaning on the seductive symbolic backdrop of the Jamaican vibes and the reggae coolness\textsuperscript{96}.

To better understand the nature of the collaboration between Puma and the Jamaica Amateur Athletics Association (JAAA), the responsible agency in Jamaica, both parties were contacted. An interview with the JAAA President, Howard Aris, was conducted. Puma’s Pascal Rolling, International Running Marketing Manager, responsible for the Jamaica endorsement, however was unavailable. Hence, the following account is based on the JAAA’s perspective.

\textsuperscript{94} According to unpublished concept and strategy documents obtained by Puma on the Puma Jamaica line. See reference list for more details.
\textsuperscript{95} Check appendix 10 to hear the song. It is also worth noting that Elephant Man’s moniker is “the Energy God”, a name he has earned from his hyperactive performances. In other words, he is the embodiment of values Puma were interested in communicating through the endorsement – a well-recognized Jamaican who is cool and energetic at the same time.
\textsuperscript{96} To illustrate Jamaica’s impact in this context, at the time the Puma Jamaica line was launched, Puma was lagging behind main competitors Nike and Adidas, both commercially and creatively. However, the Puma Jamaica line’s appeal proved so strong that it almost
Although Mr. Aris cannot disclose the contractual terms due to confidentiality, he willingly reflected on the nature and mutual benefits of the endorsement:

Somehow their commercial involvement in reggae music in Jamaica has found a point of conversion. We have that synergy between our athletic programme and our culture and music. Puma have blended together this in the Puma Jamaica product line. You can’t separate the Jamaican flag from Jamaican track and field. We are known by the informal name of the sprint factory. Maybe this constitutes a sort of element of surprise that adds to the intrigue. Jamaica is perceived as laid back, but then we produce some of the fastest people on the planet. (…) I feel the way Puma has portrayed Jamaica is hugely positive, and at the same time Puma is experiencing success with this product line. So therefore we are very pleased about this endorsement and we have no regrets.

Howard Aris (1 February 2008)

It is evident that Puma has been able to embrace and capitalize on the values embodied in the Jamaican brand, and has been able to selectively adapt and customize these values in a manner aligned with how Puma would like to be perceived. From a narrative and metonymical perspective, Mr. Aris makes a striking analysis. The intricacies of the Puma endorsement of Jamaica may be vitalized by the paradoxical nature of narratives: The apparent contradiction between perceptions of Jamaican stressless coolness whilst at the same time producing people displaying extreme human speed and agility. This is a somewhat oxymoronic quality that compounds to the dichotomous situation, where two apparently opposing value sets play into each other to create a completely new symbolic dynamism and energy. This taps into the mythical nature of Jamaica’s narrative, while at the same time contributes symbolic substance to Puma’s products. The Puma line, while at the same time modifying and cementing Jamaica’s brand, has had the ability to add further add interest in Jamaica. This reciprocity may be said to have strengthened the impact and positive associations of Jamaican brand.

A more critical inquiry of the endorsement, however, may highlight some principally important perspectives with regards to the branding of Jamaica. The Puma portrayal of Jamaica isolates and reinforces a limited number of Jamaican cues, while neglecting the full complexity of the nation. This will always be a concern regarding such endorsements, but may be more particularly unfortunate in Jamaica’s case than otherwise, bearing in mind that
in many realms the nation has experienced difficulties in being perceived as just that; a complete and full worthy nation. This may be further compounded by the critique that Puma’s branding of Jamaica was not spearheaded by the nation itself, but by Puma, who narrated the story of Jamaica based on their own interests. Hence, the corporation continued the misfortunate practice of external stakeholders de-contextualizing composites of the Jamaica narrative and projecting their desired imagery onto Jamaica.

In analysing Puma’s success in the discourse of this research, it is furthermore essential to discuss to which degree one can ascertain that Puma has in effect taken a nation – its people, its culture and its identity – and commodified it (Bales 1999). This commodification is signified by Puma’s exercise of appropriating the Jamaican symbolic essence and ascribing their narrative of the nation – packaging and promoting it within the corporate framework of Puma – and then ensuring the revenue created, is allocated according to their business interests. Due to the readily identifiable symbols and the positive energy embedded in Jamaican cultural expressions, the perceived essence of Jamaica is easily and successfully adapted to the realm of trendy life style wear. However, it is a conspicuous paradox that while the reciprocal mechanisms leading to the strengthening of Puma’s brand on the backdrop of reinforcing the already existing Jamaican narrative structures, it is Puma to a larger degree than Jamaica who benefit from this. The argued logic in effect accentuates how Puma – the party investing the least symbolic capital – is the party that benefits the most in economic capital. This criticism also taps into the issue of the socio-economic conditioning directing the awarded access to moral ownership of own culture and symbols. This perspective will be discussed in depth in the last chapter on negotiation of identity.

However, setting aside these critical approximations – that in no manner try to perpetrate that the researcher understands the endorsement better than the involved party – it is imperative to bear in mind that the Puma Corporation is a business institution, and that their main incentive the legitimate right to generate economic surplus. Mr. Aris, well articulated, convincingly reflected on the nature of the endorsement. When confronted with the criticism verbalized by several of the other interviewees for this research – suggesting that Puma may have somewhat manipulated the JAAA into selling Jamaica cheap – Mr. Aris replied rhetorically; “are these validate the relative strength of the Jamaican brand.
people speaking from fact or from conjectural?” Although the latter may be the case, the principal implications of such a negotiation of identity will be discussed more in depth in the subsequent chapters on IP and proactive measures Jamaica can take to re-gain ownership of its own culture, symbols and identity. In this critical climate, it is fair to also emphasize that Puma has contributed to the socio-economic betterment of Jamaica; by building sports arenas, schools and facilitating grass roots athletic development and other community development initiatives. The point is, however, that it is important to critically scrutinize the nature of this endorsement to better understand how Jamaica can empower itself.

The case of Ireland
One nation brand that has substantially and successfully re-branded itself, is Ireland. It may be illuminating to take one step aside and scrutinize the unprecedented success of Ireland’s recent nation branding strategy.

Both Ireland and Jamaica were under British rule for centuries. Ireland was colonised from the twelfth century onwards and suffered particularly during the Cromwellian Conquest of Ireland in 1649, and 50,000 Irish slaves were shipped to Barbados to work side by side with African slaves in the cane fields. Many of these escaped as privateers, and eventually ended up in Jamaica (O’Callaghan 2001). Today, the Irish influence in Jamaica is noticeable – there a place called Irish Town, Guinness is drunk widely, Irish surnames are common and black Jamaicans with red hair and freckles can be found. To compound this, Irish-owned DigiCel, is the biggest provider of mobile phone services in Jamaica.

In 1921, Ireland gained independence from a history essentially of political suppression and economic backwardness; the nadir being reached in the Great Famine of 1845-1849. The population of eight million decreased significantly – one million died and one million emigrated (Cronin 2003). This continued emigration – later termed brain-drain – has ensured the Irish a significant global presence. The British created a common fate for Jamaicans and Irish – up until the 1960’s one could find signs at pub entrances in London stating No Irish, no Jamaicans, no dogs (Bradley 2000). Therefore one could argue the similarities between Ireland’s and Jamaica’s predicament are striking.
As in Jamaica, the tourist industry has played a vital role in Ireland. From the late 1950’s onwards, Ireland became a popular tourist destination with the Irish Tourist Board selling Ireland as a country steeped in history, music, culture yet modern, welcoming and dynamic. Weather wise, Ireland has a more difficult tourist product to sell than for example Jamaica. However, Ireland positioned itself early on and targeted certain niche tourist groups – for example Americans wishing to trace their ancestors and European angling tourists for salmon and trout fishing – as well as young people for the Irish music scene and culturally interested tourists for the castle, abbeys and historical sites. Although Ireland did not have the same violent crime rates as Jamaica has, Ireland did have to overcome the massive prejudices and fears of the ordinary potential tourist, particularly the fighting in Northern Ireland that periodically spilled over into Ireland and Britain as well as the backward, derogatory perception of the Paddy.

In the 1960’s and onward, a number of policies were introduced by the Irish government that led to the emergence in the 1990’s of what became termed the Celtic Tiger. Ireland’s free and open trade economy, favourable tax and investment schemes, financial services-centre and heavy investment in education, culminated in Ireland becoming by the late 1980s and 1990s a highly desirable investment location – with many US multinationals in particular – establishing their European headquarters in Ireland due to the ready availability of a highly educated, especially computer-literate, young English-speaking workforce (Sweeney 2000). For Ireland this has meant a dramatic drop in unemployment – from approximately 20% in the mid 1980’s to being virtually none-existent in the mid 1990’s – and a general socio-economic transformation.

A further striking similarity between Ireland and Jamaica are the remarkable achievements in the music industry as well as in sports. When Ireland qualified for the 1988 UEFA European Football Championship in Germany, a new national pride emerged in Ireland. The thousands of Irish fans at home and in Germany were noticed for commending a positive contribution to the sporting celebrations. This may impact has been deemed a turning point in the perception of Ireland, and soon the conception of Ireland as a cool country began to emerge. Likewise in the music industry, Dublin evolved in the mid 1980’s as the centre of a thriving modern Irish music scene. The previous association of Ireland with ballads, laments and pub songs gave way to a new type of music which reflected the fresh, young, modern, vibrant, and dynamic
nation. Bono and U2 along with Bob Geldof, Van Morrison, Sinéad O’Connor and Enya, alongside a plethora of other Irish bands, were all chief proponents in putting Ireland on the map. Furthermore, Riverdance, the Irish-American Irish dance troupe, has been hailed as the immediate precursor of the Celtic Tiger — the term that made Ireland synonymous with its economic success.

Interesting and relevant in the context of the Jamaican nation brand strategies is how Ireland – from its common historic fate with Jamaica and in the 1970’s being amortized as one of the poorest EU member States\(^\text{97}\) — has resurrected herself, and in a period of about fifteen years propelled herself into being the second wealthiest EU member State in GDP terms. Furthermore, this has been compounded by the emergence of a tremendously positive nation brand perception. This socio-economic and perception shift has been explained by The Irish government’s conscious decisions to make the nation prosper. Huge investments over the past forty years – in addition to establishing and empowering the Irish Tourist Board, the Industrial Development Authority and the Irish Export Board – has meant that Ireland has succeeded remarkably by branding herself. Jamaica can possibly mode a nation brand strategy on the success story of Ireland.

**Brand Jamaica: The tourist perspective**

Jamaica as a nation is often conceived within the discourse of a tourist destination. Tourism has long been a mainstay of the Jamaican economy and the island enjoys a stronger brand recognition as a destination than of Jamaican-made products\(^\text{98}\). The industry is the primary source of foreign exchange (approximately 50%), generating some USD 1.9 billion in total expenditure and totalling a record 1.678.905 stopovers (with an average of 9.8 nights) in 2006\(^\text{99}\). In addition there were 1.336.994 cruise ship arrivals\(^\text{100}\). This means that more people

\(^{97}\) Along with Greece, Spain and Portugal.


\(^{99}\) Jamaica Tourist Board Annual Travel Statistics 2006.


\(^{100}\) Jamaica Tourist Board Annual Travel Statistics 2006.

visit Jamaica annually than the total population. Tourism accounts directly or indirectly for an estimated one in every four jobs. The majority of the tourists come from the USA and Canada, but Europe, Latin America and Japan are growing areas for the Jamaican tourist industry. The island is served by two international airports, Norman Manley International Airport in Kingston with 1.72 million annual arrivals in 2006 and Sangster International in Montego Bay with 3.38 million annual arrivals in 2006. The majority of the mass-tourists coming for sun, sand and sea fly in to Montego Bay, which is situated on the North Coast in closer proximity to the popular and well developed resort areas of Negril, Montego Bay and Ocho Rios, as well as the North Coast in general. However, in recent years there has been a slight shift in the nature of the Jamaican tourism, and especially Portland Parish on the north eastern coast has developed a more sustainable eco-tourism. Jamaica as a tourist destination is officially promoted by the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) in co-junction with the Ministry of Tourism.

When developing a brand identity to represent a nation, the initial challenge is to represent and communicate the essence of the brand and its positioning. Brand consistency is critical. Whilst the Jamaican tourist brand has encompassed several eras, the values projected have been similar. From the early beginnings of branding Jamaica within the discourse of tourism in the 1950’s, the nation’s image has been fleshed out through several campaigns. From the Come back to Jamaica campaign in the late 1970’s to the One Love campaign in the 1980’s and the Jamaica No Problem campaign in the 1990’s, Jamaica has constantly been revamping its tourist image. Janice Allen, Destination Marketing Manager at JTB, describes these campaigns as consistently successful in their own right. However, referring to how these taglines have stuck with Jamaica and largely dictated the root narrative of Jamaica, she observes with some level of paradoxical irony that “we’ve been doing too good of a job”. These campaigns have essentially left Jamaica in a perceptive predicament that presently may mean that successfully devising and implementing a business and investment brand can be

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103 In addition to this, as mentioned briefly introductorily, Jamaica is also an established destination for sex-tourism. After the Gambia, Jamaica is the second biggest destination for female sex tourism, and women from Northern America and Europe avail of the literally all-
more of a tribulation than otherwise. The *We are more than a beach, we are a country* campaign in the mid 1980’s attempted to get to the core of Jamaica’s stereotyped and mythologized image. However, this campaign’s narrative was deemed too challenging to the general perceptions of Jamaica. From social psychology it is known that humans prefer to have their already excising beliefs reinforced as opposed to challenged – and consequently this campaign did not immediately resonate well with the target audience. This factor, combined with the fact that this campaign was not promoted as an integral part of a holistic re-branding effort meant that the campaign – despite holding a great promise – was unfortunately unsuccessful, and hence, discontinued.

However, once and for all interested in stepping out of the stereotypical narrative Jamaica had to some degree succumbed to, 2006 saw the launch of the distinguished *Once you go, you know* campaign104. Jeff Kiel, Creative Director for this campaign at Draft FCB, New York, the agency contracted by JTB, willingly shared his thoughts on this campaign and Jamaica as a whole over the phone from his Manhattan office. According to Mr. Kiel, the *Once you go, you know* campaign was set out to display

a powerful expression of what truly sets Jamaica apart from competing destinations in the Caribbean. The sum of Jamaica’s people, its natural beauty, its historical culture, unique foods, reggae sounds and rhythms, lyrical language and experiences simply cannot be captured in a single phrase or image. It’s something that needs to be experienced to be understood, a promise almost too large to be believed. *Once you go, you know* captures the moments of discovery when people realize that experiences found in Jamaica can’t be found anywhere else, and that these experiences can indeed change their lives.

Jeff Kiel (19 April 2007)

The main aim of the campaign was to mark a clear discontinuation of the previous campaigns and avoid reinforcing the commonly held perceptions of Jamaica, while at the same time playing to the fact that Jamaica is a real country, and not constructed like “Disney World” (Kiel 2007). It has a unique and distinctive culture, history, cuisine and arts. The campaign set out to capture the essence and truth of Jamaica – not just paint a pretty picture. The campaign was geared at experience seekers, tourists that

inclusive services of the rent-a-dreads. Estimates suggest that as many 60,000 women travel to Jamaica annually with sex as the primary incentive. (Gupta 2006). No numbers are available for male sex tourists, but indicators suggest these numbers too are considerable.

104 See appendix 6.
want more than a drink in the hand at a resort on a generic beach. It targeted people who want to go outside the gates, and encourage visitors to step out of their comfort zone and seek the authentic experience. This was the lynch pin of the campaign and how Jamaica’s tourist product should be represented.

Jeff Kiel (19 April 2007)

According to Mr. Kiel, the key to the campaign’s immediate success was market segmentation – being able to accurately identify the right target group – and reach them through select channels and mediums. The responsible creative team spent over a month in Jamaica – essentially enabling the team to portray Jamaica in a genuine manner as a genuine article, not just as another cliché tourist product. Jamaica stands out not only in the Caribbean, but in the world – in Jamaica one can get everything one can get anywhere else, and a lot more.

FutureBrand asserts that operating appropriately and strategically across key channels is a critical marketing and business consideration for nation brands interested in distinguishing themselves. Many tourist nations are branded using generic marketing, with cliché words like truly and amazing, boasting bold colour palettes depicting paradise and culture. Jamaica is not the only country in the world with breath taking white sand beaches, a tantalizing cuisine and friendly people. But Jamaica has something more than this to offer, something substantially unique. However, this uniqueness must be promoted in such a manner that it is allowed to be fully disseminated. Successful nation branding collateral showcases an experience, and the opportunity to step out of one’s comfort zone, and into a place much more comfortable – a place where one feels alive. At the same time, particularly in Jamaica’s case, it is decisive to communicate that the island is not just a tourist destination, but also a full worthy nation. This is exactly what the Once you go, you know campaign captures so well. In addition, the campaign may also tap into the same fundamental perception changing logic as the We are more than a beach, we are a country campaign did, but in a more covert way. In this manner the recent campaign may be able to positively change the perception of Jamaica where the first campaign failed – without alienating the core market segment – and hence encapsulates the promise of success.
In discussing tourism as a phenomenon that impacts the society, it is important to emphasize that the significant numbers of arrivals has posed certain challenges for Jamaican society at large. Dunn & Dunn (2002) point to the potential negative effects tourism may have on the reshaping of human and physical environments, and negative attitudes towards tourists coming to Jamaica with bulging pockets, their own agenda and a lack of respect and regard for Jamaicans and the Jamaican way of life. However, it is fair to say that in general tourism is perceived in a positive light. Gladstone (2005) focuses on the potential beneficial effects of tourism on both the formal and the informal industries in developing countries, and on how the people in regions affected by tourism can benefit directly from the visitors and in that respect the industry can become more sustainable.

However, Gladstone’s optimistic prophecies are not necessarily fully applicable to the Jamaican case. Resorts like the Spanish owned Grand Bahia Principe and RIU hotels have monopolized most aspects of the tourist industry (termed the Spanish Invasion106), and ensure maximum profits, but at a leakage rate of up to 95% of the money generated107. The Jamaican authorities fund the promotion of Jamaica as a destination, whilst the resorts are often owned by the same business conglomerates that run the travel agency, the airline and the all-inclusive resort itself. On top of this, the resort often imports all the food and beverages from the USA, which leaves a minimum of expenditure on the local economy. This represents a segregation of the tourism, and the only money left in the local economy is the salary that the employees are paid. Although accounting for the remaining 5%, it is often a vulnerable contribution to the economy, as work in the hotels is seasonal, and the general price range in the surrounding area is affected negatively108. However, the situation is not as bleak as it may seem. Farmer co-operatives like the Farmer to Farmer Program109 are geared towards the high growth-end users such as the hotels, in an effort to thwart this negative monopolization and regain market

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access. The promise embedded in the *Once you go, you know* campaign may entail new and more realistic expectations of Jamaica, and cater for a narrative re-shaping of Jamaica with far-reaching implications also outside the discourse of tourism.

Acknowledging the effectiveness of the *Once you go, you know* campaign, the major question is: What can be learned from the tourist brand perspective and brought into the overarching nation brand strategy that Jamaica is pursuing, as well as more specifically to the business brand initiative? Firstly, as argued, it is important that this strategy is conducive and complimentary to the holistic nation brand identity. Secondly, it is imperative that Jamaica’s tourism policies are integrated into the business sector and furthermore can attract not only tourism but also investment. This appropriation will be scrutinized in the following section.

**Brand Jamaica: The business perspective**

In March 2007, Jamaica Trade and Invest\(^\text{110}\) in co-junction with partners JamPro\(^\text{111}\) and Jamaica Exporter’s Association launched the Brand Jamaica initiative\(^\text{112}\). The main objective of this strategy was to alter perceptions about Jamaica, projecting a fresh, new image conducive to business interests; attracting and stimulating businesses to set up operations in or relocate to Jamaica, while simultaneously stimulating local businesses to see new opportunities in the context of the strong Jamaican brand. Under the tag line *Today’s Jamaica Means Business*\(^\text{113}\), JamPro took advantage of the buzz created by the ICC 2007 Cricket

\(\text{(Read 18.03.2008.)}\)

110 Jamaica Trade and Invest (JTI) is Jamaica’s investment and export promotion agency. Established in 1988, its intention was to stimulate, facilitate and promote the development of trade and industry, and export and investment activities in all sectors of the island’s economy. The agency focuses on a number of targeted sectors, including the creative industries (film, music and entertainment), manufacturing, tourism, agri-business, information and communication technology, mining, and professional services. While JTI has worked towards reaching beneficial objectives, unfortunately, these attempts have not been fully disseminated to bear actual fruits. The intention of the Brand Jamaica launch is to change this to ensure actual economic growth. Jamaica Trade and Invest: http://www.jamaicatradeandinvest.org/aboutjti (Read 04.04.2008)

111 Jamaica Promotions Agency, commonly known as JamPro, is the Jamaican Government’s agency with the mandate for export development and investment promotion, and must ensure the greatest impact of its programmes on national development. As such, it is JAMPRO’s task to design programmes that will align the export and investment streams, and ensure that the linkages programme proactively seeks to integrate sectors making it an ideal model for achieving the desired results. Jamaica Trade and Invest: http://www.jamaicatradeandinvest.org/aboutjti (Read 04.04.2008)

112 The EU and Government of Jamaica funded Private Sector Development Programme allocated resources to JamPro, who under the Jamaica Trade and Invest office is the lead implementing body of the Brand Jamaica initiative.

113 See appendix 5.
World Cup\textsuperscript{114} and used this as a launch pad for the Brand Jamaica strategy. Hosting several high profile events during the course of the World Cup, JamPro was able to promote Brand Jamaica with an appropriately vibrant aesthetic profile. Arlene Martin, Jamaica Legacy Programme Executive at JamPro, provides this analysis of the strategy:

Jamaica is a stable developing nation competing for investment and export. We have an unique business acumen – rich cultural creativity and assertiveness, combined with our geographic location, a certain level of business sophistication and readily available resources. This makes us one of the world’s best trade and investment opportunities. However, many people see Jamaica as a fun loving paradise, and this perception wasn’t conducive to our interests in the context of Brand Jamaica. We possess strength and entrepreneurial spirit and an untapped energy that businesses can harness to be used as a competitive edge on the world stage. Regain ownership to our brand for competitive advantage. Our challenge was to communicate this in an intriguing, yet effective manner.

Arlene Martin (5 June 2007)

In 2007 \textit{Doing Business} ranked Jamaica as the eleventh easiest place to start a business\textsuperscript{115}. This free, yet positive promotion of Jamaica in business terms, paired with a strategic geographic location\textsuperscript{116} and affordable and industrious human capital should constitute substantial incentives for business attraction. But these incentives need to be communicated effectively in order to culminate in actual business allocation and re-location. JamPro devised the tantalizing \textit{The place you’ve always wanted to visit, is the place to do business}\textsuperscript{117}, playing into the duality of Jamaica: A place of enjoyment and recreation, but also a place of business and revenue creation.

The core idea was in other words to play on already popular perceptions about Jamaica, while at the same time re-shaping these, and making the target groups aware of the substantial incentives to relocate or start up a business on the island. Jamaica was promoted as a creative

\textsuperscript{114} The ICC 2007 Cricket World Cup (March 13th – April 28th) was hosted by 8 Caribbean countries in co-junction; Antigua & Barbuda, Barbados, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia and Trinidad & Tobago. Jamaica hosted the spectacular opening ceremony, as well as several high profile matches. The 2007 World Cup was televised in over 200 countries to a potential viewing audience estimated at more than two billion television viewers and generated more than 100,000 unique visitors to the West Indies who travelled with the World Cup as the main incentive. International Cricket Council Homepage: http://www.cricketworldcup.com/pdfs/event-overview.pdf (Read 07.04.2008)


\textsuperscript{116} Jamaica’s two international airports are well connected with daily direct flights to and from the important cities and gateways of Miami, New York, Houston, London and Panama City. Furthermore, Kingston’s port is a state of the art facility located along the main sailing route connecting Europe and the North America with South East Asia through the Panama Canal.

\textsuperscript{117} See appendix 7.
and boldly energetic place, yet with the reliability and visionary force necessary to be seriously considered by the target groups. To further attract potential stakeholders, practical guidelines to conducting business in Jamaica, infrastructural facilitation and other incentives were provided. While the Brand Jamaica strategy was aimed at a segmented audience, this programme’s ethos was to also tap into the holistically progressive nation brand Jamaica was set to pursue. Hence, Brand Jamaica was supposed to embody the image and appeal of the brand initiative communicated, while at the same time acting as a complimentary driving sub-brand within the all-encompassing nation brand.

However, as already argued, Jamaica suffers from a bad reputation in some domains, and furthermore, Jamaica already has a pronounced image that may not appear to be conducive to building a strong business brand. This proved a significant challenge:

Jamaica has gotten some negative media stories. It is difficult to measure the real impact of this on the value of the brand and the perceptions of the destination or the business brand. (…) This may impact us economically and socially as well, and it is definitely important that we balance these perceptions with more positive stories. (…) Jamaica also has some challenges with regards to the values we are perceived to embody. When you buy a branded product there is a rational and an emotional part. When it comes to Jamaica, we are very strong on the emotional connection, but not so much on the rational. We needed to expand on that. Head and heart. Studies show that we as a brand score very high on excitement and bold energy, and fairly high on sincerity and transparency. However, we’re under par on reliability and sophistication. So we needed to maintain and build further on the positives, while amplifying reliability and sophistication. These values must be translated in a meaningful manner to strengthen Jamaica’s position and constitute the foundation of a strong business brand.

Arlene Martin (5 June 2007)

In other words, JamPro ascertains a complex understanding of where the Jamaican brand stands, while at the same time knowing where it should be. The pragmatic challenge is thus to push this initiative forward in a manner that actually attracts business and investment. Unfortunately, at the time of writing, the strategy has not been in effect long enough for a formal study of its benefits to be undertaken. However, according to Ms. Martin the feedback has been positive; interest was aroused during the launch and there have been reports of concrete fruits being born.

It important to bear in mind that the Business Brand Jamaica was not only devised to attract external investment, but also to alter the Jamaican brand identity in order to create a more
positive and advantageous climate for Jamaican brands to operate within. In this context, Ms. Martin highlights a company that is experiencing increasing success in promoting Jamaican culture, while at the same time embodying the most positive Jamaican values:

Walkerswood has a very Jamaican story behind it. They build on the story of the community, the Jamaican symbols and the authentic recipes. They really embrace the essence of the brand and the positive elements that we stand for. They do this in an excellent manner, which again means that they become more competitive. (...) Therefore, it is important to communicate the values, to sensitize people to ensure they start living these values. Within the context of the new brand, the main objective was to ensure that Jamaicans capitalize on our own brand, and embodying the Jamaican values should be even more beneficial to doing business. (...) Until now, what we have seen is that international companies like e.g. Puma have capitalized on the Jamaica brand, and then on the flipside you have a situation where Jamaican companies aren’t embracing the brand in such a manner that we can capitalize on it ourselves.

Arlene Martin (5 June 2007)

The Brand Jamaica initiative is set to thwart and reverse this inclination. By ensuring and stimulating all Jamaican stakeholders to pull in the same direction and embody the Jamaican brand values, the brand identity can be re-shaped and Jamaican interests can re-claim ownership of the brand and capitalize on their own identity and culture. The following section will be dedicated to scrutinizing Puma’s endorsement of the Jamaican National Athletics Team, in order to better understand why this Puma endorsement has been so successful, and furthermore, what Jamaican stakeholders can learn from this endorsement and incorporate in their own strategies.

The Reggae Museum and Research Centre
While the Brand Jamaica strategy has been actualized and about to live up to expectations, the Reggae Museum and Research Centre (RMRC) is still in an incumbent stage. Dr. Sonjah Stanley-Niaah of the Reggae Studies Unit at UWI has, alongside others, been working on a national Reggae Museum and Research Centre. Such an initiative was also discussed at the WIPO/JIPO follow-up workshop in 2007. Ignominiously enough, taking into consideration the significant part reggae culture at large has played in promoting Jamaica, the nation has not yet awarded itself such a place. This plays into the aforementioned conundrum of contradictions associated with Jamaican culture, and especially reggae and Rastafarianism. However, Jamaica is finally about to acknowledge reggae’s unprecedented contribution to
Jamaica’s national projection and positive impact, and is able to see the benefit of using such a place to attract visitors and cement reggae culture within the overarching concept of the nation brand strategy.

As already discussed, Jamaica’s greatest potential is likely to be to capitalize on its cultural economy. Reggae\textsuperscript{118} stands for the greater part of Jamaican cultural exposure and export, and musical genres like mento, ska, rocksteady, reggae, dub and dancehall all originated in the island's vibrant popular music recording industry (Bradley 2000, Nurse et. al 2006). On opening the 2008 Reggae Month\textsuperscript{119}, Governor General Prof. Kenneth Hall proclaimed that:

> Whereas as reggae is the heartbeat of Jamaica, the unique music that springs from the creative imaginations from a diverse people, forged in the crucible of common experiences, struggles, successes, and spirituality that survived the middle passages, and become our indigenous creation, our national expression, musical voice to the world; and whereas the greatest ambassador of reggae, Robert Nesta Marley, so internationalised this extraordinary musical form that wherever Jamaicans go in the world, people associate us first with Marley, and then with the many artistes who have contributed so greatly and gloriously in exposing Jamaica’s rich culture.\textsuperscript{120}

On the same occasion, Prime Minister Bruce Golding, elaborated;

> Any country has its attributes; it has its characteristics, it has natural resources. And we in Jamaica, we too can claim that we have bauxite; we have fabulous beaches that provide a base for our tourist industry. But none of these really defined a country in any unique way. None of these gives a country its uniqueness, its separateness from the rest of the world. The one thing that really separate and distinguishes a country, makes it different, is its culture.\textsuperscript{121}

In other words, Prime Minister Golding and the Government recognise that much of Jamaica’s potency lies in its culture, and especially within the discourse of reggae. Jamaican music has exerted a remarkable ability to renew itself and stay relevant, and in this respect Jamaican music has still managed to be in the forefront of what is considered popular and hip in both mainstream and underground circles. Reggae represents a positive and distinctive heritage and flavour, and communicates the essence and energy of the island in a

\textsuperscript{118} It is important to understand that reggae is a sub-genre of Jamaican music, while at the same time is commonly used as an umbrella term to describe all manifestations of Jamaican music.

\textsuperscript{119} Celebrated annually in February, coinciding with Bob Marley’s Birthday on 6 February.

\textsuperscript{120} The Daily Observer. 25 January 2008. Reggae Month proclamation hailed. Lisa Compton. (Read 25.01.2008)

\textsuperscript{121} The Daily Observer. 25 January 2008. Reggae Month proclamation hailed. Lisa Compton. (Read 25.01.2008)
transcendental manner to a myriad of target groups. True, Ochi Rios already has a reggae exhibition called Reggae Xplosion\(^{122}\) – an audio-visual display of the inception and development of reggae music and culture. However, this exhibition is somewhat incomplete and lacks the authority and significance of a national museum.

The Reggae Museum and Research Centre would represent a national level cultural institution in the heart land of reggae – downtown Kingston – where the majority of the music has been produced. The building of the RMRC in this part of Kingston – collectivizing reggae memorabilia and cultural artefacts – would entail close physical proximity to the most significant spaces of reggae creation, as well as the Bob Marley Museum, which is arguably the most significant cultural and historic space for reggae music at this stage. UWI already has a Reggae Studies Unit\(^{123}\), and this institution would be adjacent to the RMRC, and could facilitate research pertaining to the socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-economic significance of reggae, as well as appropriating an IP right protection approach to Jamaican culture\(^{124}\).

The launch, for example, of an architecture competition to create public interest could be a prospective procedure to create a buzz and give the project a flying start. Paired with a cleverly devised PR-plan – inducing creativity, boldness and cultural pride – the potential significance of establishing such an institution could be tremendous. The institution would function as a catalyst of the solid acknowledgement of the unprecedented impact of reggae music to the Jamaican culture, and humanity at large\(^{125}\), and its significance as a vehicle of Jamaican identity and heritage. This music has been the driving force in helping Jamaica reach its present day recognition and should be accredited for its potential to move Jamaica to another level. Cementing reggae culture at large in a discourse of nation branding and national identity could potentially benefit Jamaica greatly, and act as a unifying force in the efforts to stimulate all Jamaicans to play into the nation brand. The establishment of a RMRC could


\(^{124}\) This specific perspective will be discussed more extensively in the following chapter.

\(^{125}\) Much in the same way as UNESCO World Heritage Sites (that only considers tangible manifestations of culture and heritage) cultural criteria it says that a world heritage site must “represent a masterpiece of human creative genius”, one can argue that reggae music and

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potentially represent a flagship in the emerging nation brand building of Jamaica, and thus would have a strong symbolic effect.

Secondly, more specifically the RMRC could potentially contribute to the regeneration of Kingston, which presently suffers from a considerably bad reputation regarding impoverished living conditions, violent crime and infelicitous urban planning\textsuperscript{126} (Gray 2004). The institution could potentially have a positive effect on and synergize with the socio-economic and urban development of downtown Kingston\textsuperscript{127}, as well as entice cultural tourism to Kingston and Nine Miles, St. Ann, Bob Marley’s birthplace.

Up until presently, it may appear that the reggae brand has been so colossal and valuable that Jamaica has not been able to adequately contain it. By establishing the RMRC, Jamaica would to a larger degree acknowledge the ramifications of its cultural recognition and hence revere it appropriately and beneficially.

culture have made somewhat similarly significant intangible contributions to human culture and heritage. UNESCO World Heritage Centre http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf (Read 29.01.2008)

\textsuperscript{126} The violent crime in Jamaica hardly ever victimizes foreigners, but presumably has the (unwanted) effect of arousing fear and anxiety in potential visitors.

\textsuperscript{127} This potential effect could be much like the positive gentrification process that was sparked by the establishment of the Peckham Library in London in 2000. The construction cost of the library was £5 million, including £1.25 million from the Single Regeneration Budget programme. This programme - to facilitate the regeneration of Peckham - also covered the creation of new low-rise housing (a combination of owner-occupied and social housing), Peckham Pulse healthy living centre, Peckham Square, and Peckham Arch.

http://www.southwark.gov.uk/YourServices/LibrariesSection/peckhamlibrary.html (Read 29.01.2008)
6. Hold on to What You Got\textsuperscript{128}: The intellectual property embedded in Jamaican symbols and culture

For me copyright law in Jamaica is extremely important. I mean, it is what you could call our “pension,” which is what we have been lacking within the reggae fraternity, in my opinion. You know, the first time that a copyright law was implemented in Jamaica was around 1993. For an island that survives off its music and its culture, it should have been long before. When I look at so many great artists from Jamaica whose recordings are owned by other people, and probably licensed out by other people, and they get nothing for it, well that saddens me. For the government to set in place certain laws that protect these artists and create our pension - that’s the best we could ask for.

Shaggy (2007)\textsuperscript{129}

The premises

With regard to the quotation above, Shaggy touches on some pertinent issues. And although 1993 is 15 years ago, Jamaica still has a long way to go in relation to adequate and pragmatically effective IP rights governance and protection. The focal point of the subsequent discussions will be to decipher how an adequately applied IP rights framework can potentially facilitate Jamaica in regaining moral and economic ownership over its own culture and symbols. However, before getting to this stage of the discussion, it is important to bear in mind that while IP governance is a powerful tool that can potentially empower Jamaica in this realm, the judicial intricacies of IP can also provide challenges regarding a full protection of the symbols in discussion. Many of the Jamaican symbols could potentially have been subject to scrutiny, but due to scope constraints, the Jamaican flag will be dealt with in greater detail. As will be seen, the flag is in a particularly vulnerable position regarding IP protection. However, other symbols, including the Rastafarian colours will be dealt with perfunctorily.

The sociology of intellectual property

While the majority of sociological writings on intellectual property have focused on the role of technical innovation and the protection of this in the post-industrial knowledge society (Carlaw 2006, Hoti & McAleer 2006, Light 2007), some writers have shed insight into

\textsuperscript{128} Dennis Brown. Hold on to What You Got. 1980.


semiotics and how the logic of substantiated signs relates to both IP as well as dilution of meaning.

As already argued, the process of branding is about “the emotive experience connected with the symbolic realm embodied in the brand” (Ramello & Silva 2006: 952). Today, branding has transfigured the strict realm of economy and has become an all-pervasive force operating in the symbolic realm. Sociological findings (Baudrillard 1968, Gobe 2006, Rossi 1983) suggest that products are not necessarily consumed due to their tangible function, but rather for the semantic content that is conveys; the product or service merely being a vehicle for obtaining an emotionally laden experience. The effect of this is that the experience becomes more compelling the stronger the brand. Therefore – assuming Jamaica’s symbolic impact – lending one’s symbolic strength from Jamaica is significantly different from associating one’s product with another nation or brand. Because Jamaica has such a distinct status as a signifier and the referent – any arbitrary country – another nation cannot replace this function. In other words, the signified also becomes the referent and the product. This has been termed the decline of the referents (Beebe 2004: 656), whereby the signifier and referent are fused to create a new entity, and the sign becomes an entity in its own right. Jamaica is a case in point, whereby its symbols and especially its flag, to some degree, have taken on their own life. The flag stands for Jamaica, but it also signifies something more; a message that is decipherable in the context not only of Jamaica, but in the realm of the life the Jamaican flag has assumed as branded logo encompassing positive values such as vibrancy, creativity and bold energy. This narrative logic is comparable to what Italian outdoor sports wear producer Napapijri did when they used the Norwegian flag vividly to embody perceived national values such as pioneering, exploration and conquering nature.

Carruthers & Ariovich (2004: 24-31) distinguish five dimensions of (intellectual) property:

- The objects of property describe what can be owned. This has varied through cultures and times, but with an emphasis on tangible goods. However, there has been a significant shift to the widespread ownership of intangible goods. The implication of this is that the human concept of ownership has been and still continues to be altered.
The subject of property – who may own – has changed. While ownership used to be a privilege, ownership today is common. An interesting perspective here pertains to not only who has the right to own, but also who should rightfully own.

It has been ascertained that according to international IP jurisdiction\(^\text{130}\) anyone who takes the necessary legal steps to ensure the IP rights can claim ownership. This petition is covered by the Berne Convention for the Protection on Literary and Artistic works\(^\text{131}\), essentially assigning the right of the work to the creator as the work is created. This is a widely accepted principle. However, in the Jamaican case under scrutiny the appliance of this principle is more problematic. This IP is of such a nature that it can hardly be labelled an invention in the technical sense. Who owns these IP rights – morally speaking – who are the inventors?

As suggested in earlier arguments, much more so than the geo-physical entity of the island, the Jamaican people – their creative expressions and their accomplishments – are essentially the referents that have given Jamaica as a sign its meaning. Hence, is it the Jamaican people that should benefit from this – meaning that in today’s knowledge economy this IP can be transformed into meaningful revenue – or is it whoever has the ability to see the market potential of this? The first option might be the strikingly obvious answer. However, as seen in the steel pan example, the inventors are not necessarily automatically entitled to the IP ownership, but the stakeholders who are able to legally lay claim to the IP\(^\text{132}\). The sociological research on this issue provides no clear guidance in this principle question. This serves to show there may be a conflict between the legal field and the morality – in this case the common understanding of right and wrong which has not effectively been captured by IP legislation. As will be seen later, this is a challenge that WIPO and other UN-bodies have been working on.

The uses of property describe what can be done with property. Commonly, the IP owner is awarded permission to utilize the IP freely\(^\text{133}\). However, looking away from the fact that the ownership of property in question could potentially be contested, the

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\(^{130}\) As according to WIPO, and validated by international and national legislation.


\(^{132}\) This is true unless it can be proven that the invention was preceded by already available technology. In such a case the patent will be void.
discussion of the use of IP in the symbolic realm poses new challenges to the use of IP. While some uses have the ability to strengthen the symbolic value, others can be more detrimental and potentially corrupt the symbol’s meaning and strength. This refers back to the ownership of the given symbol and their interests; short term profit or long term strengthening of the symbol.

In Jamaica’s case, the widespread external use of symbolic expressions has arguably strengthened the symbols and the Jamaican name, but where this use can be considered overuse, the symbols may potentially be corrupted and water down their significance. Furthermore, intangible property is like tangible property not unlimited, and in this respect the more this aspect of the Jamaica IP is used by external stakeholders, the more this limits Jamaica’s possibilities of exploiting this IP themselves. This basic premise will be examined more in depth in the thesis’ final chapter.

- The enforcement of IP rights concentrates on the infringement of IP rights and how such infringement can be adequately tackled. This is relevant approximation to Jamaica. The enforcement IP rights is an important aspect of a holistically grounded IP governance, and should and must not be neglected. However, the instalment of IP rights must come before the enforcement, and from this perspective Jamaica has a major task of first protecting its right to the IP in question. From this perspective, this is essentially about taking one step at a time.

- The perspective on the transfer of property provides yet an interesting perspective to the Jamaican case. If adequately identifying the moral and present day actual ownership of the Jamaican symbols, who owns Jamaica today? If not the people themselves, how can the people (re)claim ownership over their own symbols and narrative? These questions strike at the core of the matter, and must be seen in the context of the four previously delineated dimensions of IP. Having suggested perspectives on what can be owned, who can or should own, how IP can be used and the enforcement of such; the transfer of property is an aspect of the symbolic ownership discourse in question. The conditions which determines the transfer of the IP allocates the discoursive positioning of the subjects and objects in this discourse.

133 This is true except in cases where there are specific limitations to the IP and where the IP utilization is not specifically prohibited.
and hence commands the power relations governing this mechanism. The implication of this regards who has the discursive right to appropriate and define the narrative content of the given symbols. This will be discussed in greater depth in the final chapter.

These five dimensions provide useful perspectives to deciphering the challenges facing Jamaica. However, these dimensions do not fully capture the narrative and metaphorical dilution of the sign. Ramello (2006) discusses *dilution by tarnishment*; referring to the phenomena whereby other stakeholders than the rightful owner of a symbol, 134 produce products of inferior quality that diminish the overall value of the brand or symbol (2006: 555). This major issue of trademark and IP governance at large 135 has earlier been discussed as the corruption of symbols, and describes the process whereby the symbolic value is diminished and has its original meaning altered 136. The implication of this for Jamaica would be that the Jamaican flag, and to some degree the Ethiopian colours associated with the Rastafarian movement 137 and reggae, are overly commercialised by stakeholders with little or no regard for the long term viability and existence of the Jamaican brand and its meaning could potentially be weakened, hence diminishing the brand’s edge. Ries & Ries (2002) formulates this argument bluntly: “The easiest way to destroy a brand is to put its name on everything” (2002:49). Given that this process has not come too far yet, it is in Jamaica’s interest that this potential scenario is counteracted. A way of thwarting this process is by enhancing the symbol’s selling power (Ramello 2006: 557).

134 Further perspectives on who can be considered the rightful owners of Jamaica’s symbolic portfolio will be discussed subsequently. However, at this stage the presumption is that these symbols should belong to internal as opposed to external stakeholders.

135 To illustrate, the Walt Disney Company spends an estimated USD 75 million annually on trademark protection, enforcement, litigation and lobbying. Ironically, the Walt Disney Company have themselves been accused of stealing from the public domain by appropriating stories and characters from traditional stories, and from such a perspective may be responsible for the breeching the same IP codes of conduct discussed in this thesis (Martin 2002).

136 This is exactly what happened to the so-called Mountie in Canada. The Mountie, a logo seal depicting a policeman with a red jacket and Stetson hat, with a reference to the Royal Canadian Mountain Police (RCMP), is known as a symbol of Canada and Canadian reliability and quality. In the 1980’s and early 90’s, due to lack of guidelines and governance, the Mountie appeared on a wide range of arbitrary products of inferior quality. The effect of this was that the Mountie lost its meaning as a seal of Canadian quality. Today, the Mountie is protected and exclusively attached to products deemed worthy by a committee with the legitimacy to do so. Red and white tights: Representations of National Identity. http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/retrieve/4251/etd2680.pdf (Read 22.03.2008)

137 The issue of the Ethiopian colours is a particularly interesting case. Jamaican stakeholders have appropriated these colours and re-narrated the associated story in a somewhat similar manner as the above discussed external stakeholders have appropriated (parts of) the Jamaican symbolic story. In this respect Jamaica can actually be seen as an intermediate stakeholder, and perpetrators of a narrative logic this
Enhancing this selling power – the symbol’s uniqueness, singularity and market appeal – can best be done by vigilantly ensuring that the symbol is allowed to operate on its own premises in a symbolic sphere where it is not misappropriated or collapses into the scope of other supernova symbols. One way of protecting the Jamaican uniqueness may be through strategically avoiding further brand proliferation, hence, ensuring that the Jamaican flag is not put on completely arbitrary products that do not convey the essence Jamaica’s spirit. Jamaican stakeholders and enforcing authorities must secure symbolic inertia in the realms possible and an endogenous climate that allows for Jamaican stakeholders to regain the symbolic control that is needed for Jamaica to (re)cultivate the meaning of its signs in a manner that is conducive to Jamaican long term interests.

In this context, Ramello (2006) also brings forth the concern of symbolic unbundling, meaning the sign gradually detaching itself from the original signifier. The potential effect of this is that the sign, in this case the Jamaican flag, takes on a physiognomy or a character in its own right. Examples of this phenomenon are du Pont’s trademark of nylon and IBM’s trademark of PC (personal computer). The name becomes synonymous for products of a certain category, and hence, the scourge of success. This implies that the signifier loses its power of definition of meaning and it is to a greater degree up to the interpreter to project his or her meaning into the sign. This facilitates market interests that wish to incorporate the symbolic strength of Jamaica into their own brand.

Counterfeiting of Jamaican products – understood here as products that by chain of association purport to be Jamaican by displaying symbols associated with this nation, while actually not being authorized or in any other way being substantially associated with Jamaica – has not yet been scrutinized. Ramello (2002) interestingly asserts that when this practice is non-deceptive in nature – meaning customers are able to tell the legitimate products from the illegitimate ones – it may potentially be welfare enhancing. The question then is if this phenomenon in Jamaica’s case has been and is detrimental or advantageous? Both answers can be argued. While on the one hand the widespread counterfeiting of products depicting the Jamaican flag have brought fame and recognition to Jamaica, it is important that this language assumes the directive guideline over the message embodied in the symbol. Jamaica being in

thesis fundamentally questions if might have be detrimental to Jamaica. This approach to the issue of the Ethiopian colours being associated
the involuntary, yet advantageous position where its flag and other symbols have assumed a self conditioning and self enhancing role, should now be allocated the affirmative narrative position where it can reclaim its symbols and be the rightful ruler of these symbols’ meaning and future embodiment.

A prospective challenge for Jamaica will be to provide epistemological tools to effectively appraise the potential welfare outcomes for progressive IP rights governance within the realm of narrative structures, signs and meaning. Jamaica finds itself in the ostensibly advantageous position of being an idiosyncratic goldmine of signs and symbols, but may benefit even greater if the logics of this transcendental economy are deployed advantageously to sell its symbols at market value, and on their own terms. The two following sections on The Paris Convention’s Article 6\textsuperscript{ter} and geographical indications are introductions and discussions of IP governance tools that may prove to be gateways to an adequate IP protection of Jamaican symbols and culture.

**Article 6\textsuperscript{ter}**

This chapter has so far discussed IP protection in more abstract forms – awareness, empowerment and how to approach the infrastructure that is required to enable the necessary IP protection of Jamaican symbols and culture. However, with all these delivering premises in place, adequate IP protection of Jamaica amounts to specific international IP laws and petitions, as stipulated by WIPO.

The Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property\textsuperscript{138}, is widely considered as the cornerstone of the international IP system. This convention has been ratified by Jamaica, alongside 171 other nation states\textsuperscript{139}. Article 6\textsuperscript{ter} on the Protection of State Emblems, and Names, Abbreviations and Emblems of International Intergovernmental Organizations\textsuperscript{140}, is

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\textsuperscript{140} World Intellectual Property Organization Homepage. The Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, Article 6\textsuperscript{ter} on the Protection of State Emblems, and Names, Abbreviations and Emblems of International Intergovernmental Organizations.
particularly pertinent to the discussion on the protection of Jamaican symbols, especially regarding the prevalence and explicit use of the Jamaican flag for marketing purposes by both Jamaican and non-Jamaican stakeholders.

Paragraph 1(a) states that:

(a) The countries of the Union agree to refuse or to invalidate the registration, and to prohibit by appropriate measures the use, without authorization by the competent authorities, either as trademarks or as elements of trademarks, of armorial bearings, flags, and other State emblems, of the countries of the Union, official signs and hallmarks indicating control and warranty adopted by them, and any imitation from a heraldic point of view.

Furthermore, paragraph 1(c) states that

(c) The countries of the Union shall not be required to apply the said provisions when the use or registration referred to in subparagraph (a), above, is not of such a nature as to suggest to the public that a connection exists between the organization concerned and the armorial bearings, flags, emblems, abbreviations, and names, or if such use or registration is probably not of such a nature as to mislead the public as to the existence of a connection between the user and the organization.

And, paragraph 9 states that

The countries of the Union undertake to prohibit the unauthorized use in trade of the State armorial bearings of the other countries of the Union, when the use is of such a nature as to be misleading as to the origin of the goods.

In other words, petitions of Article 6ter prohibit any nation or stakeholder to trademark armorial bearings, national flags and State emblems, and provides guidance for the normative use of such. Although there is no unambiguous definition of flag in the Paris Convention, pragmatic interpretation of this phrasing would imply the nation’s flag as acknowledged by other nations as such. Hence, the Jamaican flag must be considered to fall under this statute. In the same way as the Nike logo\textsuperscript{141}, the Adidas logo or the Puma logo – all strong brands that contribute substantially to the attractiveness and value of the products displaying and embodying these logos – one can argue that the Jamaican flag is such an identifiable visual value adding symbol that contributes to the attractiveness of a given product. However, due to

\footnote{http://www.wipo.int/treaties/en/ip/paris/trtdocs_wo020.html#P155_22332. (Read 20.03.2008)}
the nature of this symbol – being a flag, unlike the three other logos mentioned – it cannot be trademarked in the judicial sense.

However, this does not mean that it is legally impracticable to protect the flag. The problem is that this cannot be done in the conventional manner, that is, in the same manner as other IP rights are protected. In pursuing the obligations under the treaty\(^\text{142}\), countries generally introduce a prohibition to use such national symbols in national legislation, meaning that the individual nations generally include specific local laws pertaining to the illicit or unwarranted use of national symbols. For instance, in Norwegian law, it is incorporated as part of the general criminal code. In other words, this then provides a judicial framework that may appear to be sufficient. The problem is, however, that in a hypothetical instance where Jamaica experiences its IP rights are being infringed, Jamaica would not be able to initiate criminal proceedings in Norway. However, Jamaica could initiate civil proceedings, claiming a decision prohibiting such use under Norwegian jurisdiction. This essentially means that there is a judicial framework that captures these specific breeches of IP rights. The problem though, is that this framework is intricate and requires detailed knowledge of every nation’s particular laws. Therefore, legally pursuing such infringements would be a tedious and costly process to administer in every nation Jamaica deems its flag or other symbols misappropriated.

Another issue that highlights the complexity, is how Rastafarian symbols relate to the Paris Convention’s petition to trademark signs, logos and marks. As already asserted, Rastafarian symbolism is one of the most recognizable symbolic manifestations of Jamaica. Within the petition, it is also possible to trademark specific colour combinations. As relates to the Ethiopian flag, this obviously falls under the same legislation as the Jamaican flag, and is therefore the concern of the Ethiopian authorities. When it relates to the colour combination of red, gold and green, these are fairly generic colours that are not necessarily exclusive to the Rasta movement associated with Jamaica. However, these colours often operate within cultural discourses that metonymically point to a familiar Jamaican narrative. While these colours are seen in a context where the interpretation is often compellingly apparent, the colours have not been written into and signified by a specific logo or pattern. Therefore, one

\(^{141}\) Commonly known as The Swoosh.
may claim that these colours would be difficult to fulfil the criteria of the Paris Convention. One way of practically approaching this, could be that Jamaican stakeholders create and protect a specific Rasta logo to represent the movement.

Article 6ter in some respects represents a loophole in international IP legislation. Although both the mentioned flags and colour combinations are widely associated with Jamaica, Jamaican stakeholders would more than likely have particular difficulties arguing judicially that the Ethiopian colours should fall under the IP jurisdiction protecting Jamaican symbols against infringement through misappropriation. On the one hand, while nation flags are regarded to be of common human ownership and expressions of identity, this caters for commercial exploitation by stakeholders with economic motives. This becomes particularly apparent in the Jamaican case, where one could argue that the flag has a particularly strong appeal in certain discourses, and that this appeal can easily be translated into economic revenue for stakeholders able to market it. Furthermore, such a discussion of jurisdictions may be difficult as international instrument provisions may be implemented in national laws.

Judicially and financial viability wise assessing if the effectiveness of such specific legal proceedings exceed the protection provided by more conventional trademark protection laws, is a real concern that must be gauged. As argued, the Coffee Board has taken such measures. Suggesting whether or not Jamaican authorities should set forth to take such wide reaching action against perceived infringement, however, lies outside the scope of this thesis’, and is nevertheless the Jamaican authorities’ decision to take. In essence, Article 6ter delivers a primary premise: Flags and other national symbols cannot be trademarked in the strict conventional sense, and the implication of this is that “surrounding” IP laws – meaning IP laws that offer the best possible protection of the symbols and culture of Jamaica as well as domestic laws of a given nation – must be utilized to appropriate protection assimilating similar nature. To understand how this can best be done, other sections of the Paris Convention – most notably regarding the concepts of geographical indications and appellation of origin – can facilitate the protection of the IP under scrutiny.

142 Here referring to the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property.
Geographical indications and appellation of origin

The main provision regarding geographical indications is the WIPO Protection of Geographical Indications Act 2004 (WIPO 2004). According to this provision, a geographical indication is:

A sign used on goods that have a specific geographical origin and possess qualities, reputation or characteristics that are essentially attributable to that place of origin. Most commonly, a geographical indication includes the name of the place of origin of the goods. Agricultural products typically have qualities that derive from their place of production and are influenced by specific local factors, such as climate and soil. Whether a sign is recognized as a geographical indication is a matter of national law. Geographical indications may be used for a wide variety of products, whether natural, agricultural or manufactured\(^{143}\).

In other words, this denotes that the concept of geographical indications leans on the same supposition as the country of origin effect discussed in the previous chapter. The presumption is that the link between the geographical origin of tangible or intangible goods and its quality or embodied values impacts its attractiveness, and hence, its market value. However, while the country of origin effect pertains to aspects concerning consumer psychology and marketing, the geographical indications deals with the judicial framework concerning a product’s origin and how this relates to the marketing of that same product.

Notable examples of produce that adhere to the logics of geographical indication are Tequila from the area surrounding the town of Tequila, Mexico; Champagne from the Champagne district in France; cigars from Cuba; maple syrup from Canada; and more peculiarly, cocaine from Colombia\(^ {144}\). It is assumed that the geographical indication adds a sense of authenticity to the product, and hence value. Geographic indicators can also be in effect through mechanisms of association. Examples of this are Swiss chocolate; although Switzerland is not a cocoa producing country, they are still considered one of the finest producers of chocolate\(^ {145}\), or coffee drinks with Italian names\(^ {146}\). Italy is not a coffee producing country,
but rather considered coffee connoisseurs. Further trivial examples include Danish pastry, frankfurters and hamburgers\textsuperscript{147}. These three examples serve to show how geographical names often migrate into the daily language as common words and to a large degree loose their original referent.

It is essential to ascertain that geographical indications are understood by consumers to denote the origin and the quality of products. Many products characterized by their origin have acquired and embodied valuable reputations that may – if not adequately protected – be misrepresented by dishonest and/or illegitimate stakeholders. The false perpetration of geographical indications by unauthorized parties is detrimental to consumers, who are in effect misled and deceived into believing that they are buying a genuine product with specific qualities and characteristics, while in fact getting an imitation. Legitimate producers are deprived of valuable business opportunities and the established reputation of their products is cheapened and damaged by producers competing under unfair conditions. The element of deception is central in this approximation, as widespread availability of products purporting to be Jamaican, or at least make unambiguous visual association with Jamaica, may give the impression that these products are substantially associated with Jamaica.

The fundamental question in this respect then is, whether any given unauthorized product produced outside Jamaica, depicting the Jamaican flag or other symbols deemed Jamaican can be considered a misappropriation – and hence an infringement – of Jamaican IP rights and the subject of litigation. Or does the geographical indications framework constitute another loophole in IP legislation, disabling adequate protection of the flag itself, while at the same time facilitating stakeholders with economic motives to continue making products depicting the flag and purporting to be Jamaican? And if so, how can Jamaica confront this issue?

\textsuperscript{147} Except for the apparent semantic linkage, Danish pastry today is largely detached from the original referent and has to a large degree taken on a life of its own as a common subsidy of pastry cuisine in the industrialized world. The frankfurter is not necessarily the hot dog in itself, but rather refers to the particular way of serving the hot dog – in a bread bun. Hence, the term frankfurter refers to the German city of Frankfurt, where this way of serving hot dogs apparently originated. The term hamburger refers to the sandwich consisting of ground patty beef in between two bread buns, usually accompanied with garnishment. The term hamburger is believed to originate from the Hamburg steak which was popular in Hamburg in the mid 19th century. However, today the term hamburger is hardly associated with the German city of Hamburg, and has like the Danish pastry and the frankfurter assumed a semantic life of its own.
As indicated, there is etiquette that regulates what is considered proper conduct with flags. This etiquette, when breached, enables Jamaica to take limited legal action against the perpetrators. In practice, however, Jamaican authorities are awarded a limited legal scope, and this essentially becomes a question of enforcement. The Norwegian authorities’ difficulties regarding Thor Steinar’s reprehensible use of the Norwegian flag for their own commercial interests is similar in nature. However, this instance of infringement is likely to be more successful in the undertaking, as there is one specific company violating Norwegian interests and their business is confined to a smaller geographical area. In Jamaica’s case, there are a whole array of companies operating globally producing products displaying Jamaican symbols globally and the misappropriations do not have the connotations to a similarly embezzling narrative. The Jamaican case is arguably less grave in nature, but significantly more comprehensive in nature. This means that the case is more difficult to argue legally as a detrimental infringement, while at the same time operating in an ambiguous legal climate.

In essence the question really relates to how Jamaica’s flag and other symbols are depicted on a wide array of paraphernalia that, except in apparent association, have nothing to do with Jamaica. In this respect, it can be relevant to take into account the Madrid Agreement for the Repression of False or Deceptive Indications of Source on Goods. This agreement’s objective is to hinder products purporting to be of a dissimilar origin than they actually are, and it is up to each contracting state to decide which appellations do not, on account of their generic character, fall within the scope of this agreement. However this is easily circumvented legally, in the sense that a stakeholder can rather unproblematically argue that a product depicting the Jamaican flag does not necessarily purport to be Jamaican, it merely lends its symbolic appeal from a nationwide enunciation with traits that make the product more attractive and hence more profitable.

A manner in which Jamaican stakeholders can actively reposition themselves and confront this challenge is to protect products entitled to IP protection within the framework of geographical indications. In this manner Jamaican stakeholders can ensure judicial rights and reclaim market share that is capitalized on by other stakeholders. Jamaica Blue Mountain Coffee is already protected, and is thereby able to better position itself and look after its
reputation and interests as a sought after brand. *Walkerswood*, is not protected in this manner and could arguably benefit greatly from taking such measures to not only protect its name but also the Jamaican spirit embodied in the products. Jamaican stakeholders may need to fully appreciate that their products embody features and characteristics that fulfil the requirements for entitlement to this IP protection. Unfortunately, according to Mr. Wong-Sam, legal advisor at JIPO, the obstacle in this respect is to convince Jamaican stakeholders that this is a profitable investment with long term implications. However, JIPO works strategically in Jamaica in raising the awareness of IP and how adequate IP protection can facilitate stakeholders in ensuring and promoting the economic viability of their Jamaican products.

Exploring intangible cultural and symbolic expressions in the context of geographical indications raises further judicial challenges. Reggae, for example, can be produced anywhere in the world. However, reggae produced in Jamaica is considered to be the authentic endearment, and hence assumes a qualitatively higher credibility, appreciation and significance. This is because there is an intrinsic association between this specific cultural expression and the nation. Furthermore, in the Jamaican context, this mechanism is not exclusive to reggae, and it is this intrinsic association between cultural expressions and symbols embodying the unique flavour of Jamaica and perceived values such as vibrancy, creativity and bold energy that ensure products associated with Jamaica experience a commercial edge. In many ways this aspect of IP touches on a fundamental assumption of this research: Things labelled as or purporting to be Jamaican sell well, and the concept of geographical indications may well capture the mechanism of this.

However, while geographical indications pertain more directly to tangible products, and hence do not necessarily encompass intangible manifestations of IP, the concept can be useful in providing an understanding of how the origin or perceived origin of an expression adds value and appeal. In this perspective, one could argue that in the same way as tangible products are associated with places, so are intangible expressions, and Jamaica should be entitled to a greater share of the revenue its cultural symbols create. The discussions in the final chapter will critically focus on how Jamaica can empower itself in this realm through proactive IP governance and the promise of identity politics.

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148 World Intellectual Property Organization Homepage. Madrid Agreement for the Repression of False or Deceptive Indications of Source
7. You Can Get it if You Really Want\textsuperscript{149}: Self-value, intellectual property governance and the future promise of identity politics

A number of current issues seem to suggest that Jamaica needs a clear definition of what kind of country it is, what it stands for, and where it is going. But Jamaicans need to take the lead in defining themselves or else others will define us for their own purposes, out of their own stereotypes, and based on their own prejudices.\textsuperscript{150}

This excerpt sets the stage for the subsequent discussion. The issues dealt with so far have pertained to how Jamaican symbols are narrated and how the image of Jamaica has been projected. Furthermore, issues concerning the Jamaican nation brand efforts and the implications of these have been addressed, as well as discussing the intellectual property embedded in Jamaican symbols and culture, and how this can be governed. At the same time as these discussions have been conducted, there are quintessential questions that have been smouldering under the surface – intrinsically connected with the issues mentioned – that must be brought into the light and scrutinized. Therefore, the mentioned perspectives from the previous discussions will be merged and set the stage for a twofold discussion.

The chief objectives of this final discussion will firstly be to understand the consequences of Jamaican symbols being the subject of misappropriation; how this may have altered or diluted the symbols’ meaning and how this may have had consequences for the Jamaican nation’s and its people’s identity. Secondly, there will be a focus on understanding how the proactive use of intellectual property rights protection can halt and potentially reverse this negative inclination, and how empowering perspectives on identity politics can hold a promise for more proactive identity formation.

Corruption of symbols and negotiation of identity
As discussed earlier, it is important to bear in mind that Jamaican symbols are to some degree secessed from the original signifier – the nation itself and its actual accomplishments – and

\textsuperscript{149} Desmond Dekker. You Can Get it if You Really Want. 1972.

are not necessarily true or complete representations of the nation. The following discussion will focus on this corruption of symbols, and how Jamaica as a nation is forced to subliminally negotiate its identity in this liminal position.

In 2006, The Norwegian Red Cross in cooperation with the Norwegian Defence Force ran a public campaign displaying well-known symbols\textsuperscript{151}. The narrative of the campaign informs about what the symbols originally meant and how their present meaning has been diluted or corrupted due to overexposure, misappropriation or deliberate exploitation. The intention of the campaign was to solicit vigilant use of the Red Cross to ensure that it – unlike the other symbols – maintains its meaning and strength in order for the Red Cross to continue to enjoy the respect and reputation that the organization has built up. This is a pragmatically relevant appropriation for the Jamaican case. As argued, Jamaica has been and to some degree still is associated with certain perceptions that place the nation and its people in a particular sentiment. This sentiment assigns a cultural and symbolic discourse of the nature argued scrupulously. In this respect, the problem arises when Jamaica is unable to withstand living up to these expectations. Therefore it is significant to question whether the manner in which the Jamaican symbols are being sold ultimately affects the true essence of the original symbols and the identity of their originators – the Jamaican people. And if so, in which ways?

Robert K. Merton’s (1968) concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy, can deliver a point of entry to how Jamaica may be self-inflicting contributors to the construction of their own symbolic narrative. The self-fulfilling prophecy concerns a prediction that directly or indirectly causes it to be realized. This mechanism may manifest itself through a prophecy or statement – declared as true when in fact not – and may sufficiently influence people through covert manipulation or logical confusion so that their reactions and expectations ultimately lead to fulfilment of the false prophecy (Merton 1968). The manner in which this may apply to Jamaica is captured magnificently in a humoristic manner by a Heineken commercial that operates under the slogan \textit{Heineken. Unofficial drink of Jamaica since 1938.}\textsuperscript{152} Looking at the

\textsuperscript{151} See appendix 9.

\textsuperscript{152} The narration of this commercial points towards commonly known narratives and is set in an idyllic beach bar. All the (appearingly) Jamaican patrons are hanging out and having a good time until they are fervently notified: The tourists are coming! The scene changes completely; the chess board is overthrown, the Rasta souvenirs and the steel pan are brought out, grandpa is chased off the Internet, the roots reggae music is turned on and the Heineken bottles are swapped for coconuts and hollowed out pineapples with umbrellas – all to create the
discursive and narrative mechanisms in effect, Jamaica becomes or appears to become what people expect it to be. In Jamaica’s case this entails that the nation attempts to live up to the stereotypical expectations because Jamaica as a nation may feel it has been unsuccessful in its attempts to be validated in other domains than merely the cultural space; and has been unsuccessful in fully moving out of the socio-economic predicament it finds itself in. The consequence is that this creates an artificial climate for these symbolic narratives and puts Jamaica in a somewhat peculiar and unfortunate predicament. Although it appears there is no immediate hazard of Jamaica becoming a parody of itself, it is important that Jamaica knows who it is and can thwart the potential of fully succumbing to what many outsiders expect it to be.

Howard Becker’s (1997) perspective on labelling theory may provide a further insight into understanding how the mechanisms of the self-fulfilling prophecy assign a stereotypical image to Jamaica, and in effect may entail corruption of symbols and prevent Jamaica in defining its own identity. Becker’s labelling theory pertains to how the self-identity and behavior of an individual – or in this case, a semantically constructed symbolic entity – is created and negotiated, and furthermore how the image of that individual or entity is constructed and assigned by other social players in a given society (Becker 1997). The theory focuses on the semantic tendency in social majorities to stereotype in certain ways in order to create an easily construable notion of the individual or symbolic entity. Although Becker initially used the theory to explain how marginalized groups\(^\text{153}\) were labelled as such and subsequently experienced difficulties in ridding themselves of the given reputation, the theory can also explain how Jamaica is stereotypically associated with certain traits and is experiencing difficulties in eradicating, modifying or inverting these persistent perceptions. In practice, this would suggest that once Jamaica is labelled in a particular way, and this labelling achieves an acceptance as true, it may be hard to shift. Essentially, although Jamaica as a signifier to a large degree refers to a significant with a largely dissimilar substantial content, Jamaica as a sign is read in manner that fulfils already established notions. This may explain why the stereotypical notions about life in Jamaica and about reggae, Rastafarianism and ganja – to name a few – still persist as regnant representations.

\(^{153}\) In this case, marijuana smokers.
Concurrently, these perspectives on the contingent corruption of the Jamaican symbols relating to Jamaica – being labelled in a particular manner and experiencing difficulties in breaking free from these expectations – may cause Jamaicans to detrimentally live up to this image. This vicious circle continues if Jamaica is confined to a position where it fulfils the notion of what Jamaica is expected to be – as opposed to being given the chance to project what Jamaica itself feels is its true potential, and harness the symbolic capital in a more economically beneficial manner. Such a scenario may thwart a progressive cultural development, and furthermore entail a corruption of the symbols’ original meaning. If the symbolism is externally assigned, certain normative interpretations with anomalistic connotations – in which the symbolic projection takes on a life of its own – and hence may lead to the symbols being unable to develop in a more organic manner. From this perspective, there is a corruption of the symbols – they do no longer represent the original signifiers – and Jamaica may be forced into a reality where it must negotiate its identity within an unrepresentative symbolic framework which is externally assigned. In Jamaica’s case its symbolism is intrinsically connected to the national culture. Identity as a human constituent is also intrinsically connected with culture and nationality. Hence, one may argue there is a congenial connection between symbolic narratives and identity. This means that when Jamaican symbols are corrupted, this may also have disadvantageous effects on the innate fabric of Jamaican national identity.

The concept of identity negotiation may add further insight into the processes that Jamaica is affected by. Identity negotiation refers to the processes through which individuals or social entities reach implicit agreements regarding discoursive positioning of roles in a given relationship (Goffman 1999, Swann 1987). This process, which relates closely to Foucault’s perspectives on subject positioning, allocates the participants’ identities and shapes the anticipation of conduct. Tension between the competing processes of behavioural confirmation and self-verification can further amplify and condition this anticipation (Snyder & Klein 2005, Swann 1987). Given the predicament Jamaica finds itself in, this process may involve an elaborate level of negotiation. In the international cultural and symbolic realm, Jamaica may have been forced to negotiate its own projection of identity within the defined and confined discourse of its labelled image and expected role. Taking Jamaica’s revolutionary heritage and its present day (somewhat contradictory) pride into consideration,
one may enquire whether the complex processes of identity negotiation has forced Jamaica to abide and comply to an externally allocated identity, or whether Jamaica’s maturing identity has been able to formatively evolve in a manner harmonious to its internal, organically driving forces.

Louis Althusser’s (2001) concept of interpellation refers to how objects are assigned or hailed into subject positions (Althusser 2001: 171). This interpellation involves a certain social subjugation and stipulates a subject position – this process is seen as identification and thus creates an identity. Althusser argues that there is often a level of recognition when the subject positions are allocated through interpellation; hence the objects largely accept the assigned subject positions (Althusser 2001). This interpellation can affect the symbolic narrative of Jamaica, and can provide a further suggestion to the stereotypical role that Jamaica in many respects finds itself in. This may be exemplified by the discrepancy between how Jamaica would like to see itself and how Jamaica may be viewed externally. Largely due to external image projection, Jamaica has been subjected to a position where the stereotypical symbolic essence is extracted from the original signifier, and written into a presupposed narrative. A weakness of the concept of interpellation may be that it may ultimately presuppose a passive negotiation of identity. However, identity negotiation is often a subliminal process that can transpire with vague pronunciation, and can befall somewhat detached from space and time. The problem is that this process is so tedious that it may be difficult to discern. Jamaicans are proud people with a history of resistance, and will not necessarily voluntarily observe this negotiation passively. Therefore it is decisive that Jamaica awards this focus greater attention, so that it can actively take part in the interpellation of its own identity.

Boldly one may claim it was the 1970’s meteoric stardom of Bob Marley and the Wailers that institutionalized reggae and Rastafarianism as global household concepts, and once and for all unapologetically brought Jamaica into the global limelight. At that moment in history Jamaica was itself largely given the opportunity to say who it was and what it stood for. This was Jamaica’s prerogative – although many Jamaicans may have opposed to this portrayal – this nevertheless stood as the dominant conception of Jamaica. In the subsequent decades, however – based on this concepitive perception that was moulded into the Western and even global cultural discourses of the 1970’s – one may claim that Jamaica has not been able to transcend this perception, and was not given the chance to re-constitute or re-substantiate this
elemental interpretation of how it is perceived. Hence, the external roots reggae romantization of Jamaica prevails. Conversely, Jamaica’s perception of itself has evolved and changed. In the liminal space between external expectations and a dichotominously constituted self-perception of identity, Jamaica is now in a situation where it may need to indulge in a common conception of itself. Dr. Harvey argues:

The informal sector is the stone that the builder refused, which has been the head cornerstone. It is the force that has kept the economy alive and the culture alive. They have refused it and now they see that they have no other choice than to acknowledge its contribution and its potential of building Jamaica further. JamPro started with the Brand Jamaica now, but the problem is that the people that lead that process don’t believe in Jamaica – in the livity of Jamaica – in what Jamaica truly is. So most of the investment moves in a traditional way, and not necessarily to the emersion of the people. So if you look at JamPro and their investment portfolio they continue investing in ways that have not worked. You then look at the culture as an enterprise that comprises Brand Jamaica through music, sports, cuisine – this is Brand Jamaica and this is what JamPro has to stimulate now, and they need to understand this.

Dr. Matthew Harvey (25 April 2007)

According to Dr. Harvey, those in institutionalized positions of power have systematically neglected what Jamaicans buying into the cultural conception of Jamaica feel is the true essence of the nation and the brand. At the same time, however, they have been unable to offer feasible alternatives for substantial socio-economic betterment and progress for Jamaica. The Government and the formal sector have for decades striven to portray Jamaica in a generic manner – but so far somewhat unsuccessfully – hence placing Jamaica in a conspicuous situation.

In other words, the problem for Jamaica has been that the Jamaican Government and the formal sector have declined the ruling discursive perception of the nation and refused to fully acknowledge the grass roots cultural and symbolic contribution. According to Dr. Harvey, Dr. Stanley-Niaah and Dr. Witter this has led to an internal conflict that as manifested itself as an inverse dichotomy. It may be this inverse tension – with major forces pulling in opposite directions, and a somewhat inkling cultural inferiority complex – that creates an uncanny climate for a unified image projection. If JamPro is able to merge these two perspectives in a more satisfactory manner than Dr. Harvey claims, Jamaica may to a larger degree benefit even more from the Brand Jamaica initiative, and at the same time come to terms with what may possibly be an unsatisfactorily resolved identity negotiation.
Perspectives on self value

We knock down twenty mangoes to eat one piece and throw it away. It’s just bizarre. We have not developed a sense of the value of what we have or what we have created. At the same time we put a lot of value on things we don’t have. So we go out of our way to buy dumped American apples that are diseased and not allowed to be sold in the United States when we could have free of charge local fruits of better quality. (…) We may be losing ownership of ourselves, and that is ultimately the criticism of the structural adjustment policies. The more you cheapen your currency the cheaper your resources become for foreigners and the more expensive it is to use. In this trajectory there is a point where Jamaicans won’t be able to own the land they live on and foreigners will buy it. Although, that is carried to the extreme. (…) I don’t think we can get absorbed and lose our identity, but we can lose quite a bit of it before we realize it and other people can copy a lot of things it has and replace it. And it happens. (…) How can Jamaica regain ownership of itself and be able to control the image that is projected and make sure that Jamaica isn’t exploited symbolically in the way it is now and harness the identity of our people? I guess when people begin to have the same kind of concerns as you have.

Dr. Michael Witter (26 April 2007)

Dr. Witter’s argument speaks of the paradoxical contrast in the relation between the lack of self value Jamaicans in many cases exert and the external value that is awarded Jamaica. Although, as argued, the Jamaican pride is verily expressed in several spaces and settings, Jamaica in some realms exerts an inferiority complex that may date back to colonial times. This compound is often expressed through the lack of valuing of own products and accomplishments, and conversely the inclination to buy and consume foreign – especially American – products. This argumental logic may in turn provide a tentatively suggestive explanation to why Jamaica historically has seemingly displayed an inability to harness its own symbols and culture in beneficial ways.

Many Jamaicans simply do not see the tremendous value that the Jamaican brand and its symbols are perceived to have internationally. It is taken for granted, and the consequence has often been a free-for-all where external stakeholders have been able to help themselves to what many Jamaicans themselves may consider valueless and an unfeasible route to socio-economically progressive nation building and revenue creation. An explanation for this may be found in the attitudes some Jamaicans exert towards their own culture. In discussions with fellow Jamaicans, Dr. Stanley-Niaah refers to individuals arguing that “if Jamaica is known

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154 This must not be confused with lack of pride. The Jamaican pride does not necessarily mean Jamaicans cannot prefer foreign goods. The underlying logic of this approximation is a conundrum of contradictions, and is a discussion that falls outside the scope of this thesis.
for and associated with reggae music and Rastafari, we as a nation are in a pitiful state of affairs. This perspective blends right into Dr. Witter’s argument, and validates the claim that although many Jamaicans are proud of their nation and their cultural heritage, there are also many who would assert that Jamaica is known for all the wrong reasons, claiming it is in an externally allocated predicament, and that Jamaica should reiterate the nation branding to fully revamp its image and perception. Dr. Stanley-Niaah’s perspective may further substantiate this discussion:

Jamaica is in an identity crisis which means that we cannot focus our energy. We must become aware of the ramifications of our recognition. Music has been the driving force in helping Jamaica reach its present day recognition and should be accredited for its potential to move Jamaica to another level. Jamaica has made a large cultural impact. The world has acknowledged this. We are the only ones that don’t acknowledge this. It is really sports that have brought this out. For many Jamaicans sport does not have the same conundrum of contradictions as the music.

Dr. Sonjah Stanley-Niaah (11 May 2007)

Ostensibly, Dr. Stanley-Niaah’s analysis touches base with Dr. Witter’s perspective, and both argue that issues of identity and the partial lack of self value lures Jamaica into a perplexity that if not thwarted, may to an even larger degree put Jamaica in a precarious situation where it continues to devalue itself. The irony of this scenario is that while Rastafari presently serves the role as one of the prevalent representation of Jamaican culture, the Rasta culture has been subjugated in Jamaica. This conflict and contradiction between the internal feelings many Jamaicans express and what external forces expect is controversial to many Jamaicans, and may in turn have contributed to the amplification of the internal struggles for the negation and negotiation of identity. However, as Dr. Stanley-Niaah acknowledges, the Jamaican culture involves a conundrum of contradictions that many Jamaicans find hard to come to terms with, and sports therefore stands as a more value neutral and objectively appraisable expression of a unified national identity.

As the discussion suggests, Jamaica may struggle with an internal conflict regarding its cultural and symbolic affirmation of self-value, and it is apparent that not all Jamaicans appreciate the cultural expressions that have brought Jamaica fame. Several of the

interviewees expressed concerns that these kinds of ideas could stem from a cultural inferiority complex. This results in an inability to fully appreciate own cultural manifestations, and furthermore prevents coming together unifying as one to harness these potentially economically enriching intangible assets. As argued in the chapter on branding, it is not desirable nor feasible for Jamaica to completely reshape its image. And furthermore, this would be a diversion from the most obvious route to success. Rather, Jamaican stakeholders should ensure that the positive and indigenous cultural and symbolic forces – music, culture, sports, cuisine and business – can work together in convergence to strengthen each others’ appeal and potential to create revenue, while simultaneously embodying Jamaican values and vibrancy.

**Reclaiming ownership**

Encompassed in the perspective of reclaiming ownership of symbols and their meaning, lies the premise that symbolic expressions and intangible assets can be owned, and also that they in the case of Jamaica have been misappropriated and must be re-appropriated. When it comes to the Jamaican symbolic projection it is the people, and their creative expressions, that constitute the signifying base. Based on this, there might be an intuitive assumption that the Jamaican people to a larger degree should benefit from such symbolic projection.

If the Jamaican people did not express themselves in such an indigenous and consistently creative manner as they have, Jamaica as a sign and narrative basis would never have assumed the meaning or value it exerts today. Therefore, should not Jamaica and its people to a larger degree benefit economically and wield influence over how the Jamaican flag and other cultural symbols are appropriated and portrayed? This question is of principal character and will be discussed below.

The cunning nature of globalization is putting pressure on states to develop, manage and leverage their image in ways that are conducive to capitalistic principles. The critique of the negative effects and exploitative nature of capitalism, argues that the industrialized world have drained, and still are draining the periphery and semi-periphery world of natural, economic and human resources (Bakan 2005, Hartmann 2004, Klein 2002 & 2007, Nace
2005). In this context it is pertinent to ask if the symbols – manifestations of the people’s identity and their culture – are the last asset which is still possible to steal?

The Jamaican cultural symbols in question will here be understood as significant entities and carriers of meaning which – in the perspective of symbolic capital – entails a logic where the symbols can be owned, exchanged, bought, sold – and stolen. Through warranted use, symbols can be subjected to misappropriation, which essentially refers back to the symbols’ original signifier and may corrupt the symbols’ original meaning. This chain plays back on the symbols and may affect the identity of the original referents. In the context of this angle of approach it may appear that Jamaica – in the light of the present day situation and due to the powers of cultural mechanisms outside its control – is forced to accept its allocated discursive role and rather negotiate its identity within a rather static framework delivered by external stakeholders. Critics have even asserted that when the capitalistic economies are saturated, thriving off, or looting lesser developed nations and economies for tangible assets, such as natural resources (Hyslop-Margison 2006, MacEwan 2000), they will continue to exploit the lesser developed economies of intangible assets. This is already a well researched problem as pertains to unwanted human capital migration or brain drain (Davenport 2004, Kuznetsov 2006, Martin et. al. 2006, Ozden & Schiff 2005). In the extension of this is the appropriation or misappropriation of cultural and symbolic capital. This process is often cunning in nature, and viewed merely as free floating signs in a hyper-reality. However, these signs are real; they have real life references and signifiers and such misappropriation may have real life implications.

Lash & Lury (2007) argue that cultural entities, like the Jamaican symbolic portfolio, take on a dynamic of its own. While on the one hand adding value – in the economic sense – this transaction can also entail that symbolic and cultural entities are cheapened – in the signifying sense – and are detached from their original signifiers. In the global culture industry, which is one of the spaces Jamaica’s symbols operate within, products and symbolic expressions are distributed as much through accident as by intention (Lash & Lury 2007). In this liminal space, subliminal meanings are communicated and the cultural entities themselves become reflexive in their inevitable self-modification over a range of environments. The symbolic value is embedded in the virtue of the symbolic codes and frames of reference that assign significance to a given cultural expression. This is where symbolic logics become equivocal,
and market mechanisms and branding principles become relevant – the symbols are commodified. Jamaican symbols are packaged in manner in which they are traded within the premises of capitalism, and hence appear as commodities. These commodities – comprised of both the tangible and intangible qualities – are largely sources of symbolic of power. If the beholder of the original symbolic reference point loses ownership of this, the stakeholder distributing a given symbolic commodity is in the position of power, and can hence operate on his or her own premises. When Nike, for example, promotes a shoe with Rasta-colours, they own the judicially institutionalized brand – the Nike logo and name – and will therefore be in the favourable position. The Jamaican symbols are commodified in the context of Nike – and sold within the discourse of branding – but without the judicial protection of a brand.

Although intangible assets are per definition intangible, this does not mean that they cannot be depleted. An oil well can be physically drained, but the Jamaican flag will not cease to exist. However – looking at the flag and other Jamaican symbols in the discourse of commodification – to the extent the flag is overused or misappropriated this could drain the symbol of its strength and significance. This is a form of resource exploitation – much in the same way as Nigeria has been exploited for oil – to the disadvantage of the people, both economically, but also within the context of identity negotiation. It may not be feasible for Jamaica to look after its symbolic portfolio as fervently as Apple guards its apple logo. However, the overuse of the Jamaican flag entails that Jamaica will to a lesser degree be able to take advantage of this resource themselves, and it may beneficial for Jamaica to reclaim its symbolic capital and start implementing strategies to ensure a larger degree of control over its own symbolic portfolio.

156 See appendix 9.
Attitudes to intellectual property in Jamaica

I certainly don’t think we have taken advantage of the positive (aspects of Jamaica) as much as we could. And I think a lot of foreigners have taken advantage of the positives we haven’t been able to, and they are making money off the image of Jamaica. Anything Jamaican you can put in your movie or music or packaging of goods, adds a Jamaican flavour and makes these products more attractive. External stakeholders know this, and are using our symbolic capital to sell their products. I don’t think we have learned how to do that yet. But it’s not too late; we just need an attitude change, and the infrastructure to facilitate this.

Dr. Michael Witter (26 April 2007)

Being able to harness a nation or a culture’s IP is a comprehensive and complex enterprise, and according to Dr. Witter, Jamaica has so far shown disinclination in committing to such an endeavour. However, Dr. Witter believes it is not too late to institute and implement an infrastructure to facilitate the establishment of a new approximation to symbolic harnessing in Jamaica. According to Mr. Wong-Sam, legal advisor at JIPO, one reason for this disinclination may be what he describes as many Jamaicans’ reluctance to grasp the concept of IP, and understand how IP governance can pragmatically relate to Jamaica. To illustrate the experiences as a lack of familiarity with IP in Jamaica, Mr. Wong-Sam – admittedly without having the contractual specifics – gives an example while proffering his opinion:

In that Puma case, I will be honest with you. I think Puma got Jamaica very cheap. We as a nation probably didn’t realize how powerful the Jamaican brand would be. And we sold it cheap; we couldn’t conceptualize that Jamaica would have such a powerful brand, we didn’t conceptualize that the Puma gear would have sold so well because it had the Jamaican paraphernalia on it. We didn’t understand how to value the IP, and now Puma is making a lot of money.

Jason Wong-Sam (21 May 2007)

In other words, Mr. Wong-Sam is of the opinion that JAAA underestimated or was unaware of the IP-valuation of Jamaica, and thus were unable to negotiate a more profitable and beneficial agreement for Jamaica. However, this may also be a display of the power of hindsight when actually seeing the Puma Jamaica line’s massive success. Although the contract is confidential, he asserts that is probable to assume that Jamaica did not get the full financial benefit. However, he is able to see the case from Puma’s perspective too, admitting that he;
can’t blame a businessman for being shrewd. The onus is on us to know what we were selling and know our worth. I can’t blame Puma, but it was not a good deal for Jamaica in this respect. We could have been benefiting financially from it. We never knew the value of our IP and we lost out in that respect. We thought short term, we should have thought long term. Now we know we have something valuable, something worth protecting. (…) One good thing with the Puma Jamaica line though, is that it put Jamaica out there, and furthered the brand. It really showed the impact of Jamaican symbols, and worked as an eye-opener for many Jamaicans who didn’t know Jamaica was this big. (…) Hopefully we have learned from this so that the next time someone approaches us in the same way, we know our worth. Or even better, next time it is we who sell Jamaica, and in a way that benefits us more directly.

Jason Wong-Sam (21 May 2007)

This case taps into Mr. Wong-Sam’s main argument – that Jamaican stakeholders may lack the required knowledge and familiarity of IP protection – and until Jamaican interests are better equipped with IP knowledge, the nation will continue selling itself short. However, Mr. Wong-Sam also asserts that there are indications that Jamaicans are coming to terms with the strength of the Jamaican brand, and hence are showing increasing interest in IP governance. An example of this is Jamaica Trade & Invest’s 28 & 29 May 2008 lecture series on Branding and IP protection for businesses in Jamaica.

As discussed in the context of branding and IP already, Jamaica is a creative economy, and a greater focus on protection and management IP-assets may entail that creative expressions could to a greater degree be capitalized on. Furthering and boosting the increasing interest in the protection of Jamaican IP – as manifested and expressed through its culture and symbolism – would most likely further contribute to positive attitude change. The promise of IP governance is immense, and given the nature of the Jamaican culture and economy this may possibly facilitate Jamaica in better harnessing its symbolic capital, and position itself more advantageously on the symbolic and cultural playing field.

Making intellectual property an integral part of a nation brand strategy
In the context of a holistic nation brand strategy, deployment of a cleverly devised IP infrastructure can constitute an important factor in ensuring success. Adequate use of IP laws give the right to earn a return on legally protected creations – that is, logos, trademarks, brand names, slogans, designs, tangible products or even services – and could represent a new and promising approach to the harnessing of the Jamaican symbolic economy. However, proactive
IP governance does not only require positive attitudes to IP, but also intricate knowledge of how to best deploy adequate aspects of the IP infrastructure in beneficial ways. With reference to the argument posed already regarding champion brands *Walkerswood* and *Appleton Estate* deploying the *country of origin* effect; it may be illuminating to view this concept in the context of IP, and specifically geographical indications and appellation of origin. The link between these champion brands and the branding strategy of Jamaica, could potentially lead to an expansional benefit within such a strategy, and furthermore leverage these and other brands’ potential. In introducing a more premeditated approach to an IP enforcement strategy – stimulating the protection of designs, music, copyrighted work, trademarks and geographical indications – this could be used to more deliberately convey the values and the positive reputation of Jamaica. As suggested in the discussion on branding, introducing a seal of approval of tangibles and intangibles produced in Jamaica could contribute to signify the Jamaican referent. This could be done much in the same way as the British Royal Warrant Holders Association, whereby the *By Appointment to her Majesty the Queen* seal denotes exclusivity and quality, traits that are sought after by consumers. These products are deemed more attractive, essentially applying recognised market-mechanisms to win against competition. This could for example be administered by the Bureau of Standards, certifying that officially deemed *Brand Jamaica* products essentially embody the authentic flair and flavour of Jamaica. A possible suggestion to increasing the feasibility of this is – in addition to representing authenticity – to align such an endeavour with respected Jamaican designers and artists to ensure that the products not only are of better quality, but also possess the creative edge that Jamaica already is associated with.

In the shifting emphasis on the nation brand trend an ever increasing number of nations are realizing the economic potential of the fast growing areas of cultural tourism and the creative industries associated with culture. Branding reggae through the discourse of cultural heritage, means that this cultural asset of Jamaica – to an even larger degree than today – could be exploited via museums, exhibits, concerts, fairs and other cultural events. The size of licensing markets for cultural products is fast growing and includes publishing, advertising and PR companies, as well as film/recording companies and the corporate sector. To put things into perspective, Mr. Anholt in the feasibility study (2005) states that; “in the same way

157 The Royal Warrant Holders’ Association Homepage. http://www.royalwarrant.org/ 8 (Read 22.03.2008)
that the figure of Bob Marley has helped to create a pervasive social ethic in Jamaica that making music is a route to betterment, so the commercial brands should be used to create a society-wide belief in the power of IP and entrepreneurship” (Anholt 2005:7). This reasoning taps straight into a point made by Mr. Wong-Sam (JIPO), namely that there is a scarcity of knowledge of IP and its pragmatic implications in Jamaica, and that an effort to better the knowledge of IP’s applicability would enable Jamaica and Jamaicans to ameliorate its governance of valuable intangible assets.

Looking specifically at the framework of a Reggae Museum, it is clear that a body should be set up to manage the intellectual property rights associated with the cultural products that fall within the scope of the museum. This body could serve a role as clearing house/advisory board dealing with cultural IP matters in general, essentially providing a new way of structurally managing reggae music and culture. One way of doing this, is to initiate and go through with an effort to create and register IP such as copyrights, trademarks and designs associated with reggae culture at large, and then licence these symbols to sponsors of cultural or sports events who want to associate themselves with the culture, music and people of Jamaica. In essence, however, the problem discussed earlier arises again. As argued, a nation or stakeholders associated with that nation cannot trademark its flag or its name. One of the most identifiable symbols associated with Jamaica and reggae are the red, gold and green colours originally from the Ethiopian flag. In this instance Jamaican stakeholders would be unable to trademark this symbolic asset, as it originates from a different nation’s flag. Although this symbolism could have generated tremendous revenue, the Jamaican stakeholders, in this case the Reggae Museum and Research Centre, would have to accept the applicable WIPO legislature. The point here is, though, that there are several other symbols more specifically associated with Jamaica that could be incorporated into an overarching IP policy aimed at securing Jamaican intangible assets.

Whether in music, culture at large, foods, sports or consumer goods, the creation of such IP structures could furthermore provide Jamaica with points of reference and sway when negotiating licences with for example sporting goods manufacturers, such as Puma and Nike, as well as tourist resorts who in instances promote themselves at the expense of Jamaica. As argued in the section on Puma Jamaica, although the JAAA are content with the Puma sponsorship, critics have claimed that the JAAA and Jamaica could have achieved more in the
negotiation of the agreement. With clever application of mentioned IP concepts, Jamaican stakeholders can in the future not only strengthen the national brand, but also ensure that a greater proportion of the revenue that the Jamaican brand stimulates is allocated to Jamaican stakeholders. Looking at the big picture, IP can be considered a tool for prospective investment; once serious businesses see that Jamaica can provide an adequate IP framework geared at protecting against potential infringements, businesses might invest with confidence and expect returns.
Empowerment and the future promises of identity politics

Taking the aforementioned discussions on branding and IP governance into consideration, it may be argued that Jamaica needs a clear and unified vision of who it wants to be; its national identity. The need for such a vision is intrinsically connected to Jamaica’s confabulation, and its ability to ensure a greater degree position itself actively with regards to the appropriation of Jamaican cultural symbols. Real ability to avouch the discourse of its symbolic narrative is a fundamental requirement for substantiating and hence succeeding with the nation brand strategy. Through the protective use of IP governance, Jamaica can prevent misappropriation and exploitation of its symbolic capital, while at the same time exercise a positive affecting the identity formation and negotiation processes. Jamaica has to take the lead in the active endeavour of creating this vision itself; the following discussion merely stipulates possible points of entry to this discussion through the discourse of identity politics.

The concept of identity politics has pragmatically come to signify a wide range of political and philosophical positions and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice by constituents marginalized within a larger socio-political or socio-cultural context (Young 1990). The aim of identity politics is to secure the socio-political self-determination and the freedom of expression of a specific group united by a common fate. Typical examples of groups consolidated within the discourse of identity politics are ethnic minorities, religious followings or people unified by sexual orientation. Identity political formations assert ways of understanding the group’s distinctiveness, and in doing so, challenge what is often perceived as dominant, yet repressive characterizations, with the aspiration of greater self-determination (Connolly 2002, Young 1990). The discourse of identity politics is often accompanied by a rhetoric of empowerment, which can belie the philosophical complexity of any righteous claim, and further emphasize the shared experience of common objectives (Bickford 1997: 127).

Within the discourse of identity politics, Michael Brown (2004) deconstructs the conflicting logics when culture is transformed from an abstract term into an apparently tangible and immutable size as heritage and a carrier of identity. In this context one must acknowledge that it is difficult to equate the emotional connection of heritage claims with the factual demands of law, and it is therefore important to address the philosophical and epistemological
discontinuities that exist between culture, heritage, law, and morality. Brown’s perspective can provide an essential point of entry into the discussion on the conflicting interests of a given culture’s moral right to own its heritage and narrative, versus commercial interests’ persuasive and possessive inclination to utilize these narratives with lesser consideration for the symbolic meaning embedded in these cultural expressions. The embodiment of Jamaica’s national and cultural identity is its merit and crux. In the merging of these identities – the distinctive cultural uniqueness – one may argue Jamaica has experienced the corollary of symbolic exploitation, where external stakeholders have unwarily appropriated Jamaica’s symbolic narratives; encapsulated in *culture, heritage and identity*. This may have happened for two main reasons: Firstly, Jamaica has a distinct symbolism which through metonymical and metaphorical chains of association refer to strong cultural narratives. Secondly, as argued, Jamaican symbolism has as strong a brand recognition as many commercial brands, but still Jamaican stakeholders have very limited possibilities of litigating and effectively sanctioning perceived infringers of Jamaican symbolism.

In *Free Culture: The nature and future of creativity*, Lawrence Lessig (2004) argues – indeed in the context of the distribution of IP creative expressions in the age of the Internet – that never before in human history has the control of creative progress been so concentrated in the hands of the powerful few (Lessig 2004). The powers that Lessig moots are multinational media corporations and organizations that operate within appropriation and distribution of symbolic capital, and would include Puma, Nike and Adidas. Lessig’s argument substantiates the general argument of this thesis – that powerful external stakeholders have appropriated the Jamaican symbolic capital – and presently exercise undue influence over its narrative projection. This predicament entails that Jamaica finds itself in a contestation for the power to define and substantiate. On the one hand, Jamaica is disproportionately strong symbolically. On the other hand, the stakeholders appropriating Jamaica’s symbolic capital, are disproportionately powerful and have the backing of multinational economic capital. In other words, both stakeholders have an asset the other party aspires for. However, the powerful party can forcefully compel the symbolically strong, yet infrastructurally weaker party into a particular discursive position, and consequently benefit insusceptibly and economically from the symbolic capital of Jamaica. This compelling power to set the discursive premises for symbolic distribution also entails an ascendency to define the symbolism’s meaning, and often has the clandestine effect of expediting the proactive party’s economic interests.
A paradoxical conditionality of this power vs. symbolic logic is that symbols in themselves are on the one hand completely valueless, but on the other hand exceptionally valuable. In order to be transformed into meaningful revenue, the symbols must be contextualized, appropriated and distributed onto a market which values these symbols. It is perhaps here Puma, Nike and Adidas are in a stronger position than Jamaican stakeholders themselves. As argued, Jamaica has substantiated and contextualized its own symbols remarkably – in addition to the discursive meaning read into them – and hence catered for these companies to appropriate and distribute what then has become a valuable symbolic narrative. An adequately devised and managed IP framework and better distribution channels – essentially re-appropriating the second and third steps in this process – may be the route of betterment in Jamaica’s attempt to manage its symbolic portfolio in a manner that can be translated into a substantial benefit of the greater Jamaican society, and exercise its indisputable right to define the embedded meaning in this symbolism.

Lessig (2004) furthermore argues that we may be in danger of losing the long tradition of free culture – meaning the freedom to create, build and ultimately imagine – without being compellingly misled into buying into the ruling discursive narratives projected by eminently puissant and often commercially driven stakeholders. This incongruity within post-modern, capitalistic society is its defence of free markets and free speech; yet still permitting and catering for top-down control. In this context this refers to how multinational companies figuratively sell out indigenous culture. United Colours of Benetton have been accused of this (Lessig 2004, Slater in Cronon 2006).

Lessig’s perspective resonates with what Zygmunt Bauman (2005) sees as the problem of post-modern identity. Bauman (2005) argues that whilst the modern problem of identity was how to construct an identity and ensure its stability and solidity, the post-modern problem of identity is principally how to avoid fixation and engage in exploration of possibilities (Bauman 2005). In the case of identity – both individual, social and cultural – the aphorism of modernity was creation, whilst the aphorism of post-modernity is recycling. This recycling of identity plays into the strategic recycling of images, discussed earlier, and compounds the sediment self-understanding as recycled, yet transformed in a new context. Bauman’s perspectives on identity resonate with the previous arguments on the close interdependence
between the self and the process of how this identity is embedded in symbolism and created through mythical images. The mythical affirmation of identity is facilitated by external projection of attributes that may have existed, but now exist mythically as an illusion of the reflective reality in which they initially were created.

Ernst Cassirer (1998) argues that our identity manifests itself in the sense that it is represented for us and for others in our acts and in our works. This entails a reciprocally circularity whereby the identity projected is interpreted and is then returned as a mesmerizing anticipation as of how to act, and often surpasses the preceptor’s consciousness. Expanding on this notion, contemporary cultural theories add that we create the identities of others – as well as our identity is created by them – and represents a take on identity construction that differs from Cassirer’s in more than terminology. Stuart Hall argues:

Actually identities are about questions of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation. They relate to the invention of tradition as much as to tradition itself, which they oblige us to read not as an endless reiteration but as 'the changing same': not the so-called return to the roots but a coming-to-term-with our 'routes'. They arise from the narrativization of the self (Hall 2000:441).

In other words, Hall argues that the representation of identity has a constituting effect within this representation, and that such representations can potentially inflict meaning on how carriers of identity construe this identity. The steadily increasing flow of humans, information and tangible and intangible goods and entities of meaning within the globalized world requires a concise and consistent narrativization of the self within a framework which may be externally projected. This narrativization – if not reiterated in a watchful manner – may entail a fracturing of identities; essentially catering for implementation of externally projected substance and meaning. The consequence of this fractured identity is its facilitation for conflicting values appearing as simultaneously harmonious components. This can be allegorized by Jan Pieterse’s (2004) observation of the multiplication of formative social structures we are implicated in – all playing into the same identity, but often in opposing ways – and the implications of what Giddens (2001) notes as the separation of space from place in post-modern identity construction. All these concepts account for different facets of an
increasingly insistent need for the relocation – or as Giddens terms it *re-embedding* – of identities (Giddens 2001:443).

Amalgamating these perspectives on identity formation and negotiation – with reference to the earlier discussions on Hall’s perspectives on signs’ embodiment of identity and Foucault’s perspective on subject positions, it is necessary to decipher the misappropriation of the Jamaican symbolic portfolio’s effect on the sign’s meaning and how this has identity political consequences for Jamaica. Furthermore it is important to discuss the economic implications of identity politics in a Jamaican context, and how the economic capital abstractly and intangibly embedded in the symbolic capital has forced the stakeholders – here, Jamaica and external interests – into discursively assigned subject positions that entail a shift from the classic confinement of identity as *who am I?* or *who are we?* to an approximation of identity politics as a concept playing into the discourses of myth construction of images – and myth construction of identity. Through symbolic narratives, the Jamaican politics of identity become a field of contestation with economic implications.

Signs and its symbolic narratives assign subject position, and hence allocate the framework for identity. The allocation and interpellation of identity is expedited based on the cultural narratives embedded in the signs and symbols; the symbolic projections are expressions of identity. When these symbolic expressions are misappropriated – as argued in the case of Jamaica – the sign works reciprocally back to the original referent; the Jamaican people and their notion of the nation. This not only entails the occurrence of a mismatch between Jamaica as a semiotic concept and the reality it is supposed to represent; the sign’s acquired and re-defined meaning can backfire and influence the reality created as a reflection of the semantic concept of the nation in unexpected and unintended ways. Hence, the symbolically detached, yet compelling concept of Jamaica – supposedly a *true* reflection of Jamaica – can actually operate in a hyper-realistic dimension and change the meaning of the original signifiers. Jamaica may be forced into a subject position externally allocated – based on external stakeholders’ notions and expectations of how Jamaica and Jamaicans are – and hence run the danger of losing touch with itself. The ultimate transcendent consequence of this may be that Jamaica loses its exclusive moral right to narrate its own discourse; and thereby may lose the exclusivity to its identity; its story; and its cultural and symbolic self-determination. It is in this politicized dimension that the need for proactive identity politics arises.
The concrete manifestation of such identity politics – in the context of Jamaica – can be constituted by the practical strategies of nation branding, the legal approaches of IP. Significantly, these efforts can be elevated by the intertwining ideology and philosophy of self-affirmed collective Jamaican identity negotiation. Because the symbolism associated with Jamaica does not only refer to a given signifier, but is also awarded its root metaphors from a depiction of Jamaican culture and heritage – essentially the esoteric carriers of identity – the projection of Jamaican symbolism can influence and alter the external and internal perception of Jamaica and what constitutes the Jamaican identity. Even more detrimental may be the progressively covert influence of the disapprobative appropriation and misappropriation of Jamaican symbolism be for the identity of the Jamaican people.
Conclusion

This thesis has delved into the complexities surrounding the narrative construction of Jamaica and how the partially conflicting interests of various stakeholders have made the Jamaican cultural and symbolic narrative a field of inexplicit contestation. In discussing the Jamaican approach to nation branding – having argued the strong cultural and symbolic narratives bringing a high level of visibility and cultural brand recognition to Jamaica – as well as providing suggestions as to how Jamaica can accelerate its nation branding efforts, it is clear that Jamaica could benefit socio-economically from a more strategic approach to nation branding. As argued consistently, one of these routes to success may be through the industrious deployment of IP governance strategies. Although there are certain shortcomings to the framework pertinent to providing legally sound protection of national IP, it is feasible to overcome these challenges so that Jamaica, through creative IP governance, can benefit to a greater degree from ensuring that IP plays a significant role in the socio-economic betterment of the nation.

Furthermore, this research has scrutinized the complex and intricate narrative mechanisms surrounding the tendentious trend that cultural expressions and symbols associated with Jamaica have been appropriated by largely external stakeholders. This has notably three effects that concern Jamaica: Firstly, the external stakeholders profit from symbolic capital that may arguably be Jamaica’s prerogative to manage and distribute. Secondly – given that the symbolic capital associated with Jamaica is an intangible asset which is not unlimited – this external appropriation of Jamaican symbols may hinders or limits Jamaica’s own ability to harness and benefit from these intangible resources. And thirdly, the inclination for these symbolisms to be externally appropriated – first de-contextualized, then re-contextualized – may impact on the Jamaican narrative construction and have a detrimental impact on the national Jamaican identity formation.

While it is decisive to emphasize that the argument provided in this research does not try to argue it is completely immoral of Puma, Nike, or other external stakeholders benefit economically from the Jamaican symbols, it is important to critically highlight certain aspects of this use of Jamaican symbolism, and essentially secure two interests for Jamaica; that the nation itself is able to yield economic return on its symbols and narratives; and that when the
symbols are used this does not corrupt the symbols or have negative effects on Jamaica’s possibility to themselves to define itself and to benefit wholesomely as a nation and a people with, for example, the aid of economic incentives, concerted government programmes and careful management of intellectual property.

However, Jamaican stakeholders may benefit greatly from realizing that intellectual property is an economic asset, and like other property it can be developed, managed and owned so that it creates an economic return. This may enable a level of competitiveness that would not be possible without higher level strategic brand management. This can be driven by the incentive that a stronger, more well-managed Jamaican brand may further the country’s already progressive socio-economic mode while at the same time prevent symbolic corruption and ensure that the Jamaican national identity formation is organically driven by internal forces, as opposed to being externally allocated. Through concerted, proactive deployment of identity politics Jamaica can exercise its apposite to re-appropriate its narrative and henceforth be the master of the discourse of its own narrative projection.
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Select music
Not all these songs are featured on the Master Music CD due to unavailability on CD.


Select films

It is important to note that only one of these films have been referred to explicitly in the thesis. However, these films are a selection of films that have provided an elaborate insight into how Jamaica projects itself, and how Jamaica is viewed by outsiders. Hence, they have served an important purpose to understanding the narrative construction of Jamaica.


“All sources used in this thesis are stated”

Wordcount: 39.288
### Appendixes

#### Appendix 1: List of abbreviations

Although the majority of these abbreviations will be explained progressively, this complete list of all abbreviations in the thesis will be provided to ensure that they appear in a cohesive manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARICOM</td>
<td>The Caribbean Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSIR</td>
<td>Council of Scientific &amp; Industrial Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSME</td>
<td>Caribbean Single Market Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>The European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>International Federation of Association Football (Fédération Internationale de Football Association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>International Business Machines Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Cricket Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICH</td>
<td>Intangible Cultural Heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>Intellectual Property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAAA</td>
<td>Jamaica Amateur Athletics’ Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JamPro</td>
<td>Jamaica Promotions Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JIPO</td>
<td>Jamaica Intellectual Property Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JLP</td>
<td>Jamaica Labour Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JTB</td>
<td>Jamaica Tourist Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.A.M.B.</td>
<td>Love Angel Music Baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRG</td>
<td>Lifted Research Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Master of Ceremonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPLA</td>
<td>Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola – Party of Labour (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola – Partido do Trabalho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NESH</td>
<td>The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSD –</td>
<td>Norwegian Social Science Data Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OM –</td>
<td>Order of Merit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON –</td>
<td>Order of the Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC –</td>
<td>Personal Computer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIOJ –</td>
<td>Planning Institute of Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP –</td>
<td>People’s National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMRC –</td>
<td>The Reggae Museum and Research Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCE –</td>
<td>The Legislative Texts on the Protection of Traditional Cultural Expressions (Expressions of Folklore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIPS –</td>
<td>Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEFA –</td>
<td>Union of European Football Associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN –</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP –</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO –</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIA –</td>
<td>United Negro Improvement Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF –</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID –</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USD –</td>
<td>United States Dollar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USPTO –</td>
<td>United States Patent and Trademark Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWI –</td>
<td>The University of the West Indies (Mona Campus, Kingston, Jamaica)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIPO –</td>
<td>World Intellectual Property Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO –</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Permission from NSD to store and utilize information
Original letter from Norwegian Social Science Data Services, followed by the translation.

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Ivar Frønes
Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgiografi
Universitetet i Oslo
Postboks 1096 Blindern
0317 OSLO

Vår dato: 11.02.2008

KVITTERING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 16.01.2008. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

18361 Wi Lékkle but Wi Tallawah. The Branding of Jamaica and how Jamaica is Affected By Symbolic Exploitation
Behandlingsansvarlig Universitetet i Oslo, ved institutionens øverste leder
Dagens ansvarlig Ivar Frønes
Student Steffen Mussche

Personverombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personverombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven/-helseregistreloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.


Vennlig hilsen
Vigdis Namvåtvedt Kvalheim

Janne Sigbjørnsen Eie

Kontaktperson: Janne Sigbjørnsen Eie tlf: 55 58 31 52
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Steffen Mussche, Helgesensgate 14 B, 0553 OSLO
We refer to your statement re the processing of personal data which was received on 16.01.2008. The statement refers to the following project:

18361 Wi Likkle but Wi Tallawah. The Branding of Jamaica and how Jamaica is affected by Symbolic Exploitation

Responsible authorities The University of Oslo (Head of)
Supervisor Prof. Ivar Frønes
Student Steffen Mussche

The Privacy Ombudsman has evaluated the project and notes that the processing of personal data is required in accordance with the Personal Data Act, paragraph 31. The processing satisfies the requirements of the Personal Data Act.

The Privacy Ombudsman’s assessment requires the project to be completed in accordance with the application forms, any correspondence with the ombudsman, any comments and also in accordance with the Personal Data Act and Health Register Act and Regulations. The processing of personal data may now commence.

Kindly note that a new application must be made to the Privacy Ombudsman in the event of alterations made in relation to the assessments as laid down in the original Privacy Act. Notification of alterations must be made on a separate form http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forskstud/skjema.html. Notification must also be given after three years if the project is still in progress.


On conclusion of the project on 31.07.08 the Privacy Ombudsman will get in touch regarding the status of the processing of personal data.

Yours faithfully
Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim Janne Sigbjørnsen Eie

Contact: Janne Sigbjørnsen Eie tel. 55 58 31 52
Attachment: Project assessment
Copy: Steffen Mussche, Helgesensgate 14B, 0553 Oslo
Appendix 3: Complete list of interviewees


Boxill, Ian (25 April 2007): *Professor of Sociology*. Department of Sociology, Psychology and Social Work, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Barbadian national.

Branche, Clement (1 May 2007): *Head of Department*. Department of Sociology, Psychology and Social Work, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.

Chevannes, Barry (30 April 2007 & 14 May 2007): *Professor of Social Anthropology*. Department of Sociology, Psychology and Social Work, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.


Deslandes, Derrick (8 May 2007): *PhD, Marketing Studies*. Department of Management Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.


Harvey, Matthew (25 April 2007): *PhD, Human Geography*. Institute for Hospitality and Tourism, School for Graduate Studies and Research, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.

Hayle, Carolyn (25 April 2007): *Senior Programme Officer*. Institute for Hospitality and Tourism, School for Graduate Studies and Research, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.


Hutton, Clinton (26 June 2007): *PhD, Philosophy and Culture*. Department of Government, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.

Mains, Susan (22 May 2007): PhD, Cultural Geography. Department of Geography and Geology, Faculty of Pure and Applied Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Scottish national.


Pereira, Beverly (30 May 2007): University Counsel. Legal Unit, Faculty of Law, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.

Rhiney, Kevon (29 March 2007): PhD researcher. Department of Geography and Geology, Faculty of Pure and Applied Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.

Singh, Diaram Ramjee (30 April 2007): Tourism Researcher. Department of Management Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.

Stanley-Niaah, Sonjah (11 May 2007): PhD, Human Geography. Institute of Caribbean Studies, Reggae Studies Unit, Faculty of Humanities and Education, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.

Witter, Michael (26 April 2007): PhD, Economics. Department of Economics, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Jamaican national.

Appendix 4: Jamaican symbols in style and fashion
The pictures in this appendix have been included to provide easily accessible visual examples of how symbolic narratives associated with Jamaica are readily depicted in fashion. Common for these designs are that they all include Rasta in their product name – validating their link to the Rastafarian movement and Jamaica.
Appendix 5: Jamaican symbols as marketed towards tourists in Jamaica

The pictures in this appendix have been included to provide easily accessible visual examples of how symbolic narratives associated with Jamaica are projected and marketed generically towards the mass tourists vacationing in the North Coast resort areas of Ocho Rios, Montego Bay and Negril.
Appendix 6: Once you go you know campaign pictures
The pictures in this appendix have been included to provide easily accessible visual examples of the Once you go, you know campaign, and provides a visual cue to how the image of Jamaica is currently communicated in the discourse of tourism.
Appendix 7: Brand Jamaica
Booklets distributed by JamPro and Jamaica Trade & Invest for the 2007 launch of Brand Jamaica. Included to provide an easily accessible source of validation to how Jamaica is projecting and communicating its image within the discourse of business branding.
Appendix 8: Puma Jamaica
The pictures in this appendix have been included to provide easily accessible visual examples of how Puma captured and portrayed the symbolic narratives of Jamaica through the Puma Jamaica line.
Appendix 9: Red Cross public campaign
Original Norwegian campaign. Used by permission of The Norwegian Red Cross Society. The translation of the campaign follows the original.

Ikke la dette skje med

Det røde korset benyttes av Røde Kors og sanitetstjenesten i Forsvaret for å beskytte mennesker i nød og konflikt. Feil bruk av symbolet i fred, svekker beskyttelsen når vi virkelig trenger det, i katastrofer og krig. I verste fall når vi skal redda liv.

Ikke til atomvåpen

Utarbeidet av engelskjournalisten Gerald Holbro i 1957 som et symbol mot atomvåpen. I dag brukt til å kritisere hippiebevegelsen.

Smiley

Designet av amerikaneren Richard Bull i 1963 for å illustrere negative følger etter en heterot evisjon. I dag er lekeni for undersideindustri - og dopprodusenter.

Svastika

Et gammelt ord til Buddha eller et symbol på hell og lykke. I vår dag er verden full av symboler i dag sin egen, distinkte symbolikk.

Palestinskjerf

Et uttrykk og overdagsdaglig hadespagg i den arabiske verden med 1400 år gamle ruiner. I dag et klart, sentembede skjeft for den radikal bevegelsen.

Mars

En hoffe til planeter og den gamle Venus. Stod for sjovligheter, aggressivitet og se. Brukes i dag for å vise menn hvor de skal gå på de.
These signs and symbols have lost their clout
A selection of signs and symbols that have lost their clout and meaning – overused, misused and abused. Both by accident or on purpose.

Che
Once a symbol of revolution and freedom. Today his face can be seen on everything from T-shirts to socks, wallets and g-strings.

No to Nuclear Weapons
Devised in 1957 by English teacher Gerald Holton to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. Used mainly today as a caricature of the Hippie Movement.

Smiley
Designed by the American Richard Ball in 1963 to counteract the negative affects of the blues. Today the entertainment industry uses it – and so do dope peddlers.

Venus
Ancient cultures worshipped this symbol of fertility, good luck in war, beauty and love. Today this symbol is usually associated with the feminist movement.

Swastika
An over 3000 year old icon. In Asia it is the sign of the god Buddha or a symbol of good luck. Today in our part of the world the swastika represents a dark period of our history.

Burberry
Dating back to its conception in the 1920s as a sign of class and discreet luxury. Commonly adopted today by enterprising hooligans known as “casuals” or “lads”.

Palestinian head covering
An apolitical and familiar head covering in the Arab world going back almost one thousand five hundred years. Today a popular scarf used by radical movements.

Mars
A celebration of the planet and the god Ares. Stood for self-confidence, aggression and ego. Used today to indicate men’s toilets.

The red cross is used by The Red Cross and the medical service in the Defence Forces to protect people in need. Misuse of this symbol in peace time endangers protection when most needed in disaster areas and war zones. Most of all when we need to save lives.

This ad is published in cooperation with the Department of Defence.
For further information or misuse-alert visit www.rodekors.no/emblemet

Don’t let this happen to
Appendix 10: Master Music

Jamaican music stands as one of the primary symbols of Jamaica and constitutes a major factor in explaining Jamaica’s present day recognition. Therefore it is important to not only discuss the music in written form in the thesis, but also to have a concrete idea of how Jamaican music can influence the listener intellectually and emotionally. Thus, this readily available and easily accessible exquisite selection of original Jamaican songs.

Jamaican popular music has always been a sign of the times – the music has been a reflection of the socio-political climate in Jamaica, as well as having a reciprocal effect on shaping the society it was produced in. From the jumpy and optimistic post-independence Ska (1962-66), to the mellower Rocksteady (1966-68) when harsh reality struck; from the more consciously grounded Reggae (1968-80) to the early Dancehall (1980-90) that provided a sanctuary from explosive violence and poverty; up to contemporary Dancehall (1990-2008) that is reflective of Jamaica’s vibrant energy and in-your-face attitude – this CD provides diverse chronological excerpts from the rich Jamaican song book.

One album can in no way do justification to Jamaica’s rich musical heritage. This album is compiled in an attempt to provide a small cross section of these musical developments, while at the same time providing a soundtrack for the reader of Wi Likkle but Wi Tallawah. This is subversive and seductive heart-beat music to uplift the soul and make the blood bubble. Enjoy!

1. The Wailers – Simmer Down
2. Millie Small – My Boy Lollipop
3. Marcia Griffiths – Feel like Jumping
4. Desmond Dekker – 007 (Shanty Town)
5. U-Roy – Stick Together
6. The Wailers – Sun is Shining
7. The Melodians – Rivers of Babylon
8. Jimmy Cliff – Many Rivers to Cross
9. Desmond Dekker – You Can Get it if You Really Want
10. Toots & the Maytals – 54-46 Was My Number
11. Althea & Donna – Uptown Top Ranking
12. Dennis Brown – Money in My Pocket
13. Gregory Isaacs – Night Nurse
15. Diana King – Shy Guy
16. Buju Banton – Champion
17. Chaka Demus & Pliers – Murder She Wrote
18. Elephant Man – All Out
20. Damian Marley – Welcome to Jamrock
21. Wayne Wonder – No Letting Go
22. Richie Spice – Earth A Run Red
23. Tanya Stephens – It’s a Pity
wi likkle but wi
fallyawah
Narratives of nation branding:
Intellectual property governance and identity politics in Jamaica

Steffen Patrick Mussche
Master’s Thesis in Sociology
Department of Sociology and Human Geography
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Oslo
May 2008