

**Returning the Gaze From the Margins:
Decoding Representations of Gender,
Race and Sexuality in Tourist Images of
Jamaica**

Karen Wilkes

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Abstract

The thesis adopts a post-colonial approach to examine the relationship between historical and contemporary visual representations of Jamaica and identifies the repeated visual associations made with blackness and servitude, and whiteness with luxury from the colonial period in Jamaica and the imperial context in Britain.

The thesis addresses a range of tourist advertising images of Jamaica which are analysed in terms of their representations of race, gender, class and sexuality. The theoretical context of the thesis combines post-colonial theory with black feminist theory to make explicit the significance and relevance of conducting critical analysis of visual representations of Jamaica from a social, economic and politically marginal standpoint. Homi Bhabha's concept of ambivalence in colonial discourse, Foucault's approach to discourse analysis and Roland Barthes' semiotics were combined to establish the methodological framework of the thesis and to identify, historicise and deconstruct the repetition of familiar colonial relations constructed as privilege and servitude.

The economic and social context, which led to the shift towards tourism in post-emancipation Jamaica, is discussed through the analysis of a selection of visual texts. The discussion notes the particular references to the essentialised categories which are retained in the accounts of Jamaica by nineteenth-century travellers and early twentieth-century tourist promotion of the island. This informs the empirical analysis in the final chapters by centrally addressing the construction of racialised and gendered categories in the shift away from the black female body to the white female body to carry the discourse of sexualised desire.

The empirical analysis focuses on the celebratory display of whiteness and heterosexuality in the form of the key signifiers of romance, white weddings and marriage in the Sandals visual texts and examines the use of the white feminised body as the legitimate recipient of luxury and pleasure.

In conclusion, the thesis argues that post-coloniality is more complex and fluid than identifying post-colonial identities by the geographical location of former colonies. The thesis confirms the significance of the analysis conducted from a marginal position which identifies the central use of the white female body to promote themes of pampering and service, and conveys the central role that the white female plays in maintaining the assumed 'natural' association with whiteness and luxury as 'lady of the manor'.

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Introduction

In the contemporary context of global media, we are surrounded by images which provide us with representations of people, places and consumer utopias (McLaren, 1998: 67). Their sophisticated, high quality construction makes them appealing, their repetition encourages the content to be largely viewed as ordinary, commonplace and ostensibly having no historical or political origins. Yet, images are significant as they are used to construct meanings around the notions of identity and belonging to different social categories those of, race, class, gender and sexuality.

I am particularly concerned with how racial categories are skilfully reproduced in contemporary images, by drawing on familiar colonial relationships, constructed as privilege and servitude. The analysis in this work is concerned with recontextualising the familiar by using a post-colonial historical framework; to understand how the essentialised categories in the images are presented as predetermined.

In this thesis, I aim to explore and critically examine the social categories of race, gender, class and sexuality and the associative links they have with whiteness as the natural recipient of privilege and luxury and blackness as naturally signifying servitude. In particular, I focus on how these associative links with identity have a direct relationship with each other and are historically located in the context of imperial Britain and colonial Jamaica and reproduced in the contemporary context of images which represent Jamaica as a tourist destination. The repetitive images of Jamaica's beach landscape convincingly conjure up ideas of

escape for largely white European and American subjects, yet they also position blackness as “fixed”. This fixing produces a contradictory effect of denial, negation and disavowal of the black subject yet at the same time encourages a palatable and non-threatening display.

I have drawn on post-colonial theory to provide the theoretical context for this study. Post-colonial studies was initially developed by literary scholars such as Edward Said, (1978), Homi Bhabha, (1994) and Gayatri Spivak (1988) although subsequent works within the field have incorporated a visual dimension (Woods, 2002; McClintock, 1995; Lewis, 1996). This thesis draws on this body of work by exploring whether there are legacies of the colonial discourse in tourist representations and if so, how the layers of power integral to colonial rule, have been framed in contemporary tourist representations of Jamaica. I have aimed to use my “in-between” positionality as a Black British female to deconstruct popularly consumed visual texts which centrally positions the white tourist subject, especially the white woman to carry the meanings of entitlement to privilege on the Caribbean landscape.

This thesis is not a full analysis of Jamaica’s history, nor is it a study of the labour conditions of Jamaica’s tourism workforce, or a full discussion of the economic aspects of the tourist industry in Jamaica. Rather, the principle focus is on representations and the way power relations are reproduced in the tourist brochures.

I have adopted a multidisciplinary approach to this study and combined discursive analysis with a Barthesian approach to visual analysis, along with a broad historical framework to examine the

ideologies that underpin the construction of the visual representations from the past and in the present.

The standpoint of the thesis is made clear in the section entitled *Introduction to Part One: A Politics of Recognition*. This is part of my discussion of my methodological approach which is informed by my particular standpoint. In this section I make clear the significance of examining notions of whiteness from a black female perspective so as to make explicit that drawing on one's ethnic, political and economic positioning can assist in developing our understanding of racialised power relations. My positionality and the post-colonial as a critical perspective have informed my analysis of the visual representations of blackness *and* whiteness, enabling me to challenge the perception of them as fixed.

In Chapter 1, I discuss the more particular methodological framework for this study. I explain that it is Roland Barthes' more fluid and post-structuralist approach to semiotics anticipated in his essay *Myth Today* and the associative and flexible capabilities of images which I have used and combined with the deconstruction approach within post-colonial theory, particularly developed by Homi Bhabha to challenge the notion of essentialised categories.

In the cultural studies tradition, I have aimed to address a subject of contemporary and social relevance. In particular, I examine visual texts, which can be located within connecting discursive formations and includes the positioning of black and white identities. From my "in-between" position, I critique the visual texts which have traditionally positioned the black subject as object on the margins, but rarely the

subject of the practices of representation (S. Hall, 1996d: 442). Indeed I have aimed to address the ideologies contained within seemingly innocent visual texts and in the cultural studies tradition, raised a vital political question: “who speaks?” (Spivak, 1988; Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 40).

Chapter 2 provides a more detailed account of the theoretical context that has influenced the direction of this study. I discuss the significance of post-colonial theory and Edward Said’s and Michel Foucault’s notion of discourse in relation to the colonial enterprise.

The theory chapter moves beyond Said and addresses the limits of his work by discussing the limitations of the essentialised binaries as considered by Homi Bhabha (1994). I use my subject position to demonstrate the problematic nature of using the binary categories and the possibility for adopted positions to be contested.

Critical reflection on the essentialised categories has been undertaken with reference to Hall’s (1996f) essay *The After-life of Frantz Fanon* and Bhabha’s concept of ambivalence. The thesis offers a discussion of the complexities of the debates that have taken place regarding deconstructing the binary categories.

I also draw on the work and insights developed by black feminist scholars Verene Shepherd (1995), bell hooks (1996) and Joan Anim-Addo (2007), which demonstrate sharply that representations cannot be deconstructed without reference to the dimensions of class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity (S. Hall, 1996: 444).

Chapter 3 provides an informed historical perspective and conveys the importance of imperial and colonial relations through an analysis of historical visual texts. There is a focus on intersections of race, gender

and sexuality and how these categories work together to define the positioning of black women and white women in the historical colonial period. This analysis foregrounds the discussion to lead onto the analysis of contemporary visual texts and offers a reading for the continued use of binary categories and what this means in the light of discussions regarding theoretical discussions on deconstruction that have taken place within the academy.

Chapter 4 focuses on the historical visual representations of Jamaica in guidebooks and traveller accounts, and outlines the early tourist history, which adopted the tradition of representing Jamaica through the “native” black subject as the black female body. The chapter draws attention to the presence *and* absence of the white subject in the historical visual texts, and goes on to reveal the transformations in the use of the white female body to represent Jamaica as a sexualised tourist destination.

Introduction to Part Two: Universalising a Version of Whiteness frames the empirical analysis of contemporary visual texts taken from Sandals brochures and Round Hill promotional material. This section discusses the underlying politics of representation and has been included to clarify the way the images can be located in terms of the contemporary economic and social positions of black and white people in America and British society.

Chapter 5 is a detailed discussion of a selection of images taken from Sandals brochures. The chapter explores how notions of the white feminine ideal have been used to appeal to a specific audience and addresses the use of Jamaica for the display for romance, white weddings

and heterosexual relationships. The discussion continues by identifying the use of class, race, gender and sexuality to construct identities in the context of heterosexual marriage. I focus on the repetition of the associative elements within the images, in particular the universalising display of whiteness and notions of good taste. Thus, the use of specific identifiers to denote class in the images means that race-centred societies with a history of colonialism would easily identify the terms of reference, particularly when citizens are socialised to view themselves and others predominantly in terms of race and ethnic categories (Stanfield, 1993: 17).

In Chapter 6, I explore how Western conceptions of the ideal body shape are used to reinforce proscribed ideals of masculinity and femininity. The chapter demonstrates the shift in the representations away from objectifying the black/mulatto woman, discussed in Chapter 4, to the white female body which is presented as an object of desire in the paradise setting of Jamaica. I focus on the particular representation of the white female body as a liberated sexual agent and a respectable lady, which symbolically carries the discourse of entitlement to privilege, power and social status.

The chapter develops this discussion further by highlighting how the images juxtapose the white pleased subject with the black serving subject. The discussion specifically draws on Homi Bhabha's concepts of ambivalence and disavowal, to suggest that the representations are an expression of luxury and excess. The images have been selected in the light of this observation and qualify the earlier discussion on whiteness and debates regarding deconstruction.

This project is centred on challenging the mode of subjectivities within representations of blackness and whiteness considered normative in the contemporary context (Mclaren, 1998: 65), and makes explicit the links between the historical material and the contemporary visual representations.

Introduction to Part One: A Politics of Recognition

This thesis is centrally about representations, but specifically representations within tourism discourses of Jamaica. In particular, I am concerned with the politics of representation. I use my positionality (a black female, with a middle class education, without access to middle class resources; I describe myself as being in-between classes) to deconstruct a selection of historical and contemporary images with consideration to configurations of power and where the images position Jamaica in the global world order. I am concerned with the representations of Jamaica as they are not packaged or set up to address me as a black British female. My aim is to critically discuss the politics of such representations and their relationship to essentialised binary categories which underpinned colonial discourse.

I acknowledge that the consumption and production of images are key aspects of the circuit of culture¹, and demonstrate that there is a relationship between the subjects creating the image, the subjects consuming the image and the consumed visual text. However, it is the text itself and the subliminal message it conveys, not the reader or the production process that is central to my analysis of representation – the first stage in the cultural circuit (Hall, 1997: 226). If we take Johnson et al's (2004) version of the cultural circuit which incorporates cultural methods, we can see that texts, readers, everyday life and production are

¹ The Circuit of Culture by Hall, S. (ed) (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* London: Sage, developed with cultural methods in Johnson, R. et al (2004) *The Practice of Cultural Studies* London: Sage which demonstrates the intimate relationship between the cultural circuit and cultural methods.

the categories which they have used to differentiate cultural studies practice. To include research and analysis of the production of the images may well involve exploration into the social factors that influence the choice of certain images being selected by the company concerned and the technological methods that have been used to create them. Similarly, the study may well have addressed the readers of the texts and carried out an examination of how the texts are consumed by readers (possibly exploring this through interviews), with a specific focus on how readers view them aesthetically. I accept that my approach, which centres on examining the articulation of social hierarchies and power relations through difference-hierarchies of class, race, gender and sexuality, excludes the material processes of production and consumption (Haraway, cited in Rose, 2001: 9; Nava, 1997: 34). Jameson (1993) argues for research which combines analysis of consumption and production and criticises cultural studies for producing textual analysis of representations which fail to talk about 'real markets' (Jameson, cited in Nava, 1997: 35). This theoretical position points towards an analysis of production and its relationship with the economic organisation of society (ibid).

However, to include consumption and production in this work, would be an attempt to study the complete cultural circuit. As a consequence this would diminish the focus of the research which is to use my positionality to explore "the ordering of difference which depends on a distinction between those who claim to see with universal relevance and those who are seen and categorised in particular ways" (Haraway cited in Rose, 2001: 9). Indeed, as Hall has argued,

How do we represent people and places which are significantly different from us? Why is 'difference' so compelling a theme, so contested an area of representation? What is the secret fascination of 'otherness' and why is popular representation so frequently drawn to it? (Hall, 1997b: 225).

Having done the necessary preparatory reading into different theoretical standpoints and decided on the post-colonial, I have conceded that research on the production processes or the technologies of the images under examination, is an area for further and more extensive research. To conduct research in the area of production would shift the focus from analysing through my positionality to examining the images from the perspective of the producers of the texts, in this case seeing the images from Sandals' perspective. As Rose (2001) notes, scholars Shohat and Stam (1998) have argued that discussions of 'the visual' tend to adopt a Eurocentric perspective (Shohat and Stam, 1998 cited in Rose, 2001: 8). This is what this work is aiming to depart from.

Scholars in the field of tourism studies have broadened the discussion of the image and culture in relation to tourism and identified the importance of examining the components of images in the tourism process (Dann, 1996; Cohen, 1993; and Selwyn, 1996). They have argued for analysis of tourism to include the cultural dimensions as well as the economic factors. My aim here is to draw on this analysis using a multidisciplinary approach of semiotic and discourse analysis, to explore the meanings and cultural values that underpin the way images are constructed (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 15) and examine where such representations position Jamaica in the contemporary global order. How are people and places represented in the images? How is difference

represented? Through whose eyes do we gain a view of the world and the power relations within it? It can be argued that images may not be received in the way that the producer of the image intended, nevertheless, there is a specific (class, race, and cultural) position from which tourist images tend to be produced and such representations if not critiqued are in danger of being taken at face value and applied universally². Images are a signifying practice. They carry meaning because they operate as symbols or signs, which stand for or represent the meanings we wish to communicate. In themselves they do not have a clear meaning, yet the messages and interpretation is achieved by those who share the same cultural codes or language (Hall, 1997b: 4; Hall, 1992b: 135). As we shall see, images are significant as they provide a window on how society and the social order are depicted.

The focus of this work is to utilise my position to examine the relations of power that are implied in the images and by doing this, highlight the version of reality that is being privileged in the images³. The way in which we can avoid taking images at face value would be to acknowledge that images are created by (usually enfranchised) subjects who are influenced by their own specific cultural and social positions. Therefore, they create images from their version of reality (how they see the world) using a particular set of beliefs and value systems to represent relationships in society. My aim in this thesis is to examine the relationships that are presented in the images and to explore the nature of

² Morgan and Pritchard (2001: 168) identify the failure of advertising agencies to adopt an ethnically diverse approach to marketing. They explain this as being in part due to the white dominated advertising agencies in the UK.

³ Morgan and Pritchard (1998) note that tourism representations like any other cultural production, present a specific version of reality to the reader of the image. Assuming that they and the reader share the same values or “codes”.

the power relations that are conveyed in the identities crafted by the image creators.

I would like to clarify initially, that along with avoiding face value readings of tourism images, it is fundamental that we recognise that close attention is paid to understanding what the images communicate about the subjects carrying out the constructing. I note this in Said's (1978) analysis that western representations of 'others' tell us more about the subjects constructing the representations than the subjects actually under observation (see Chapter 2).

How we understand power structures is through, class, race, gender and sexuality as identified by influential and well-known theorists (Said, 1978; Hall, 1996c; Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1988; hooks, 1991; Foucault, 1980). It is from my subject position that I will draw on their analysis and these social categories to examine what lies behind the images and perceptions (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 4). That is to say that I am not intending to analyse the images from the perspective of the traditional tourist, who is typically represented as white⁴, middle-class and originally from a Western country (Urry, 1990). Rather, my aim is to convey that one's subject position fundamentally influences how one views the world and perceives difference (Hall, 1997b). Here, I aim to speak from a space which Mirza (1997) argues, breaks with the tradition of black women being denied the privilege to speak, to have a valid identity of one's own and the space to 'name' ourselves. Therefore, I express "the localised and personal struggle against not having one's

⁴ When describing subjects as white, I specifically mean Caucasian middle-class individuals from North America and Britain.

sense of belonging acknowledged (Mirza, 1997: 3). I aim to draw on the epistemological shift that has taken place in the social sciences. In particular, the theoretical turn which acknowledges that there are alternative perspectives (or gazes) and different ways that we can view the world or as Hall describes it as “the displacement of the masculine gaze” (Hall, 1996: 146; Shepherd et al, 1995; Mulvey, 1989). In debates regarding identity in cultural studies, literary and post-colonial studies, theorists have coined the term of ‘writing from the margins’. Hall’s classic essay “Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities” is as relevant to the current political context as it was in 1996. In this work, Hall (1996e) spells out the context from which the concept of being both Black and British originated. This remains a contested identity particularly “in settings where we are perceived as not belonging”⁵ (Gilroy, 1997: 251; hooks, 1991: 90) and where most definitions of ‘Britishness’ assumes that the person who belongs is ‘white’ (Hall, 1997: 230). What I mean to say is that whilst having secured the right to speak from all three identities (Black, British and Caribbean) there is still resistance or a refusal in 2007 to be able to embrace all three identities within the majority nation. Having delivered a paper at a conference recently, and taking questions, I was asked, “I can’t see migration in your paper?” I understand that it was Europeans who initially partook in migration to what we now call the Americas? They sailed there before any Africans arrived in slave ships. In any case, this was not my questioner’s only concern (he was a white middle-aged male). He asked me if I was from Jamaica, and my response

⁵ See Hall (1997) where he discusses Linford Christie’s feelings towards the British tabloid press for ignoring his achievements as an athlete and focusing on his alleged sexual prowess (Hall, 1997b: 230).

being no, “I’m British”, he said “Well I mean your parents, but that doesn’t mean you’re British”. I reflected on this experience to conclude that, whilst I *can* speak from all three identities, I recognise that there is resistance to this (and the desire to dictate who does and does not belong), it positions me as writing from the margins, but problematises the essentialised black/white categories as fixed.

Perhaps more clearly, this line of questioning points towards an attempt to “fix and naturalize the difference between belongingness and otherness” (Hall, 1996: 445). The questioner’s questions draw on what “Gayatri Spivak calls the “epistemic violence” of the discourses of the Other of imperialism, the colonized, Orientalism, the exotic, the primitive, the anthropological and the folk-lore” (Spivak cited in Hall, 1996: 445). Therefore, my questioner was able to question my Britishness by drawing on a web of discourses, which are historically and politically rooted and contest the possibility of being both black and British. Thus, I am constantly working within the contradictions and tensions contained within the “category” Black British.

Black Britain defines itself crucially as part of a diaspora. Its unique culture draws inspiration from those developed by black populations elsewhere. In particular, the culture and politics of black America and the Caribbean have become raw materials for creative processes which redefine what it means to be black, adapting it to distinctly British experiences and meanings (Gilroy, 1987: 154).

This episode has brought into sharp focus the struggle for me legitimately to claim post-coloniality⁶. As Gilroy (1993) argues, there is a “special stress that grows with the effort involved in trying to face (at least) two ways at once” (Gilroy, 1993:3). I have what W.E.B. du Bois identifies as “double consciousness”. I occupy an “inbetween” position, as I cannot claim to be Jamaican, yet I am not completely outside of Jamaicaness; the discourse of Britishness is set up to contest claims to being black *and* British, as Mirza (1997: 3) argues in the official discourse “you can be either one or the other, black or British, but not both”. Yet, my insider/outsider position permits me to undertake an analysis of the visual texts and view them as representations of post-coloniality – displaying post-colonial relationships. It is me, as the Black female British tourist, the white (Anglo-American) tourists *and* the Jamaicans I engaged with in Jamaica who constitute the post-colonial.

Ultimately, it is the subject concerned who should be able to choose which position they speak from. Their position may fluctuate according to their circumstances and not all black subjects born in the UK would necessarily want to adopt a three-pronged approach as an expression of their identity.

Post-colonial theorists have successfully argued that white identities (normal) have tended to be formed in opposition to non-white identities (exotic, read: primitive). By taking a critical view of the ideologies developed by Europeans during the Enlightenment period, scholars such as Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988 and Bhabha, 1994 have

⁶ I am aware that there are reservations held by some female theorists regarding the use of post-coloniality for the way in which the post-colonial has centred the African Caribbean male (Anim-Addo, 2007: 233).

demonstrated the effectiveness, power and contradictions that were key components in colonial discourse. Thus, post-colonial theory is an epistemological shift in which European/American claims to knowledge have been challenged, and this critical approach has exposed a rather complicated relationship between the coloniser and the colonised (see Chapter 3). Homi Bhabha (1994) presents the idea that the colonial enterprise was characterised by deeply ambivalent relationships which were about desiring the colonised subject as much as they were about derision and oppression. Bhabha (1994) argues that this contradiction in the colonial ideology means that the desire for the ‘Other’ made the colonial identity unstable. Colonial rule attempted to secure ‘fixity’ and prevent contamination and degeneration; the colonisers policed the ideological borders to distance themselves from the colonised. However, in practice the desire to be physically near and touch the colonised subject can be observed in the forced and consenting sexual relations between the “uninhibited” black female slaves and the sexually “restrained” white male plantation owners. Young (1990) draws on Fanon’s description of black people as a stimulus to white people’s anxieties. In particular, prompting feelings of revulsion due to actual or potential physical contact with black people (Young, 1990: 191). This is an example of the contradiction contained within colonial discourse, as in practice, there was an active desire for the black female body. Thus, the major anxiety stimulated by black people was a *sexual* one (Young, 1990: 194). As we shall see, in the following chapters, sexuality and gender are key factors in how hierarchies of difference are articulated in the tourist images analysed in this thesis.

European and American feminist discourses and debates have highlighted the gender inequalities under capitalism. However, it is the layering of the different components race, class and gender which I apply in my analysis of the images. Racialised identities are mediated through gender and class positioning, however, Western feminism has insufficiently addressed the realities of black women due to being based on the experiences of white, European elite women (Shepherd, 1995: xv). As Hall, C. (1995) argues, “much of the work [that] has been inspired by the black feminist critique is of white, first-world feminism, and the insistence that [we] recognise and confront the racisms that permeate everyday life in the West” (C. Hall, 1995: 51).

Marxists and feminists have identified alliances which can be formed across class and gender lines, which can bind groups together for example poverty or being female (Stanfield, 1993: 23). However, racial inequality is a key determinant in creating identities which can negate such alliances. Shepherd et al (1995) argue that it has been through the efforts of black feminists who have widened the debates regarding gender and power relations. Thus, revealing that the concerns of largely white middle-class women are not universal and whilst being marginalised from the public sector, they have been culpable for marginalising non-white women (Rich, 1987: 219). Therefore, it is imperative that in discussions of race and ethnicity the concepts of gender and class are simultaneously considered.

The Idea of Whiteness

The architects of the nineteenth-century Enlightenment based their writings on the belief that human beings could be categorised and organised into a hierarchy (Eze, 1997; Goldberg, 1993). This was an approach that easily inserted into the existing ideas in post-Feudal Europe, about social class and the level of one's humanity (Strachan, 2002). Already regarded as inferior, the working classes in Europe were treated as humanly beneath their wealthy and landed superiors. Once the triangular slave trade had been established in the Americas the dimension of skin colour, phenotypical features and cultural difference to the concept of a racial hierarchy ensured that the working classes had a rung beneath them. As Eze (1997) argues, "nature was conceptualised as a hierarchical system in which every being, from humans down to fauna and flora, had a naturally assigned position and status" (Eze, 1997: 4-5). What is centrally important here is how Enlightenment thought developed and established a particular type of thinking about how Europeans began to view themselves and how this approach influences the way that non-Europeans are/were viewed and treated. Thus, philosophers Hume, Kant and Hegel played a strong role in articulating Europe's sense not only of its cultural, but also *racial* superiority (Eze, 1997: 5).

Enlightenment theories used pseudo-science to substantiate the idea that there was a 'Great Chain of Being' or human hierarchy. Science was intimately developed with the concept of modernity in Europe, and the belief that emotions should be subordinated to reason (Johnson et al, 2004: 47). Scientists and scholars claimed that white (middle class) men

were objective, rational, intelligent, essentially at the top of the racial hierarchy that they constructed (Goldberg, 1993; S. Hall, 1992). The “objectivist” approach is historically connected with the production of gendered and racialised differences in Enlightenment thought and a specific form of white masculinity involving a “culture of no culture” in which being “transparent, civil, manly and rational was opposed to the feminine, the unruly and the dark” (Haraway quoted in Johnson et al, 2004: 48). Thus, European men positioned themselves as superior and this entitled them to make judgements about women, working-class people and cultures they considered to be different to their own (Bonnett, 2000; McClintock, 1995; Anim-Addo, 2007).

Stuart Hall’s (1992b) essay “The West and the Rest” examines how “the West” came to be seemingly homogenous and viewed as “developed, good and desirable”. This idea of “the West” was, as Hall argues central to the Enlightenment which professed that European societies were the most advanced on earth and the pinnacle of human achievement (Hall, 1992b: 278). “The West and the Rest” is a rather simplistic and crude dichotomy. It produces a system of representation or discourse, which encourages certain structures of thought and knowledge (ibid). Whilst it allows us to carry out comparisons, it limits alternative ways of seeing non-western societies as anything other than under-developed, bad and undesirable. Therefore, the West is not a single entity. It works in conjunction with opposing images and ideas which form a relationship between western and non-western cultures as a post-colonial relationship.

Post-colonial theory has been fundamental in examining and exposing the nature of the relations in this binary. The dominant view, ideology or set of values which this binary has encouraged, is a standard or model of comparison (Hall, 1992b: 277). It is the lens through which we are encouraged to view the world and as Sheller (2002) argues, “since its origins in the nineteenth century, social theory has continually used non-Western places as counterfoils for Western modernity” (Sheller, 2002: 1). Bonnett (2000) supports this observation by arguing that the “emergence of white racial identities is an integral component of the development of modernity across the world” (Bonnett, 2000: 2).

Haraway’s ‘master subject’ is one way of understanding how the “West and the Rest” dichotomy has been articulated through white middle-class masculinities. Haraway states: “That it is, the subject constituted as white, bourgeois heterosexual man perceives other people who are not like him. From his position of power he tends to see them only in relation to himself” (Haraway, cited in Rose, 1993: 6). The establishment of the master subject was integral to eighteenth-century Enlightenment scientific and philosophical thought which defined knowledge production as masculine, objective and rational.

The dominant impulse of whiteness took shape around the notion of rationality of the European enlightenment, with its privileged construction of the transcendental white male rational subject...in this context whiteness was naturalized as a universal entity that operated as more than a mere ethnic positionality emerging from a particular time, the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a particular space, western Europe (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 5).

Cultural studies has developed a body of work which addresses the subject of whiteness and what it means to be white in western white-

centred societies. Although there are a number of significant texts (hooks, 1991; Morrison, 1992; Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993; Bonnet, 2000⁷) which have explored and examined the nature and the power of whiteness particularly in North American and European societies. However, in the current climate of political correctness, open discussions about whiteness as a powerful aspect of society and identity are rather strained or “guilt-ridden” (Lago, 2006: 199; Rains, 1998: 84/90). Lago (2006) assists in cutting through the “guilt-trap” to enable me to articulate and *qualify* in academic language the need to address the specificities of power in the majority population and how being white constructs a particular perspective of viewing the world. Lago’s discussion of whiteness and the reluctance to discuss what it means to be white is profoundly refreshing.

What is it to be white? What is it to be white in a multiracial/multicultural society? What is whiteness?...One year ago, a colleague and I offered a weekend course/workshop on this subject and attracted approximately a dozen applications. This year we only received four applications. Of course there may be perfectly rational reasons for this reduction in interest...but nevertheless it is interesting to reflect on the reasons for low take-up. My own hypothesis inevitably has to acknowledge the very serious levels of apprehension, fear and guilt that this subject potentially raises in white people... (Lago, 2006: 199).

Discussions of the white identities that are represented in the brochure images frequently produce the counter side of the guilt reaction. I have found that there is a “so what” reaction to the Sandals images (see Chapters 5 and 6). Yet, to dismiss the evident power relations suggests that for those subjects within the dominant group “there is no problem [with the identities represented], or, indeed, even an inkling that there

⁷ Bonnett (2000: 20-1) discusses how people in other societies have valued whiteness (and blackness) and used it to define specific groups, however, it has been Europeans who have constructed whiteness as a natural category and utilised it as a key determinant in their identities.

might be a problem” (Lago, 2006: 201). The reason for this may be as Rich (1987) and Frankberg (1993) argue, that whiteness has a “thoughtless” aspect to it.

Lago (2006) and Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998) reassure me that whilst this is a challenging subject to study it is worthy of examination, and uncritically viewing racialised images as unexceptional or “normal” is perhaps a continuity of refusing to examine the values that underpin the images created to represent Jamaica and the broader Caribbean nations.

I have been able to use my experience as a student and tutor to understand the shape that whiteness takes in the contemporary context. I was recently discussing the subject of race with a group of undergraduate students and, I posed to them, the question what they thought it means to be white. I observed that the students found it difficult to talk about their whiteness, as they explained, they had not thought about their whiteness before. Having thought about their positionality, some of the students realised that their skin colour accorded them certain privileges in society, and possibly exempted them from negative experiences based on their ethnicity. Thus, McIntosh (1998) highlights the invisible nature of whiteness and argues:

...white skin privilege and the advantages that accompany it are not necessarily obvious to those who are white and middle class (McIntosh, quoted in Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 80).

Although it has been discussed at length elsewhere, (Dyer, 1997; Morrison, 1993) I think it is worth repeating, that the difficulty that there

has been in studying whiteness has been due to its elusive, neutral quality which has a tendency to evade scrutiny (Dyer, 1997; Bhattacharyya, G. et al, 2002: 7).

One difficulty in studying the white self is that, until recently, it was an invisible and non-researched category, even difficult to name and not perceived as a distinctive racial identity. Even today, most white Americans either do not think about their whiteness at all or else think of it as a positive or neutral category (Vera, et al, 1995, cited in Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 78).

In contrast, there is a healthy discussion on issues of “diversity” and “difference” in academia – evidenced and qualified by centre-stage scholars Hall, (1996) and Bhabha (1994). What I aim to do here is to explore how the discursive formations position Jamaica as a paradise, non-western and essentially different, produces a particular take on its colonial history and racialised in the new global order. Although we talk openly and frequently about “diversity” in the contemporary context, diversity usually refers to everyone except white people. This emphasis obscures questions of white experiences and as discussed earlier, it is not common practice for white people (in general?) to question their social, economic and cultural position in society (Lago, 2006; hooks, 1991; Chennault and Dyson, 1998: 322). It was only during the 1990s that whiteness became a subject of academic study (Bhattachyia, et al 2002: 7). McIntosh eloquently describes how her whiteness has affected her life experiences:

Special circumstances and conditions I experience which I did not earn but which I have been made to feel are mine by birth, by citizenship and by virtue of being a conscientious law abiding “normal” person of goodwill (McIntosh, 1988: 5-9 cited in Lago, 2006: 200).

I am concerned with the politics of representation in debates about whiteness. How one uses their position to create meaning. How positionality is central to one's view of the world and involves a power relationship in which one can represent oneself *and* others. I aim to explore representations, which are constructed as universal, natural and "normal". What is implied is to be white and normal and whatever is regarded as normal requires no explanation. Bonnett (2000: 4) does not want his work to inspire the claim that "whiteness is always and everywhere the most pressing issue of the hour". However, as discussed above, understanding whiteness and its intimate relationship with power and power differences between white and non-white people must be undertaken alongside an understanding of racial thinking in the Western world (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 4; Lago, 2006: 204). To do this is to understand how tourist images bring together subjects from different societies (first world and third world) in racialised forms of exchange and distribution in the global context (Bhattacharyya, 2002: 9). This reminds me (as the critical reader) of the institutions in the Western world that established our current networks of global trade. They were created from the material benefits of the slave trade and colonisation for the dominant white group, and embedded within institutional structures and practices are notions of white supremacy and black subservience" (Malik, 1996; Tuckwell, 2002 cited in Lago, 2006: 205) (see Chapter 3).

By adopting a post-colonial approach, I take a long "transgenerational" view of the images. Such representations are stacked

up with generations and generations of radically different experiences (ibid). Race continues to be significant within the structures and systems of society as the current fears over immigration in Europe and Islamophobia (Sayyid, 1997; Esposito, 1992) in the Western world indicate. The power to call forth such racial thinking influences the everyday reality of different groups of people. Our respective positions in the social hierarchy are integral to how we create meaning – how we see the world. Traditional boundaries relating to gender, culture, race and social class may well have become blurred as individuals are exposed to alternative options and a whole range of lifestyle choices (Lago, 2006: 206; Giroux, 1998). However, race continues to be a key determinant in shaping life chances and influencing relative access to power and resources in society (ibid: 206). Whilst in the possession of the “invisible knapsack”⁸ the inherent power of whiteness continues to hold sway (Lago, 2006). The epistemological shift that I referred to earlier has included a deconstruction in essentialised binaries of black/white, coloniser/colonised. However, political essentialisms have not been displaced. It is as Bonnett (2000) observes, there has been the need for essentialisms to be retained to facilitate struggle, resistance and solidarity, whilst at the same time maintaining a critique of reified categories⁹ (Bonnett, 2000: 139). For example, in tourism discourses the emphasis is on the difference in far-flung places and reinforces the normalness of Westernised whiteness (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998). The images presented for analysis in this work observe that what is being

⁸ McIntosh (1988: 94-5) describes the nature of white privilege as ‘an invisible knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass emergency gear and blank checks’.

⁹ Examples of this have been in the black power movement and black community politics.

alluded to in the images is the racialised political polarities that exist within the contemporary global context. Tourist brochures are one of the many texts in contemporary culture which do this (McCarthy, 1998: 332).

In Noxolo's (1999) analysis of development discourses she examines what whiteness means in practice: "applicable everywhere and permanent to the exclusion of other perspectives" (Noxolo, 1999: 98). This observation can be applied to my discussion of how images are read from a particular standpoint. Earlier I noted that there is a tendency to read the images as nothing other than simple representations of Jamaica. Therefore, my reading of texts constructed with an assumed normality and unproblematic message, could be described as "a radical black perspective", "a hot potato" or a thorny subject which is rejected in favour of the familiar universal, unproblematic, rationalised reading of the 'master script'. If we are willing to accept that some white people find the idea of a personalised black reading as unnecessary, stemming from the fact that "their" view of the world is presented as universal, then we go some way to understanding how my reading could be regarded as problematic. As Stanfield (1993) argues, it has proved difficult for black scholars with "radical" views on racial politics and discussing "cultural difference as a normative human attribute, to be heard and believed within academic communities" (Stanfield, 1993: 26). My aim here, as an act of empowerment, is to theoretically hold up a mirror to the images and analyse them as a black post-colonial subject, and reject the implicit power relations represented in the images. I would like to encourage my readers to take into consideration that my view of the world is an acceptable part of reality. This is against the backdrop of political

correctness which governs much of our contemporary discussions of race in Western societies and a view which may appear to be radical or peculiar is an attempt to challenge the prevailing but all too often unspoken views on race in white-dominated societies¹⁰.

This is not to suggest that whiteness is conspiratorial, to accept whiteness as innocent is to ignore its place in hierarchies of representation and access to resources (Bhattachyya, et al 2002: 23) and as Bonnett (2000) argues, whiteness has been the central signifier for Europeans' superiority (Bonnett, 2000: 26). Yet, Bonnett (2000: 119) is not convinced that whiteness is invisible. The difficulty with approaching whiteness as a single unrelated entity is that we miss the point entirely. This has been precisely the power of whiteness as Young (1990) argues:

English Whites in general are unused to regarding themselves as members of an ethnic group or as having an ethnic identity beyond that of being superior in relation to other ethnic groups. White is the norm against which everything else is measured, and it has no need of self-definition. Part of the success of "Whiteness" is that most of the time it does not appear to exist at all (Young, 1990: 194).

In the contemporary Western context we can observe how, "from a sociopolitical perspective, it has been seen that race is essentially a system of classification in which groups of people are assigned relative positions in the racial hierarchy. Issues of power and control are thus inherent in

¹⁰ I am aware that discussions of whiteness have demonstrated that different ethnicities are described as white at different times in history (Bonnett, 2000; Allen, 1994; Roediger, 1992). For example in Noel Ignatiev's (1995) work *How the Irish Became White*, he notes the fluidity of racial categories and the complex nature of this debate. In the British context, Pickering (2001:144) examines the marking of the Irish as 'white chimpanzees' during the nineteenth century. This was along with the categorisation of Africans as the "missing link". Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998: 8) note that whiteness is not fixed and changes in accordance with different "cultural, economic, political and psychological context[s]... there are many ways to be white as whiteness interacts with class and gender".

racial categorization, and white people, as the instigators and beneficiaries of this system of social stratification, clearly have a vested interest in preserving the political and economic advantages conferred on them” (Lago, 2006: 205; McLaren, 1998: 67).

As Morgan and Pritchard (1998) argue, there is a distinct reluctance for white Anglo-Saxon Protestants to actually see themselves as belonging to an ethnic group, rather ethnic identities are ascribed to non-white peoples who do not share a Judeo-Christian heritage and a Western cultural perspective (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 212).

We are encouraged to see how the images bring the Western modern world together with the Caribbean in which they are represented as the West’s simple past (Hall, 1992). They are both within modernity and exist within the same complex economic global processes that structure interdependent relations between the Western world and the “Third World”¹¹. Interdependence extends towards consensual relations in the language and visuals of the tourist brochures. Their use of the contemporary idea of paradise is a key node or connector within a discursive formation, which includes other discourses of whiteness, modern romance, and white weddings. All of this is underpinned by racialised masculinities and femininities. In Chapter 3, I discuss in more detail how whiteness is highly dependent on a contingent of gender as well as race (Shepherd et al, 1995; Dyer, 1997; Ware, 1992; Lewis, 1996). In particular, I discuss how gender was a central aspect of colonial discourse which positioned white women as chaste, pure, and protectors

¹¹ I have used the term Third World to exemplify how the Caribbean region, amongst others continues to be viewed as though operating outside of the new global world order – not integral to it. Countries such as Jamaica are subject *to* and support this structure.

of the family in contrast to black women as lascivious and threatening. This is not to suggest that whiteness is static. The analysis of the empirical data aims to demonstrate that there is a transformation in the representation of whiteness, for example, white females displayed as dominant and sexualised in the contemporary context.

Starting from my black, female, post-colonial, “in-between position”, I set out on a journey across the Atlantic to gaze at and sense Jamaica through my own experience and to look beyond the white tourist gaze that represents my ancestral country as paradise in the tourist images. I aim to highlight the contradictions that are prevalent in the use of particular images in Sandals brochures¹². Whilst the images use Jamaica’s colonial history to sell the holidays, it is the power relations between the black and white subjects, which are represented as neutral that require examination. I can use my position as a product of my grandparents (as post-colonial peoples) to return to the metropolis and engage in a discussion on colonialism and slavery as a repressed history (Bhabha, 1990: 218).

The fieldwork experience enabled me to examine the essentialised representations of Jamaicans as working-class, but rarely middle-class or professional. Therefore, the multiplicity of Jamaican experiences is obscured by the much repeated association of blackness with providing service and labour. The relatives who had been kind enough to put me up for just over a week raised the question of class boundaries. My class position erected a boundary between my upper-class relatives and myself.

¹² Morgan and Pritchard (2001: 165) note that Sandals use a particular blend of a celebration of youth, beauty and the suggestion of sexual encounters in their promotional material.

Before I embarked on this trip, my mother automatically assumed that my father's relatives would be working-class or in any case would welcome gifts of what she believed to be much needed toiletries. However, this could not have been further from the truth as my relative was in no need of anything I had to offer on a student's budget, let alone toiletries. This was an embarrassing encounter which led me to assess my father's failure to tell me that Aunt Maisy had been a high ranking civil servant, my mother's assumption that my host would be working-class and my own realisation that I had never met an upper-class Jamaican. To avoid further embarrassment I returned to England with most of the toiletries my mother had given me. My position in this relationship highlighted the tendency for Jamaica itself to be represented as working-class, poor, under-developed. Here, I was able to use what Thomas (2004) so eloquently describes as dual visions to reflect on this experience:

Inheritors of the contradictory legacies of the Enlightenment and slavery, democracy and imperialism, scientific rationalism and racism, the descendants of Africans throughout the Atlantic world have been forced to develop a worldview that enables them to negotiate Western tenets of civilisation while at the same time creatively critiquing them. This inherently double-sided structural formation has meant that for black people, *at least* dual visions, lifestyles, and consciousnesses are not only possible, but necessary (Thomas, 2004: 258).

Whilst having access to Jamaica through my family connections, there were limits to this commonality, based on my ambiguous class position in the UK. I was able to critique this representation by assessing where Jamaica is positioned in relation to the Western (advanced, modern, rich) origins of the white tourists. Yes, black Jamaicans make up the majority

of the population. However, I aim to place those images in a broader global context. In the images, Jamaican subjects are working-class blacks and the tourists are middle-class whites. To reproduce these relations is to remind the reader of the association of blackness with labour, colonialism and servitude and collapses blackness into a homogenous working-class. As I discussed earlier, Jamaicans in the post-modern global context do not occupy a one-dimensional class position (Thomas, 2004). Similarly, in white dominated societies, class is a key determinant in forming black *and* white identities (Parmar, 1990: 118), yet the images appear to be (re)producing racial and class structures implemented by the British under colonialism, as the “natural” social order.

This relationship is more complex than one based on straightforward exploitation. There appears to be a consensual arrangement between Sandals and the marketeers based on economic factors. There is a dialogue between the producer of the images, the audience and the hosts (Morgan and Prichard, 1998: 5). If we examine how power operates in the global system, we can see that the white tourist leaves their home in the West, where they are usually the majority group and have access to the best resources. This privileged position is adopted by the image creators and reproduced in the displays of tourists on holiday in Jamaica. This is not to suggest that this is a simplistic relationship of one-way domination. As I have mentioned above, there is a dialogue taking place between all the participants involved in using established meanings to create images and then presenting them to the intended target audience. Therefore, this could more accurately be described as a consensual relationship based on economic factors. For

example, Sandals is a Jamaican based tourism company which specialises in all-inclusive resorts. Its particular style of promotion through its brochures and website is an interesting approach to Jamaica's colonial and historical relations with Britain and the US. The aim of the analysis is to understand the nature of Jamaica's contemporary position in the post-colonial global world order especially as Jamaica earns much of its income from tourism and lacks the economic protection it once had when it was a British colony (Thomas, 2004: 276).

I acknowledge that scholars (Sheller, 2003; Strachan, 2002) have addressed the issues of tourism and colonial history, yet here I combine the analysis of the history and the contemporary images to understand from whose perspective meanings are constructed and how these meanings are linked to knowledge and power (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 15).

Visual displays of wealth during the nineteenth century consisted of whites owning black slaves (Dabydeen, 1987; M. Woods, 2002). In the twenty-first century Western subjects display their wealth by going to former bastions of colonial power such as Jamaica. We are reminded of those colonial days with a plethora of black servants – as a marker of luxury. The foreign is made familiar and becomes domesticated (McClintock, 1995; Said, 1978).

Fantasy, instability – this was at stake as much as power in the colonial relationship. Perhaps this would explain the consensual relationship in contemporary representations of Jamaica? The desire to have contact with difference, but it has to be controlled contact. Staged and planned interaction. For example, the black man teaching the tourists

to dance is of particular interest, because would the tourists socialise with black people back home (Figure 75)? They are appealing as part of the exotic landscape. Yet, black people in the urban landscape become threatening. The discourses of Kingston as dangerous are an example of this¹³ and indicate the absence of tourist images of urban Jamaica. Therefore, black people are safe to be with on the beach. They do not pose a threat. Young (1990) notes that in the film *Mona Lisa*, black people in the metropolis, London, are associated with dirt, degeneration and decline. This suggests that for black people to be seen in a positive light through white eyes, they must be non-threatening, jovial – sambo types. In Hall’s (1997b) discussion of the black experience in mainstream American cinema, he identifies representations that draw on stereotypical figures from ‘slavery days’. In particular, they are representations that did not pose a threat to white supremacy – in effect keeping black people in their place as “toms, coons, mulattos, mammies and bucks”¹⁴. The impression is that black people are only non-threatening when they are in positions of subservience. Blackness and whiteness together in paradise. Reinforcing the idea, that representations of black and white relationships are permitted only when they mirror colonial relations. For example if we draw on Young’s (1990: 201) observation that most white people view black people through the lens of textual relationships, we can begin to understand that there is a deeper meaning to the images. How are white people used to *seeing* black people in everyday life?

¹³ Also parts of London and Manchester have been racialised as black and dangerous. Noxolo (1999: 144). Young, L. (1990) also note that in the British context whites remove themselves from the urban centres by living in the countryside where black people are largely absent.

¹⁴ The title of Donald Bogle’s (1978) book, “Toms, Coons, Mulattos, Mammies and Bucks: an interpretive history of blacks in American films” which documents the repeated use of basic racial stereotypes.

Conclusion

This section has introduced and discussed the politics of representation in identity formations as a complex and a contested process highlighted by post-colonial theory. In particular, I have discussed how my positionality will be used to write as a speaking subject and deconstruct the normalising display of whiteness and blackness in the tourist images presented in this work.

In the chapter that follows, I discuss the methodological framework for this study and the need to adopt a range of analytical methods to adequately critique a range of visual representations – both historical and contemporary.

Chapter 1 A Method of Reclaiming the Gaze from the Margins

In the previous section, I discussed the personal, political and analytical context for this work which includes a range of related issues regarding representations as the central focus of this study, the use of post-colonial theory as a theoretical framework, the recognition of different gazes and the politics of representation.

I also raised the matter of “the master script” and “dual visions” and as a Western subject I understand the messages that are communicated by the images. However, as a black subject, I am able to critique them for their ethnocentric focus. In short, the tourist images are not saying or hailing me, “Hey you, black woman, come and holiday here”.

It is difficult to accept those representations of Jamaica, as they suggest an unproblematic representation of post-colonial Jamaica and Jamaicans to me. This is a narrative, a myth constructed for a specific group of people and I accept that some readers of those texts find them appealing and as discussed earlier, may not consider that there is a problem with the images. Ultimately, this is an exercise in exploring ways of seeing and being seen. I am questioning the way in which Jamaica is presented using associated discourses; offered up as simple, “exotic” and available for sexual encounters.

Earlier I recounted an experience of how my subject position was questioned and challenged. Here, I remind the reader that I am using the post-colonial to demonstrate that we use our subject positions to create

meaning. Stuart Hall (1997) argues that, “we all write and speak from a history and a culture which is specific” (Hall, 1997: 51). However, this is not to descend into mere subjectivity and essentialism. The essentialist idea of the black experience or perspective used as an epistemological basis for enquiry into racial/gender oppression, masks the differences between black people’s class position (Noxolo, 1999: 99). The multi-faceted and conflicting nature of identities is what often goes unnoticed. I do not claim to be speaking for *all* black subjects, but I use my subject position to examine how representation is closely tied up with identity and knowledge (Hall, 1997: 5).

I think cultural identity is not fixed, it’s always hybrid. But this is precisely because it comes out of very specific histories and cultural repertoires of enunciation, and that it can constitute a ‘positionality’, which we call, provisionally, identity. It’s not just anything. So each of those identity-stories is inscribed in the positions we take up and identify with, and we have to this ensemble of identity positions in all its specificities (Hall, 1996: 502).

From my subject position, I have adopted Roland Barthes’ approach to semiology and Michel Foucault’s approach to discourse to analyse the images. Semiology is the study of signs or the study of the vehicles or media which carry meaning. Signs stand for or represent our concepts, ideas and feelings (Hall, 1997b: 6). Semiotics is concerned with the *how* of representation – how language produces meaning (ibid: 6). In contrast, discursive approaches are concerned with the effects and consequences of representation – its politics. It examines how language and representation produces meaning, but also how the knowledge of a particular discourse connects with power and defines the way certain

things are represented. Foucault is concerned with the production of knowledge through discourse in a particular time and place. The emphasis being on the historical specificity of a particular form or 'regime' (ibid). Foucault is centrally concerned with relations of power, not relations of meaning (Foucault, 1980: 114-5) and with the politics of representation – the impacts and consequences of those representations. Foucault explores how meanings are linked to knowledge and power in society. He argues that knowledge defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practised and studied (Hall, 1997b: 6). It is the power of knowledge through discourse that makes those representations “true”. Discourse refers to a cluster of ideas, images and practices which provide a way of talking about forms of knowledge – a discursive formation which sustains a regime of truth (Hall, 1997: 6). For example, when black people are represented in positions of servitude, it may seem like the natural order of things. Although this has not been “proven”, the associated tourism discourses which reproduce racial, class and gender hierarchies, proves this practice to be true by drawing on colonial and imperial histories to substantiate their representations (Bhabha, 1994: 74).

Foucault does analyse particular texts and representations, as the semioticians did, however, he is more inclined to analyse the whole discursive formation to which the text belongs (Hall, 1997b: 51). Similarly, the image that was the stimulus for this study can be located within the genre of tourist brochures and draws on existing discourses of Jamaica as a destination to visit for a relaxing holiday, an “exotic” or different location, a place where one can loose their inhibitions. This is along with

discourses of displays of the white sexualised female body as a mark of beauty, heterosexual romance and white weddings. Foucault's emphasis on the body as the site or articulation of power will be adopted here. In the discussion that follows, I aim to demonstrate how the body is a signifier which is utilised to convey certain meanings in the images.

Foucault criticises semiology for not incorporating issues of power and knowledge into the analysis of meaning. Foucault was concerned with knowledge and power yet semiotics does not refer directly to relations of power or conflict.

Neither the dialectic as a logic of contradictions, nor semiotics, as the structure of communication, can account for the intrinsic intelligibility of conflicts. 'Dialectic' is a way of evading the always open and hazardous reality of conflict by reducing it to a Hegelian skeleton, and 'semiology' is a way of avoiding its violent, bloody and lethal character by reducing it to the calm Platonic form of language and dialogue (Foucault, 1980: 114-5).

However, both approaches are concerned with language, but discourse is the study of language through the production of knowledge and the consequences of this knowledge which produces a regime of truth.

There is a two tiered approach to this study, a Barthesian approach to analyse the images, which is underpinned by using post-colonial theory to examine the specific colonial history on which the images are intentionally or unwittingly based. Although Foucault was centrally concerned with the operations of power, he did not explore power within the slave context or the history of colonialism (Spivak, 1988: 289). As this is the case, I have adopted post-colonial theory to examine the myths as discursive formations. Rose's (2001) discussion of Foucault's work

outlines the different methodological emphasises which have been produced from Foucault's analysis. Calling them "Discourse I and Discourse II", Rose distinguishes the approaches as discourse I being applied to a notion of discourse which analyses various kinds of visual images and verbal texts and is mostly concerned with discourse, discursive formations and productivity (Rose, 2001: 140). In contrast, Discourse II pays particular attention to the practices of institutions, with an implicit methodology concerned with issues of power, regimes of truth, institutions and technologies (ibid).

For example, Foucault's historical analysis of the medical profession and his analysis of discourses of power revealed how "institutions, norms, forms of subjectivity and social practices are constituted and made to appear *natural*" (Tonkiss, 1998: 247). Doctors' use of medical terms produces a discourse in which they are regarded as authoritative speakers and are able to communicate with each other within the medical discourse, thus excluding non-medical professionals. The ability of doctors to exclude non-medical professionals with their use of language and knowledge of particular conditions secures their power and authority. Tonkiss (1998) argues that language is significant as it can be used to compel certain conclusions, to establish certain claims through knowledge, and to deny the humanity of the constructed Other (Tonkiss, 1998: 246). This can be linked to the narratives and the language used to represent the Orient in negative and reductive terms and was a fundamental aspect of the paradigm of classical imperial history (Pickering, 2001: 163).

Whilst this study draws on Foucault's approaches to provide a theoretical framework, and this has in turn influenced the methodological strategies I have adopted, there is no easily distinguishable line which can be drawn as Rose (2001) has presented. As we shall see in the chapters that follow, the methodology has elements of both discourse I (analysis of visual texts, discourse and discursive formations) and discourse II (issues of power). In this cultural study, I have adopted a broad interpretation of discourse to incorporate historical visual and literary representations from both formal and contemporary cultural media texts. This study is concerned with the codes of the visual texts under examination, and the suggested messages that are being conveyed to the reader.

Unlike Foucault (1972: 17), however, I do not aim to separate my practice as a black doctorate student from the images I am discussing. Indeed, as discussed in the previous section, I have set out to use my dual vision as a reflexive strategy to investigate the visual texts, how they sit within particular discursive formations and how they raise issues of power in the context of a post-colonial world.

Caribbean

Jamaica

Jamaica. Say it with a smile to pronounce it right! Just two hours flying time south of Orlando, brings you to the sparkling waters, sandy shores and calypso rhythms of Jamaica—“no problem”. Its 200 miles of sea shores with fine, white and black beaches are just a prelude to an interior patchwork of sugar cane and coffee plantations, and rain forests leading to spectacular mountains that reach up to the sky.

This lush tropical island can be as lively or relaxing as your mood suits. Don't miss the Blue Lagoon and the chance of river rafting down the Rio Grande. After nightfall, perhaps watch fire eating and try limbo dancing to energetic reggae sounds. Lovers of nightlife will be drawn to colourful Montego Bay, known locally as “Mottay” and probably the most famous Jamaican resort. Browse through boutiques and handicraft markets, sample the world-renowned Appleton Rum and hear the legends of Annie Palmers ghost at Clith Rose Hall. Visit Barnett Estates, a working plantation where you can breathe in air scented with banana, coconut, mango, papaya and pineapple. Dance to live reggae at Pier 1 or take a booze cruise on the glass bottomed Jamaican Queen IV.

Or choose contrasting Ocho Rios for spectacular waterfalls, tropical gardens and long sandy beaches. The view of its harbour is one of the most spectacular sights in the Caribbean. Dunn's River Falls can be found here. So can the White River, where you can take a romantic torch-lit cruise. Nearby is Runaway Bay and Bob Marley's home where he lies buried with his guitar.

Negril, with its seven mile stretch of pristine white beach, five miles of waterfront cliffs and undisturbed pine forest is probably one of the finest places to master the art of total relaxation. Even so, you'll want to snorkel, scuba, sail, swim and explore the local culture. And at the end of the day, if you're looking for a romantic stroll along the beach, spectacular Caribbean sunsets, or the excitement of discos, nightclubs and entertainment, you'll find it in Negril.

Ho-hum! Another lough day in Jamaica!

It's a paradise for children too!

Orlando & The Caribbean

Why not combine your dream Caribbean holiday with the thrills and spills of Orlando? Although many people prefer a 7 night stay in both destinations, with Funway you can choose exactly how much time you want to spend in each. With British Airways you return home directly from the Caribbean, whereas passengers travelling on other airlines will return home via Florida. If you need advice on creating your own two- or multi-centre holiday just call our reservations professionals. They'll be pleased to help.

Laze on the beach or pursue more energetic past-times

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Figure 1 Anon (N.D.) [1996].

During a seminar session in the second year of my undergraduate studies, I was given a page taken from a tourist brochure (Figure 1). I was fascinated by the image as representations of black Jamaicans were absent. Tourist brochures are important examples of contemporary visual culture. There is a significant tradition of analysing tourist images (Dann, 1996a; Selwyn, 1996, and Cohen, 1993) which is supported by the view that “the tourist brochure is probably the most conspicuous element of the commodification process and recognised as vital in communicating the tourism product across geographical and cultural differences” (Dann, 1996a, quoted in Robinson and Boniface, 1999: 13). In order to explore the “it goes without saying” (Barthes, 1983) assumptions in the tourism text, I investigated the genre to which the text belongs. I began with researching relevant theories that would enable me to decode the product being offered to the reader.

The *sign* (in this case it is the words and the pictures), has two elements, the *signifier* and the *signified*. The combination of signifier and signified is called a *sign*. This is the first level of analysis, which can be developed by linking the signs to wider cultural meanings, ideas or concepts. What is *denoted* in the image? That is on a simple, descriptive level what can we literally see in the image.

Figure 1 is a selection of four separate images that are connected by varying hues of blue backgrounds. The main background on which the separate images are set against is a translucent blue tropical sea. We are given the impression that this is a tropical sea by the shadow of a palm tree located at the bottom of the page. There are four separate narratives

which come together to create one message about Jamaica (all signifieds). The images are accompanied by a detailed written text which provides more specific information on the activities that can be undertaken whilst on holiday in Jamaica. The written text is too small to read at a glance, it is the images that dominate the page and convey the message to the reader. The image of the white boy on the floating mat has been taken close-up. He is smiling and is looking directly at the viewer. In contrast, the other images on the page have been taken at a distance and the people featured are not addressing the viewer. Instead, they are engaged in activities. For example, the image at the top right of the page features a heterosexual couple on the beach, and the image to the left of the page, also a heterosexual couple are embracing each other in what appears to be an intimate moment. The elements of the image can be taken to the connotative level – by interpreting the signs in terms of their wider social frameworks and value systems in society (Hall, 1997b: 38). The props that have been used in the image draw all of the separate narratives together to convey the idea that this is a message about being away from everyday life. The map of Jamaica, the shells and the blue backdrop (the sea) all work together to give a sense of relaxation and exploration of foreign shores. Thus, what is signified refers to the meanings suggested by the signifier (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 32).

All of the subjects in Figure 1 are white and they are enjoying lounging on the beach, or floating in the swimming pool. The image is signifying notions of a particular type of whiteness that is affluent or sufficiently wealthy to holiday in Jamaica. If we link this observation with the earlier discussion of whiteness, tourists are usually represented as

white subjects (Urry, 1990: 142; Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 222). Jamaica is a place where white people can have fun and be happy connoted by the smiling child in the swimming pool. Jamaica is a place to be romantic. Thus, romance, relaxation and fun are transferred onto the tourist product that is Jamaica. As we shall see in Chapters 5 and 6, the body is one of the key signifiers in communicating ideas of racial, gender and sexual hierarchies through Sandals tourist brochures.

Williamson (1978) argues that adverts work by transferring visual and textual signifieds onto their product and the signs in an advertisement's image and writing usually signify notions of taste, luxury, health and happiness (Rose, 2001: 83). As we shall see in Chapters 5 and 6, these are elements within the tourist discursive formation and utilised to make Sandals resorts appealing to the reader. However, in contrast to Goldman's (1992) and Williamson's (1978) analysis of perfumes, the advertising of holidays is not strictly the same. Whilst similar or the same codes are used to promote holidays in very different countries, ideas of difference, the exotic and loosing one's inhibitions are frequently adopted in tourism promotion. The analysis of perfume adverts may indicate how meanings are used to create differentiation between brands of the same product, the reality is that despite the use of the same codes, for example, "the exotic" being applied to Thailand and Jamaica, they are in reality culturally, economically and socially very different countries. The process of analysis draws on the colonial history of Jamaica, or the knowledges which pre-exist advertising and structure not only advertising but other cultural and social forms (Rose, 2001: 91). This assists the semiologist to

examine what I have previously discussed as the “master script” or preferred meaning. This is as Hall (1980) argues:

The different areas of social life appeared to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organized into dominant or preferred meanings (Hall, 1980: 134).

The Construction of Myths

Roland Barthes’ (1983) conceptualisation of myths in *Mythologies* explores their importance, operations and the power that they have in communicating a specific message for it then to become a “reality” or “common sense” within cultural production. A myth, says Barthes, is ‘a system of communication...a message’ (Barthes, 1983: 109). Barthes argues that everything can be a myth provided that it is conveyed by a discourse (Barthes, 1983: 109).

Barthes developed the signifier/signified distinction in what he calls the ‘second-order semiological system’. In this development, the signifier becomes a vehicle for signification, or connotation. Barthes refers to this second order signification as the sign, thus the associative total of the concept (signified) and the meaning (signifier).

Barthes’ analysis of the colonialist myth articulated by the *Paris Match* magazine cover of the black soldier saluting what is believed to be the French flag (Barthes, 1983; Saukko, 2003: 101) is particularly relevant to this study as it encompasses the concept of myth, colonial ideology and justifications for oppression. Thus, Barthes concluded that the image of the black soldier connotes that “France has a great Empire and her sons

of all colours are equal within it” (Barthes, 1983: 124). Barthes argues that the black soldier is deprived of his history and has been changed into a gesture. Therefore, rather than being viewed in the context of French imperialism, it appears ‘natural’ for the black man to be saluting the French flag. Barthes argues that different images appeal to different groups of readers, thus representations of French imperialism will appeal to one group of readers and not another. There are three possible approaches to reading images. For example, the first reading of the image of the uniformed black man saluting the tricolour is read without ambiguity; this type of “focusing” as Barthes calls it, is for producers and authors of myths, such as journalists. The second type of reading is for those who are subject to myths and unaware of the broader historical context; for them French imperialism is the natural order of things.

The third type of reading, by the critical reader, such as the mythologist, who would be able to analyse the image and note the distortion. Part of this is an awareness of the relevant historical contexts. The timing of this image’s publication is particularly significant since it coincided with the Algerian resistance movement at the end of the 1950s to the early 1960s, or as Barthes describes them as France’s “present difficulties” (Barthes, 1983: 119). This supports Barthes’ concept of myth, since it could be suggested that the image serves to suppress the practice of racialised oppression in the French colonial territories. It is also evident that Barthes is in possession of the contemporary cultural knowledges in his society, as he uses this knowledge of French imperialism to decode the image of the black soldier. By applying Barthes’ system, we can grasp the signification at each level of analysis. At the first

level is *denotation* and it is literally what we see in the image. In his essay *Myth Today*, Barthes (1983) articulates the second level of signification as *connotation* or what I have previously discussed as *myth*. Here, the reader requires further cultural knowledge to examine the “taken for granted” readings of the text (Penn, 2000: 230).

A model of Barthes’ approach can be applied to Figure 2. The repeated image here is the tropical landscape that is exemplified by the image of the palm tree. The connotations that derive from the pineapple stem from the meanings that are deeply embedded in Western culture.

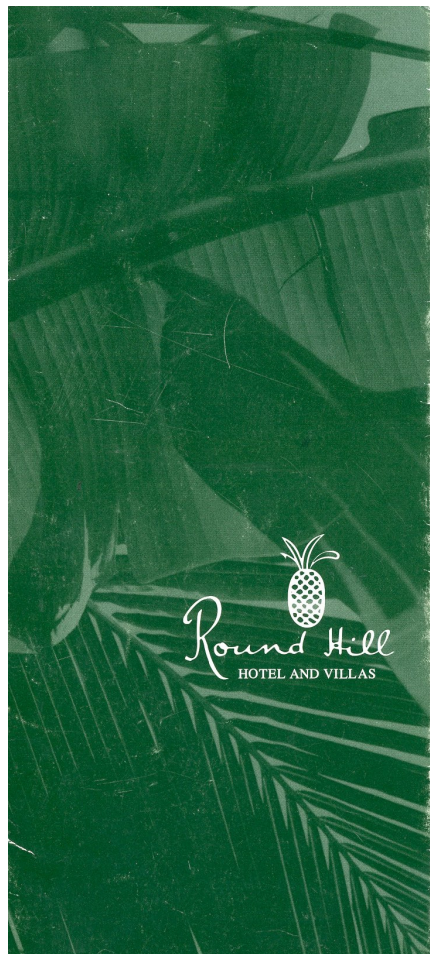


Figure 2 *Round Hill Hotel & Villas* leaflet (N.D.) [2002].

Thus, the pineapple has come to connote the tropics, paradise or in a Western context, Otherness.

Round Hill draws on this discourse and uses the pineapple as a symbol of the tropical resort, which is reinforced by a background of dark green tropical leaves demonstrated in Figure 2. As the images that are used to promote the resort connote glamour and luxury, the image of the fruit becomes synonymous with exclusivity. The myth that is conveyed here is that luxury has no relationship with labour. The history of slavery is absent and the signification is conveyed by the décor designed by French fashion designer Ralph Lauren. The relational meanings are evident here as designers, especially French designers, connote high fashion and 'chic' (Penn, 2002: 235).

In this second example, continuing with the context of the brochure discourse, a picture of a black man signifies waiter service. He is formally dressed, standing up in an empty white restaurant, positioned to the right of the image. This suggests that he is not the subject of the image as he stands in a fully furnished empty restaurant. He is smiling and in western culture, this provides reassurance to the reader that they will receive friendly service from a black man just like him at Round Hill. The importance of the black man's smile is noted by Fanon (1986) in *Black Skins, White Masks*: there is a desire to construct the racist inequality of the relationship as harmonious. "Nevertheless, the whites demand that the blacks be always smiling, attentive and friendly in their relationships with them..." ("L'oncle Rémus et son lapin" by Bernard Wolfe, *Les Temps Modernes*, May, 1949: 888, quoted in Fanon, 1986: 50).



Figure 3 *Round Hill Hotel & Villas* leaflet (N.D.) [2002]

This conveys a complex process of a double articulation of the Othered black subject, yet disavowing them at the same time, or as Hall (1996) argues as being evidence of a process of de-racination for four hundred years (Hall, 1996: 15). It is the notion of mimicry as Bhabha (1994) describes it. As in Figure 3, the black subject is made to resemble the coloniser in appearance and behaviour (note the bow tie), however, this is a “process of reform, regulation and discipline” with a visualised display of power (Bhabha, 1994: 86). The ambiguity in the colonial relationship is suggested in the waiter’s servile position: someone who “looks” like you, but is not like you, a form of resemblance as Bhabha calls it. Barthes (1983) also notes this process in his discussion of “Identification” in which he describes the Other as being ignored, denied or transformed

into the petit-bourgeois (Barthes, 1983: 151). In the chapters that follow, we shall observe the “*splitting* of the colonial discourse so that two attitudes towards external reality persists” (Bhabha, 1994: 91). What this means in terms of the analysis of the images is identifying how the Other is disavowed and replaced by a product of desire (ibid: 91). In the context of the tourism visual texts, the process of mimicry can be observed in the reassurance of the smile, the uniformed dress, and the bearing of gifts.

The colours that have been used in Figure 3 are significant since the use of white connotes luxury. The following extract from the company’s website reinforces this observation as “white” is mentioned seven times in five lines of text.

ROUND HILL'S PINEAPPLE HOUSE HOTEL TRANSFORMED WITH LUXURIOUS NEW DESIGN BY RALPH LAUREN

“The overriding palette of the rooms is white to reflect the sand and light of Jamaica. White walls, a white peaked ceiling and white tile floors with a matte finish set the tone. The four-poster king-sized beds are mahogany-stained bamboo draped in a white net and made with white sheets of 300-count Egyptian cotton. Also in mahogany stained bamboo is a sumptuous chaise lounge, which is finished with a white slipcover.”¹

The colour white dominates the image as white décor; tablecloths and the white of the waiter’s shirt reinforce the idea of whiteness as the dominant code. The image is located within the genre of the brochure discourse and demonstrates how “mimicry *repeats* rather than *re-presents*”. This is shown in the recurring images of black waiters used to signify servitude (Bhabha, 1994: 82, 86; the discussion in Chapter 3 elaborates on this observation and relates it to Fanon’s concept, the racial schema). The white subject cannot physically be seen in the images, yet this does not

¹ <http://www.roundhilljamaica.com/home.htm>

mean that they are not present. The myth which is connoted in the image is that racialised service is the natural order of things and that whilst, the black subject is serving the white visitors, the culture remains stable and allows relations to stay in their appointed place (Hall, 1997b: 236).

This is how myths operate, by drawing on relational meanings to other images and to broader dominant codes or referent systems as Williamson (1978) describes them in her study *Decoding Advertisements*. Thus, the connections that the images of waiters have to wider systems of meaning are within constructions of racialised power relations, ideas of paradise and concepts of luxury. It is the intertextuality that makes discourses or myths work, as they are reliant on the meanings carried by other images and texts as discursive formations (Rose, 2001: 136). Strachan (2002) provides a brief semiotic analysis of a promotional image which also features a black waiter. He is in full serving attire and holds a silver platter. Just as in Figure 3, “Adrian” stands in an empty restaurant.

In the Round Hill examples discussed above, the denoted or literal messages serve to naturalise the connoted message in the image (Penn, 2000: 231). However, this relies on whether the reader has produced the image, is subject to it, or rejects it as a myth. Without the tools to assess the accuracy of the images (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 181) particularly possessing cultural and colonial historical knowledge of Jamaica and the social and economic complexities of the country, the reader is invited to assume that it is the natural order of things for black waiters to serve white tourists. Thus, what is signified and fits neatly into the discourse of the “happy-go-lucky” black native stereotype depicted by Anthony

Trollope², is the myth that black people know their rightful place as servants and they do not pose a threat to the dominant position of potential Anglo American tourists. To further support this thesis and the analysis of images I draw on Hansen et al's (1994) statement that "visual images are implicated in establishing our deepest and often taken-for-granted ways of knowing about the world" (Hansen et al, 1994: 222). The significance of the image is that there is no text to anchor or link the linguistic message to the image. One can conclude that this particular image is presented in this way since it is transparent and requires no explanation. As Gillian Rose, argues it is unusual for a visual image to be unaccompanied by any written text at all (2001: 12; Barthes, 1964).

However, the textual analysis of the image reveals why the visual message can be understood without explanation. Thus, in race-centred societies the culture is "thick" with presupposed ethnic power relations (van Dijk, 1993: 30). Here it can be seen that the brochure discourse is drawing on the historical and racialised power relations of the colonial period. The researcher is required to be in possession of the *lexicons* or cultural knowledges to make explicit the implicit process of naturalisation, or the " 'normalised' colonial state or subject" (Bhabha, 1994: 86). In this case, it is the racial and gender power relations that are imbedded in the texts under analysis. The significance of myths is that they are the means by which ideology and normative values justify or normalise inequalities. In race-centred societies, human interaction based

²Anthony Trollope was an author and colonial civil servant for the British postal service in the 1830s.

on racism is normalised to convey such relations as “natural” (Bhabha, 1994; Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998).

The Limitations of Semiology

The limitations of Barthes’ semiology are that a historical context is required to articulate the racialised power relations that are presented in the images. Discourse analysis supports semiotic analysis by providing a context within which to place the image. It reveals that the image has intertextual connections with other images or concepts, as demonstrated in the discussion above. The interpretation of myths therefore requires a broad understanding of meanings that already exist within a culture. Thus, the discourse analyst is concerned with how images [in this case within a discursive formation] construct accounts of the social world and as this discussion aims to demonstrate, this type of analysis pays specific attention to the image itself (Rose, 2001: 140).

The images in Figures 1, 2 and 3, could be identified as representing a transformation of colonialism. We know that during the colonial period the dominant and ruling social group were identifiable by their skin colour. In the images however, the references to the colonial period are implicit. Colonial discourse can be linked to Barthes’ second order system by suggesting that more in-depth readings can be obtained from the images. Although Barthes identifies that images have a history, he does not provide a detailed analysis of this in relation to the image of the black soldier. With the use of discourse analysis the connection between images and their historical context produces suggested themes

and ideas within visual texts that contribute to forming a discursive formation.

Sandals and Round Hill: The Sources

The images in this study were chosen for their conceptual interest (Barthes, 1983: 11; Rose, 2001: 73) and the two main sets of representations were chosen for the political and ideological issues that they raise. Barthes cites the starting point for his writing on French daily life as being due to his impatience with the way newspapers, art and common sense presented a particular form of reality (Barthes, 1983: 11). For this work, it was curiosity rather than impatience, which led to an investigation into the history of tourist representations of Jamaica. My interest in visual representations of Jamaica began with the image in Figure 1 and was the starting point for this study. The research process is not a linear process of simply selecting each image as with the studies conducted by Goldman (1992: 2) and Williamson (1978: 9). This is a qualitative study and not a survey of Sandals brochure images and Round Hill's promotional material. Rather, the aim is to analyse the cleverly constructed representations of an intangible tourism product. Such images are crucial in promoting the nature, value and experience of the product, which are all based on "symbolic expectations" and established through words, slogans and images (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 45). Thus, the aim of this work is to analyse the words, slogans and images in the visual texts in relation to the links with the historical representations of Jamaica and to examine the nature and form of these links.

I was aware of the Sandals company through their use of a “brand advantage” in their slogan “Love is all You Need” (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 44). This is a short, yet memorable “catch phrase” which enables the company to make a distinction between its own product as providing the ultimate in all-inclusive Caribbean holidays.

The Sandals chain of all-inclusive resorts currently stands at 20 across the Caribbean (ZFL PR Company). Whilst the company declined to confirm their market share in Jamaica, they undisputedly have a large share of the tourism market, as they own 10 resorts in Jamaica.

The price of a Sandals holiday starts from £879 per person³ and suggests that the product is aimed at visitors who are able to spend money on such a discretionary product as well as essential items of expenditure (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 45). The Sandals⁴ company is owned by white Jamaican Gordon “Butch” Stewart. All-inclusive resorts are secured tourist complexes which usually exclude local people as consumers, but not as paid workers. The Sandals chain caters for heterosexual couples, whilst its sister company, Beaches, is aimed at families, single people and couples.

There are two interconnecting layers to the research for this study. The first was the search for and analysis of the brochure images, and secondly, the development of a historical framework. Both of these elements have intersected to influence each other and as the research progressed, I increasingly used both of them at the same time. This has made the process of recounting my methodology a complex endeavour as

³ www.sandalsholidays.co.uk price quoted on the website at the time of writing June 2006.

⁴ The first hotel opened in Montego Bay in 1981.

my analysis has been further complicated by my use of post-colonial theory and black feminist theory to provide the theoretical context of this study. Post-colonial theory was also utilised as a tool to analyse the representations of blackness and whiteness in the selected images.

Barthes' method of analysing images through connotation and their associations has enabled me to identify the discursive formations in which the images could be placed. This method of analysis has been consistently applied throughout this work due to the connotative associations made regarding luxury and whiteness, how whiteness is associated with white weddings and romance (Chapter 5) and how historically the smile of the black subject symbolises service (Chapter 6).

Homi Bhabha's (1994) discussion of the complexity of the colonial relationship was instrumental in articulating how repetitive representations of the waiter's smile and service can be linked back to colonialism and the process of disavowal. I was able to group the images according to what was being revealed by the results of the historical research. Thus, I was able to draw conclusions regarding the representations of race, gender and sexuality.

Barthes' connotation is about slippage as he describes the concepts as not being fixed (Barthes, 1983: 120). Indeed, Bhabha (1994) refers to the process of ambivalence in the repeated stereotype (Bhabha, 1994: 66). Therefore, having drawn on the work of these theorists, it is not my aim to suggest that the representations are essentially fixed. On the contrary, my analysis of the images signify how these notions of blackness and whiteness are constructed and not given. It is the repetition of the images, the weight of the colonial discourse, and the contemporary economic

social relations which are persuasive in presenting the essentialised identities as fixed.

I used the Internet to conduct my initial search on companies providing holidays in the Caribbean in September 2001. I also collected newspaper and magazine articles on tourism in Jamaica. Whilst Caribbean World, a glossy, coffee-table magazine shared similar themes with Sandals and Round Hill, this publication was not representing one particular island or hotel, but rather narrowly concerned with the pursuits of celebrities holidaying in the Caribbean and their ownership of luxury properties. By focusing on Sandals and Round Hill, I was able to centre the research on Jamaica, as this is where Sandals have the majority of their resorts and also where Round Hill is located.

I requested Sandals brochures from the company's head office in London in September 2001 and November 2005, I requested the most recent publications to identify any changes in the themes of representation in the images. Promotional material from Round Hill Hotel and Villas⁵ was requested from the company in 2001. I gathered more information on this resort from a BBC television programme that was promoting the resort and I obtained a more detailed history of Round Hill by accessing the company's website.

Having received the first batch of Sandals brochures, I was able to compile a list of the repeated themes and ideas in the brochures. From this list, I made an initial selection of images and they formed the basis of two early drafts of empirical chapters. The research process was a

⁵ The *Round Hill Hotel and Villas* resort in Jamaica opened in 1953. It is situated on a 100 acre peninsula and was formally a sugar plantation owned by Lord Monson and part of his Round Hill Estate. www.roundhilljamaica.com Last accessed 8th September 2005

complex one, as I developed the historical element alongside the collection and analysis of the visual texts. I obtained historical visual material which suggested that there may be links between the historical material and the contemporary visual texts. In the following chapters, the analysis brings together the historical research and the contemporary texts.

From my literary research, references were made to the connection Jamaica has with celebrities. In particular, Round Hill was chosen for their focus on luxury and celebrity patronage. Round Hill is a resort near Montego Bay in Jamaica and the tradition of celebrity and wealthy visitors began with Noel Coward who owned a villa within the resort during the 1950s. In recent times, the resort has welcomed visitors such as actress Joan Collins and model Naomi Campbell. The Round Hill website in particular refers to the wealthy visitors, and suggests that holidays at the resort are for individuals with the financial resources to equal that of film stars. However, the prices *are* within the reach of some visitors who are not as wealthy as film stars, as a seven night, half board stay in an Oceanfront room costs £1,329 per person – including flights⁶. As we shall see in Chapter 5, this has some resonance with historical representations of Jamaica, which retain an elite image whilst at the same time appealing to a wider tourist market.

I intend for this work to be read in the light of the conceptualisations developed by Gilroy's scholarship. In particular, we can take note of the shared background of the colonial experience of subjugation by formerly colonised peoples, (Gilroy, 1993: 149) and

⁶ Quote based on half-board and provided by luxury-escapes.co.uk August 2006.

representations of blacks and “the idea of “race”, are living components of a western sensibility that extends beyond national boundaries, linking America to Europe and its empires” (Gilroy, 1993: 159). As Terborg-Penn (1995) notes, women of the African diaspora have a shared history of resisting slavery and oppression; this includes women from the Caribbean, South America and Central America. It is this linkage which I aim to conceptually analyse the visual representations of Britain’s ex-colony, Jamaica.

America has its own history of racial and colonial oppression. Thus, white and non-white Americans alike should have no difficulty in recognising the racial class hierarchies displayed in the tourist images. As Hall (1996b) argues:

...I remind you of the ambiguities of that shift from Europe to America, since it includes America’s ambivalent relationship to European high culture and the ambiguity of America’s relationship to its own internal ethnic hierarchies. Western Europe did not have, until recently, any ethnicity at all. Or didn’t recognise it had any. America has always had a series of ethnicities, and consequently the construction of ethnic hierarchies has always defined its cultural politics. And, of course silenced and unacknowledged, the fact of American popular culture itself, which has always contained within it, whether silenced or not, black American popular vernacular traditions (Hall, 1996b: 466).

In my discussion of identity, I have explored the process of universalising a particular version of whiteness which relies on class and blackness to be sustained as Newtitz and Wray argue, “racial, ethnic, gender and sexual differences are all deeply embedded in class formation” (Newtitz and Wray, 1997: 180).

Images communicate ideas that define and shape relations between individuals from different ethnic groups. It is the power of the 'gaze' that is important since it is the agent re-producing the stereotype/or the racist narrative that has the authority to shape and define perceptions and identities of Others, as it has been argued here. However, to be able to fully read the images and connote their meaning, a historical context is necessary to read the absences in the visual texts. The history that is of principle importance in this case is Jamaica's history of slavery and the recognition of the "ongoing connection between the Western world and the slave past" (Sheller, 2003: 13). In reclaiming the gaze for myself, I demonstrate that it is possible to destabilise essentialist meanings and take a political stance, albeit at an intellectual level.

The trend in the contemporary Western world has been the reformation of new national identities within Europe that would rather forget their imperial past (Pajaczkowska and Young, 1992). The silence or omission of references or acknowledgement to former colonial territories suggests that colonial pasts are being repressed in order to forget uncomfortable memories of colonialism (Hall, 1996: 66). In the preoccupation of studying and exoticising Others, those with cultural and political power are resistant to studying themselves and fail to question how they have come to wield power in the first place (Pajaczkowska and Young, 1992). This reluctance has been exposed "from the margins", to declare that "the subaltern *can* speak as the history of liberation movements in the twentieth century eloquently attests" (Said, 1978 [1995]: 335).

Analysis of Historical Tourist Images

From the results of my data collection, I was able to obtain a selection of images for analysis that promoted tourism in Jamaica from the late 1800s to the 1960s. I chose historical images to explore the representations that were used to appeal to colonial travellers. Based on my preliminary reading of the period, I was able to select images that focused on representations of the landscape and gendered images of Jamaican/Caribbean people. From this process I made connections with the contemporary brochure images by identifying continuities and changes in the way that Jamaica has traditionally been represented as a tourist destination.

From my research at the British Library and The Jamaica Tourist Board, I obtained the images within guidebooks, on postcards, and within a music text (a colleague also kindly donated a text to me). From this selection of texts I critically examined the language that was used to describe the environment and the people in the images. I divided the images into four periods: the late nineteenth century, the 1930s, the post-war period and the 1960s. Within this grouping of the images I was able to examine the continuities and the changes between them, I was also able to identify how the images have changed over a period of time. The cover presentation of the guidebooks were analysed to explore the basis for their elaborate lettering and images in the style of anthropological photographs. I was able to place the images in their historical context as the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century saw the height

of British imperialism, and the images drew heavily on images from the popular children's fiction of this period.

I compared the discourses of race, gender and the landscape with the contemporary discourses and identified that different racial groups were represented in either positive or negative terms according to their proximity to European cultural traditions. Close reading of the material revealed that there were significant similarities in the references to the abundance of nature and pictures of palm trees to signify the tropical landscape to support the text. However, there are differences in the content of the images. The differences between the historical and the contemporary texts are that in the historical texts white people are absent and the local population are present, described as "natives" and engaging in domestic tasks. In the contemporary images the white female body dominates to exclude the mixed raced population and is supported by representations of white men.

From my analysis of the images I was able to explore the suggestion that the images constitute a discourse. I examined the repeated themes and ideas across the visual texts under analysis. The sketch of the local women washing their clothes in the river in Figure 12 (page 171) has a striking resemblance to the *Washer Women* painting by Agostino Brunais (Figure 11 page 146). This suggests that there was an anthropological approach to representing the indigenous population in historical texts. I noted the representation of women in water, which appears to suggest a theme of continuity which can be found in more contemporary representations of Jamaica and its tourist industry.

One of the concerns of this study is to examine how class is demarcated and interlinked and sustained by race. I have explored these constructions and their relationship to gender as black women are frequently observed carrying the discourse of domestic service in the historical texts. The uniformed young woman in Stark's *Pocket Guide to Jamaica*, published in 1902, connotes the idea that service is gendered and racialised. In the contemporary brochures I have identified the continuity in the theme of servitude, as local black people continue to represent a service class and are employed as hotel staff (see Figures 70, 71 and 72, pages 299, 300 and 302).

In the process of studying the history of the black subject, I have used visual analysis to examine historical paintings that represent the black presence in British society during the eighteenth century. The repeated image of black identities as servants to white Europeans is evident in the painting of the Duchess of Portsmouth in Figure 6 (see page 124). In my analysis of this painting, I was able to examine the significance of the composition of the white subject, which suggests power over her black companion. The relevance of the historical analysis is that it supports the argument that there are repeated themes within the contemporary discursive formations.

Conclusion

In this account of the research process I discussed the different dimensions of the research which includes a discussion of my subject position and how I have used my positionality to explore the specific

positioning of subjects in the selected images. There is a two-tiered approach to this study which has been necessary to explore the deeper meanings that are suggested in the tourist images. I would not have been able to achieve this without recognising the limitations of the semiotics approach and the need to combine methods to deepen my analysis. The images do not exist in isolation. By using discourse analysis, I have been able to examine the visual texts in relation to the discursive formations.

In the following chapter, I discuss the post-colonial approach in more depth and in particular go beyond the observations made by Said with a discussion of Bhabha's work on the contradictions within colonial discourse. In particular, my focus is on the complexity of the post-colonial as a theoretical approach, and in speaking from the margins, I go beyond the essentialist binary categories to explore the complexities of the post-colonial as being concerned with political subject positions, rather than a geographically bounded historical periodisation.

Chapter 2 Beyond the Theoretical Binaries

In the previous chapter, I discussed the conditions on which this work has been based and the specific context in which debates regarding representation can be critiqued in the light of the “insider-outsider duality” developed by post-colonial critical approaches (Hall, 1996; Gilroy, 1993; Spivak, 1988).

Edward Said’s post-colonial approach to discourses of power have assisted the analysis of visual representations of Jamaica. In particular it has sharpened the observation of the numerous constellations of themes and tropes which the images appropriate for the tourist gaze. The post-colonial approach not only directs attention towards exploring the continuities between colonial discourses of slavery and tourist representations, but within those discursive formations, opens up the layering of racialised, gendered and sexualised symbols. I foreground the issues raised by black feminist theory to explore the colonial relations represented in the visual texts in the following chapter (hook, 1996; Mirza, 1997; Spivak, 1988).

The chapter begins by discussing the concept of the post-colonial society and post-colonial theory, with some reference to Jamaica. Edward Said’s *Orientalism* is discussed in detail as an account of discourses of the Other. I discuss the difficulties that have been raised by scholars regarding Said’s approach, in particular that there are limits to using binary categories. The chapter explores Homi Bhabha’s use of Fanon to discuss the idea that identities are not stable or enduring and that desiring the Other, as well as discourse and power were at stake in colonial relationships. I go on to examine Said’s adoption of Michel

Foucault's concept of knowledge as power. One of the limitations of Foucault's conception of power is the limits of his discussion regarding resistance and the absence of the colonial context in his scholarship. I address this in relation to the importance of resistance - even under slavery.

The slaves did enact their revenge when they could, and the most noted occasions were those planned and executed with a large number of slaves which included female slaves. Tacky's revolt in 1760, Sam Sharpe's planning and instigation of the 1831 slave rebellion and Paul Bogle's protest march to the Morant Bay court house on 11th October 1865, all demonstrate that slave resistance was an integral part of Jamaican colonial society.

As my own analysis of contemporary and historical images focuses on the intersections of race, gender and sexuality, I draw on Foucault to explore the themes of power and the regulation of the body in visual texts. The discussion is moved forward by recognising how the work of black feminist theorists disrupts the essentialist binary of black and white (Mirza, 1993; hooks, 1996). In the following chapters, I discuss their observations in relation to whiteness as an ideal of racialised femininity in popular culture.

What is Post-Colonial Theory?

Within post-colonial studies there is little agreement regarding the term 'post-colonial'. It has instigated much confusion amongst scholars since the 'post' in post-colonial represents the period following colonisation and

suggests that the period of colonisation is over and finished (Pickering, 2001: 155). Ashcroft et al. (1989) argue that the term post-colonial has been employed to distinguish the periods before and after political independence in former colonial states. Their use of the term and this particular spelling of 'post-colonial' covers all the cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day (Ashcroft, 1989: 1/2). The term can also be approached as a critique of the historical formations of colonial domination and colonial legacies (Pickering, 2001: 155). Colonialism was a process of historical events which made Europe economically powerful as, "by the end of World War I Europe had colonised 85 percent of the earth" (Said, 1978: 123). Colonisation was the process of systematic land and human accumulation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries *and* formulated the representation of colonised peoples as backward, primitive and unrestrained.

The British saw themselves as moral superiors and the architects of civilisation - evidence of which can be found in the 'archive of information' or the colonial discourses (Said, 1978; Cannadine, 2002; Pickering 2001) which were produced by colonial agents to rationalise and justify colonial dominance. Post-colonial theory and post-colonial studies incorporate a highly eclectic range of issues, social contexts, histories and regions. It has a broad scope and purpose and is therefore very difficult to define.

The Australian authors of *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989) suggest that in the controversy surrounding the application and the use of the term, the post-colonial as a critical

approach can be used to describe any place that has experienced colonialism, including The United States for having once been colonised by Britain (Ashcroft, 1989: 2). However, such an approach runs the risk of overlooking the intricacies of the impact of colonialism in different parts of the world (Mongia, 1997). By recognising that post-colonial theory is not a cohesive discourse, we avoid flattening and homogenising different post-colonial realities. However, it is the very fact that albeit unsatisfactory and contested a term, the post-colonial refers to more than three quarters of the world and as a contemporary phenomena is able to relate to the topic of globalisation (Williams, 1996: 3).

In general, however, scholarly discussions of the term have enabled us to move beyond the reductive idea that the term can only mean one thing and the implication that colonialism and its effects are definitely over (Hall, 1996: 243). My reading of the 'post' in post-colonial incorporates "both changes in power structures after the official end of colonialism as well as colonialism's continuing effect" (Mongia, 1997: 2). Therefore, as an epistemological shift, the post-colonial approach can include the US within the post-colonial category to acknowledge its current position of global power and the "neo-colonizing" role that the continent has played in the post-colonial period. As Cannadine (2001: xiii) argues, the US is the latest authentic imperial power. The United States has demonstrated its position by continuing to deploy its ideological, military and economic might in the wake of two wars in Arab and Muslim states and its current ideological "war on terror"¹. Such is the nature of this imperial relationship that since World War II America has

¹ The US administration is no longer using this term to describe the current war in Iraq.

dominated the Orient and approaches it as France and Britain once did (Said, 1978: 4).

Hall (1996d) suggests, that careful discrimination is needed in relation to different social and racial formations when describing nations as post-colonial, since former settler colonies such as Australia and Canada on the one hand, and Nigeria, India and Jamaica on the other, are not 'post-colonial' in the same way (Hall, 1996d: 346).

Post-Colonial Theory as a Critical Approach

As a critique, post-colonial theory provides a broader context to understanding representations of the Other, and "provides one useful way of trying to analyse the relationship between the imperial past and legacies in the present" (Ware, 1996: 142). In a sense, this approach provides the opportunity for contesting versions of official colonial narratives. The relationship between the coloniser and the colonised is reworked to reposition the marginalised and subordinated colonial subject in a move which shifts them from the colonial peripheries to the imperial centre. This is one of the complexities of the post-colonial, since the Other claims to speak from the margins, within the metropolitan centre. As a struggle against colonial oppression, the critique poses a challenge to the idea that history as defined by the West is a progressive and ordered whole (Bhabha, 1993: xi).

The inception of this theory allowed for a marked paradigm shift in the study of "wide-ranging areas such as philosophy, history, literary studies, anthropology, sociology and political science", and the language of colonisation (Mongia, 1997: 2; Said, 1978). It challenges studies within

the above-mentioned disciplines and as a methodological approach, “enables a wholesale critique of Western structures of knowledge and power” (Mongia, 1997: 2). Colonialism presented the European with a range of possible relationships with the Orient (Said, 1978: 7). The colonial agents mapped out and implemented the colonial project via the scientist, the scholar, the missionary, the trader or the soldier. Thus, the idea of Europe as superior was constructed by the major components of European culture (Said, 1978: 7).

From my marginal position, I have enlisted the support of post-colonial and black feminist theorists to develop an oppositional gaze to interrogate the discourses which have positioned black women in the binary of absolute difference (Rose, J. cited in Hall, 1996f: 17) and to critically examine the essentialist binary representations in the visual tourist texts.

Said’s Orientalism

Edward Said’s (1978) *Orientalism* is one of the best known critical texts on the study of colonial discourse. Orientalism is significant due to its style of thought which constructs the West’s hegemony over the Orient. Said observes the Orient as a setting for imaginary geography where “the Orient alternated in the mind’s geography between being an Old World to which one returned, as to Eden or Paradise, there to set up a new version of the old, and being a wholly new place...” (Said, 1978: 58). Therefore, “the Orient had a history, a tradition of thought, imagination that gave it a reality and presence in and for the West” (ibid: 5).

Said argues that the Orient was directly linked to the construction of the West's self-image as the Orient became the West's contrasting image, idea, personality and experience (Said, 1978: 2). *Orientalism* notes the parallels between the expansion of the empire and the production of knowledge of the Orient (Said, 1978: 344). In some versions of the colonial discourse, the Orient was the underground self that Europeans did not want to be. The Arab-Orientals were constructed by the Orientalist discourse as voiceless yet threatening, despotic and irrational, in contrast to the assumed identity of modern, ordered and restrained white middle-class Europeans. Said is principally concerned with Europe's relationship with the Middle East, and how "European culture gained strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient" (Said, 1978: 3). Orientalism produced a discursive body of knowledge that was a version of the truth that positioned the West as a superior civilisation and the Orient as inferior.

Said addresses the different meanings of Orientalism as a discursive formation, which has an interdependent nature. In *Orientalism*, Said observes the broad structures by which the colonial discourse was disseminated. His study examines the continuing influence of academic thought which has the Orient as its focus, and is transmitted through books, conferences, and within universities. Said (1978) observes that all disciplines were instrumental in constructing Orientalist discourse (Said, 1978: 23; C. Hall, 1995). The human sciences were at the centre of this knowledge construction, particularly the social science of anthropology (Pickering, 2001: 52) and supported by academic study as

instrumental in producing taxonomies of knowledge which described the Other² as inferior (van Dijk, 1993).

With a focus on the British and French colonial enterprises, Said uses a broad historical perspective to analyse scholarly works which are from distinct disciplines. This includes works of literature, political tracts, journalistic texts, travel books, religious and philological studies to demonstrate the union of political institutions and academic domains in dominating, restructuring, and gaining authority over the Orient (Said, 1978: 3, 23). Despite coming under a general heading of knowledge of the Orient, the scope of Orientalists was broad, with displays in museums, constructions in the colonial office, and theses produced adopting anthropological, biological, racial and historical approaches about the known world. The sheer weight of knowledge that was produced about the Orient made it an arduous task to challenge the intricate web of discourses within the colonial framework. Said describes the shift away from using the term Orientalism in Western academies, despite the continued focus of the Orient in books and congress gatherings. The abandonment of this term is perhaps due to the connotations of the 'high-handed' character of European colonialism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although I would argue that we do not need to look too far to witness high-handed imperialism in contemporary times.

The tradition of high-handedness that was established during colonialism exists within the cultural hegemonic European self-view of a superior identity. Said argues that it is this hegemonic culture inside *and*

² The post-colonial concept of the Other addresses the dichotomies which distinguish the West from the colonised. Thus, theorists such as Fanon (1986) have examined the Manichean idea that the world is mutually divided into two opposites, hence the binary divisions of centre-margin,

outside of Europe that has sustained the operations of Orientalism. I have found this observation useful in understanding the durability of myths since their taken-for-granted nature conceals the power relations of the agent constructing particular myths and for what purpose. Myths need to be examined to reveal their power relations (Said, 1978: 5, 6).

Roland Barthes' idea of myths as language and its relationship to notions of discourse and discursive formations has been central to my analysis of the myth which positions Jamaica as an island paradise. The contemporary idea of paradise is a key node of connection within a discursive formation which includes ideals of racialised white femininity and masculinity. The images in the following chapters are read in the light of other discourses of heterosexuality, whiteness, consumption, romance, but the idea of paradise is a key connector in these discourses.

The relations of power are central to Said's analysis. He argues that ideas, cultures and histories cannot seriously be understood without such analysis. Thus, it is the power relations that structure and sustain Orientalism, that makes it more than an elaborate lie or a collection of myths which, by themselves, have no durability. The different versions of the Orient, with their accompanying myths, were ubiquitous, producing a "complex Orient during the eighteenth century" (Said, 1978: 7). However,

Orientals were rarely seen or looked at; they were seen through, analysed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined ...the male conception of the world in the context of Orientalism is static, frozen, fixed eternally (Said, 1978: 207-208).

self-Other, good-evil, Black-white (Ashcroft, et al, 1989: 172). In relation to imperial identities, the self as subject is formed in relation to the Other (ibid).

It is Said's Foucauldian approach to power relations that I have found useful in my study, for example, the myth of the tropical paradise which is "Jamaica", by itself appears naively innocent. Alongside his observation that Orientalism lives on through academia, Said identifies the importance of novelists and travel writers as contributors to the colonial discourse (Said, 1978: 221). It was the increasing influence of the written word, newspapers, travel literature and novels that brought the Orient into sharper focus during the colonial period and served to strengthen the knowledgeable attitude toward the alien Other (Said, 1978: 117). The discourses of travel literature portrayed the region as an imaginary utopia, and moral voyages undertaken by missionaries and scientific reporting by scholars about the Orient during the eighteenth century contributed to the ideological project of knowledge production (Said, 1978: 117).

Said demonstrates that components of Orientalism were interlinked, but were overarched by imperial institutions which had authority over the Orient. It was the "knitted together strength" of Orientalism that permitted the political governing and extensive military control over the Orient, alongside the ideological, scientific and imaginary preoccupations during the post-enlightenment period.

Said's study is significant in tracing the genealogy of discriminatory practices from the colonial era to the contemporary period. Europeans had the power to occupy and administer Other countries at all social levels and facilitated the production of Western discourses (Childs and Williams, 1997: 233).

One of the strengths of Said's scholarship is his observation that,

...a field like Orientalism has a cumulative and corporate identity, one that is particularly strong even its associations with traditional learning (the classics, the Bible, philology), public institutions (governments, trading companies, geographical societies, universities), and generically determined writing (travel books, books of exploration, fantasy, exotic description) (Said, 1978: 202).

Indeed, Said's work is the ideal starting point for studying the rise, institutions and development of Orientalism (Said, 1978: 201). Thus, against this background of intellectual, cultural and political history post-colonial criticism explores in more detail the intricacies of colonialism from the Other's perspective. In an attempt to challenge the "truth" as so laid out by the language which delivered discursive representations of the Orient and fashioned out of the experiences of many Europeans (Said, 1978: 203). In particular, it is the notion of exploration, fantasy and exotic description which is one of the main concerns of this work. Indeed, Said's analysis identifies Orientalism as an apparatus of power, in which the East was written about extensively by the West – with the support of a cultural apparatus – numerous agencies and institutions with no parallels in Oriental society (Said, 1978: 205).

Critiques of Said

Said's *Orientalism* and post-colonial theory have been criticised for being one-sided and overly stressing the power and reach of Orientalist discourse (Cannadine, 2001: xvii), and seeming to reiterate the very process post-colonial critics claim to challenge. Post-colonial theorists could be accused of undermining their own arguments of opposition to colonial discourse by demonstrating a "sketchy historical knowledge"

(Cannadine, 2001: xvii). This presents the Western discourse about the Orient/Other as if it was historically unified and seamless in construction (Pickering, 2001: 154). There have been criticisms of Said's *Orientalism* by scholars within the discipline (Porter, 1983 and Young, 1995) for assuming the Oriental strategy to be a single, homogenous and systematic colonial discourse (Pickering, 2001: 153), rather than demonstrating the complexity of the colonial outputs as varying in force and authority.

However, Said's scholarship demonstrates the construction of the Other in colonial discourse and the accomplishment of addressing the silencing of the Other by bringing together a wide range of texts within a single critical framework (Pickering, 2001: 152).

There is little mention of the forms of resistance against the outputs of the colonial enterprise in *Orientalism*. However, Said addresses such matters in his later work *Culture and Imperialism*, (1994) and states, "there was always some form of active resistance" which culminated in decolonisation across the 'Third World' (Said, 1994: xii). Examples of this are evident in the anti-colonial sentiments that laid the foundations for the de-colonisation and independence of formerly colonised nations (Said, 1995 [1978]: 335).

Said's analysis of Orientalism has been criticised by historians, literary scholars and anthropologists for not being a specialist in any of those disciplines (MacKenzie, 1995; Gellner; 1993, Conrad, 1993, cited in Moore-Gilbert, 1997). However, this criticism has failed to acknowledge and appreciate the body of work that was inaugurated by Said. The basis for their criticism may be due to their dissatisfaction with their own academic terrain being crossed by a scholar not based within their

discipline. It should be remembered here that the historians of the colonising societies had narrow perspectives and disapproval of Said's criticism of colonial ruling societies reflects the hostility that was expressed in response to the abolition of the slave trade (Patterson, 1967: 10; Walvin, 1996: 23; Heuman, 1981: 38).

Pickering (2001) argues that the subsequent works that have followed Said's *Orientalism* have sought to address the one-sided aspect of the critique and have focused on analysing the contradictions within the colonial discourse and studied the meanings of the language used to create the discourse (Pickering, 2001: 153). In the Afterword to Said's 1995 edition of *Orientalism*, he acknowledges the work that has followed his own study. He notes how they have been able to address much broader themes than he covered in the original publication of *Orientalism* such as the scholarship by Ferguson (1992) and Gilroy (1993).

Said's Debt to Foucault

Writers within the post-colonial field of study, Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (1993) in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory*, for instance, refer to Said as responsible for inaugurating a new field of academic enquiry into colonial discourse and Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak consider that a large debt is owed to *Orientalism* on which much of their work is based. In particular, Bhabha extends Said's work by examining the psychologically interdependent relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. Hall, Gilroy and Spivak whilst not claiming the post-colonial, yet placed within the discipline, note that writing on the

Orient or the Other has traditionally been conducted to position non-Western societies on the margins – places isolated from the mainstream of European progress (Said, 1978: 206). However, their analysis has set about a challenge to such strategies. As Gilroy argues, modernity is no longer novel when considered alongside the brutal realities of colonialism (Gilroy, 1993: 44).

Childs and Williams (1997) argue that Said's use of a Foucauldian discursive approach in *Orientalism* has been hugely influential in pioneering a new method of study in the post-colonial discipline. Said's contribution provides an understanding of how dominance *and* power was exercised within the colonial context. Drawing on Foucault's notion of discourse, Said is concerned with how power operates within a discursive formation and is rooted in specific contexts and histories (Hall, 1997b). Foucault identified this in many studies, for instance, in the *History of Sexuality*, where he critically addresses the regulation of sexuality in the discourses of the masturbating child, the hysterical woman, and the homosexual. Said and Foucault share the same view of knowledge - that it is a form of power. Knowledge produces power – within discourses of knowing. Foucault's view of discourse is “a collection of statements (frequently, though not exclusively, a body of texts) unified by the designation of a common object of analysis” (Childs and Williams, 1997: 98).

Foucault did not believe that individual texts or authors are significant. However, in the case of *Orientalism*, Said argues that this view of discourse is not applicable to the study of complex discursive formations (Said, 1978: 23). Said identifies *Orientalism* as a system for

citing works and authors, thus suggesting that the authority of authors is increased through the practice of referring to each other (ibid). The scope and reach of such authors is demonstrated by Said's example of Edward William Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, which was read and cited by diverse writers such as Nerval, Flaubert and Richard Burton. Said argues that Nerval's verbatim quoting of Lane's work is a testament to his authority (Said, 1978: 23). This is the process by which Orientalism is given strength since writers of the Orient depend on, and refer to, the works of previous writers on the Orient. Therefore, what should be remembered is that in discourses of the Other, their central co-ordinates of differentiation are always implicated in relations of power. Thus, Said departs from Foucault by examining positions, and addresses the relations of power between the coloniser and the colonised subject (Pickering, 2001: 75, Hall, 1996d). Said adopts Foucault's conceived link between knowledge and power. Foucault argues that discourse is essential to the operations of power:

In a society such as ours...there are manifold relations of power that permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse (Foucault, 1980: 93).

Said draws on Foucault's conceptualisation of power/knowledge as inseparable and located within strategies that operate on all levels of society (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, 1999: 68).

The nexus of European power which combined travel and trade were intrinsic to the overall system that produced the conditions for the

expansion of white Western power. Said demonstrates this by drawing on Foucault's power/knowledge dialectic since the West constructed the knowledge of the Other by deploying this reductive knowledge through colonial discourse, thus giving them the authority to *really* know the Other. In short, they had the knowledge that entitled them to power, and as Said argues:

Knowledge of the Orient, because generated out of strength, in a sense *creates* the Orient, the Oriental, and his world. In Cromer's and Balfour's language the Oriental is depicted as something one judges (as in a court of law), something one studies and depicts (as in a curriculum), something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual). The point is that in each of these cases the Oriental is *contained* and *represented* by dominating frameworks (Said, 1978: 40).

Foucault also argues that it is the ability of knowledge to assume an authority of truth. Therefore, the colonial enterprises produced particular regimes of truth, of European superiority and of the inferiority of the Other. The knowledge produced during the European colonial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was conducted by academic and religious scholars, in which their views of the Caribbean were represented as factually true (Anim-Addo, 2007: 64; Ferguson, 1992: 5). Foucault argues that power is tied to the economy of statements made by privileged speakers. Their knowledge creation engineered the intellectual, cultural, political and moral superiority of white Western civilisation (van Dijk, 1993: 159). Therefore, the making of such statements by the colonial elite consisted of dialogical and intersubjective exchanges to pass among others their "observations" as known or true (Allen, 1999: 71). Therefore, "the history of European expansion has shown how travellers, explorers, traders, and the military were often accompanied by academic or religious scholars interested in [the] soul, the mind, and the body of the Other" and

from their observations constructed truths (van Dijk, 1993: 159). It is this concept of power and knowledge in relation to the enslaved black subject that I have found useful in understanding the complexity of the power relations within Jamaica's colonial plantation society.

Discourse and the Body

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault examines the changes in the way in which prisoners or offenders were punished by the State at the dawn of the Enlightenment period. *Discipline and Punish* is a historical analysis of crime and punishment in Europe. Prior to the Enlightenment period, the style of punishment favoured in Europe was that of public displays of tortured, dismembered, amputated bodies, symbolically branded on the shoulder, exposed alive or dead to public view (Foucault, 1977: 8). The significance of the body as a point of analysis in this context is that oppression was exerted as psychological torture on the mind as well as physical violence on the slave body. Whilst not centrally discussing the body outside of the European context, Foucault's concept of discourse is central to his work and can be employed to discuss the debates about the repressed *and* sexually incited body. As with his knowledge/power dialectic, the operations of power are exercised on the body. Foucault considers that "the body is not just a focus of discourse, but constitutes the link between daily practices on the one hand and the large-scale organisation of power on the other" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982 cited in Shilling, 1993: 75).

Foucault's concern with the body in different European historical

periods and the relations between knowledge and power have been useful in understanding how the body of the colonial Other was viewed in the colonial context. The body of the Other was interwoven with descriptions of the tropical landscape which frequently described it as feminine with connotations of being virgin-like. Hulme's (1986) analysis of travel writing during the colonial era illustrates how the African landscape was described like a woman's figure with suggestions of availability for sexual conquering.

Regrettably, Foucault's conceptualisation of "the management of space, the development of administrations and considerations of the periphery" was conducted without reference to European imperialism (Spivak, 1988: 293). As Gilroy (1993) has articulated, European Modernity cannot sufficiently be understood without recognition of the colonial project. Ideas of race were integral to Enlightenment ideologies along with ideas of value-neutral objectivity (Stanfield, 1993: 25; Said, 1978: 202) whilst blacks enjoy a subordinate position in the dualistic system that reproduces the dominance of bonded whiteness, masculinity and rationality (Gilroy, 1993: 46).

...certainly, blacks are as ambiguously placed in relation to postmodernism as they were in relation to high modernism: even when denuded of its wide-European, disenchanted Marxist, French intellectual provenance and scaled down to a more modest descriptive status, postmodernism remains extremely unevenly developed as a phenomenon in which the old centre peripheries of high modernity consistently reappear (Hall, 1996b: 466).

In Foucault's approach to the body, the positioning of the slave body is not addressed in his writings. Foucault (1984) notes that systems of

punishment should be related to the systems of production in which they operate. Foucault could actually *be* talking about colonial slavery.

This political investment of the body is bound up, in accordance with complex reciprocal relations, with its economic use; it is largely as a force of production that the body is invested with relations of power and domination; but, on the other hand, its constitution as labour power is possible only if it is caught up in a system of subjection...the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and subjected body...(Foucault, 1984: 173).

Of course, in the Caribbean slave economy, the black body was the “tool” on the sugar plantations or source driving European wealth; as the subjected body, it featured in the ideologies of race and was gazed upon as Europeans’ inferior. Writing by Patterson (1967), Beckles (1989) and Williams (1944) clearly demonstrates that subjection was obtained by violence and ideology in the slave context. It was a system which characterises all the things Foucault describes:

...direct, physical, pitting force against force, bearing on material elements, and yet without involving violence; it may be calculated, organised, technically thought out; it may be subtle, make use neither of weapons nor of terror and yet remain of a physical order (Foucault, 1984: 173).

To have used the Caribbean slave economy, in this discussion of systems of punishment and the body, would have avoided the contained version of the West that is presented in his discussion (Spivak, 1988: 293). I believe Hall (1996) is suggesting and is argued by Gilroy (1993) that not to centrally address slavery as part of imperialism produces a distorted view of Europe’s development.

The relevance and significance of this in the contemporary period,

is the continuing subordinate and often marginal position in which blacks are located throughout the African diaspora (Hall, 1996; Gilroy, 1993b). The images are a cue or insight into this positioning as somehow outside of modernity. The cherry-picking approach: “postmodernism’s deep and ambivalent fascination with difference – sexual difference cultural difference, racial difference, and above all, ethnic difference, yet there is a silencing of the West’s fascination with the bodies of black men and women of other ethnicities” (Hall, 1996: 466-7). “The images communicate a weak essentialising moment as they naturalise and dehistoricise difference, mistaking what is historical and cultural for what is natural, biological and genetic” (ibid: 472). As we shall see in Chapters 3 and 4, there is a history to the tourist representations which were components in the colonial slave regime. Therefore, against the backdrop of the interventions made by post-colonial approaches, “winning” albeit limited spaces for difference, the narratives and representations in the tourist images appear on a global stage (as tourism is global), displaying blackness as unproblematic-ally simple, deformed, inauthentic and grossly commodified (alongside a particular version of whiteness).

Perhaps this is an example of the backlash against the decentring of the western narrative, where ethnic absolutism reappears as an attempt to restore the canon of western civilisation and grand narratives of history (Hall, 1996: 468). The slave regimes have not been discussed as part of the history of modernity, yet paradoxically, as Bhabha (1990: 218) argues, “the colonial moment is the history of the West”. On the one hand, the advent of Western modernity was cultivated within the Enlightenment through “master narratives of the state, the citizen, cultural value, art,

science, *the novel*", and on the other hand, a contradictory narrative was being told, where the West was producing a history of its colonial possessions and relations (ibid: 218).

The West appears unable to reconcile the contradiction between its history as a despotic power and a colonial power with its claims to democracy and solidarity (ibid: 218). The pornographic representations of the flogged and enslaved female body discussed by Woods (2002) undermine the normative, traditional history of the West – displacing ideas of progress and law and order identified by Bhabha (1990). This observation can be developed further by considering the universality and rationality of enlightened Europe and America which were used to sustain and relocate rather than eradicate an order of racial difference inherited from the pre-modern era (Gilroy, 1993: 49). Significantly, the physical abuses of the body that were typical features of the Caribbean slave plantation, resemble the practice of punishment as spectacle that were being eroded in Europe as regressive during the same period (Anim-Addo, 2007: 52). Prior to the penal reform limiting physical abuse in Europe, there were approximately 7,000 people hung in England and Wales between 1770-1830 and they were subject to a slow and painful death in front of crowds that sometimes reached 100,000 people (Burnard, 2004: 105).

Violence was not solely used as a public spectacle; it was readily directed toward children, wives and servants as a form of control (ibid). Thus, physical maltreatment which was integral to feudal Europe became entwined with notions of racial hierarchies and transported out to the plantation colonies. Most notable is the ferocious flogging of black female

slaves which was normalised under Atlantic slavery (Anim-Addo, 2007: 110; Woods, 2002: 91; Bhabha, 1994: 86). As we shall see in Chapter 3, conceptions of the black female identity under the slave system were contradictory and formed within an exploitative and sexualised context. The agents of mercantile slavery made demands on the black female body for her labour and treated her in accordance with her status as property.

Absences in Foucault's *History of Sexuality*

In the discussions of European modernity, the preoccupation with black sexuality is absent. In particular, absence of the fetishisation of the black female body serves to consolidate a restricted version of the West, noted in Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, which specifically addresses the medicalisation of the white female body and neglects the conflation of assumed cultural and biological traits in relation to the black female body.

Foucault identifies sexuality as a political apparatus (Foucault, 1980: 189). In the *History of Sexuality*, Foucault observes that sex was the 'code of pleasure'; the concept being that sex is at the heart of all pleasure. The religious authorities during the medieval period advocated that the purpose of sex was for procreation and not pleasure, and therefore sought to regulate sexual behaviour by professing self-control and self-scrutiny. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the outward claim to rationality was identified as male and proclaimed to be the purveyors of repressed sexuality and Puritanism, yet it was a culture obsessed with sexuality. The sexual exploitation of black women on the slave plantations, and the objectification of black male genitalia, was

couched in terms of needing to know the “sexual primitive” (hooks, 2004: 68). Sex and sexuality in black people were therefore, viewed anxiously as uncontrollable forces (Shilling, 1993: 55). What is significant about this view of sexuality is how difference is exoticised. One of Said’s principal concerns was to analyse the process of exoticising the Other as sexually different and lascivious. Said states that “the Orient seems to suggest not only fecundity but also sexual promise (and threat), untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, [and] deep generative energies” (Said, 1978: 188). The public discourse of the Englishman’s sexuality was ordered and restrained - a direct contrast to how they perceived the colonised subject. They have historically, in the context of domination, addressed their fears of sexuality by projecting their sexual desires onto the bodies of women and foreign peoples (Shilling, 1993). Europeans controlled their fear of the body by strictly regulating the forms of its sexual expression (Dean, 1996: xiv).

In colonial discourses the focus was on black bodies and pathologised as the cultural associations of the colour black as dirty, sinful and dangerous rendered black skin as the ‘natural’ home for these fears. These anxieties were constructed in terms of black people’s alleged hyper-sexuality as primitive; this discourse established the myth of the large African phallus. Africans, therefore, were deemed sexually unrestrained, uncivilised and promiscuous; a threat to the moral order of Western civilisation (Shilling, 1993: 55). In the following chapter, I continue the discussion of the notion of distinct binaries and the limits of this concept to understanding black subject identities and ideas of whiteness in visual representations.

Homi Bhabha's ideas of ambivalence – “The Other Question”

Said (1978: 201) argues that what influenced Orientalism, was the “willed imaginative and geographical division made between the East and West”, yet the scholarship which has gone beyond *Orientalism* suggests that identities are not as rigid as this boundary division indicates. What the ideas of post-modern identities have done is to open a space for the diasporic subjects to challenge what appears to be a coherent subject matter (Said, 1978: 202).

Bhabha (1994) argues colonial discourse is not all powerful, and in contrast to Said's totalising analysis, demonstrates that colonial discourse contains conflicting positions. Bhabha takes the concept of Otherness and extends the discussion by examining the stereotype; colonial discourse's major discursive strategy (Bhabha, 1994: 66). Colonial discourse, as a form of knowledge and identification fluctuates or to borrow Bhabha's term, *vacillates* between what is already in place or known to something that must be anxiously repeated.

Bhabha suggests that whilst colonial discourse presents the idea that stereotypes are fixed or natural, contradictorily, the stereotype must be repeated to demonstrate its naturalness, for example the smiling black subject. Such repetition can be observed in contemporary tourist brochures, where the complexity of the stereotype includes not only race and class, but gender and sexuality as social categories.

Whilst colonial discourse may connote rigidity and unchanging order in the form of the stereotype, it is the ambivalence which gives the stereotype its currency. Acknowledging the stereotype as ambivalent enables us to “shift from the ready recognition of images as positive or

negative” (Bhabha, 1994: 67). It is more complex than this essentialist binary suggests. At once the colonial other is an object of desire and derision (Bhabha, 1994: 67; Lewis, 1996: 41). What this demonstrates is that there is an appeal to the Other in the form of fantasy. Whilst the body is inscribed with the binding together of different categories (race, gender and class), which produce a political practice of hierarchisation, the Othered body is appealing as a site where boundaries can be crossed. Hence, the body as a transgressive site where colonial dreams, images, fantasies, myths and obsessions can be projected onto (Bhabha, 1994: 71; Said, 1978: 190).

It follows that the identity of the coloniser is not fixed nor are the self-representations stable, since the coloniser desired the colonised, despite the official version. As noted by Hall (1996b) there is a “vast silencing about the West’s fascination with the bodies of black men and women of other ethnicities” (Hall, 1996b: 467). The articulation of colonial power was through a hierarchy of racial and sexual difference. In the complexity of exercising this power, the coloniser creates an ambivalence of both fear and desire.

In Chapter 3, the discussion of Baartman, demonstrates how the stereotype operates in two ways, as the phobia and the fetish. In the analysis of the image of Baartman, we observe how the visual through representation was a strategy to normalise imperial power, but also showed its instability (Lewis, 1996: 13). This visual representation of the black female body also demonstrates how the Othered body was under surveillance, through which knowledge about her was produced. She is an example of how the objective of colonial discourse was to construe the

colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin (Bhabha, 1994: 70; Anim-Addo, 2007: 77). In regimes of truth, such “moralistic and normative ideologies” are recognised as the Civilising Mission or the White Man’s Burden (Bhabha, 1994: 83). The black female body is central to our understanding of the operations of the colonial regime. Whilst black feminist critiques have reclaimed the black female body as an act of resistance, we also remember that she was/is created and produced for the sustenance of colonial and now post-colonial discourse (Mirza, 1997: 5; Spivak, 1988; hooks, 1991). I write to disrupt the essentialist binary, as a black subject in the metropolitan centre, yet positioned at the margins, I challenge the overdeterminations of blackness as negative that were constitutive of the colonial discourse.

Race and Gender as the Subjects of Otherness

Whilst feminist scholars have done much to draw attention to (white) women’s economic, political and social subordination in Western societies, they have largely remained silent on how the experiences of black women differ to their own and continue to see sexism and racism as two separate issues (hooks, 1991: 59). Discussions of how race intersects with gender will be discussed in the following chapters, to support the reading of the contemporary tourist images. Just because white women have been oppressed, this does not make them exempt from being an oppressor (Mill, 2003; Lewis, 1996; Ferguson, 1992). Thus, Hill (1997: 5) argues that oppositionality itself may sometimes function in order to maintain the status quo. Middle-class women as anti-slavery campaigners

were active in their use of literary protests and sugar boycotts as a means of mediating their own needs and desires. Thus, in validating themselves, the language they used misrepresented the African slave as essentially different to Europeans, objectified and marginalised as silenced victims in need of protection (Ferguson, 1992: 3-4).

The publication of slave voices occurred at a time when white audiences were responsive to those issues (Anim-Addo, 2007: 128; Morrison, 1993: 51). The slave accounts were made palatable for those audiences and did not express sentiments that would have ‘raised an Englishman’s eyebrow’ (Ferguson, 1992: 25). Africans were represented as a totalized, undifferentiated mass, and denied any authentic heterogeneity (ibid, 1992: 4). Yet, as “free”, the African Caribbean was to remain under the control of their European superiors. Indeed, blackness has historically been represented back to black subjects through the eyes of white subjects – leaving the gaze of whiteness as the unacknowledged norm (Apple, 1998: xii).

It is particularly important to examine the contrast between the display of the white female body and the black female body. In the analysis of the brochure images in this study, recognising the social constructs and engaging with the effectivity of the stereotype makes it possible to expose the power relations that exist within the images. There is a history of power between black women and white women. To ignore this history is to pretend that it does not exist and remains uncritical of what has come to appear as natural. In particular, I aim to examine the psychological elements of the historical racialised relations in the images under examination. Whilst Sheller (2003) is concerned with how the

Caribbean has been consumed by Europe and America, and demonstrates this by using an extensive catalogue of examples, this work focuses on specific links between historical and contemporary visual representations. However, *Consuming the Caribbean* examines a limited number of visual texts, and explicit *visual* links between how black subjects *and* white subjects have been represented historically and in the present are not made.

I have carried out a close reading of the selected images, and used a collaborative and layered approach with post-colonial and black feminist theory to underpin my argument. I have employed semiotics and Stuart Hall's (1997b) analysis of racialised texts in *The Spectacle of the Other* which has assisted in explaining the central focus of my study as I address the intersections of gender, race and sexuality in colonial and post-colonial discourse.

Similarly, Strachan (2002) uses a limited number of historical visual texts. His approach focuses on the political and economic aspect of tourism and shifts in focus in the second half of the text to address literary works by post-colonial writers, Jamaica Kincaid and V.S. Naipaul. Clearly my work, whilst sharing the topic of the post-colonial and tourism with *Paradise and Plantation*, there are marked differences as I have focused on the representations of gender, race and sexuality and from a specific standpoint of black feminist theory, and simultaneously examined the linkages between the history of colonisation and the contemporary period.

The Black Female Gaze

Why is the black female gaze important? Because from this “third space” and inbetween position, we can ask questions that might not have been asked before (Mirza, 1997: 4). Fanon does not speak of the fantasies and images of the black woman which may inform white men’s perceptions of black female sexuality (Young, 1996: 93). Nor does he address black women’s struggle for survival (Young, 1996). Lewis (1996: 18) refers to Said’s lack of address to women as agents and producers of colonial discourse, similarly Fanon ignores women as participants in imperial power relations. Rather, he focuses on white woman’s so-called pathological desire to sleep with black men (Hall, 1996f: 30).

Principally, I raise the question of how to counter or challenge the stereotypical meanings of black womanhood constructed by Atlantic slavery such as those identified in Chapter 3.

Western feminism has traditionally been developed on white women’s experiences (Rich, 1987; Shepherd, 1995; Lorde, 2003). Feminist writers Rosalind Coward (1984) and sociologist Ann Oakley (1974) amongst others have produced classic works on the lives of white women in the Western context. Whilst their analysis has made a welcomed contribution to our understanding of how patriarchy in the Western context manifests and structures the lives of some women, their observations imply that there is an essential, universal woman subject (Mirza, 1997: 10). The sexual division of labour which Oakley specifically refers to in her analysis of housework, cannot be viewed as universal, since the content of the division shifts from one environment to another and is shaped by historical junctures (Mohanty, 2003: 63). As Mohanty

(2003) recognises, “western feminist discourse and political practices are neither singular nor homogenous in their goals, interests or analyses” (Mohanty, 2003: 50) yet, these approaches have largely excluded black women, poor and lesbian women by not taking into account their knowledge about social relations.

In response to this, black feminists have questioned such generalising in western feminist accounts and for their focus on what Audre Lorde describes as “defining the master’s house as their only means of support” (Lorde, 2003: 27). It was felt by some black feminists that there was a reluctance by some white feminists to relinquish the authority to name the social reality of the gendered subject and to centrally address racism as a structuring force in the lives of all women (Mirza, 1997: 10, Carby, 1997; Shepherd, 1995). However, more recent feminist work has produced a multiplicity of perspectives and approaches to address the intersections of race, class and gender (Ware, 1996; Anim-Addo, 2007; Lewis and Mills, 2003).

As discussed in the introductory section to Chapter 1, I occupy an inbetween or third space (Bhabha, 1990) which disrupts the binaries of black/white, male/female and overlaps the margins of race, gender and class discourse. I attempt to draw on these positions to critically analyse the representations of all the social categories represented in the visual texts presented. Undertaking this approach is to challenge the traditional feminist theorising which produces a discursive practice that does not theorise any aspect of black female representation, or for that matter critically reflect on how gender is the modality in which race is lived (Gilroy, 1993: 85). As bell hooks (1996) has argued, until recently feminist

theory has “engaged in a process of denial of the reality that sex/sexuality may not be the primary and/or exclusive signifier of difference” (hooks, 1996: 206). Therefore, black womanhood has largely been spoken for and constructed through the authoritative voice of imperial whiteness (Mirza, 1997: 10; hooks, 1996: 202; Anim-Addo, 2007: 128).

This questions the legitimacy of the claim that feminism is universal due to feminisms’ limited concern with a small minority of women (Carby, 2003: 223; hook, 1996; Mirza, 1997; Carby, 1997). As I argued in the introduction to Chapter 1, blackness is not homogenous and there are complex levels of gender difference from a race and class position (Mirza, 1996: 12). I may share the same origins as a black working-class woman, although our standpoints may not be the same. Although black women have demonstrated their presence in the academy, the theoretical inclusion of their perspectives remains minimal, suggesting that knowledge which is outside of white perspectives of mainstream academic thinking remains largely invisible (Mirza, 1997: 5; Stanfield, 1993; Anim-Addo, 2007). As I described earlier, to be black in Britain is to occupy a position where you do not appear in the dominant discourse and one’s claim to any sense of Britishness is open to question – contested. The construction of Britishness which is built on a notion of belonging, where physical difference becomes a defining issue, a signifier; a mark of whether you belong or not (Mirza, 1997: 3). I have aimed to place myself in the theory to understand the constructions and manifestations of power in relation to (my)self and to consciously examine my resistance to identifying with the images which display totalising visual representations of blackness on the one hand and “the

neutral, 'normal', universal representations of whiteness" on the other (Mirza, 1997: 3). By developing an oppositional gaze, it is possible to critically assess representations which are packaged for white audiences (hooks, 1996: 205). Hooks (1996) notes the difficulty which some white critics have in approaching films with black females at the centre of the narrative. This situation could be applied to the occurrence of work produced by black women receiving limited critical attention (Anim-Addo, 2007). The reason for this may be due to work or theoretical accounts produced outside of the academic paradigm, not regarded as true and approached with reservations (hooks, 1996: 212).

The black female gaze has been largely ignored. The context within which critical black feminist theory has been articulated is one that [usually] constructs our presence as absence and denies the mind of the black female body, only to perpetuate the notion of white femininity as the ideal to be favourably looked upon (hooks, 1996: 201).

...to ignore the subaltern today is, willy-nilly, to continue the imperialist project (Spivak, 1988: 298).

As Lewis (1996: 14) argues, the continuing success of the imperialist project is how its components are displaced and dispersed into more modern forms, as in tourism visual texts. Thus, my analysis of visual texts aims to demonstrate the pervasiveness of this process in the production of popularly consumed visual representations of "difference" in tourist brochures.

Theorists must, if they wish to discuss all aspects of post-modernism, recognise that black women have a view worth writing about, since, as Toni Morrison describes modern life began with slavery since

“black women had to deal with post-modern problems in the nineteenth century and earlier” (Morrison quoted in Gilroy, 1993: 221). How does Western feminist theory attempt to theorise such oppressive practices if ever only viewing the world from a contained racialised position? As Rich (1987) argues, “most women in the world must fight for their lives on many fronts at once”, thus simultaneously experiencing race, class and sex oppression (Rich, 1987: 218). To be continuously focusing on the experiences and agenda of white European and American elite renders the experiences of women who do not fit neatly into that category of white womanhood irrelevant.

In the post-colonial context, the legacy of colonial ideologies can be observed in the representations of foreign locations in the tourist brochures. As Hall argues (1996f) “there is a need to constitute forms of subjectivity and representation in a different way to that of the colonial relations” (Hall, 1996f: 19). Yet it is important that the cultural blind-spots within dominant critical writing, and their effects in decontextualising theoretical issues on race and history are avoided (Anim-Addo, 2007; Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998; Morrison, 1993).

It is my in-betweenness that provides me with a voice. I speak from the in-between – not from one of the binaries. Post-colonial identities are therefore not unproblematic. The Other has a counter gaze which can be located in the space which goes beyond overdeterminations, thus for me constantly negotiating what it means to be black, female...British. In order to claim the authority to speak with a critical voice, Anim-Addo (2007) asserts, “African-Caribbean women have had to become engaged with a re-presentation of “self” as mind as well as body” (Amin-Addo,

2007: 130). By drawing on black feminist criticism, I have aimed to challenge the mind-body split prevalent in older conceptions of reason (Haraway, quoted in Johnson, et al, 2004: 50).

Reading Visual Representations

In Foucault's discussion of Velasquez's painting, *Las Meninas* (Hall, 1997: 57), he discusses how representations work as much through what is not shown, as through what is visible and argues that the viewing subject has to 'subject' themselves into the position of spectator, determining how the image is read. However, as we know, this is not the only prerequisite which determines the reading of an image. How we read Paul Gauguin's visual representations of Tahiti for example depends on the subject position of the viewer and what they know about the French colonial historical context of his work. Thus, what is absent from Gauguin's work are references to Tahiti's status as a French colony.

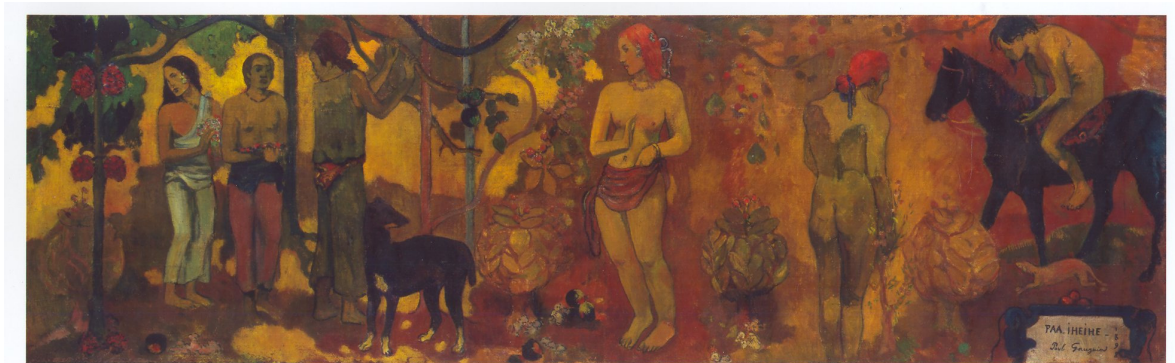


Figure 4 Gauguin *Faa Iheihe* 1898 54x169.5cm oil on canvas courtesy of © The Tate Gallery, London.

Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), was a French Post-Impressionist painter, famous for his work which displayed semi-naked or naked indigenous women as part of the tropical landscape. In particular, his life

in Tahiti echoes the desire by some white Europeans to search for and live a “primitive”, prelapsarian life (Strachan, 2002: 77, 85).

Gauguin’s art resonates similarities with the Italian painter Agostino Brunais’ (1730-1796) work, *The Washer Women*, which displays a mixed raced woman as sexually exotic in a topical setting (Figure 11). In Gauguin’s *Faa Iheihe*, (Figure 4) the presence of the barely clothed women feminises and sexualises the landscape and provides a particularly depoliticised representation of an occupied territory. Therefore, exotic reads: primitive. In the following chapters, I discuss the continued use of the female body, to represent the colonised or ex-colonised landscape. My analysis aims to make links with *The Washer Women*, images from Joseph Stark’s *History and Guide to Jamaica*, and contemporary representations of Jamaica by the Jamaica Tourist Board and Sandals.

Writing against Colonial Discourse

The large-scale immigration of Anglophone Caribbeans to the UK following the Second World War, and satirised by Louise Bennett as ‘Colonization in Reverse’, was a consequence of “West Indians having contributed to the war effort, like the British population, had their expectations heightened by post-war promises” (Anim-Addo, 2007: 159).

Whilst my aim is not to provide an extensive discussion on the literary works of Caribbean authors here, I do want to contextualise the Caribbean writers’ voices which reached a wider audience in the post-Windrush period. As Anim-Addo (2007) argues, this moment had three major effects, “the proximity to the metropolitan centre with greater

access to writing networks, education and development of a ‘literate imagination’, and access to publication” (Anim-Addo, 2007: 158-9). Alongside this was the development of the Independence Movements across the empire which articulated a rebellion against colonialism (ibid, 160).

Resistance to colonial discourse or “writing back” can be found in the literary works of post-colonial authors such as Césaire (1969) and Lamming (1960) in which their interpretation of texts held in high esteem in the Western literary canon supports the argument that writing is not the preserve of white Western authors. Similarly, although a much later work, the re-writing of *Robinson Crusoe* in the novel *Foe* by J.M. Coetzee, encapsulates the European fascination with the shipwreck and paradise island narrative recurrent in the Western literary canon. The repeated idea of the tropics as paradise is suggested thus:

For readers reared on travellers’ tales, the words *desert isle* may conjure up a place of soft sands and shady trees where brooks run to quench the castaway’s thirst and ripe fruit falls into his hand, where no more is asked of him than to drowse the days away till a ship calls to fetch him home (Coetzee, 1986: 7).

Coetzee’s novel articulates the association between blackness and servitude as the natural or inevitable order of things as thus,

“If Providence were to watch over all of us” said Cruso, “who would be left to pick the cotton and cut the sugar-cane?” (Coetzee, 1986: 23).

The links the novel makes with blackness positioned in relation to service and physical labour, is suggested by the products Cruso refers to which are plantation crops and tended to by racialised labour in the “New

World". *Foe* provides a discussion of the power of discourse, and the construction of "truths" communicated by the authoritative colonial agent to enact the enforced silence of the Other.

As in the Defoe tradition, Coetzee's character Friday is depicted as a servant/slave, and more poignantly in Coetzee's rewriting of this narrative, is his lack of speech (it appears that he has no tongue). Friday exemplifies the silent Other or subaltern conceptualised by Gayatri Spivak (1998). Power provides the conditions for those who can speak, to be heard and acknowledged, whilst reinforcing the position of those who remain silent. This silence has been attained via the writing of history by British historians who frequently presented a one-sided view of historical events, by writing *out* the former colonies as separate entities to the British nation, and therefore marginalising their place in history (Cannadine, 2001: xvi, xvii). Thus, Patterson (1967) argues:

...the historiography of the West Indies has developed in two directions, yet there are a large number of works by scholars of imperial history to whom the islands are significant only in so far as they represented the platform upon which the European powers thrashed out their imperial differences (Patterson, 1967: 10).

To continue the practice of marginalising post-colonial societies is to perpetuate their contemporary subordination by claiming that colonies contributed nothing to world history, thus denying the context in which Britain accumulated its wealth and prosperity by claiming foreign countries.

To meet this challenge the starting point for any radical writing of history must be the political agenda set by the present. In this instance that would involve the observation that international politics is clearly still moulded by the recent era of the great colonial empires (Hulme, 1989: 6).

Newly independent Caribbean nations were modelled on British constitutional practices of law and governance and constitutional evolution (Cannadine, 2001: xvi). However, in the struggle for freedom and independence, how has independence been a source of entrapment for Third World nations such as Jamaica? In the post-colonial global context, the divisions between nations may appear distinct, yet the relations between the ex-colonies and First World nations continue to be intricately interdependent and relevant to the representations of race, sexuality and gender in Sandals and Round Hill promotional material.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced and discussed the theoretical framework that will be used to examine the construction of Jamaica as a tourist paradise in contemporary tourist brochures. Said's *Orientalism* and post-colonial and black feminist theory have been outlined and discussed to illustrate the theoretical counter-arguments that have been produced to challenge the hegemonic knowledge production of the colonial era. *Orientalism*, in particular, provides a critical examination of the ethnocentric views held by Europeans in their construction of the Other and how they were expressed in a range of disciplines to convey the "natural" superiority of Europeans. I have outlined and discussed the significance of Said's Foucauldian notion of discourse in relation to this study and how the knowledge that has been produced by the colonial enterprise derived from the production of knowledge through inter-connecting discourses. Foucault's power/knowledge dialectic provides an

understanding of the operations of power in the colonial context. The historical and the contemporary contexts illustrate the complexities of the struggle for power which has culminated in the tensions between the fractured social groups, stemming from a history of suppression and violence. Foucault's influence throughout this chapter has been to indicate the relationship between the significance of knowledge in relation to the power of the colonial enterprise and the relationship between the gendered and racialised body and social control. Foucault's approach to visual representations assists in demonstrating how significant images are in conveying meaning.

If we are to understand the specific importance of slavery in the Caribbean, there is a need to pose questions regarding the relations of power. The importance of colonial history in the Caribbean is the forced migration and the clashing and mixing of different cultures in an adopted landscape. The discussion of Fanon and Bhabha aimed to go beyond the limits of Said's work to discuss the process of deconstructing the essentialist binaries. In the following chapter, I discuss further the ambivalence in the colonial constructs and the concept of desire and derision in my analysis of eighteenth and nineteenth century visual representations of blackness in relation to whiteness as a means of understanding colonial relations as more complicated than simple divisions.

Chapter 3 Thinking From the Third Space: Analysing Representations of Blackness & Whiteness in Colonial and Imperial Visual Texts

The aim of this chapter is to centrally address readings of the dominant ideological discourses and to challenge narratives of power and control (Mohammed, 2004: 6). In thinking from the margins, or the “third space”, I carry out a deconstruction of the visual legacy of mercantile slavery and imperialism which underpins representations in the post-colonial context. What informs my analysis, is my relation to the contemporary power structures as a black female, to form a questioning and challenging gaze of historical depictions of blackness as a means of understanding contemporary racialised identities in Sandals’ and Round Hill’s brochure images. For the scope of this thesis, I foreground the discussion of the complexities of the colonial context and demonstrate how the imperial power relations were articulated through a complex web of contradictions (fear and desire) and tensions (lack and excess). Addressing historical depictions is relevant to contemporary tourism imagery as related discourses simultaneously operate in the contemporary context and interweave notions of race, sexuality and gender.

I start with Said, to discuss the articulation of the imperial enterprise with its particular gendered dimension, and broaden out the discussion of the racial hierarchy by utilising black feminist theory and Bhabha’s consideration of colonial discourse in my analysis of representations of Baartman as an example of “the deep structure of stereotypes” (Gilman, 1997: 284).

One of the accomplishments of Said's *Orientalism* was his conceptualisation of the authority of patriarchal colonial discourse which underpins the relations between the West and its Others as sexual (Said, 1978 [1995]: 309), and has largely been unchallenged enabling it to be orientated into common-sense and academic ways of thinking (Mirza, 1997). In particular, "the act of looking and being looked at is asymmetrically allocated to white and black, to male and female, in racially stratified patriarchal societies" (Young, 1996: 93). The taken for granted association between sex and the Orient (Said, 1978: 188) is for Said, enunciated by a colonial subject that is "unified, unintentional, irredeemably male" (Lewis, 1996: 17). Said's analysis of Orientalism highlights gender, race and sexuality as entwined within colonialist discourses of the Other which attempts to locate colonised women in a fixed, stagnant position will be discussed in this chapter. This is particularly poignant in Said's address of Flaubert's *Kuchuk Hanem* (Said, 1978: 186-187). The idea of Oriental sex was a commodity available to the mass culture in the form of books and travellers' accounts due to the changes that were taking place in nineteenth-century Europe which Said articulates (Said, 1978: 190).

We may well recognise that for nineteenth-century Europe, with its increasing *embourgeoisement*, sex had been institutionalised to a very considerable degree. On the one hand, there was no such thing as "free" sex, and on the other, sex in a society entailed a web of legal, moral, even political and economic obligations of a detailed and certainly encumbering sort (Said, 1978: 190).

"...so the Orient was a place where one could look for sexual experiences unobtainable in Europe" (Said, 1978: 190). However, there were tensions

and contractions in the representations of the colonies and the imperial centre. Whilst the colonies provided a destination of escape for European subjects, sexual behaviour in the colonies was in opposition to the social conventions enforced within imperial British society (Mills, 2003: 698). Thus any analysis of the colonial context should recognise the demarcation that was achieved by the attempt to create boundaries between the indigenous population (or imported labour force) and the ruling colonials. This demarcation still exists within the power relations of Jamaica's tourist industry. This is demonstrated in the visual texts, where the black subject is represented as "happy" with their low-paid, casual status as hotel employee. As Beckles (2003) and others (hooks, 1996; Anim-Addo, 2007: 60; Lewis, 1996; Mills, 2003) have demonstrated, the operations of the colonial regimes were made more complex by the distinction that was erected between black women and white women which positioned black women outside of the ideologies of womanhood. Black women were labelled as not "women" in the sense that white women were for their "capacity for arduous physical labour" (Beckles, 1999: 176). This historical recovery informs the analysis of the contemporary images of black women who are represented as "naturally" occupying domestic and service positions as they would have done during slavery.

Post-colonial critical approaches have been developed by presenting analysis of representations and notions of the gaze which challenge white representations of blackness as totalising (Hall cited in hooks, 1996: 198). Thus, the agency of African diasporic peoples has been to interrogate and go against the grain of those discourses which have

silenced resistance in the past (Anim-Addo, 2007). Post-colonial scholarship has worked as an epistemological shift in challenging the nonchalant gazing at the Other that was so fundamental to colonial discourse. Hall, Gilroy, Bhabha and Spivak draw our attention to how essentialism works in practice and shows how it is the process of “looking *outside*” of these overdeterminations that they can be challenged.

I take for example, Hall’s (1996f) reading of Fanon, in his essay *The After-Life of Frantz Fanon* to discuss the application of the racial schema to the black subject, but the black female subject in particular. Although Said (1978) recognises the positioning of the Other, Hall teases out more explicitly the mechanisms that are used to enclose, codify and mark the black subject within the mind/body dialectic which renders the black subject as without a mind or intelligence – purely a body centred in the discourses of slavery (Morrison, 1992: 38, Anim-Addo, 2007: 55).

I believe that this requires a certain reflexivity which recognises “the limitations of seeing, dependent on [one’s] racial and gendered position” (Anim-Addo, 2007: 54). Thus, the black female body was widely represented and acted upon as outside of humanity in the colonial context. This leads on to the following section which raises questions about the articulation of white middle-class femininity which was held up as an ideal for black women to be judged against in the colonial context.

White Women in the Imperial Context

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the guardians of white civilisation (Beckles, 2003; Stoler, 1995; hooks, 1996; Mills, 2003)

middle-class women's identities were inscribed by marriage, motherhood and the task of reproducing Victorian ideals of domesticity (Mills, 2003: 704). In the Caribbean colonial context, white women were "ladies" and "were not expected to labour in the field or perform any demeaning physical task" (Beckles, 2003: 204). This class position informed notions of what it meant to be feminine since membership of womanhood did not include work that could be deemed as masculine. Mills (2003) and Lewis (1996) pay particular attention to the ways in which notions of space were used in colonial ideology to control the positioning of women. For example, middle-class white women's physical movements were closely policed and scrutinised by chaperones and their leisure time was centred on the needs of men and children (Rojek, 1993). Such confinement attempted to reinforce ideas of their frailty and femininity. It was the tradition for white women to be spoken for during the period (Anim-Addo, 2007: 36), reinforcing their confinement to the private domestic sphere with little or no space to express a public voice. This lack of space for personal expression was underpinned by sexual regulation (Foucault, 1998; Weeks, 1986) and compounded by the fact that white women were largely propertyless and socially insecure (Beckles, 1999: 176; Bradley, 1992: 201). Middle-class white women were defined as passive in contrast to their masculinised and less sexually constrained working-class counterparts. Working-class women were positioned within the circuit of profit and less financially dependent on men, whilst the ideal of white womanhood was constructed on the very basis of economic and social dependence *on* men. White working-class women in the nineteenth century were widely regarded as subordinate and promiscuous and their

low status in society was attributed to engaging in paid work outside the home, yet they were the “sexualised” women of the working-classes (Nead, 1988: 51). McClintock (1995) develops this point further by describing the contempt with which working-class women were viewed. As domestic workers, they serviced middle-class homes, were female miners, and working-class prostitutes (Bradley, 1992: 203, 208). In short, they were the furthest from the epitome of frail white, middle-class femininity (McClintock, 1995: 56). As McClintock describes, working-class prostitutes transgressed the boundaries of the private and public spheres. Their world orientated them beyond the obsessive categorisation of difference, which was a feature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in British society.

The scientist, medical men and biologists of the day tirelessly pondered the evidence for both, marshalling the scientific “facts” and elaborating the multifarious taxonomies of racial and sexual difference... (McClintock, 1995: 49).

In Woods’ (2002) analysis of Fanny’s physical *improvement* in Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park*, a triangle can be drawn to connect a woman’s action (in this case Fanny) “moving her from the private/domestic sphere to the public/commercial sphere”, and her sexuality to occupy a position of “whore” (Wood, 2002: 314). This was not a view confined to Victorian ideologies of womanhood. Theweleit (1987) identifies the positioning of working-class women in 1920s and 1930s Europe. Male fantasies, constituted a complex articulation of fear and desire of women. The ideal woman was the “White Woman” – devoid of any association with

sexuality, subservient, dutiful, and obedient and resided in the family home to meet the needs of her husband. In contrast, the “Red Woman” appeared in their sexualised fantasies and pornography. She was:

Any woman who is neither whiter-than-white virgin, nor statute, vision, nocturnal apparition, princess... (Theweleit, 1987: 49).

Although Theweleit’s (1987) context is the beginning of the twentieth century, his consideration of the two archetypes of white womanhood provide insight into the discourse which link sexuality with class position and the sexuality of European women as illicit. The Red Woman was defined as working-class and associated with socialism.

The proletarian woman is a whore...The women are threatening because among other reasons, they are not virgins (Theweleit’s, 1987: 68).

Clearly, the economic positioning constituted perceptions of women’s sexuality and femininity in the imperial context. Discourses of sexuality also underpinned the execution of colonialism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Said, 1978; Anim-Addo; Mills, 2003). Yet, these periods have been widely regarded as eras of sexual repression (Weeks, 1986). However, Foucault rejects the repressive hypothesis offered as an explanation in the debates regarding sexuality during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Foucault does not deny that there was a repressive attitude towards sex during this period, although he argues that sex did not exist within a simplistic binary formation of repression and liberation

(Weeks, 1986). There were contradictions and tensions incorporated into nineteenth-century views towards sex. The sexual order consisted of a complex layering of permissions and the nature of sexual expression was highly dependent on who you were and where you were located. Thus, sex became something one incited, administered *and* controlled (Shilling, 1993; Foucault, 1998). The sexual discourses produced sexual identities or subjects. I would argue that this produced spatial differences which were a result of the official repressive approach to sex in contrast to the underground activities of brothels, prostitution and pornography within the metropolis (Foucault, 1998: 6).

The colonies, particularly those in the Caribbean allowed for explicit sexual practices which undermined the official discourses of British colonial agents as restrained and morally superior to the colonial subjects they dominated. For example, the sexual order of slavery in Jamaica shaped and produced transgressive behaviour such as having sex with slaves. This was not respectable or moral in the Victorian sense in the light of their fear of miscegenation and sexual contagion (Beckles, 2003; Mills, 2003: 709; Mohammed, 2004: 12), yet positively incited and accepted at the margins of the empire (D. Hall, 1989).

Excess or the idea of it was presented as having nothing to do with high ranking officials. The duplicity of this practice has a class dimension as noted by Stoler's (1995) discussion of the Dutch colonies and notes that the desire for opulence and sex, wealth and excess were attributed to the lower social orders (Stoler, 1995: 183) and responsible for the poor performance of servicemen. Similarly, Lady Nugent, the wife of the Jamaican governor, makes such claims of a distinction being drawn

between upper and working-class men in Jamaica in her comment, “no vulgar Scotch Sultan or lowly overseer was without his black chère amie” (Nugent quoted in Bush 1990: 116). In support of this, Shepherd and Beckles (2000) note that “the white overseers and bookkeepers who were placed in command over them [black women], found them attractive women and often took them as their house keepers or common-law wives” (Shepherd and Beckles, 2000: 990). Although white men from all social classes engaged in sexual relations with enslaved women, it was the lower class whites who were used as a scapegoat and blamed for concubinage and moral corruption (Bush, 1990: 113). Edward Long, a West Indian planter and pro-slavery writer, is perhaps most famous for his *History of Jamaica* (1774), in which he expresses a low opinion of lower class white men as “the very dregs of the three kingdoms” (Long quoted in Bush, 1990: 112).

Sex as an exploitative practice by British men in India was transgressive within the accepted social norms for Victorian society, yet their behaviour was rendered invisible by the creation of a discourse which presented British and indigenous peoples as existing in separate spheres (Mills, 2003). However, this is not how the colonial regime operated in the British Caribbean colonies. The fear of miscegenation underpinned the ideologies of race propagated by Enlightenment thought, in practice such notions were not observed. Sexual conduct in colonial Jamaica was less discreet about transgressive sexual practices, perhaps due to the close proximity to slaves because the “slave owner had to walk among the slaves, eat what they cooked and sleep within their reach” (Beckles, 2003: 208). Therefore, the plantation system produced an

“intimately” unequal relationship with an extreme demand for the labour and power structures to be reproduced.

In the discussion of Homi Bhabha’s analysis of the colonial subject as instigating ambivalence within the discourse, demonstrates the complexity of understanding how colonial power operated and goes beyond Said’s original formulation (Lewis, 1996: 4). Said demonstrates how colonialism was a male preserve of power, where white females were officially positioned in a “supportive” passive role.

Orientalism itself, furthermore, was an exclusive male province; like so many professional guilds during the modern period, it viewed itself its subject matter with sexist blinders. This is especially evident in the writings of travellers and novelists: women are usually the creatures of a male power fantasy (Said, 1978: 207).

However, Said’s analysis does not address the complexities of gender in the colonial enterprises as white women were not rigidly fixed in the secluded roles of wife and mother as the binary distinctions suggest. Although white women were subject to the social constraints as their movements were restricted, they were placed in an ambivalent position since in support of patriarchy were able to retain their status as colonisers (Carby, 2003: 226; Lewis, 1996: 22; Ware, 1992). Yet, whilst being positioned as Other in relation to white colonial males and inscribed with the duty of reproducing Victorian values of domesticity, middle-class white women were colonial agents and the beneficiaries of a structure of systematic differences (Lewis, 1996: 4). As Beckles (1999) argues, any “social representation which offered [white women] privileges was

aggressively pursued” through their intent on defeminising the black woman (Beckles, 1999: 176) even though this often meant tolerating their husband’s infidelities (Burnard, 2004: 161).

As Mills (2003) demonstrates, some of the values circulating within the colonised countries are profoundly at odds with the values of the imperial centre (Mills, 2003: 697), which enabled a process of transgressive and mutually reinforcing of colonial boundaries. Although some white women with the best intentions, campaigned against slavery, as colonial agents and travel writers they reinforced colonialist codes of white superiority, legitimising scientific authority and its global projects with a particular emphasis on their adherence to feminine propriety of dress and decorum (Mills, 2003: 705; Lewis, 1996: 22) which positioned African women as essentially different from themselves (Ferguson, 1992: 4). Equally,

In the novels of the imperial period this relationship between home and abroad which was rooted in relationships between ‘whites’ (whose whiteness remained assumed and understood) and ‘others’ (Bhattacharyya, 2002: 11).

Women like the Brontë sisters were beneficiaries of the colonial period as they were able to transgress their traditional female roles, but they were able to do so as white middle-class women (Bhattacharyya, 2002).

Writing as abolitionists and against the slave system from a traditional feminist perspective, may suggest that white women were championing the cause of freedom for their black sisters. However, writing against slavery provided these women with a legitimate space to publicly express an identity. They wrote in language that did not undermine the ideological project which objectified and de-feminised

black women. This was a medium through which white women were able to claim social validation (Ferguson, 1992: 4).

As Bhabha (1994) has demonstrated, colonial discourse was flexible and functioned through contradiction (Bhabha, 1994; Lewis, 1996: 9). Whilst being positioned as other in relation to European white men, white women did benefit from living in colonial societies. A gendered perspective is therefore needed to examine the role that white women *did* play in the colonial context, as white female slave owners had privileges that ensured they were free from the arduous domestic work carried out by their black female slaves (Ferguson, 1993: 13). By propagating the alleged difference between themselves and black women, they significantly secured their survival as privileged members of the ruling elite (Beckles, 1999: 176). The historical writings of Joseph Shore (1911), L.J. Ragatz (1928), and Trevor Burnard's (2004) historical analysis suggest that middle-class women were used to maintain the pretence of civility. As Stoler (1995) argues:

...in the official script white women were encased in a model of passionless domesticity, mythologised as the desired objects of colonised men, categorically disassociated from the sexual desires of European men and disallowed from being desiring subjects themselves. As custodians of morality, they were poised as the guardians of European civility, moral managers who were to protect child and husband in the home (Stoler, 1995: 183).

Stoler's observation supports the argument that middle-class European women were confined by patriarchy to the domestic domain, due to their position as custodians of morality, and perhaps making them sexually unavailable (Dyer, 1997: 130). Their isolation was reinforced by being culturally restricted from participating in political and military activities

(Bush, 1990: 67; Beckles, 1999). However, the colonial and imperial contexts are marked by their diversity as Hulme (1986) has shown. British women travelled across the Empire in search of employment and independence (Ware, 1992: 126). In the fictional and autobiographical accounts they produced travelling throughout the colonies, they stressed the freedom they found within the colonial context, which seemed free of some of the constraints of British society (Mills, 2003: 697).

However, Shore (1911) informs us that married white women were rarely seen in Jamaica and indicates why the story of Annie Palmer is of particular significance, as she does not sit neatly into the stereotype of the passive desexualised white female (Bush, 1990: 67). As white women in colonial Jamaica were expected to be inactive, yet beautiful. “Her beauty was to be maintained and nurtured for her role in life, that of wife and mother” (Mohammed, 2004: 15). Mills (2003) notes in particular, British women in India, had “their children either looked after by ayahs, or sent to the hill stations or to Britain to be educated; they were left to cultivate their gardens and supervise the servants” (Mills, 2003: 709). In the case of Jamaica, this practice fostered what Taylor (1993) describes as “gossip-mongering” (Taylor, 1993: 96). Shepherd and Beckles (2000) argue,

According to some historical arguments of slavery in the southern US, historians suggested that white women, particularly planters’ wives represented a kinder, gentler authority within the totalitarian power structure of the plantation...According to this argument, it is through white women that slaves were emotionally and socially integrated into the household (Shepherd and Beckles, 2000: 660).

The ideal of white womanhood as highly moral is disrupted by the story of Annie Palmer, the eighteenth-century mistress of Rose Hall in Jamaica. She allegedly murdered her three husbands in her Great House and is believed to have had an affair with her overseer. Annie is also famous for exercising brutality and punishments on slaves in the plantation fields (Shore, 1911: 68). Thus, despite the limited evidence available to corroborate this story, it demonstrates how white women's socio-economic interest had become linked to the reproduction of slavery. White women were operating fully within the epistemological framework of slavery's social laws, customs and culture as it informed their consciousness and social behaviour (Shepherd and Beckles, 2000: 660).

White women were 'locked into a peculiar set of relationships of race and class' (Walvin, 1996: 110). They shared the domestic space with black slave women, and tensions arose due to the "indolent, sloppy, and careless" work of the female slaves whom they tolerated as mistresses of their husbands (Bush, 1990: 61, 112; Anim-Addo, 2007: 116). Despite the 'official script' that white women were regarded as the custodians of morality which Stoler (1995) refers to, they were often at the centre of cruel unwarranted slave punishment (Bush, 1990: 44; Ferguson, 1993: 13; Prince¹; Woods, 2002: 97) as the owners of slaves. Against the backdrop of arguments which position white women as the less oppressive force in the colonial context, they were socio-economic agents. "Single white women made their living from the wages of black women hired out as

¹ Mary Prince was a slave from the archipelago of Bermuda in the Caribbean. Following years of physical and sexual abuse which left her an invalid she was able to gain her freedom in Britain. During the debates to abolish slavery that were ensuing during the 1800s, Prince published her life story as a slave in 1831, *The History of Mary Prince, a West India Slave, Related by Herself*. Throughout the narrative Prince charts the sadistic beatings and sexual abuse she received from her various owners.

nannies, cooks, nurses, washerwomen, seamstresses and general labourers and this also included the renting out of black women in port towns” (Shepherd and Beckles, 2000: 663). Woods (2002) argues, drawing on John Stedman’s *Narrative*, the eagerness of white mistresses to display the nakedness of enslaved women to potential male clients and sell them into prostitution (Woods, 2002: 97). Stedman goes on to express the anxieties surrounding the alleged power of black men to attract white women. He articulates this in the scenario of the white mistress who flogs the naked male slaves on a daily basis for their lack of Christian belief (Woods, 2002: 98). In the light of the slave plantation enterprise as a principle expression of Enlightenment rationality within the colonial realm, it should be no surprise then that white women expressed their participation through acts of extreme cruelty against black women², which made them indistinguishable from their male counterparts (ibid: 665; Woods, 2002: 97). It is well documented in eighteenth and nineteenth-century literature the extent to which white women were central to the reproduction of the slave system, most notable is the surprise and offended sensibilities of European travellers who observed creole white women examining the genitals of male slaves in the markets before making their purchase (Shepherd and Beckles, 2000: 660).

The colonial nuclear heterosexual marriage was a partnership in maintaining the system in which both white men *and* white women were the ruling elite. This is contrary to the notion that white women were

² Frederick Douglass recalls the murder of his cousin. A white woman, “Mrs Hicks murdered her slave for not keeping the baby that she was looking after sufficiently quiet during the night” (Gilroy, 1993: 67-68).

insignificant in the “ideological formation of the slave complex” (Shepherd and Beckles, 2000: 659). In a social context where there was a lack of freedom for women without property, they supported their husbands as planters and colonial officials through their pro-slavery prose, as in the cases of Lady Nugent and Mrs Carmichael (Beckles, 1999). Marriage and supporting patriarchy was a route through which they were able to pursue their self-interests and rather than “softening the ‘evil and harshness’ of black women’s enslavement”, (Beckles, 1999: 176) they were instrumental to it. Therefore, they had a stake in maintaining the system which gave them a privileged lifestyle, and what they lacked in sexual expression, they gained in material and social benefits.

It may appear unconventional to write about white women and white men as a social unit, when traditional feminist theory has encouraged a binaried approach to analysis. However, this perspective would have obscured the reality of the role white women performed in the colonial context as one-half of a whole. On the one side, there was the moral superior wife and on the other was the (often sexually transgressive) independent white male. The white woman was able to overlook her husband’s sexual misgivings due to her vested interest as lady of the Great House, yet she was there as a smoke-screen for the moral deregulation in the planter’s household and all his atrocities (Beckles, 1999: 88). Her reward was access to social empowerment through marriage and title as ‘Mrs’.

“Enlightened”, But not Humane

It is important, even imperative that this analysis “make visible the form of vestigial thinking which permeates and structures contemporary practices and representations, even after the formal end of colonialism” (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 2). This is why a historical approach is necessary to inform the analysis of tourism representations which draw on the mould of slavery’s race, gender, class and sexual relations. Clearly, the hierarchical racial framework developed by Enlightenment philosophy informs our contemporary relations which are structured by race, gender and class dynamics. In particular, Anim-Addo (2007: 10/56) examines the black Caribbean woman as a body without mind and the representations of her by Europeans who believed themselves to be enlightened. Thus, Goldberg (1993) argues,

...one way for Enlightenment philosophers committed to moral notions of equality and autonomy to avoid inconsistencies on the question of racialized subordination was to deny the rational capacity of blacks, to deny the very condition of their humanity (Goldberg, 1993: 32).

Thus, Africans were not human, but chattel - someone’s property. The following extract taken from a letter written by John Whittaker to Long, Drake and Dawkins, provides an insight into the way the English viewed Africans as “cargo” and available for purchase. Also contained within the letter are references to the slave trade having a triangular dimension as Europeans purchased the slaves in Africa and then transport them to the Caribbean.

I am sorry for the devastation made on the coast of Africa by the French no Eboe cargoes have arrived here since mine of the 6th October last.

I had hopes the Princess Royal in which Mr Thorpe is an owner would have arrived and out her (all Eboes). I was to have had the choice of York, but she has been captured and I have not seen such a gang of seasoned Negroes yet as I approved of and which such payment as Bills at 90 days slight ought to command in these times but you may rely when I can lay out the money properly and the estate advantage, I will and as I have two or three parcels to look at I have no doubt the seasoned Negroes will be purchased very soon (MS 44/36 25 Morant Gale papers).



Figure 5 William Hogarth *The Industrious Prentice Grown Rich and Sheriff of London (Industry and Idleness VIII)* © courtesy of The Museum of London.

The essentialised black subject can be identified within the bodily insignia – black skin, thick lips, curly hair, large penis (Hall, 1996f: 21) and inserted into the racial and social hierarchy, along with a perceived intellectual ability or its lack which were considered to reveal inherent

racial differences in mental capacity. (Goldberg, 1993: 30; Hall, 1996f: 21). Whilst being culturally and historically shaped, the signifying elements of the black body produced a regulatory norm – presented to colonial audiences in legends, stories, history, through desire and fantasy, oscillating between lack and excess. Both Fanon and Foucault address the body in their work, yet it is Fanon who notes the discursive nature of the markers of racial difference – which are a social category - not a biological or genetic regime (Hall, 1996f: 21).

Africans were incorporated into British imperial society albeit within well-defined parameters of service and subservience. The significance of Figure 5 is that the black servant offers a historical indication of the black presence in Britain prior to the Windrush migration during the 1950s³. Perhaps more poignantly, this representation is not sexualised nor is it a grotesque or demeaning depiction which was the tradition of representing blackness by Europeans in the colonial era (Anim-Addo, 2007: 48). This is in contrast to the satirical display of the rather ugly affluent and overindulgent diners. It is as though the racial schema has been suspended here. There are contradictions as on the one hand, there is not the grotesqueness as typified by Baartman’s display, and yet at the same time paralleled with a fascination or the need for proximity to blackness as a means of supporting whiteness, there is mimicry. “*Almost the same but not white*”. In resemblance, he is smartly dressed in European style to mirror the diners and as the bearer of “food”; he offers a glass of wine to the man

³ Gilroy , (1993); Fryer, (1993); Anim-Addo, (2007) note that Britain has had a black population for over 400 years.

seated in front of him. In short, service and subservience underpin the racial schema⁴, and is an enduring legacy displayed in the contemporary representations of black waiters who smile whilst offering white tourists food and drinks (Chapters 5 and 6).

Wanted immediately a negro boy. He must be of a deep black complex, and a lively, human disposition, with good features, and not above 15 years nor under 12 years of age... (Shyllon, 1974: 12)

Note the fetishistic reference in the demand for a black boy. In this advertisement for such services, the black subject is both racialised and gendered. Yet, in this identification, the black subject is not seen as negative but demonstrates “that crucial bind of pleasure and power” (Bhabha, 1994: 76).

More evidence of the African presence in Britain can be found in eighteenth-century European portrait paintings. Along with Joseph Wright’s *Two Girls and a Negro Servant* (c.1769-70), John Wootton’s *The Racehorse Lamprey* and Bartholomew Dandridge’s *Young Girl with Dog and Negro*, Pierre Mignard’s⁵ painting of the Duchess of Portsmouth in Figure 6 demonstrates the relationship between blackness and whiteness in which the black subject represents service and subservience. In the portraits, blackness is “represented as childish and so mentally immature in positions explicitly or implicitly analogous to the master’s or mistress’s horse or dog” (Goldberg, 1993: 31). Thus, the association with

⁴ Note how the black servant is aligned with the working-class women carrying the trays of food across the dining hall.

⁵ The Duchess, Louise de Kéroualle was the mistress of King Charles II. The black slave child holding the precious objects emphasises her wealth and status (The National Portrait Gallery npg.org.uk/live/search/person. Last accessed 6th August 2005).

the slave body and the animal body is demonstrated in the controlled relationship between mistress and slave (Woods, 2002: 404).



Figure 6 Pierre Mignard, Louise de Kéroualle, The Duchess of Portsmouth, 1682 courtesy of © The National Portrait Gallery, London.

It was customary for wealthy subjects to be painted with young black pageboys who were represented as endearing and unthreatening; much like the dogs and lambs frequently represented, as in Benedetto Gennari's *Hortense Mancini, The Duchess of Mazarin* (c. 1680) (Goldberg, 1993; Woods, 2002; Dabydeen, 1987). Figure 6 is an example of this tradition as it shows how the dark skin of an unknown black boy was used to enhance

the whiteness of the Duchess and the warmth and richness of the portrait (Shyllon, 1974: 13).

The composition of such paintings usually featured black boys gazing up adoringly at their master/mistress and offering them gifts of fruit or flowers. In Figure 6 the boy is finely dressed in silk, lace and pearls, somewhat mimicking the style and dress of the Duchess. This is an intensely powerful image in which the child's identity is underpinned by the racial hierarchy, denoted by the boy's offer of pearls to his mistress, and an apparent desire to please is suggested by his smile, yet the Duchess is turned away from him- her gaze directly addresses the viewer. The importance of the enslaved subject's smile can be linked to the contemporary representations of the black subjects in the tourism texts who dutifully smile to put the tourist at ease.

The child's face is presented in profile. This was a painterly technique to demise the importance of character in the visual narrative (Mohammed, 2004: 12). Similarly, this technique demonstrates the superiority of the master or mistress and reminds the viewer of their prestige, wealth and power gained by their interests in the colonies. The Duchess is poised and calm in her rich gold and lilac gown. Her possession of the child can be read by her draped arm across the boy's shoulders. The direction of the light in this painting heightens her unblemished smooth skin, and serves to demonstrate the position of power and influence that she had in both the French and English royal courts in the late 1600s and early 1700s. The light is cast from the right of the image which illuminates her face, as she is seated higher than her companion. This is in contrast to the positioning of the servant boy who is

positioned in the darker side of the image, and positioned lower than the Duchess.

The visual representations of black slaves in the homes of the aristocracy demonstrate the desire to control, be close to and touch blackness (Woods, 2002). This represents the crucial bind of pleasure and power. As the portrait of the Duchess of Portsmouth suggests, this intimacy was dependent on an unequal relationship in which black boys were kept as pets in their boudoir or bedroom (Dabydeen, 1987: 39).

From the point of view of the coloniser, there is, albeit a limited recognition of the colonised subject. However, the colonial state is normalised by disavowing the colonised subject and replacing them with an alternative version as we can see in Figures 6 and 7.

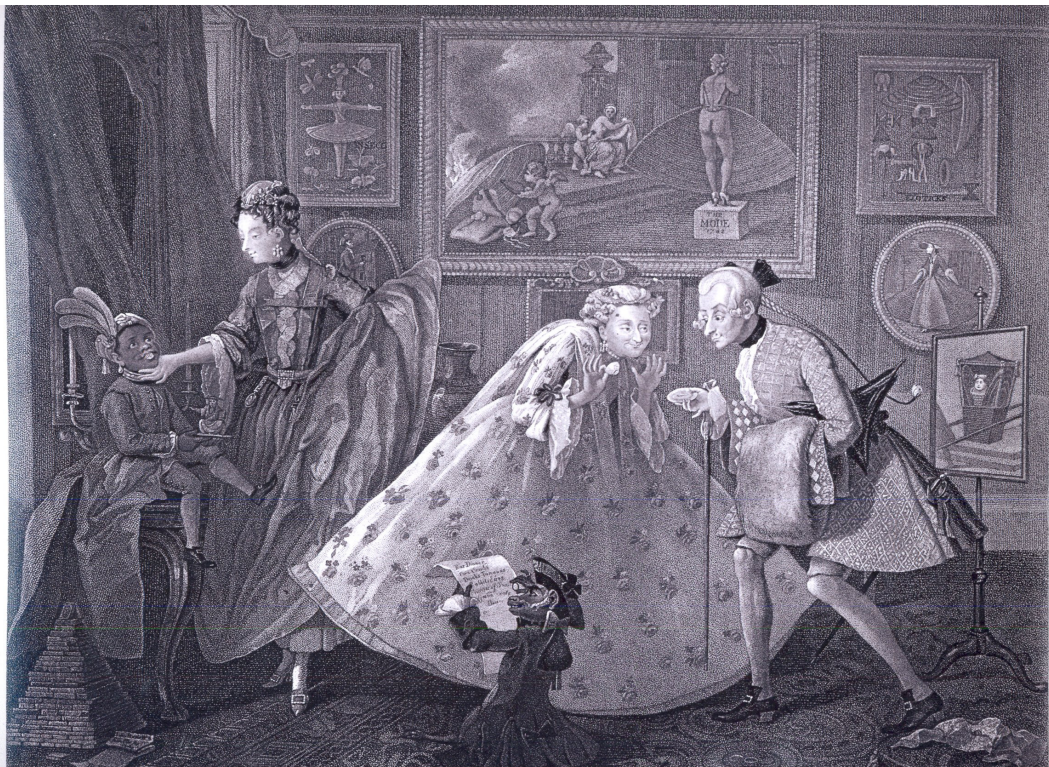


Figure 7 William Hogarth 1746 *Taste in High Life*⁶ © courtesy of The Museum of London.

⁶ <http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/piclib/pages/bigpicture.asp?id=916> Last accessed 1 June 2006

The black boy as “plaything” and chattel is demonstrated further in Hogarth’s *Taste in High Life* in Figure 7 (Shyllon, 1974: 12). As in the case of the Duchess of Kingston’s black boy “Sambo”, whom she dressed in elegant style, and pampered. The lady to the left of the image is shown making an affectionate gesture to the black boy seated on a pedestal, adorned with earrings and a plumed headdress. This is perhaps her encounter with an imagined exotic (Anim-Addo, 2007: 37). The image provides evidence of how prominent African children were in the households of wealthy subjects during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Woods, 2002). Such representations should be read in the light of the potential for black children having few choices open to them when they were no longer suitable. As children they were treated as ‘pets’ although, their status as commodities is demonstrated by their re-sale, usually to the Caribbean (Anim-Addo, 2007: 63). As the Duchess of Kingston’s Sambo grew older, his special treatment decreased and he was eventually re-sold into slavery in the West Indies (Shyllon, 1974: 13).

The high ideals of the colonial imagination clash with its low mimetic literary effects, thus to be close to blackness was a double-edged sword (Bhabha, 1994: 85). It was desirable yet menacing. As the commodification of black children located in the imperial centre demonstrate, the splitting of the stereotype was not fixed nor certain.

The link between the historical images and the contemporary images is the intimacy which continues to be represented between blackness and whiteness. In particular, the focus in the contemporary

images is on the white leisured subject being pampered and touched by black subjects.

Sexualisation of the Gaze

The significance of sex is how it is placed into discourse, the channels of power that it takes, and how it provides access to understanding forms of desire (Foucault, 1998: 11). In the nineteenth century, sexuality was discussed in *relation* to diverse aspects of social life. Sexual curiosity about black people, which incorporated racist discourse as scientific (Hall, 1996f), was one aspect of debates regarding sexuality during this period, yet the sexual politics of slavery, as a circuit of profit which included pornography, was not discussed in plain and open terms⁷ (Hobson, 2005: 49; Woods, 2002: 92). This is despite “sexual availability [being] an important feature of the black woman’s ascribed identity” (Anim-Addo, 2007: 46).

On first contact with Africa, Europeans made the connection between the hot climate and the “hot constitution” of African women, leading to the belief that they were sensuous, animalistic and sexually promiscuous (Bush, 1990: 110). Anim-Addo (2007: 48/60) charts the representation of black women as equally grotesque and sexualised figures, as early as in the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century in the poem *Of Ane Blak-Moir* by the Scottish poet William Dunbar (ca.1460-ca. 1520). The significance of this poem is its rarity, since there are few

⁷ Woods (2002) argues that there is a paradox in the exclusion of the black body from debates on “the emergence of the pornographic industry in the eighteenth century”, whilst the objectification and commodification of the black body “formed the basis for the production of an elaborate, and archivally very real, pornography of slavery” (Woods, 2002: 92).

surviving textual representations of women with African heritage from the period of European economic expansion and contact with Africa (Anim-Addo, 2007: 44). The racial schema is employed in which the identity of the black woman is flattened and reduced to her lips and hips (ibid, 2007: 44). Thus, Willis and Williams argue that the body of the black female in the nineteenth century symbolised three themes, colonialism, scientific evolution and sexuality (Willis and Williams cited in Mohammed, 2004: 17).

In the commodified display of Saartjie or Sarah Baartman, as “The Hottentot Venus” the emphasis was on her as a symbol of “primitivism” – in her buttocks and used to demonstrate how Europeans were more evolved. Baartman drew large crowds, and she was shown in exhibitions and travelling shows in London and Paris from 1810-1815, and reinforces the argument that at the imperial centre there was an explicit appetite for gazing at black women. Baartman⁸ was believed to be one of the Khoikhoi or Khoi-San people and was brought to London from South Africa. Taken out of her cultural context (Said, 2001), she was displayed in a cage as a new visual phenomenon in the Egyptian Hall (Mirzoeff, 1999: 175). As Gould (1982) explains, it was the period before television and films that the exhibition of “unusual humans became a profitable business” (Gould, 1982: 20). There was a prevailing “scientific” curiosity of the supposed missing link between humans and apes. Scientists considered that the Hottentot was *the* missing link between humans and animals (Pieterse

⁸ Saartje Baartman was a servant to Dutch farmers near Capetown and came to England with her “employer’s” brother Hendrick Caezar in 1810. It is believed that Baartman agreed to the enterprise and was promised that she would become a wealthy woman (Gould, 1982: 20).

cited in Hobson, 2005: 29). Baartman is the subject of a Eurocentric construction, that is at once exotic and fabricated (Anim-Addo, 2007: 49).

Clearly, Baartman and the middle-class woman have been juxtaposed to convince the viewer of Baartman's grotesqueness. Her body is there to serve – to enhance and maintain the normality of white middle-class womanhood (hooks, 1996: 201). Reduced to her sexual organs, she is represented as essentially different to the white woman observing her and totalised as undifferentiated and denied any authentic heterogeneity (Ferguson, 1992: 4). Thus, as noted in the previous chapter there is a silencing about the West's fascination with the black body (Hall, 1996b: 467; Woods, 2002: 91), yet as the representation of Baartman demonstrates, the black woman can be traced through history. Where she is permitted to appear there are glimpses of her as she is produced and created for the sustenance of the patriarchal, colonial and now post-colonial discourse (Mirza, 1997: 5). In the post-colonial global context, the black woman appears "in service", juxtaposed with the enduring ideal of white womanhood. In the tourist images, the corporeal schema is in play, the inscription of race on the skin (Hall, 1996f: 16). In the following chapters, I demonstrate how the images are discursive and linked to the eroticisation of the pleasure of looking (ibid: 16). The act of gazing takes place within the context of leisure e.g. the "Hottentot Venus" as an attraction in travel exhibitions.

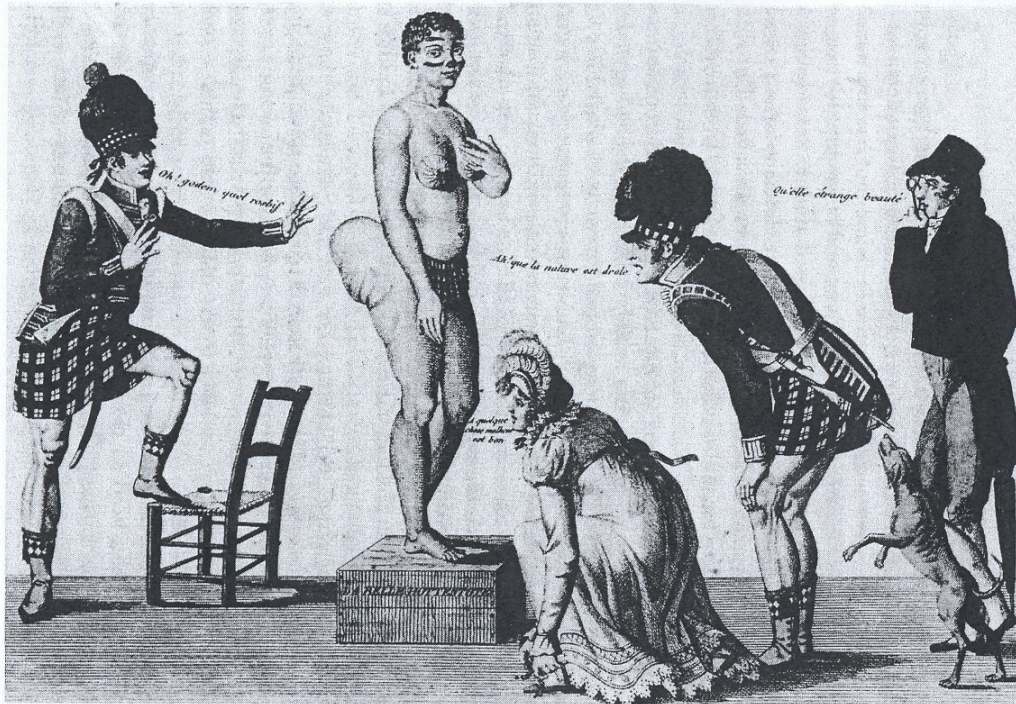


Figure 8 “The Hottentot Venus” a French caricature reproduced in *Images of Savages* (Jahoda, 1999: 80).

Mirzoeff (1999) comments that the mythologies generated by the colonial discourse and the nineteenth-century eugenics movement were the sites which propagated the “sexually lascivious” nature of African women. They were believed to mate with primates and this allegedly explained the “missing link” and associated black women with sexually transgressive behaviour such as bestiality (Anim-Addo, 2007: 49). The obsession with scrutinising black women’s sexuality is effectively illustrated by the public spectacle, the so-called “Hottentot Venus”. With no means to challenge widespread assumptions about themselves in publication or otherwise, the stereotypes of black women’s sexuality were based on this historical tradition of objectification and fetishisation to genetically secure the black body (Hall, 1996f: 20; Hobson, 2005). Constructed through a white male gaze, black women were viewed as being closer to nature, defined as exotic, lascivious and animalistic (Anim-Addo, 2007: 48; Bush, 1990).

The discussion of the subaltern figure the “Hottentot Venus”, exemplifies the dominant knowledge. Baartman, taken out of her African context and placed within a European one is unequal to Enlightenment ideals and demonstrates in her unclothed display, encourages a pornographic gaze to reinforce the widespread stereotype of the black woman as centrally sexualised without knowledge or intelligence.

Woods (2002) argues that pornography is difficult to define, yet he suggests that it is “a physical attitude of conqueror and victim, the use of race or class difference to imply the same thing, and perhaps a very unequal nudity, with one person exposed and vulnerable while the other is clothed” (Woods, 2002: 93). As in the depiction of Baartman the white woman’s difference from Baartman is suggested in her fully clothed body and inaccessible sexuality and propriety.

The viewer is encouraged to read Baartman’s body as a biological fact (Hall, 1996f: 20) especially as Baartman was believed to have different genitals – described as an “apron” (Hobson, 2005: 39). Early nineteenth-century visitors were fascinated by her allegedly large buttocks, which were labelled as a “medical condition”, *steatopygia* (exaggeratedly drawn in Figure 8). It was the portrayal of Baartman as a sexual object that is particularly significant and is suggested in Figure 8, by the soldier who is gesturing to place his hand on her behind. The accumulation of “large” amounts of fat in Khoi-San women’s buttocks was the fascination, as it was believed that here was the evidence for Africans as bestial and lascivious creatures. She is gazed upon from every angle, the soldier to the right is directing his gaze at her genitalia and is joined

by another male who comments, “What a strange beauty!”, therefore referring to her physical and assumed sexual difference.

After her death in 1815, the objectification of Baartman’s body continued as she was dissected by George Cuvier, the French anatomist (bearing some resemblance to the geographical dissection of Africa by Europeans) and judged for having what was believed to be an unusually large clitoris as the site of her sexual lasciviousness (Mirzoeff, 1999: 176). This process of Othering illustrates how black women were routinely objectified and commodified by Europeans as Baartman was the subject of satirical sketches in both England and France. In Gustav Jahoda’s (1999) discussion of the “Hottentot Venus” Baartman is not referred to by name, but is described as a wretched woman. Such dehumanising terms of reference for Baartman are reinforced by the lack of analysis regarding Cuvier’s conviction that “[Africans] had a close kinship with apes” (Jahoda, 1999: 79) to support the notion that Africans were inferior to Europeans and primitive. This representation of Baartman has been instrumental in constructing her subaltern status. As with Dunbar’s *Ane Blak-Moir*, her voice is silenced and her representation as a spectacle “speaks” for her.

When the social context of her nude display is fully considered, it strongly suggests that nineteenth-century Europe was obsessed with sexuality, yet did not want to be identified or associated with it. The contradiction of desire and loathing, which Frantz Fanon has conceptualised, remade Baartman as a “spectacle” and an example of an African “savage” by the scientific community was used to convey her repulsiveness.

Baartman refused to allow the team of zoologists, anatomists, and naturalist, which included George Cuvier, to view her genitalia whilst she was subjected to a three-day examination in March 1815, at the Jardin du Roi (Hobson, 2005: 45). However, in his posthumous scrutiny of Baartman's body and perhaps the final demeaning act, Cuvier dissected her genitalia and preserved them in a jar of formaldehyde fluid. His dissection of her body was accompanied by a report in which he compared her to a monkey (ibid: 4; Fryer, 1984: 108) ensuring the links Europeans had made between intellectual ability and racial difference was secure. Her remains were returned to South Africa for burial in 2002 (Hobson, 2005: 56).

Disrupting normality as excess

Although the black subject is framed in the text by the dichotomous and Manichean structure of racism as a binary system of representation and power, the black subject is split (Hall, 1996f: 17).

The socio-legal mercantile system had an obsessive interest in the black woman's body "as a key source of their labour power" (Mair, 2000: 395; Anim-Addo, 2007: 128) and this historical context underpins the contradictions which encase the black female subject as slave, demonstrated in the splitting of the stereotype which Fanon refers to. It is the complexity and the possibility for the female slave to occupy contradictory positions, for example, the persistent stereotype of the enslaved African as lazy and at the same time exploited for her hard physical labour. As we know, the practice of lazy habits is not easily

achieved in slavery (Anim-Addo, 2007: 89; Shepherd et al, 1995: xiii). This notion of the malingering and lazy slave disguises the excesses of the slave society and the hardened attitudes towards slave women in the latter years of slavery (Mair, 2000: 395). The complete power over purchased and enslaved bodies is identified in the ‘epistemic violence’ of colonialism (Spivak, 1988), thus the brutal excesses of hard physical labour along with the extreme desire to punish with the use of the whip (Anim-Addo, 2007: 90). As discussed in the previous chapter, “the branding, training, torturing and varieties of coercion highlighted in Foucault’s writings are institutionalised within Caribbean society” (Anim-Addo, 2007: 67). The legal colonial apparatus which supported the slave system, in contrast, gave the masters and mistresses an overindulged and legendary lifestyle (Anim-Addo, 2007:89; Taylor, 1993: 94-95). This is significant as it is simultaneously the peak of the Enlightenment period (rationality and restraint), and the heyday of British colonial slavery (Anim-Addo, 2007: 55). The extremes of this society leave the black female completely disrespected and exposed to the worst excesses of the slave society (Anim-Addo, 2007: 117). As we shall see in the following chapters, contemporary tourism images still convey visual reference to this type of luxurious lifestyle, which is at least accessible to the tourist for the duration of the holiday.



Figure 9 “The Abolition of the Slave Trade”. Subtitled “On the Inhumanity of Dealers inhuman flesh exemplified by Captain Kimbers treatment of a Young Negro Girl of 15 for her Virgin Modesty” (1792), courtesy of The Wilberforce Museum.

The image in Figure 9 is entitled “The Abolition of the Slave Trade”, yet represents the acute sexualisation of the enslaved black female body alongside the sexuality of the ship’s captain. Drawing on the previous discussion of enlightened white males as rational and restrained, the image works to disrupt this idea as the presence of the cat-o’-nine-tails whip in the image could be read that the captain is about to administer physical cruelty on the slave woman’s body. This was a practice which anti-slavery activists were particularly against (Anim-Addo, 2007: 113), and yet the whip marks were a fetishised aspect of the pornographic slave fantasy in the slave context (Woods, 2002: 92/97).

However, as an example of abolitionist material, the identity of the ship’s captain as powerful remains intact and whilst arguing for support for slavery to be abolished, the image does not deconstruct the stereotype

of the black female as victim, powerless. Although the abolitionists wanted to arouse disgust in response to the planter's lasciviousness, the meanings of this image operate in a context where the assumed white viewer is given licence to gaze at the black female body. Thus, a multi-layered reading of the image is possible as both pornography and protest.

The white captain maintains physical control over the enslaved woman and this representation does little to destabilise the binaries in which the captain as a powerful white man is the cultural norm and designated as the enslaved woman's opposite. The image represents how white masculinity is dependent on the comparisons between itself and its others (Pajaczkowska, 1992), whilst the image represents the black woman as exclusively body and so profoundly disrespectful that she may be thought of as (dis)embodied (Anim-Addo, 2007: 91).

The anti-slavery narratives illustrate the fictional version of the middle-class white male as an independent colonial agent. Despite the obvious brutality of the slave system, the captain may be coded as cruel, but not mad, since the sadistic politics of the colonial agents permitted them to legally flog slave women they had purchased (Williams, 1944: 198) as this was within the boundaries of reason and the law (Anim-Addo, 2007: 106). The bizarre madness of the slave system which normalised brutality is exemplified in the example of slave women flogged for their strength (Anim-Addo 2007: 110). Thus, fear of strong women may have been due to the large numbers of women who made up the labour population in the plantation fields and would most likely have been

involved in the slave rebellions which occurred regularly⁹ (Bush, 1990:36; Anim-Addo, 2007: 111; Beckles, 2003: 201). Thus, the strategic positioning of white working-class women away from slave status was enacted through Caribbean planters' refusal to employ white working-class women as field hands. "By the end of the eighteenth century, most fieldhands in the English colonies were black women" (Shepherd and Beckles, 2000: 661; Beckles, 2003: 204).

For the master to be considered "mad" would be to challenge the dominant discourse's ideology of middle-class masculinity as independent (C. Hall, 1989 cited in Young, 1996; Anim-Addo, 2007), when in reality the master was dependent on the very slaves he oppressed (Woods, 2002: 305). To deny this dependent relationship, dependence was projected onto the enslaved and represented in literature and images as fantasies, indolent and greedy enjoying bountiful nature (Pajaczowska, 1992: 203). Equally, the notions of uncontrolled sexuality and fecundity were repeated associations made with the slaves, yet in practice these aspects of the white self were unpalatable and "split off", attributed to a misrepresented black subject.

Thus, the demand to totally dominate the slave body was enacted through physical as well as sexual exploitation and amounts to the black female body as a site of conflict (Anim-Addo, 2007: 66). The sexual connotations alluded to in the image are raised by the phallic shape of the whip and points toward the sexual mastery which white planters were permitted to exert on the black female body irrespective of her pregnant

⁹ Although there are few female slave accounts of slave rebellion, Nanny of the Maroons is now infamous for the part she played in challenging the mercantile slave system (Patterson, 1969 cited in Sherlock and Bennett, 1998: 137).

condition (Anim-Addo, 2007). Indeed, as, Mair (2000) argues, “the most highly publicized cases of planter brutality are recorded” just prior to abolition in the 1830s and “in most cases the victims were female slaves” (Mair, 2000: 395). The Jamaican Assembly’s refusal to regulate or abolish the flogging of women demonstrates this antagonism towards enslaved women, such that aged and pregnant women were not exempt from corporal punishment (Mair, 2000: 395).

The female in the image is clearly subject to the excesses of the mercantile slave system. The text informs us that the female is a girl of fifteen years old and having attested the unwanted sexual attention of the captain, she is punished. Olaudah Equiano (1789) a former African slave, wrote in his autobiographical account of the conduct of the sailors on board a merchant ship and reinforces the common practice for white men to sexually assault the female slaves:

I have known our mates to commit these acts most shamefully, to the disgrace, not of Christians only, but of me. I have even known them gratify their brutal passion with females not ten years old (Equiano cited in Anim-Addo, 2007: 74).

The abolitionist movement was a complex one, in which it was “fashionable” for abolitionists to pledge one’s allegiance to the eradication of the slave trade and yet, it was a phenomenon which permitted the use of the black female body as stimulus for sexual fantasies, and the plantation provided a backdrop for slavery-themed pornography (Woods, 2002: 90). The silencing of the black subject through pornographic representations contradicts the prevalent notion that the

black body was repulsive. In Woods' (2002) detailed analysis of the visual representations of the romanticised, yet brutalised slave body, he identifies the ambiguous relationship that the abolitionist movement had with the slave body. Whilst denouncing the physical abuses of the mercantile system, it assisted in "producing mainstream publications depicting the black body in pornographic ways" (Woods, 2002: 93). As Gilroy (1993) argues, "authentic blackness is intertwined with sexuality and has been in the history of Western culture for several hundred years" (Gilroy, 1993: 93).

On several fronts, the black body was the basis for Europeans to express excessive behaviours, of punishment, sado-masochistic fantasies, entrepreneurship and monopoly capitalism. Whilst expressing his "extreme revulsion at slave torture" by a sophisticated sentimental agenda in his *Narrative*, Woods (2002: 139) demonstrates how John Stedman is able to gain handsomely from the selling of the erotised and romanticised representations of slave punishment. The text, and images produced by the engravers William Blake and Francesco Bartolozzi were designed to be enjoyed by Stedman and his audience as "a space for fantasy" and *excess* (Woods, 2002: 140).

The slave context produced suitable conditions for sexual excess to be enjoyed by the colonial planters and their agents. For example, lower middle-class adventurers were subject to the rule that they remain single on arrival in Jamaica and men who were attorneys, overseers, and skilled artisans were seldom hired if they were accompanied by a wife and children (Heuman, 2003: 655; MacCormack and Draper, 1987: 144). The sexual and social excesses that overran the region was exemplified by the

large number of white settlers who died before they had made their fortune (Heuman, 2003: 654).

Significantly, the excessive and transgressive behaviour of the colonial agents is satirised in narratives such as that of the Englishman *Johnny Newcome*, described as “undone by the West Indies”. Once a conscientious planter, he abandons his duties, takes to drink and has sex with numerous slaves (Gunst, 1995: 28). Pares (1950: 29) notes the ineffective plantation managers for their elaborate and excessive drinking.

However, as Edward Long attests, it was the black female assigned as prostitute who threatened the morality and propriety of the white middle-class gentleman. A contemporary, Mrs Emma Carmichael also attributed the moral ruin of white men on the alleged “seductive capabilities of the black woman” (Carmichael quoted in Bush, 1990: 18). As the agents of the Enlightenment, white men professed to uphold the ideals of civility and morality, yet undermined these principles by taking slave women as concubines in proximity to their nuclear family home (Jordan, 2003: 648; Anim-Addo, 2007: 116). Therefore, the family and white civilisation represented by the colonial Great House “was regularly betrayed in the excesses of sexual domination between slave master and enslaved African woman” (Anim-Addo, 2007: 115).

Since the concept of chastity was not associated with slave women (Anim-Addo, 2007: 74), the sexual desiring of black women demonstrates that there was an ambivalence in the construction of the stereotypes which destabilised the binaries (Bhabha, 1990). Barbara Bush (1990)

argues that it was in the best interests of the British Victorian public to believe that white men were physically repelled by black women. The reality was that the slave system was female centred and principally “concerned with maternity, fertility, the management of white households and the sociosexual expression of patriarchal power...” (Beckles, 2003: 207).



Figure 10 Anon *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies* (1808) courtesy of the Institute of Jamaica.

One such representation of the expression of patriarchal power is the satirical cartoon, *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies*. It supports the stereotype of black women as corrupters of white men. *Mimbo Wampo*, is described as a charming “Sable Venus”. Yet, as the image demonstrates, Mimbo is not an attractive Venus; rather she is represented through the white gaze as a grotesque caricature; a fat,

grinning, pipe smoking “mamma” figure with drooping breasts (Bush, 2000: 769). There is an ambiguity in the image, as the queen of Mr Newcome’s harem, is the viewer to find Mimbo appealing or repulsive? What the image achieves is to draw attention to white culture’s preoccupation with black sexuality as excessive and beastly (Fanon, 1986: 170). The reality in the West Indies was that “black women were never too ugly to be concubines only wives” (Macauley, cited in Bush, 1990: 17).

In contrast *Johnny* is persuasively constructed as an innocent “gentleman” who “delicately declares his love” to Mimbo, yet his desire to possess Mimbo and then the apparent abandonment of his “ladies and pickaneenees” questions the integrity of his “love”. One reading of the narrative is to suggest that it is a source of amusement for its intended audience since it does not threaten the construction of the appropriately attired white male as a respectable gentleman. The narrative negates the practice of sexually motivated violence discussed earlier in this chapter.

The satire is ambiguous since the narrative appears to be suggesting that such mixed sexual relations were a fantasy and play on the Victorian fears of miscegenation with representations of what appear to be nine of Mimbo Wampo and Newcome’s mixed-raced children. Yet, as we know, the sexual relations between white men and black women produced mixed raced subjects who disrupted the distinct racial binary of black and white (Beckles, 1999: 178).

The Caribbean context was framed as the antithesis of whiteness as “representing orderliness, rationality, and self-control”, thus it could lead whiteness into “chaos, irrationality, violence and the breakdown of self-regulation” (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 5). This is signified by

Newcome “consulting” the obeah man”, *Mumbo Jumbo*, particularly when the practice of obeah was prohibited as non-Christian and “primitive” (Bush, 1990).

The date of the image is significant, as it is a year after the slave trade was abolished in Britain. A reading of this image could be that “in order for whiteness to maintain itself in the privileged seat of rationality and superiority, [in the form of the independent white male] it would have to construct pervasive portraits of non-Whites (Africans in particular) as irrational, disorderly and prone to uncivilised behaviour” (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 6). Perhaps the image is arguing for slavery to be sustained as a means of controlling the alleged excessive sexual wiles of the black female?

We can observe the existence of mixed raced children as a threat to white civility and disrupts the social order enough for the Assembly to pass a bill in 1761 which limited “the amount of property a planter could leave his mulatto children” (Jordan, 2003b: 649).

Despite the efforts made by planters to subvert slaves from undermining their power through brutal acts of punishment, the female slaves negotiated the boundaries of freedom through the manipulation of fear. That is to say, the female slaves used the resources at their disposal to defy the dehumanisation of the slave system by creating their own satire in the field songs they sang to mock to planters and their agents (Shepherd and Beckles, 2000: 991).

The relevance of the images of the black female body is that they serve to reinforce the notion that they were not ladies, and certainly could not be legitimate members of the exclusive category woman. In the

contemporary images the black woman continues to be denied access to this identity as the serving subject.

Desiring the Other

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century visual representations of mixed-race women, exemplify Fanon's concept of racial liminality, and demonstrate how miscegenation was a double-edged sword within the context of the slave system (Beckles, 2003: 213). Interracial sex transcended the crudely constructed ideological boundaries (ibid: 203). The Italian painter Agostino Brunais' work, *The Washer Women*, in Figure 11 undermines the normalised and proscribed divide between whiteness and blackness which underpins the dominant discourses. The washing scene is believed to be set in Dominica, and the "not quite white" mulatto woman is displayed in neo-classical style as a sexual subject by her almost naked body. The mixed raced female represented in this image is significant as she is not white, nor is she black, yet she is positioned as *culturally* black by wearing a headscarf which was a practice that Caribbean women retained from their African heritage.



Figure 11 Agostino Brunais (1773-96) *The West India Washer Women* oil on canvas courtesy of the Institute of Jamaica.

Brunais was concerned with representing the power dynamic in the Caribbean scenes he painted. Thus, the configurations of race, gender and sexuality are noted in the difference in the skin colour of the women presented. The painting attests to the sexual politics in the plantation community in which mixed-race women, along with white and black women engaged in intense sexual contest for the loyalty and favours of elite males who would offer marriage and title to white women and sex and freedom to black women (Beckles, 1999: 179). The viewer is also reminded that due to her skin colour, Brunais documents the interracial unions taking place (Hobson, 2005: 51) despite the contemporary ignorance of black women as mistresses, wives and mothers (Bush, 1990:

18). Brunias' visual representation of the sexual desirability of mixed-race women by white men is supported by textual accounts in Thomas Thistlewood's diaries, John Stedman's description of his mulatto slave Joanna and Matthew Lewis's admiration for mulatto women despite the official colonial version (Bush, 1990: 15). The painting also provides a representation of the concern in the "European imagination with the subject of hybridization, prefiguring debates on racial purity and confronting the unspoken subject of inter-racial desire" (Mohammed, 2004: 12). The display of the mulatto body reminds the viewer of "the new sexual freedoms which the European scripts of primitivism have deemed fitting for this region" (Mohammed, 2004: 12). Thus, the Caribbean was exploited as a haven for transgressive sexual behaviour and established associations with exoticised women, domestic labour and water which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

The painting is in keeping with Brunais' preferred style of representing the black population in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century in 'quaint' and harmonious scenes (Mohammed, 2004: 15). *The West India Washer Women* does not refer to the brutality of slavery, significantly, the slave band around her neck becomes an ornament rather than a controlling device (ibid: 12). However, the reality for mixed-race women in the sugar colonies was that they "remained enslaved and worked in the field-gangs and were not differentiated from African women in terms of life experience" (Beckles, 1999: 178).

Therefore, the romanticising features of this work are noted in the classical poses of the female subject in the water has some resonance with Sandro Botticelli's *The Birth of Venus* (1485-6). The date of this Italian

work marks the Italian High Renaissance and the European Encounter with the Caribbean (Mohammed, 2004). Here is a work of intertextuality or pastiche of traditions which brings together the advancements of the old world and the potential of the new one (ibid). The labour of the women in the river is therefore depoliticised as we are encouraged to make associations with the Caribbean as unproblematically romantic as a space of innocence, simplicity, fertility and abundance (Mohammed, 2004: 15).

If we refer back to Gauguin's painting *Faa Iheihe* discussed in Chapter 2, and look forward to the contemporary tourism representations which feature white women as the sexually desired subject, we can see that the images continue to make reference to the Caribbean/tropical landscape as a sexualised space where the tourist can loose their inhibitions. The white female body replaces the black female body, yet this is a continuity of her position as "lady", a celebration of her status as a member of the elite group.

Conclusion

My aim here has been, to critically analyse the historical visual texts which have constituted contemporary representations of blackness *and* whiteness in popularly consumed texts. I could indeed have chosen to study another medium to illustrate my observations that we continue to live in a racialised post-colonial context. What is represented to us is bizarrely to remind Western subjects of their integral part in constructing the very binaries that we are now being encouraged to deconstruct.

Perhaps more significantly how things are [constructed] represented and the “machineries” and regimes of representation in a culture do play a constitutive and not simply a reflexive role (Hall, 1996: 443). Visual representations of the colonial context assist us in untangling the complexities of the intricate processes of the colonial regimes by which contemporary perceptions are constructed (Mohammed, 2004: 2). To ignore the representations of blackness is to conduct an incomplete analysis of how those identities are constructed. The white woman who gazes at Baartman (Figure 8) occupies a curious position. Notably her desire to look, examine, and scrutinise “difference”. In the chapters that follow, I aim to demonstrate how the binaries have survived despite the endless theoretical deconstruction (Hall, 1996f: 24) and reflect the social and economic conditions which inform contemporary, though post-colonial identities.

When Foucault comments that power can only be exercised over free subjects, he may have been referring to a system, which he believed was total domination in his desire to shift away from the simplistic binaries of powerful/powerless (Smart, 1985: 133). However, Foucault may have lapsed into a standpoint from which slavery was originally written about. There is abundant evidence that Africans continuously challenged the oppression of the slave system.

Whilst the slaves were able to construct family lives and survive the torturous system through mediating what power they had, the psychological damage of slavery is evident in the noting of slave deaths in the Morant Gale papers in which a “Negro wench” is listed as dying from eating dirt (Morant Gale papers 1778 MS 44/3c). Suicide, and in this case

a slow and painful death, was a principal method of resistance. The underpinning values of the slave system was therefore a battle for outright domination and submission. Foucault's implied view of slavery is not applicable to the evident complexity of slave societies in the Caribbean. His views on resistance are more relevant as they support the position argued here. Foucault considered that "resistance is present everywhere power is exercised and a network of power relations is paralleled by a multiplicity of forms of resistance" (Foucault quoted in Smart, 1985: 133).

I have aimed to demonstrate the complexity in the relations between white men and white women, white women and black women, and the contentious and often brutal relationship between white men and black women. The images I have selected for analysis convey the complexity and contradictions that were present in the colonial discourses. Yet, whilst the images of black and mixed-race women in particular represented them as a focus for sexual desire, they were displayed to reinforce the established masculinist and colonial framework. Evidently, they were not represented from their own perspective.

I have explored the binary relations between black women and white women, and aimed to demonstrate that the gender divisions inform the analysis of the historical images and are linked to the contemporary tourism representations. White women do not have the ideological baggage of being represented as de-feminised labour and I have aimed to demonstrate in the analysis of the historical images that the white woman was the lady, she was the legitimate wife of the planter. Represented and

positioned in direct contrast to the black enslaved woman, this relationship was characterised by the divisions in wealth, status and skin colour which underpinned these gender divisions. This is relevant to the contemporary representations as similar divisions remain in the display of the white female body as a recipient of luxury and attended to by black female chambermaids. This links the historical imagery and the contemporary representations which bring whiteness and blackness together in a apparent harmonistic display of domestic service.

In the following chapter, I contextualise the history in which tourism in Jamaica developed, in particular by expanding on the discussion of the racialised power relations and how they have informed visual representations of Jamaica's tourist industry.

Chapter 4 A Pictorial Narrative History of Tourist Advertising Imagery of Jamaica

The aim of this chapter is to explore how Jamaica was represented in historical tourist visual texts and to identify the themes of continuity and change that have occurred in Jamaica's tourist industry. I am particularly concerned with how the visual texts were fashioned, drawing on the ambiguity contained within the colonial discourse, discussed in the previous chapters.

I aim to give the reader a historical context to the development of tourism in Jamaica through the visual texts. With close reading, I aim to identify the relevance of particular signifiers by referring to the economic and social issues in Jamaica during the post-emancipation period, and with some reference to the social context in Europe. It was during this period that the economic focus shifted from sugar production, to bananas and then to tourism. The chapter then moves on to analyse the visual texts that were presented in travel writing, guidebooks and other promotional tourism material from the late nineteenth-century to the early twentieth-century. How does the colonial history frame the representations of Jamaica as a paradise island and what are the signifiers used to connote notions of servitude, "racial types" and relations with the landscape in the visual texts? The analysis of the images draw parallels with the themes of race, gender and sexuality identified in Chapter 3. The images and themes that have been selected for analysis presented in the travel guides suggest nostalgia for the social regime that was slavery and positions the gendered and racialised female body as the

exotic signifier, exploiting it as the bridge between the colonial and the post-colonial era.

The Social Context in Jamaica Following Emancipation

The Apprenticeship System, 1834-1838, was officially termed a transition period to accustom the former slaves to “freedom” and the planter class to the new social order. What Mair (2000: 395) regards as “quasi-bondage”, in the rhetoric of the apprenticeship system, the ex-slave was described as “constitutionally [a] citizen and eligible for both public office and the vote, provided he possessed the respective property and income, [and] qualifications required to realise these rights” (Taylor, 1993: 100). In reality, the ex-slave population was barred from exercising their new civil liberties since they were largely uneducated and without substantial land or property. The economically, socially and politically dominant white metropolitan males, who had “enjoyed unparalleled power and privilege” during the slave period (Shepherd, 1995: 235), were preoccupied with an alternative labour force as early as 1832 with plans to introduce Chinese immigrants to the Caribbean (Burns, 1937 [1970]: 290). Since it was evident that on the arrival of full emancipation, a labour force would be required (Marshall, 2003: 122).

The abolition of the corn laws (1846 Sugar Duties Act) forced British colonial sugar to compete with non-British slave labour sugar in the home market on equal terms (Green, 1993: 34). Planters had the additional concern that they would not be able to recruit a sufficient quantity and quality of labour particularly in the light of the falling price of sugar in Europe. Due to the bankruptcy of merchants and financial

houses, planters responded with increasing hostility and this “dictated the adoption of the coercive policy” (Sherlock and Bennett, 1998: 233; Marshall, 2003: 121). Apprentice labourers continued to be the subject of physical punishments as they had been under slavery, with floggings, chain-gang work, and other punishments by the tread-mill (Sherlock and Bennett, 1998: 234). The continued use of corporal punishment as an approach to plantation management is not in itself an explanation for the desertion of the plantation fields. Marshall (2003) demonstrates that the nature of labour in the post-slavery context is complex and rather unclear since ex-slaves had invested in their provision grounds which were located on their former masters’ land and property.

However, in large groups, and with the assistance of missionaries, they were able to purchase small portions of land to farm thus rejecting the plantation system where some tenants were subject to extortionate rents (Sherlock and Bennett, 1998: 238, 273). The role of the missionaries in the development of post-slavery Jamaica is significant for their desire to instil Victorian ideals of the “male breadwinner” and nuclear family into what they perceived as the need to reconstruct the “chaotic” and “disorganised” black family (Shepherd, 1995: 2361). This coincided with black women’s desire and ability to escape the assembly line of the field as they moved into the peasant domestic food economy to reject plantation work in favour of working at home and in the family economy (Shepherd, 1995: 236; Mair, 2000: 396). There was therefore an increasing tendency to dichotomise work and family in the post-slavery period (Shepherd, 1995: 236) which was encouraged by the planters, who despite complaining of a labour shortage, were given the opportunity

through emancipation to reduce “effectives”; the infirm, the infants, it was a “labour rationalization policy” as Marshall (2003: 124) calls it. Thus, the reduction of the plantation labour force to 40% could have been due to the planters’ policy of selective recruitment (Marshall, 2003: 124).

The efforts that were made by the ex-slaves was translated into tangible results, as the missionaries assisted them with organising communities into villages, the construction of suitable housing, and access to education and churches (Sherlock and Bennett, 1998). The planters resented the assistance that the missionaries were giving to their former labour force which enabled them to become increasingly self-sufficient in basic food items. In short, the industriousness of the black population in creating 2,000 free villages demonstrated their desire to exercise their rights as free peoples, yet they did this against the backdrop of the underlying aim of the colonial authorities to keep them economically dependant (ibid). The government therefore enacted a policy of restricting the amount of Crown lands available to the former slaves to purchase. This ensured that agriculture was not a viable route towards total economic independence (Sherlock and Bennett, 1998).

The Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865 brought with it demands for real political rights from the former slaves to accompany physical freedom. The uprising was followed by a Royal Commission, which led to the removal of the Assembly, the two centuries old, closed system of internal self-government in Jamaica and in 1866 was replaced with direct rule from the British Crown. Once “the darlings of the Empire”, the Jamaican planters were pushed to the periphery and bankruptcy as Britain’s attention was turned to expanding the empire as she fought with other

European nations to annex Africa from 1880 to 1900 (Sherlock and Bennett, 1998: 268).

In the new capitalist society the colonies had little place as they were expensive and colonial independence was cheaper (Williams, 1944: 134, 143). The decline of the plantation economy reduced the number of whites living on the island, and this raised anxieties over the potential for black self-rule as the Caucasian population dwindled. The colonial authorities believed that what was needed was a fresh injection of white blood to bolster the perseverance of the remaining whites on the island (Taylor, 1993: 103). The welcoming of American capital was envisaged as one strategy to retain the racial, social and political order.

America's Increasing influence in Jamaica

The decline of sugar in Jamaica and the passing of the Emancipation Act in 1834 coincided with the increasing influence of American companies in the region through the possession of Jamaican land for banana farms. As a British colony, Jamaica's economic dependence and political control derived from the British Parliament. However, the intervention of US interests reflected the shift in the world order in which Britain's economic decline included a repositioning of its international power in relation to the United States. The colonial authorities implemented policies that would secure foreign investment in Jamaica, such as tax concessions made to foreign investors and the ability to buy local property. The pursuit of American capitalism and foreign investment is best exemplified by the fact that the earliest hotels in Jamaica were built with American

capital (Jefferson, 1977: 170). For example, Titchfield Hotel in Port Antonio was “staffed and frequented mainly by Americans” (Burman, 1999: 164).

The economic relationship between Jamaica and the U.S. was strengthened with the acquisition of Jamaican land for banana agribusinesses and other American firms. The island’s close proximity to the continent ensured that it felt the effects of America’s increasing wealth during the 1900s. An example of this was the Jamaican railway which was owned by an American syndicate company called the West India Improvement Company. This firm owned 74,443 acres of land due to the agreement it had with the colonial government; for each mile of rail that it laid down, it received one square mile of land, thus creating favourable conditions for such firms to influence the economic and political decisions made on the island (Taylor, 1993).

Slavery had been successful in enforcing a hierarchical system of expendable and renewable labour, and this was perhaps a taken for granted view held by the colonial authorities that would continue through tourism. A monolithic approach to the island’s economy of extracting the labour, but not addressing the well-being of the majority population, ensured that Jamaica continued to be dependent on one product. However, tourism was regarded as a panacea for the problems facing the white population (Taylor, 1993). This positioned Jamaica not only as economically trapped but also visually consigned by its reputation as a veritable Eden. Whilst the reality of being somebody else’s playground (Barry et al, 1984 quoted in Taylor, 1993: 10) was being constructed, the

legacy of slavery continued in the reality of racial and economic inequalities.

Tourism as an Escape from Modernity

The early days of tourism in Jamaica was conducted through the steam ship (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2005: 3). The invention of the steam engine enabled more people to travel as the cost of travelling decreased at the end of the nineteenth-century.

Thanks to steamshipping, less than five days separated Boston or Philadelphia from the land of perpetual summer. With a return fare for travellers from Boston to Port Antonio costing about £12 (\$60) per person in 1892...(Taylor, 1993: 44).

As the number of British sugar producers declined at the end of the nineteenth-century, and moved out, the American businesses moved in making the United Fruit Company which owned many acres of banana plantations throughout the Caribbean as well as in Jamaica, the largest owner of land holdings in the colony by 1938 (Stone, 1985: 27). The corporate agricultural operations restructured Jamaica's economy as a banana producing country and a haven for American tourists. The United Fruit Company used its trade crossings to transport passengers to and from the Caribbean. This was an effective use of excess space on the ships as despite the advantages that modernity was bringing to the US and the UK, there were the negative effects of the increased pace of life which European and American subjects were eager to temporarily escape from (Johnston, 1903; Strachan, 2002: 101).

In the cities on both sides of the Atlantic there are professional and business men, worn out with working at the high pressure that modern life seems to demand (Johnston, 1903: 7).

Jamaica was positioned and held in place to convey timelessness and a static culture for Western romantic fantasies. The dialogue between the client and the travel agent are significant for the way in which Jamaica and the Caribbean are placed outside of “modernity”, calling forth the idea that the island only exists within Western conceptions of the modern. The reference to “the strange music of the tropical night” demonstrates the idea of desire and menace as in Bhabha’s (1994: 91) conceptualisation of the colonial discourse, which is almost mythical (ibid, 1994: 76).

“Can’t you help me?” he appealed to the ticket clerk. “I’m fagged out and run down. My nerves want rest and a complete change. I want a short sea voyage under blue skies. I want to see the moonlight filtering through the waving palms. I want to hear the strange music of the tropic night and to see the fire flies dance. ...I have read of such a place, but I don’t suppose it exists!”

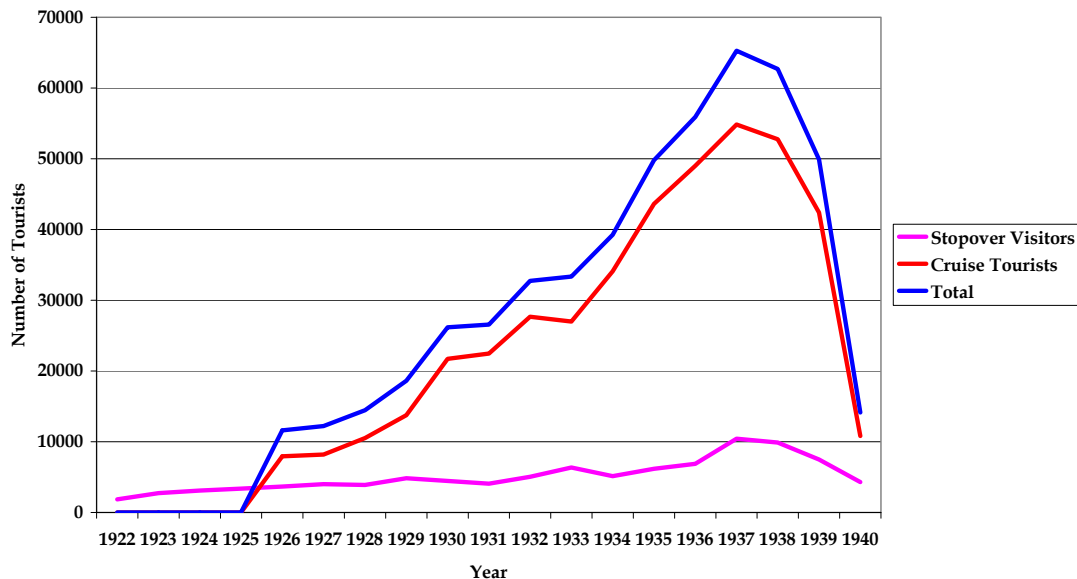
The interest of the clerk is immediately aroused

“It does” he said earnestly and I don’t think you could do better than book for Jamaica, in the West Indies. ‘The Land of Streams and Wood’. I spent a three weeks vacation there myself last year and enjoyed every minute of it!...” (Jamaica Tourist Association, 1913: 3).

Tourism Begins in Jamaica - overall patterns of tourist visits

It is believed that from 1910 to 1930 the number of hotels and boarding houses increased by one hundred per cent (Taylor, 1993). Graph 1 provides details of the tourist trade in Jamaica, from 1922 to 1940.

Graph 1: Tourist Trade in Jamaica, 1922 - 1940

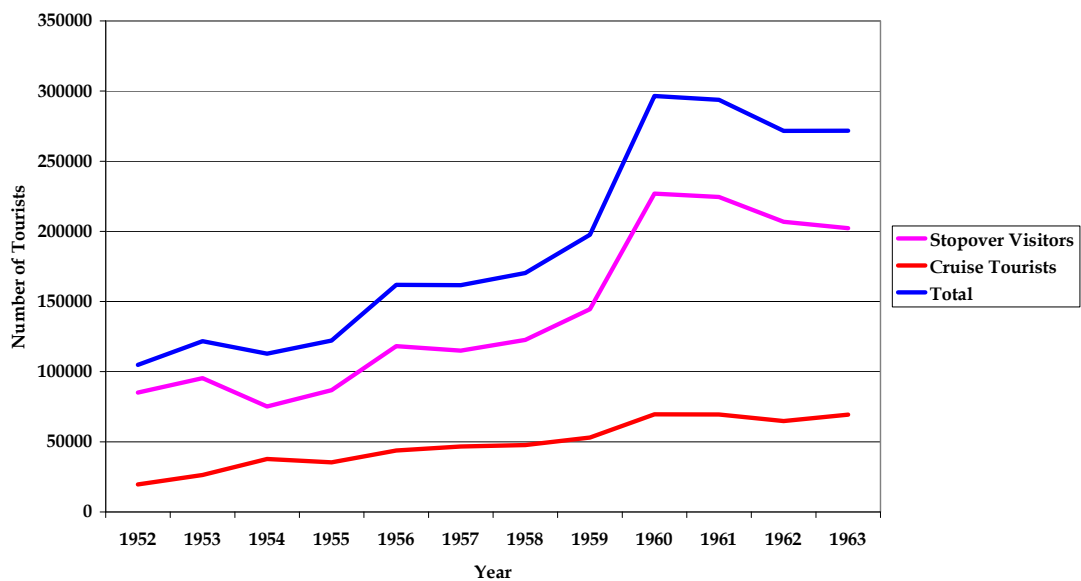


Sources: Tourist Trade Development Board *Report for the period from 1st January 1936, to 31st March, 1937*; Ministry of Trade and Industry, Ministry Paper 4 (April 1954), app.9. in (Taylor, 1993: 144). N.B. for figures on which the graphs are based, see Appendix page 385.

This supports the steep rise in the later 1920s led by cruise ship passengers. The most rapid and sustained rise in tourism was between 1933 and 1937. Despite the economic turbulent years of the 1930s, tourism in Jamaica grew with the inauguration of the Pan Am airline service in 1930. Tourism visits peaked in 1937, with 65,269 stopover and cruise tourists. However, with the advent of World War II, tourism declined sharply and did not recover until the beginning of the 1950s. Graph 2 presents the particularly steep rises at the end of the decade. Tourism in Jamaica rose with 104,786 total of visits in 1952 and by 1960 had more than double to 296,546 visitors.

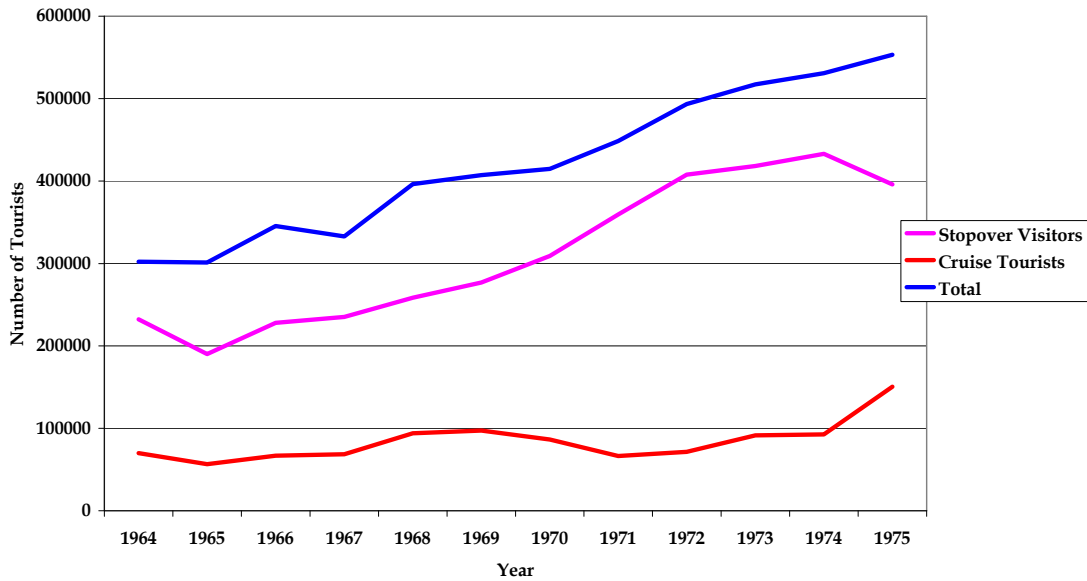
The Domestic Holiday Programme that was introduced by the Manley government (1972-1980) during the 1970s, encouraged Jamaicans to spend their holidays on the island. However, this was an unsettled period for Jamaica with political and social unrest during this decade. Despite the efforts of the Manley government to view tourism as beneficial to the island's economy, the seemingly anti-American stance of the government at the time contributed to the fluctuation in the number of visitor arrivals to Jamaica during the 1970s (Jamaica Tourist Board Library, 2005).

Graph 2: Tourist Trade in Jamaica, 1952 - 1963



Source: Tourism Development in Jamaica: A Synopsis © Jamaica Tourist Board Library June 2005.

Graph 3: Tourist Trade in Jamaica, 1964 - 1975



Source: Tourism Development in Jamaica: A Synopsis © Jamaica Tourist Board Library June 2005.

The Politics of Tourism

The strategies used to address the economic growth of the island were laissez-faire policies applied to the burgeoning tourist industry. The rich, being more likely to travel, were seen as the usual trendsetters who liked to be fashionable (Taylor, 1999: 107). Therefore, from its inception, Jamaica's tourist industry was established as a luxury trade, for relatively high-income tourists (Jefferson 1977: 82). The desire to attract foreign investors was also a strategy to increase the white population to reverse the declining trend of white people on the island. This is in contrast to the economic context of the ex-slaves who were free as peasant farmers, but poor. Poverty ensured that the majority black population remained in a subordinate position and as a dependent compliant workforce, since "the

average wage remained a shilling a day in 1914” (Taylor, 1993: 107). This is in contrast to the huge resources and funds that were made available in the form of tax breaks to hoteliers and businessmen, while the rural poor who travelled to Kingston to sell their produce once or twice each week, had no shelter or accommodation provided for them. The policies that were pursued by the colonial authorities reflected the colonialist attitude that Europeans and Americans were superior. The hotels would import American chefs, waitresses, in effect positions of authority and status would go to whites; leaving only the most menial jobs to local black people (Taylor, 1993: 109). Slavery informed the racialised power relations that continued in the post-slavery period in Jamaica.

Emancipation did not eradicate the racist stereotypes and myths that had been constructed and circulated during slavery; rather the existing racialised social structure was reinforced by tourism. Americans, accustomed to racial segregation, were accused of igniting conflicts with the black population (Taylor, 1993: 109). The racial sensibilities were renewed and rekindled. Black Jamaicans may have been granted their freedom from slavery, but were highly sensitive to their continued inferiorised status and lack of economic and political power. The history of slavery was informing this context of poverty, yet, the belief was that black Jamaicans were on a “perpetual holiday” (Taylor, 1993: 107), laid back and did not need to work, because Jamaica was a paradise.

For the black population, Jamaica was not a paradise because the memory of slavery was still vivid and real. The apprenticeship period following slavery had not brought social equality. The black population rejected the myth of emancipation and many partook in mass migration

to Panama, Cuba and Costa Rica in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to take advantage of the employment there. The notion that black Jamaicans were carefree and contented was used to ignore the social and racial inequalities that existed on the island. The racial dichotomy of black slave/ white master was exemplified through tourism: black servant/ white tourist.

Just like the plantation system, tourism is labour intensive and highly dependent on exploiting an expendable work force. Tourism appears to be framed by slavery and the replacement for the enforced labour system that had at one time controlled the lives of the black population. One could suggest that the tensions that arose between tourists and local black people exacerbated the oppression of black Jamaicans that had been established during the slave period. As Kaur and Hutnyk (1999: 1) argue, in our contemporary times, to be able to travel is powerfully associated with privilege. To have the time to gaze upon the local folk and to return home to recount the experience of meeting the natives is not, as Kaur and Hutnyk (1999: 3) argue an act of innocence or idle curiosity. The travellers to Jamaica and the wider Caribbean frequently wrote accounts of their visits in travel guides. They were significant in their style of address in nostalgically reminding the reader of the colonial era. As the travel writers noted down their descriptions of the tropical landscape, the colonial gaze was reproduced in their repeated scrutiny of the black/brown female body, which connoted exoticism and sexual “difference” in the nineteenth- century, as we saw in Chapter 3. Here, the discourse has established a tradition of “talking about”

colonised peoples – even in the visual texts this form of representation continues (hooks, 1991: 126).

An Object of the Colonial Gaze

As we shall see, in the traveller's images of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth century, it is the black, but particularly the Indian and mulatto female body that carry themes of exotic sexual desire. This is a shift in the representations, as Otherness is not positioned next to whiteness as in Mignard's high art painting and engravings by Hogarth.

The idea of European travellers reporting to readers a surveyed and racialised scene is evident in Figure 15 (page 178) as Stark notes the dwellings of the black and Asian workers as thus:

Negro huts, with wattled sides and roofs of rushes, and whitewashed coolie barracks are passed (Stark, 1898: 144).

This literary practice established a successful genre of travel writing which was adopted by writers such as James Froude in 1888:

All my thoughts were fixed upon Jamaica. I had read so much about it, that my memory was full of persons and scenes and adventures of which Jamaica was the stage or subject (Froude, 1888: 179)

The themes that characterised much of the travel writing about Jamaica and the Caribbean during the nineteenth-century were references to African 'primitiveness' in appearance and behaviour. References to the

Other as menacing were engulfed in the enticing yet threatening landscape. Such fears were described as ‘venturing towards the dark side’ and being ‘swallowed up by the environment’. In what Bhabha (1994: 72) describes as the alternation between phobia and fetish the colonialist dream of a tropical paradise, clashes with the threat of the ‘cannibal’. Jamaica was thus fixed in its colonial status in ways reminiscent of Joseph Conrad’s construction of ‘Darkest Africa’ in *The Heart of Darkness*.

Travel writing of this period supported “the objective of the colonial discourse which constructed the colonised as a population of degenerate types” (Bhabha, 1994: 70).

In view of the facts, we may well wonder whether the negro race is really capable of any great enlightenment. The elements of barbarism firmly fixed in the negro nature by ages of usage in his native Africa are not easily got rid of, and civilisation in its true sense is not a thing to be attained at a bound (Stark, 1898: 191)

What we can glean from Stark’s ‘observations’ in his *History and Guide to Jamaica* and his reference to the “facts”, is that he is drawing on the discourse of pseudosciences of race which were highly popular during this period (Chambers, 2001: 38). According to Froude (1888), in the late nineteenth-century, black people were incapable of government and without instruction from whites in the Caribbean, there would be an absence of capitalist production with “catastrophic” consequences (Strachan, 2002: 179).

Where the disproportion is so enormous as it is in Jamaica, where intelligence and property are in a miserable minority, and in a half-reclaimed race of savages, cannibals not long ago, and capable, as the state of Hayati shows, of reverting to cannibalism again, are living beside them as their political equals, such panics arise from the nature of things, and will themselves cause the catastrophe from the dread of which they arise. (Froude, 1888: 262-2).

This is reinforced by James Stark's view of Port Antonio, ten years later:

The northeastern end of the island comprised within the parish of Portland was virtually abandoned by the whites, and the negroes were rapidly lapsing into a state of savagery again (Stark, 1898: 144).

However, such "accounts" are contrary to the successful communities that the black population developed following emancipation. The travel literature accounts convey the importance of having a historical framework to understand the relations of power between those being scrutinised and those holding power. This is since black people have had limited control over how they have been represented (Hall, 1996: 442). The anxieties regarding race and the need for power at any cost in the region, is clearly expressed by the vehement attitudes of social commentators such as Froude, who believed that the "beautiful islands were intended to be homes for the overflowing numbers of [his] own race" (Froude, 1888 quoted in Sheller, 2003: 135). This preoccupation with the idea that the white race was superior and the architects of civilisation are expressed by Stark that "*it is the blood of the Caucasian which gives brains, ambition, and the instincts of civilisation*" (Stark, 1898: 191). This is a view repeated by Johnston, a doctor who promoted the island as a

health resort. Johnston describes the United Fruit Company's economic intervention in Jamaica as "[bringing] into fertile cultivation thousands of acres of idle land giving employment to many hundreds of people" (Johnston, 1903: 22). He goes on to comment that it is because the company has set up business in the colony that "all classes of the community from the big planter to the humblest peasant [is able to bring] for sale his single bunch" (Johnston, 1903: 22). This view can be placed within the context of colonial discourse which assumed that Europeans, whilst not performing the labour, had a natural industriousness. It is significant that despite the agricultural skills that black people transported from Africa and developed during slavery, it is the capitalist corporations that are accredited with value.

Hall (1992b) argues that the discourse of the 'West and the Rest' draws on particular sources of knowledge. He refers to the traveller's tales from the medieval period, which in turn drew on religious and classical authority (Hall, 1992b: 298). The notions of an Earthly paradise encapsulated the belief that outside of Europe, there was a simple innocent life, where people lived in a pure state of nature. These mythologised lands were considered to be in the New World, where there was believed to be a lack of developed social organisation and civil society, but most significantly here, the notion that there was frank and open sexuality, nakedness and beautiful women (Hall, 1992b: 300).

Discourses of the Sexualised and Disavowed Other

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, Brunais' and Gauguin's artistic expressions are significant for how they depict European conceptions of the New World and indigenous women. I would argue that the way in which the Caribbean is conceived and represented in the contemporary period, is highly influenced by this discourse of Otherness. It is as Bhabha (1994) argues for the colonial subject to be constructed, and colonial power to be exercised, is achieved through forms of difference both racial and sexual (Bhabha, 1994: 67).

The images that were used to promote Jamaica as a tourist destination at the end of the nineteenth-century appear to draw on Agostino Brunais' theme of representing black and mulatto women performing domestic tasks (Figure 11). Stark's *History and Guide to Jamaica* presents a sketch dated 1898 in Figure 12, and repeats the theme of semi-naked women washing clothes in the river. The travel writer appears to use this image for two reasons: the first is perhaps to convey the idea that black people lived quaint and happy lives as labourers, a view, which is expressed by Antoinette in *Wide Sargasso Sea* as she recalls observing her nursemaid from a distance:

I had seen her so often standing knee deep in the river at Coulibri, her long skirt hitched up, washing her dresses and white shifts, then beating them against the stones. Sometimes there would be other women all bringing their washing down on the stones again and again, a gay busy noise. At last they would spread the wet clothes in the sun, wipe their foreheads, start laughing and talking (Rhys, 1966: 90).

The second reason is perhaps to emphasise the alleged link between the lascivious sexuality of black women and the tropical landscape. The splitting of the stereotype is evident in the suggestion that black and mixed-race women connoted sexual promise and paradoxically, threat as noted by Said (1978). This contradictory representation of racialised sexual desire was evident within early promotions of tourism in Jamaica. However, as we shall see in Chapters 5 and 6, black female sexuality has shifted to the margins and been replaced by a celebratory representation of white femininity and sexuality.

The body is therefore significant for being inscribed in both the economy of pleasure and desire. Thus, the black female body was scrutinised and objectified from a distance as travellers were passing through the region. Sheller (2003) quotes E.A. Hastings Jay (1900), Charles Stoddard (1895), and Hesketh Pritchard (1900) and demonstrates how the voyeuristic appetites of nineteenth-century European society were being satisfied by tourism and travel literature. The economic and sexual control over black bodies was brought into the domestic and public spheres as black people were critiqued in behaviour and appearance.

The streets were densely packed, black women filling past us in twos and threes dressed in white calico, with handkerchiefs tied round their heads, and carrying all manner of produce on the top of their skulls...their faces are almost always repulsive, the thick lips and wide nostrils being fatal to European ideas of beauty, but the figure and carriage are splendid (Patrick Leigh Fermor quoted in Sheller, 2003: 135).

The significance of this extract is the repeated feelings of Europeans towards blackness as repulsive. As Hobson notes, whiteness and not blackness is a marker of beauty (Hobson, 2005: 8, hooks, 1996). However, the sexual value that is placed on the objectified black woman's body is noted in Fermor's description of the black female's "figure and carriage as splendid" (Patrick Leigh Fermor quoted in Sheller, 2003: 135).

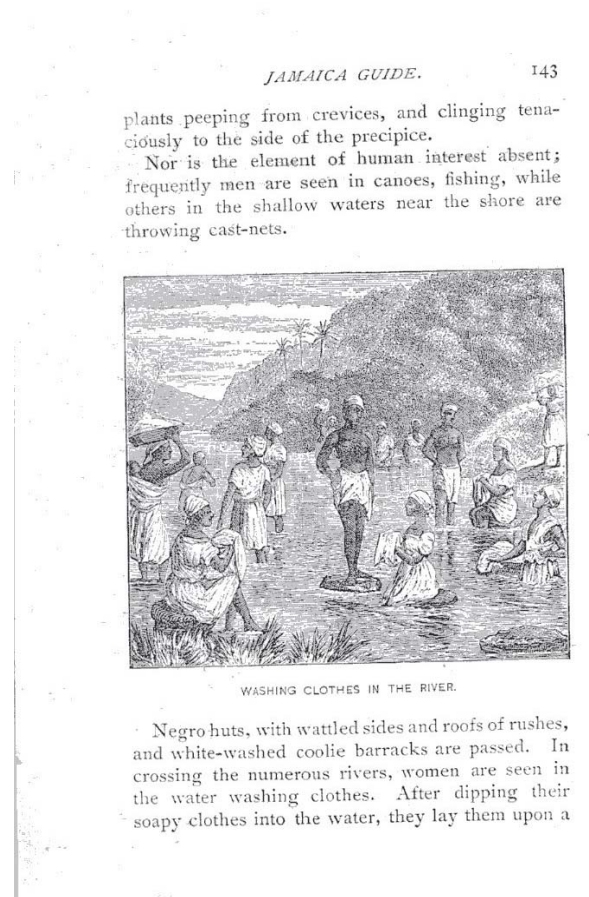


Figure 12 *Stark's History and Guide to Jamaica* (1898) Washing Clothes in the River.

Here, the black female body is the object of the European gaze as in the discussion of Baartman's representation, although she is not physically handled by white men, she is fixed in a colonial gaze. European travellers represented black, mulatto and Indian women as racial "types" (Bhabha,

1994: 70) to create a particular 'fixated' form of the colonial subject, which was supported by the racial schema, as discussed in Chapter 3. The travel writer, Stark pays particular attention to the physique of the women washing their clothes in the river. This is in keeping with the emphasis that was placed on black women's alleged physical difference from white women, as was discussed in the case of Baartman in the previous chapter. The image and text allude to sexual undertones and repeat the earlier association made with Othered women, sexuality and water as suggested by *The Washer Women*:

The women have their skirts caught up about their hips; their round, well-shaped limbs, wet with river water, shine like polished mahogany (Stark, 1898: 144).

These images significantly do not include representations of the white population on the island. However, they visually reproduce parallels with the themes of race, sexuality and gender that have been discussed earlier in this study.

The process of disavowal and mimicry can be read in the Victorian style of dress of the uniformed fruit seller in Figure 13. In this authorised version of Otherness her Africanness is displaced by her white apron and the tray of fruit to signify the repeated position of servitude. This image produces a "partial vision of the coloniser's presence", thus in this look of surveillance we observe the coloniser through their representation of Otherness (Bhabha, 1994: 88-89). This construction of black female identity is controlled and restrained, which clashes with the overtly sexual representations of Otherness in Brunais' painting and Stark's sketch of

the women in the water. In particular, Stark's gaze is perhaps a reflection of Europe's long-standing preoccupation with the "primitive" (Strachan, 2002: 107), where the landscape is menacing, as in Joseph Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness*. There was a thrill-seeking element to the desire for European adventure which was tinged with danger.



Figure 13 *Handy Pocket Guide to Jamaica* 1902.

The colonial subject does not exist outside of the colonial relations, but scripted by the colonial discourse. It is as Hall (1996f: 19) argues; the black subject can only exist in relation to the presence of the white subject.

The black female subject is on the margins in Figure 13, demonstrated by her domestic service appearance. However, in the post-

colonial context, a subject on the margins can paradoxically use their outsider position to also be a producer of knowledge (C. Hall, 1995: 49). As in this work which critically analyses from a black female perspective, a broad range of material from the colonial and the post-colonial context.

The view expressed by Sady Brassey an English traveller in the Caribbean during the late nineteenth century suggests that the appearance of the black female was valued in accordance to the extent that they subscribed to European ideals of femininity (hooks, 1996; Goldberg, 1993). In contrast to these perceptions were the descriptions of indentured Asian women in the Caribbean, who were considered to have:

dark-brown skins, fine smooth black hair, and lithe figures swathed in bright-coloured shawls, their arms and legs heavy with jewelry, the produce of their spouses' wealth...were quiet and graceful in voice and action (Brassey 1885 quoted in Sheller, 2003: 132).

Brassey's commentary suggests that travellers were keen to racialise the gender of the Asian and African women by depicting Asian women as stereotypically submissive, shy and timid whilst African women were viewed as brash, loud and domineering (Espinet, 1996: 425). Such descriptions of Asian women's sexuality and femininity during the indenture period rendered them invisible by automatically positioning them as wives in the private domestic sphere within a patriarchal framework (Shepherd, 1995: 234; Parmar, cited in Ware, 1996: 145). This is despite the fact that Asian women played a significant part in continuing the "capitalist plantation system in the post-slavery and post-indentureship periods" as contract workers and later as free settlers (Shepherd et al, 1995: xv, xix). Despite the attempts made by the

recruiters in India, many of the Asian women that made the journey to Jamaica did so independently (Espinet, 1996; Shepherd, 1995). Reference was frequently made to the women's jewellery as a sign of her husband's wealth (shown in Figure 17). However, as Olive Senior (1989) describes in her narrative *The Arrival of the Snake Woman*, Asian women, married or unmarried wore large amounts of jewellery, usually from head to foot. This suggests that travellers, uninformed of the culture of Asian women filled in the gaps of their "knowledge" with their own explanations which fitted in with the established colonial and patriarchal framework. As discussed in Chapter 3, the nineteenth century was the period in which discussions of women's sexuality were taking place within the context of Victorian ideals of sexual propriety and the segregation of the sexes led to the increasing restrictions on white women's movements outside of the domestic sphere (Weeks, 1986: 36). Thus the distinction between respectable and the degenerate woman was firmly established during this period and underpinned the notions of "suitable" and "unsuitable forms of employment" (Bradley, 1992: 208). This ideology was transported to the Caribbean context.

In an attempt to counter the belief that single Asian women in the colonies became prostitutes, family immigration was promoted as a resolution to this problem. However, "single, independent women were uninfluenced by the mid-nineteenth century Victorian ideology of the 'proper gender order'" and as reflected in the statistics for the ship *Indus* which arrived on Jamaica in 1905, "71 per cent of the women on board were recorded as single or unattached" (Shepherd, 1995: 240).

The colonial and racialised discourse was evidently transmitted through the writings and thought of European travellers. Whilst Stark (1902) employs racist language to describe Asian people as ‘coolies’, he asserts that “*he [Asians] belongs to the Aryan race the same as the white man*” (Stark, 1902: 193). Stark continues with the claim that “[his] *civilisation is one of the oldest in the world*” (ibid). What is significant here is that Asian people are welcomed into the fold of white civilisation, despite the obvious differences in skin colour. I note this because it was on the basis of skin colour that Europeans regarded Africans as inferior and is the “key signifier of cultural and racial difference in the stereotype” (Bhabha, 1994: 78).

The coolie woman is seen gorgeously appavelled, her small head decorated with a gaudy handkerchief and ornaments of silver, her lithe body wrapped in party-coloured garments, broad bracelets of silver and anklets of the same upon her bare arms and brown ankles (Stark, 1902: 193).

The descriptions of black and Asian females in the travel narratives sets up what Bhabha (1994) refers to as a “discursive form of racial and cultural opposition in terms of which colonial power is exercised” (Bhabha, 1994: 78).



COOLIE BELLE.

Figure 14 Coolie Belle *Handy Pocket Guide to Jamaica* 1902.

The admiration for Asian women (most likely an indentured worker) overshadows the reality of how closely the indentured labour system mirrored the slave system on which it was based and how badly indentured workers were treated in Jamaica, as sick Indians were turned off estates and left to die on the roads (Fryer, 1993: 27). However, the description of the young Asian woman is a contrast to the description of the black women on their way to the market. These distinctions obsessively draw on racial and cultural difference; the customs, intellectual ability and physical appearance of black Jamaicans are placed side by side with the indentured Indian workers for the European reader to study. Stark, Hastings Jay and the historian Froude contributed to the

ideal of white femininity by juxtaposing it with a racialised representation of the Other which was supported by the clearly defined class divisions that reaffirmed the racial hierarchy in Jamaica. The class and racial oppression that was articulated by travellers is presented as the natural order of things. Stark states that:

In the main, the laboring classes of Jamaica are law-abiding and submissive. The colonial government recognizes the necessity of keeping all these diverse elements in absolute subjection, and its strong arm is felt throughout the island (Stark, 1902: 193).

Despite the discourse which lamented the inferiority of racial and cultural difference of black people, the images suggest that there is a deep fetishistic preoccupation with black and Asian women.

The Dominance of the Tropical Landscape in early Twentieth Century Representations

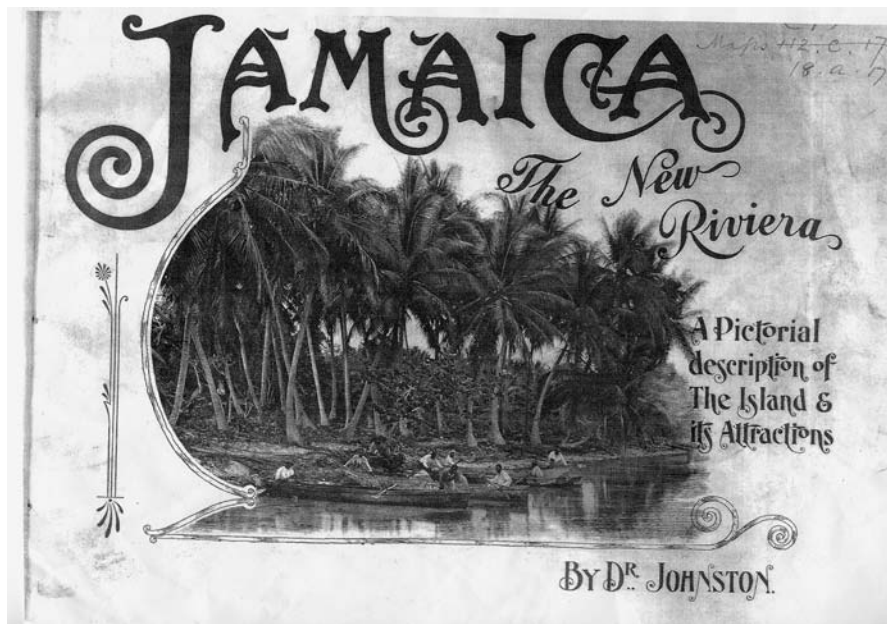


Figure 15 Front Cover *Jamaica: The New Riviera* 1903.

Representations of the female body were accompanied by repeated images of Jamaica's tropical landscape (Figure 15). With the use of photography, promoters of Jamaica were able to provide pictorial evidence that Jamaica *was* an earthly paradise. The landscape in the image Figure 18 is framed by luxuriant lettering, synonymous with the elaborate flowing designs of the art nouveau style that was intensely popular circa.1890-1910 in Europe (Meggs and Purvis, 2006). The significance of this design and the description of Jamaica as the "New Riviera"¹, suggest that Western graphic design was being transplanted onto the Jamaican landscape to ensure that Western visitors made the connection between the tropical landscape as primitive and pre-civilisation in contrast to the destabilising social effects of capitalism and industrial developments in early twentieth-century Europe. The image suggests that visitors to Jamaica can escape the negative effects of these social changes.

There is ambivalence in the representations of the Jamaican landscape in the appearance of it as at once appealing and menacing. The fishermen are seated in their boats against a backdrop of unruly palm trees on the edge of the river. This refers to the anthropological approach that was being used at this time perhaps to reinforce the notion that the black population lived "simple, innocent lives in a pure state of nature" (Hall, 1992b: 300). The anthropological approach to colonial representations is repeated in Figure 16, where the black women washing their clothes in the river are surrounded by an untamed, tropical

¹ As opposed to the French Riviera which was popular with wealthy Europeans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

landscape. This signifies Jamaica as a menacing yet thrilling environment, and clashes with the representation of the landscape as “feminine” as described in the discussion of Gauguin’s painting in Chapter 2, and Brunais’ *The Washer Women* where the display of domestic labour is racialised and romanticised at the same time.



Figure 16 Washing Day on the White River *Jamaica: The New Riviera* 1903.

Jamaica as a Health Resort: Luxury and Elite Tourism

In 1910, the Jamaica Tourist Association was formed to promote the colony as a health and pleasure resort. This coincided with the increasing number of tourists to the island (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2005: 3). The cover illustration of the 1913 *Jamaica Tourism Association* guide repeats

the style of displaying the landscape with elaborate lettering. The Jamaican coat of arms is a representation of two Arawaks, one male, one female, positioned at the top of the image. It makes reference to the indigenous population that lived on the island before European colonisation and gave the island its name “Haymaica” or as the Spanish wrote, “Xaymaica” the land of wood and water (Senior, 2003: 250).

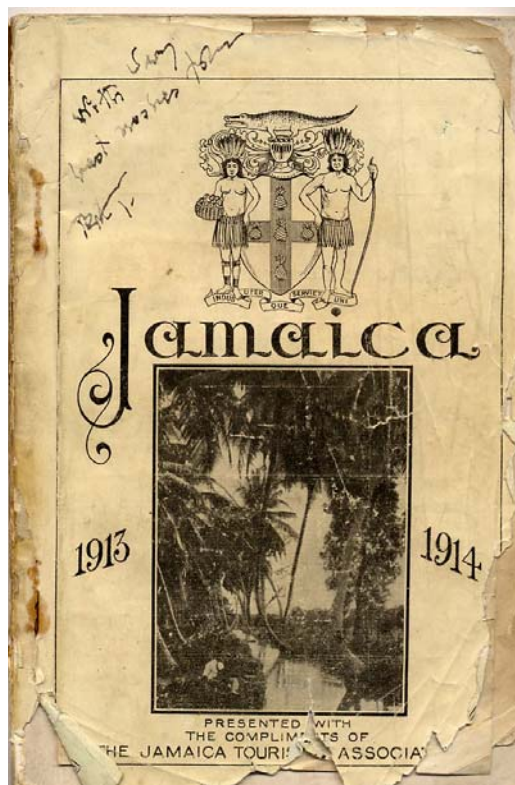


Figure 17 *The Jamaica Tourism Association (1913).*

This text provides a representation of the indigenous Arawaks and proclaims that Jamaica is “*the land of streams and wood*” and a *health and pleasure resort*. The landscape in this image is untamed and rather chaotic, but also features a calm stream of water running through it into the distance. References to Jamaica’s natural resources are associated with physical health and positioned Jamaica as a destination where visitors could escape the increased pace of life in Europe.

...for many years now tourists have sought and found relaxation from toil, and gained renewed health and vigour among the glorious mountains, foothills and the plains which are spread at their feet.

The idea continues in the contemporary branding and packaging of Jamaica as health and spa resort (see Chapter 6).

The early twentieth century representations of Jamaica continued to draw on the ambivalence of colonial discourse, linking fear and fetishism by providing elite western visitors, paradoxically with the “primitive” *and* luxury in the form of service and the unfamiliar landscape. Thus, the information provided in the 1913 issue of the Jamaica Tourist Association guide claims:

Constant Spring, Myrtle Bank, South Camp Road, The Imperial, St. Andrew Hotels, and the “Manor House” offer great inducements to those who desire the luxuries of Europe and America (Jamaica Tourist Association, 1913: 7).

The same guide claims that, “the buildings in King Street are undoubtedly the finest in the West Indies” (Jamaica Tourist Association, 1913: 6).

Dr Jas Johnston’s (1903) publication *Jamaica: the New Riviera* is an early example of how Jamaica was constructed for foreign visitors to regain their health. Dr Johnston gave talks and lectures in the UK to promote Jamaica as a retreat or a health resort. He draws on the island’s natural beauty of “luxurious vegetation and lovely scenery, fragrant with the odour of spices and flowers...” (Johnston, 1903: 7). However, Johnston comments on the source of this privilege, yet his narrative does not make a connection with the poverty of the poor blacks who earned the

average of a shilling a day, compared with the £30,000 that was spent on the refurbishment of The Myrtle Bank Hotel and The Constant Springs Hotel in Kingston (Johnston, 1903: 11). Johnston (1913) silences the 'uncomfortable' subject of slave emancipation by saying that:

I was just about to touch on the Sugar question, on which the subsequent history of the Colony has so largely hinged: but prudence whispers "Don't!"

Johnston's avoidance of the subject of the decline of the sugar economy and the slavery ensures that the white reader is not confronted with an unpleasant past in their position of privileged voyeur.

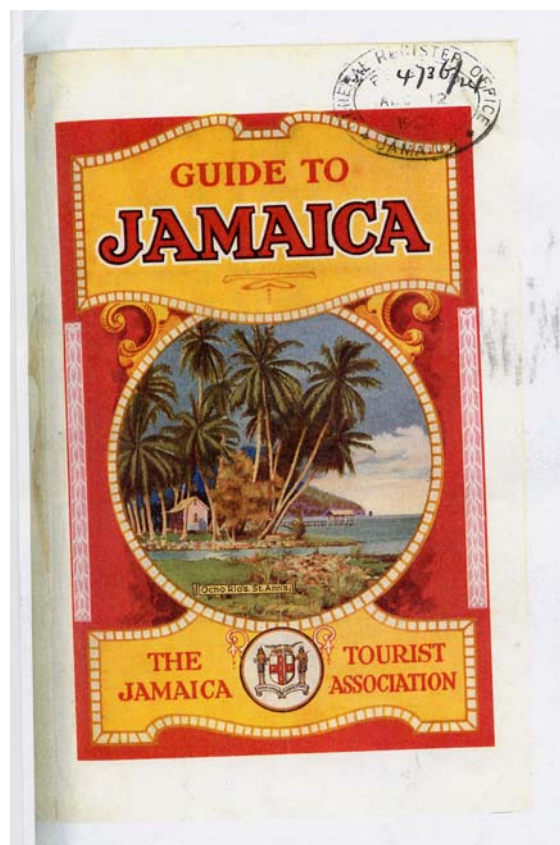


Figure 18 Jamaica Tourist Association *Guide to Jamaica* (1924).

In 1922, the colonial government established the Tourist Trade and Development Board. As can be seen in Graph 1, this coincided with the recording of tourist visits. The later 1920s and early to mid 1930s saw one of the major periods of growth in Jamaican tourism, perhaps this was due to a slight shift away from the older elite travelling public to a more middle-class clientele. Centrally, the new organisation was the forerunner to the present Jamaica Tourist Board and its purpose was to disseminate information about the island's facilities (Jamaica tourist board, 2005: 3). Figure 18 is a rare colour image from the Jamaica Tourist Association's *Guide to Jamaica* in the early twentieth century suggests a more popular appeal. The image, which we are informed is Ocho Rios, draws on the practice of celebrating the landscape by showing palm trees leaning in toward the sea against a backdrop of the Blue Mountains. The idea of shipwrecks, desert islands and subsistence living are all suggested in this image by drawing on the idea of *Treasure Island*. The image is constructed as though we are looking through a telescope. The contradiction of "simple living" and luxury and paradise is juxtaposed by framing the tropical scene with detailed gold beading and elaborate cornices.

A Transition from Representing the Landscape to the Body in the 1930s

In the twentieth century, Una Marson notes in her poem *In Jamaica* (1931), the economic and racial divide that structures Jamaican society. In particular, Marson draws attention to the contradictions in Jamaica between the alleged "lazy life" of the smiling black population in the

Garden of Eden, and the lives of the poor in the slums. Text in bold is my emphasis.

In Jamaica

O! the sun shines warm in Jamaica,
From one year's end to the next,
The flowers bloom on in Jamaica,
And songbirds are never perplexed;
It's a lazy life that we live here,
Tho' we carry a fair share of work;
It's seldom we really do shirk.

**O! the darkies smile on in Jamaica,
And whistle and sing all the day;
There's always a song ringing somewhere,
To them it is always bright May.**
It's little we need for our comfort,
When we live in a wee cosy cot
In the heart of the hills where kind Nature
Gives all, and the towns are forgot.

O! it's a glorious life in Jamaica
For the man who has merely enough,
**But it's a dreary life for the beggars,
And the large slums are all pretty rough.
It's a gay life too for the children
Not poor, and whose skin is light,
But the darker set are striving
And facing a very stiff fight.**

O, it's a wonderful life in Jamaica
For the tourists who visit this shore,
There's golf, there's dancing, and swimming,
And charms they ne'er saw before.
They call it a garden of Eden,
They love the fair hill of St. Ann,
**And they say on the white sands of Mo. Bay
They get such a wonderful tan!**

O, there's beauty in most every country,
And scenes that bring thrills of delight,
But there's no place like sunny Jamaica,
And no people whose hearts are so light.
Should I leave these fair shores for another,
Be that land yet the fairest of all,
I should pine for the hills of Jamaica
And hasten to answer her call.

(1931)

The political changes in the Caribbean and the world during the 1930s led to the growth of Jamaica's tourist industry. In Cuba, Machado was overthrown and the rise of fascism in Italy, encouraged tourism to Jamaica (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2005: 3). It was also at this time that the inauguration of Pan Am in 1930 brought tourists to Jamaica and continued to do so until the outbreak of the Second World War. Figure 22 presents a definitive shift in the tourist representations of Jamaica. This is perhaps a transitional image as there are now tourists present on the beach but they are positioned alongside the more established motif of the tropical landscape. The poster in Figure 19 is dated circa. 1937 and significantly coincides with the increase in tourist visits to Jamaica in the mid 1930s. The text also indicates that Jamaica is still a crown colony as it is referred to as part of the British West Indies. The natural environment is drawn upon in this image which features the Caribbean Sea, beaches framed by palm trees and bananas to reinforce the representation of the tropics. The picture and the slogan of a "*rediscovered garden of Eden*" draws on the adventurer narratives discussed in Chapter 3 and illustrates that this was a theme used to promote Jamaica in tourism's infancy. Such slogans and visual imagery drew on the circulated myth that Jamaica was a destination that offered a life without labour due to the abundance of natural vegetation. In the chapters that follow, the discussions of contemporary tourism demonstrate that this continues to be a feature of modern tourism.



Figure 19 Tourism Poster (circa 1937) published in White, T. (1998: 106).

The text addresses the reader directly by stating that the personified Jamaica invites ‘you’ to come to the “*re-discovered Garden of Eden*”. Having successfully secured the reader’s attention, the text provides details of what Jamaica has to offer the potential visitor; “*beauty, tradition, romance, history, the joys of the comforts of life...*” This promotion of comfort can be linked to the contemporary representations, as we shall see in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

The text does not elaborate by providing examples of romance, but instead steers the reader’s attention back to the physical beauty of the island. This is the subject of the image as the descriptions of the Blue Mountains, coral beaches and the *ideal* climate are used to anchor the

image of the forest which dominates the advert. All of this is presented to the reader as a means of recovering from the pressures of modernity and gaining '*renewed health and vitality*'.

This poster is significant, as it was produced at a time of economic instability for industrialised countries which reinforced a downward trend in the price of Jamaica's exports (Jefferson, 1972: 3). From 1934, there were protests throughout the West Indies against the economic conditions similar to those in Jamaica (Jefferson, 1972: 4). However, the emphasis on the benefits that tourists can obtain from Jamaica hides the social inequalities and also the economic gains being made by The United Fruit Company which is amongst the list of companies mentioned that provide travel to Jamaica. The end of World War II brought with it surplus airfields, trained pilots, and the beginnings of mass international travel (Wright, 2002: 183). This coincided with increased living standards as the increase in wages encouraged individuals to spend their disposable income on holidays.

Tourism in the 1950s

By the mid-1950s, Jamaica was serviced by eight international airlines, British West India Airlines, PAA, KLM, Trans Canada Airways, Delta Avianca, Avenca (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2005: 4). As noted by the Jamaican Tourist Board, this was a period of unprecedented growth in international tourist arrivals worldwide and signalled an increase in the number of travellers to Jamaica which doubled between 1952 and 1960. The white working and middle-class sections of American and European

societies experienced economic prosperity and a measure of social affluence. This was the period of Fordism and mass consumption in which individuals had the resources to obtain leisure goods (L. Cohen, 2004). Jamaica still had a reputation as an exclusive resort which attracted wealthy and famous clientele such as Noel Coward (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2005: 4), but it is evident from the tourist figures and promotional materials that new social groups were now addressed via this appeal.



Figure 20 PAA American *Pleasure Island* 1958.

The image in Figure 20 is a shift in the representations used to promote Jamaica as a tourist destination and reflects the beginnings of mass consumption in Western countries such as the UK and the US. In the place of the tropical landscape and the display of the black female body, the image is promoting the growth of an American airline and is more specifically focusing on consumption through the ideal of the “American dream” of success and prosperity. This is communicated via the model middle-class nuclear family. The father figure is formally dressed in a full suit, whilst the mother is wearing a full skirt, mirrored by the dress of the young girl. It is worth noting the image of the man who appears to be directing traffic or a plane. Although he is uniformed this is a rare image of a black man performing in a skilled and professional occupation.



Figure 21 *Pleasure Island* 1958.

As tourism in Jamaica increased during the 1950s, the government recognised that the promotion of the industry required more effective

organisation and established the Jamaica Tourist Board in April 1955. This new organisation was supported by being directly represented in government as it operated under the Ministry of Trade and Industry. The new Tourist Board also had finance grants, special borrowing powers and intensified the promotion of Jamaica by opening up sales offices in New York, Miami, Chicago and London (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2005: 4). Figure 21 reflects the trend of appealing directly to an American readership since the text refers to the New York office to obtain information about holidaying in Jamaica. This is one of the earliest images I have found where a white woman is used to sell Jamaican tourism.



Figure 22 of *Pleasure Island* 1958.

Figure 22 demonstrates the significance of consumption during this period since the affluent traveller has an array of choice of luxury items such as French perfume and English Doeskin that they can purchase as a reminder of their visit. There are cheaper priced souvenirs available of

“native woodwork, native hand embroidered linens, native straw goods and paintings by local artists”. The reference to the *“low price shuttle service”* indicates that this was an address to a wider social public. The 1950s images are different from the contemporary representations of Jamaica since despite the image of the woman by the swimming pool, the emphasis appears to be on the facilities and the availability of modern products such as petrol, souvenirs and consumer goods, in keeping with the beginnings of mass consumption in the US.

Tourism in the 1960s

Graph 3 shows that at the beginning of the decade, between 1961 and 1963, the tourist industry was in decline. However, from 1963, the number of visitors began to rise again from 202,000 in 1963 to 300,000 in 1965 and nearly 400,000 in 1968 (Jamaica Tourist Board Library, 2005: 5). During this decade Jamaica developed a more intensive and sophisticated approach to the industry to meet the demands of mass tourism. A full-time Director of Tourism was appointed in 1963 and was given a budget of J\$1,000,000. The 1960s saw another shift in the representation of Jamaica as a tourist destination. The text-laden black and white images were replaced with colour images and a return of the display of the exotic female body.

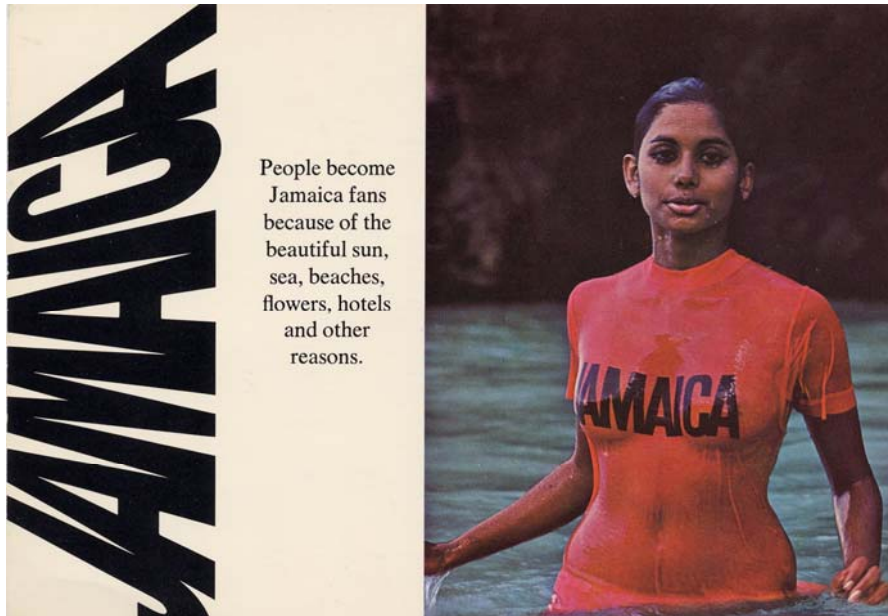


Figure 23 courtesy of the Jamaica Tourist Board (N.D.) [1970].

The display of a sexualised female body to promote the island is presented in Figure 23 and signalled the overt sexualisation of the island and a return of the objectification of the female body in the 1970s. The Jamaica Tourist Board reproduced this image on postcards, posters, and it draws on the historical association of women, sexuality and water discussed earlier in this chapter. Here, the mulatto woman has been replaced with an Asian woman as a marker of sex and beauty. The layering and combination of different themes is evident in the more recent images. The brown sexualised female against a tropical backdrop establishes a continuity with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century images of Jamaica as enticingly feminine, yet menacing. Jamaica is personified as an Asian woman (Jamaica is written on her t-shirt) and the bearer of an unrestrained sexuality.

Jamaica. It's a haunting, swaying rhythm. Feel her sultry, tropical beat. Succumb to the pleasure.

As the sea gives rise to a new sun, awoken to a lightscape that's dazzling. Immerse yourself in waves of aquamarine translucence. Stretch your arms to azure skies on a lonely sunswept beach. Explore jungles,



Somerset Falls, Port Antonio



lush with vivid greenery. Shiver with delight under a torrent of glistening cascades. Stroll past hillsides ablaze with a profusion of hibiscus. Plunge into a luscious Planters Punch or Yellow Bird as you loll poolside.

Figure 24 Jamaica Tourist Board (N.D.) [1980].

In Figure 24 (the original is in colour), again Jamaica is personified as a sexualised black woman, immersed in water, feminising and sexualising the landscape. Jamaica is an exotic bewitching woman, described as having a *haunting, swaying rhythm* and a *sultry beat*, which the tourist should not try to resist but should *succumb to the pleasure*. The invitation to the tourist is to be sexually unrestrained as Jamaica is, and draws on the ambivalence in the colonial stereotype which illustrates the bind of pleasure and power, previously discussed in the example of Mimbo Wampo, “Sable Venus”. The text aims to incite all of the reader’s senses in the sound of the *sultry beat*, the intensity of the tropical colours;

aquamarine, translucence azure skies and vivid greenery. The text suggests that visiting Jamaica is an experience that is extra ordinary to the extent that the tourist will be *dazzled* by the landscape. However, there are contradictions in the text as the idea of relaxation clashes with the possibility of being dazzled by the landscape. There is also a shift in emphasis as to how the colonial/tourist gaze is presented to us. In Figures 15 and 16, the scenes are presented to the reader from a detached distance from the colonised subjects, connoting a sense of fear. In contrast, the representations of foreignness in Figures 23 and 24, have been taken at a closer range. They suggest that the tourist is overtly being encouraged to make physical contact with black sexuality.

The Jamaica Tourist Association and the Jamaica Tourist Board have traditionally drawn on the idea that Jamaica is the destination where whites can relive the pleasures of the colonial era. An advertisement that was used to promote Jamaica as a fantasy island in 1968 connotes the idea that the identity of the Jamaican people was defined in relation to the needs of tourists. What is suggested here is that the servants come as part of the luxury package. Their presence is only recognised in relation to the role of waiting on their guests and attending to their every desire, as the advertisement boasts:

It starts with a country house or beach cottage or hilltop hideaway that comes **equipped with gentle people named Ivy or Maud or Malcolm who will cook, tend, mend, diaper and launder for you...**(my emphasis).

Advertisement by the Jamaica Tourist Board 1968 quoted in (Taylor 1993:174).

The advert does not represent Ivy, Maud or Malcolm as individuals, rather, as a collective group; it reinforces the idea of servitude. The advertisement implies that the tourists should not concern themselves with getting to know Ivy, Maud or Malcolm because they are only there to pamper and serve them.

The presence of wealthy white tourists intensified these divisions as noted by Marson in the fourth verse, second and third lines, of *In Jamaica*. However, tourism was identified as fundamental to the development of Jamaica's economy by both political parties, The Peoples National Party (PNP) and The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), during the periods of government 1972 to 1980 and 1980 to 1989 respectively. The strategies used by both parties were significantly different, not surprisingly due to their differing places within the political spectrum.

Following Jamaica's independence from Britain in 1962, the island was ruled by the upper class whites and experienced "relative prosperity" (Bayer, 1993: 23). This was due to the large investments made by foreign companies which mined bauxite on the island. By 1972, Jamaica had undergone a change in political direction towards socialism and through Michael Manley's PNP government executed greater government control and social reforms, in order to widen the country's economic base. Manley gained the support of the Jamaican electorate with his slogans of "Better must come. Its time for a Change", which indicated that Jamaican people would be at the heart of new policies (Chambers and Airey, 2001).

The legacy of black servitude was a concern of the Manley administration, as tourism exacerbated the divisions within Jamaican society exemplified by local people being barred from hotels and beaches,

which were the domain of wealthy white tourists (Taylor, 1993). As a consequence, local people were hostile or indifferent to tourists. The PNP government aimed to address this imbalance and 'Jamaicanise' the tourist industry by implementing such measures as promoting domestic tourism and increased the involvement of Jamaicans in the ownership and employment within the industry (Chambers and Airy, 2001: 99). This consisted of a widespread consultation that sought the views of those in the public and the private sectors of the tourist industry. From this consultation the government produced a Ministerial paper, (No. 61 16 December 1975) to "define two broad policy goals of the maximisation of economic benefits and the integration of tourism into Jamaican life" (Chambers and Airey, 2001: 99). The policy goals were then broken down into five objectives which were: maximising foreign exchange earnings, increasing employment, increasing domestic tourism, worker participation and development and the promotion of indigenous values in the cultural ambience in resort areas (ibid). Alongside the new tourism strategy, Manley introduced a statutory minimum wage and new labour legislation. In an attempt to improve the poorest sectors of Jamaican society, the PNP used the distribution of land in the favour of small farmers and granted them more credit facilities. The government addressed education and healthcare by making them more accessible.

One of the achievements of the PNP government was to set out a plan for the development of tourism in a comprehensive document, *Growth Through Integration* in 1975. This was the first time that a Jamaican government had coherently addressed the issue of tourism. The document consisted of two strands, the priority of maximising economic

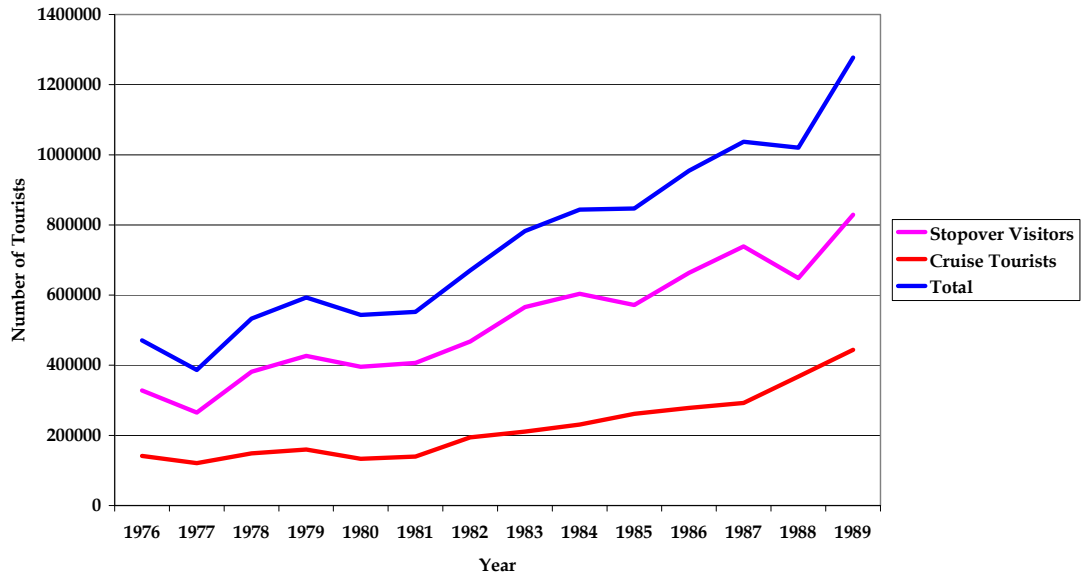
benefits and integrating tourism into Jamaican life (Chambers and Airy, 2001). Despite the fact that Manley's government attempted to articulate the direction that tourism should take, in institutional terms, tourism continued to have an economic focus as the industry was firmly located in the Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Foreign Trade. From this there is little evidence that the Ministry was engaging in dialogue with other sections of Jamaican society to ensure that all interests were being accounted for. This perhaps could have included increasing the levels of literacy across social classes and improving basic health care for poor Jamaicans.

Michael Manley's advocacy of dependency theory and self-reliance produced a tension in how tourism was perceived by the government. Whilst tourism was regarded as important to Jamaica's development, dependency theory was critical of tourism as a means of development since it was believed to encourage socio-economic dependence on foreign agencies (Chambers and Airey, 2001). The socialist rhetoric produced a fundamental change in attitudes towards the poor. This brought Manley and his government into direct conflict with the Western business world. They regarded such policies as hostile and were alienated by Jamaica's close political relationship with Cuba. It is clear that the PNP strategy had weaknesses due to the unrealistic belief in self-reliance and an ambivalent attitude toward tourism. Whilst the government was professing the importance of the industry, the strategy to Jamaicanise tourism gave the impression to outsiders that they did not openly welcome tourists (Chambers and Airey, 2001: 100). However, treating this view with caution, and taking into consideration the power and

influence of Jamaica's neighbour, capitalist America; any moves made by this post-colonial nation in America's "backyard" to assert their cultural identity may well have been viewed as anti-American. The opinion of some social commentators was that the socialist policies of the government were responsible for the crisis in internal political domestic affairs. The government struggled to contain the increasing political violence during the 1976 election year and the exodus of foreign business and professionals from the country brought the economy close to collapse. The State of Emergency that was declared during the election was not lifted until 1977 and perhaps explains the fluctuation in tourism during this year from 414,720 at the beginning of the decade in 1970 to 386,514 in 1977 as is demonstrated in Graph 4.

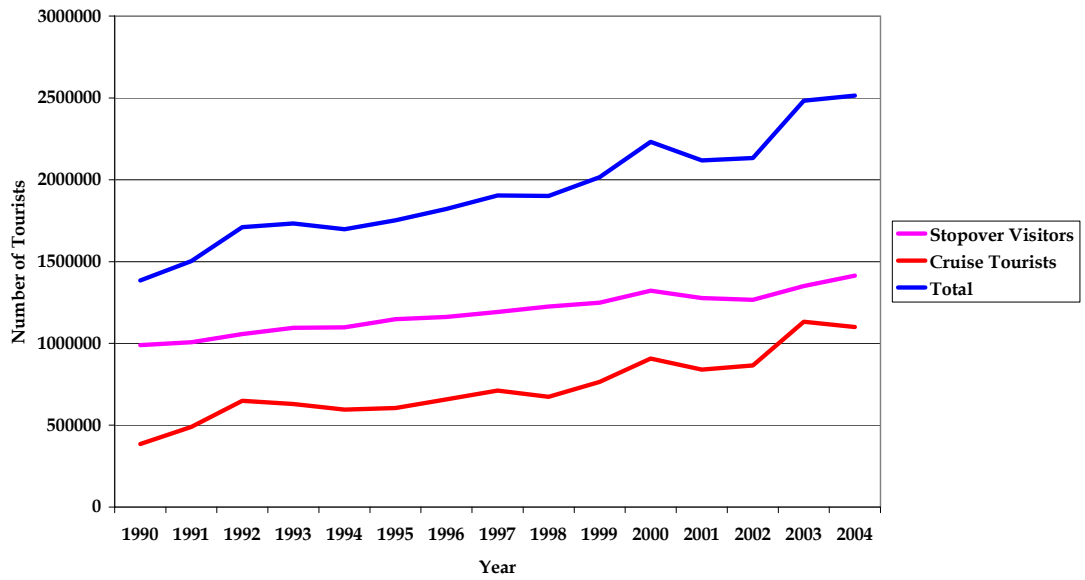
In the contemporary period, Jamaican tourism has increased year on year throughout the 1990s. Graph 5, (page 200) shows that tourism reached the 2 million mark in 1999 and there has been a general upward trend since 1992.

Graph 4: Tourist Trade in Jamaica, 1976 - 1989



Source: Tourism Development in Jamaica: A Synopsis © Jamaica Tourist Board Library June 2005

Graph 5: Tourist Trade in Jamaica, 1990 - 2004



Source: Tourism Development in Jamaica: A Synopsis © Jamaica Tourist Board Library June 2005

Tourism in Jamaica's 'Period of Capitalism'

In contrast to the PNP, Edward Seaga's JLP government adopted a purely capitalist approach to governing Jamaica. In 1980, the JLP took political office and immediately severed links with Cuba and courted the friendship of Ronald Reagan's New Right US administration. Seaga wanted to emulate the economic development model of Puerto Rico which already had close political ties with the US and was regarded as a satellite US state (Chambers and Airey, 2001). The Jamaican government implemented policies that were in keeping with capitalist ideology and assisted in reducing government intervention in the economy and encouraging private sector investment. The JLP administration's ethos was 'It Takes Cash to Care' and succinctly summed up the government's principle concern of managing the country's economy.

Seaga worked in collaboration with The International Monetary Fund (IMF), The World Bank, the US agency for International Development and other international lending agencies. As part of the policies stipulated by the IMF, Jamaica relaxed trade barriers, devalued the currency and reduced the financial amounts spent on healthcare, education and restriction on commercial credit in the form of 'structural adjustment programmes'. Within its capitalist framework, the Seaga government sought to reduce intervention in the economy and increase investment from the private sector by selling or leasing hotels and properties that had been owned by the government during the socialist era. Whilst such policies were successful in increasing visitor numbers

from the US, with the development of exclusionary tourist resorts owned by *Sandals* and the *Superclubs* chains (Mullins, 1999: 62), they served to widen the schism in Jamaican society. It is worth noting that under the Seaga government, tourism in Jamaica reached the 1 million visitor mark by 1987 (see Graph 4).

The all-inclusives have proven to increase profits for hoteliers and increased the length of stay of visitors (Boxill, 2003); however, the all-inclusives produce tourist zones, which are in stark contrast to their surroundings (Williams, 1998: 76). The harassment of foreign visitors is noted as being a consequence of segregating guests and thus creating resentment from local people. However, the Seaga government was reluctant to make a connection between the way in which tourism was developing, the harassment of guests and the absence of redistributive benefits to local people (Chambers and Airey, 2001). The media in Jamaica has contributed to the denial of the exclusionary practices of tourism and regarding the “phenomenon” of tourist harassment as a behavioural or attitudinal problem (Burman, 1999: 163).

Whilst both Jamaican governments adopted tourism as a mechanism for economic development, the achievement of the PNP was to change the image of tourism for Jamaicans. The initial efforts made by the PNP to redistribute the benefits of tourism have resonance with contemporary observations that sustainable tourism directly involves local communities. The success of the JLP in increasing visitor numbers through private sector investment during the 1980s demonstrates that this is a crucial element in the success of the tourist product.

Representations of Jamaica in the Post-Colonial Context

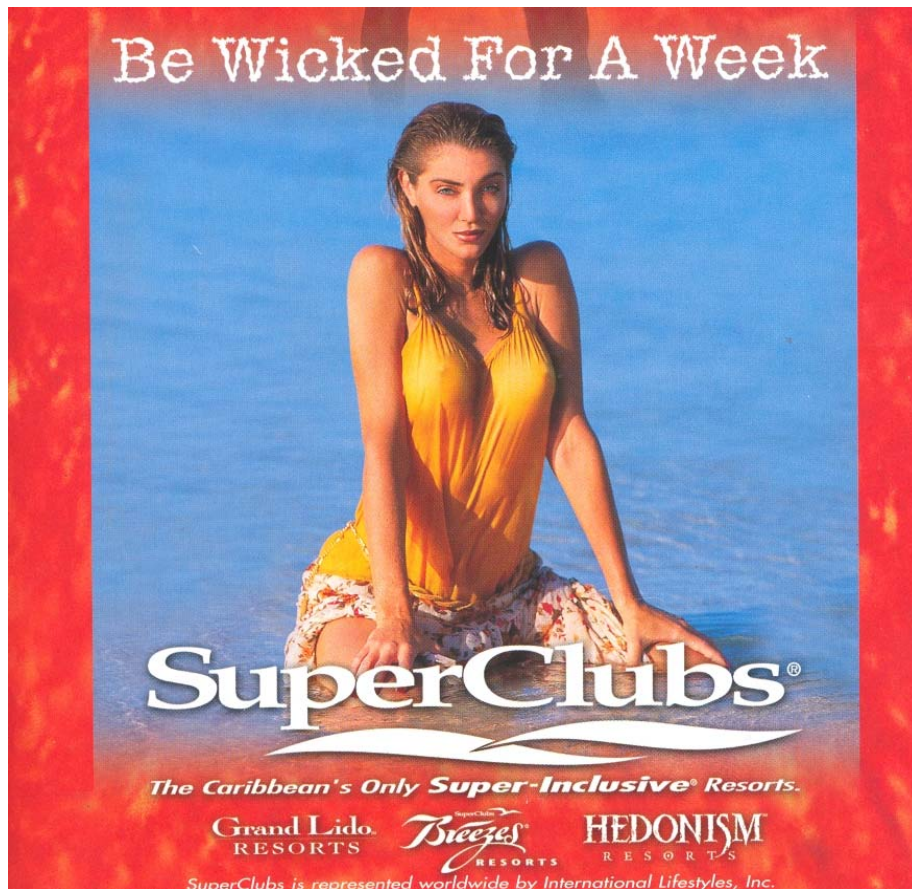


Figure 25 *SuperClubs* featured in The Jamaica Tourist Board brochure (2001).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there is a shift in the subjects used to represent Jamaica as a tourist destination. An example of the more recent approach to tourism is the use of gender and white female sexuality, as in the visual text produced to promote The SuperClubs *Hedonism II* resort. “Drawing on codes and conventions from pornography” (Coward, 1984: 59), Figure 25 adopts the practice of displaying the female body and overt sexuality to promote the Jamaican holiday resort. There is a departure from the previous representations as now the female body is white, yet acutely sexual as the image draws on the historical use of Jamaica as a destination for sexual escape. The white

female may no longer be concealing her sexuality, yet she remains significant for continuing to feminise the tropical landscape and continues the established link between women, water and sexuality discussed earlier in this chapter.

The model's posture and expression, and wet clothing, draw on the contemporary use of pornographic references in mainstream visual texts as Woods (2000) and Coward (1984) have argued. The statement above the model's head invites the reader to be "*Wicked for a Week*" and the red background reinforces the message of "youth, beauty and sexual encounters" (Morgan and Pritchard, 2001: 165). If as Woods (2002: 91) argues, the colonial plantation has historically been a backdrop for European pornography, what does this suggest about the use of Jamaica as a site of sexual escape for white Euro-American tourists in the contemporary period? This indicates that there is a significant continuity with the historical and colonial context, which frames sexual relations in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean.

The theme of sexual encounters continues in Figure 26 (page 206), in an advert produced by the Jamaica Tourist Board in 2005. It mirrors the sexualised approach of promoting tourism in Jamaica which is adopted by the commercial sector. Although the advert draws on sexual connotations, it is more cautious in its approach by avoiding the use of intimate heterosexual subjects or sexualised females. This contributes to the image being vague as its address does not imply race or class boundaries. However, the suggestion of sex is in the written texts of the image as it states: "*If these walls could talk*", leading the reader to view the setting as a place for sexual activity, in the reference to lust. The text

used to support this image reinforces the idea that it is not Jamaica or its culture that is being promoted, but a sexualisation of the tourist space. The island is summed up in bold text against a pink background with no urban or social context. Although bodies are absent in the image it is the privileging of the tourist and not the host citizens that is being communicated here; the image has been photographed to suggest that the tourist can fantasise that they are on the bed, looking out onto the veranda and the sea. This is a shift away from the crude promotion of Jamaica as a sexual destination, and is perhaps an attempt to recover a tarnished image. This more subtle approach may also reverse the negative publicity from UK television programmes such as 'Caribbean Uncovered' on Channel Four and 'Pleasure Island' on ITV in 2000, where the sexual exploits of tourists were aired (Morgan and Pritchard, 2001: 298; Sheller, 2003: 166).

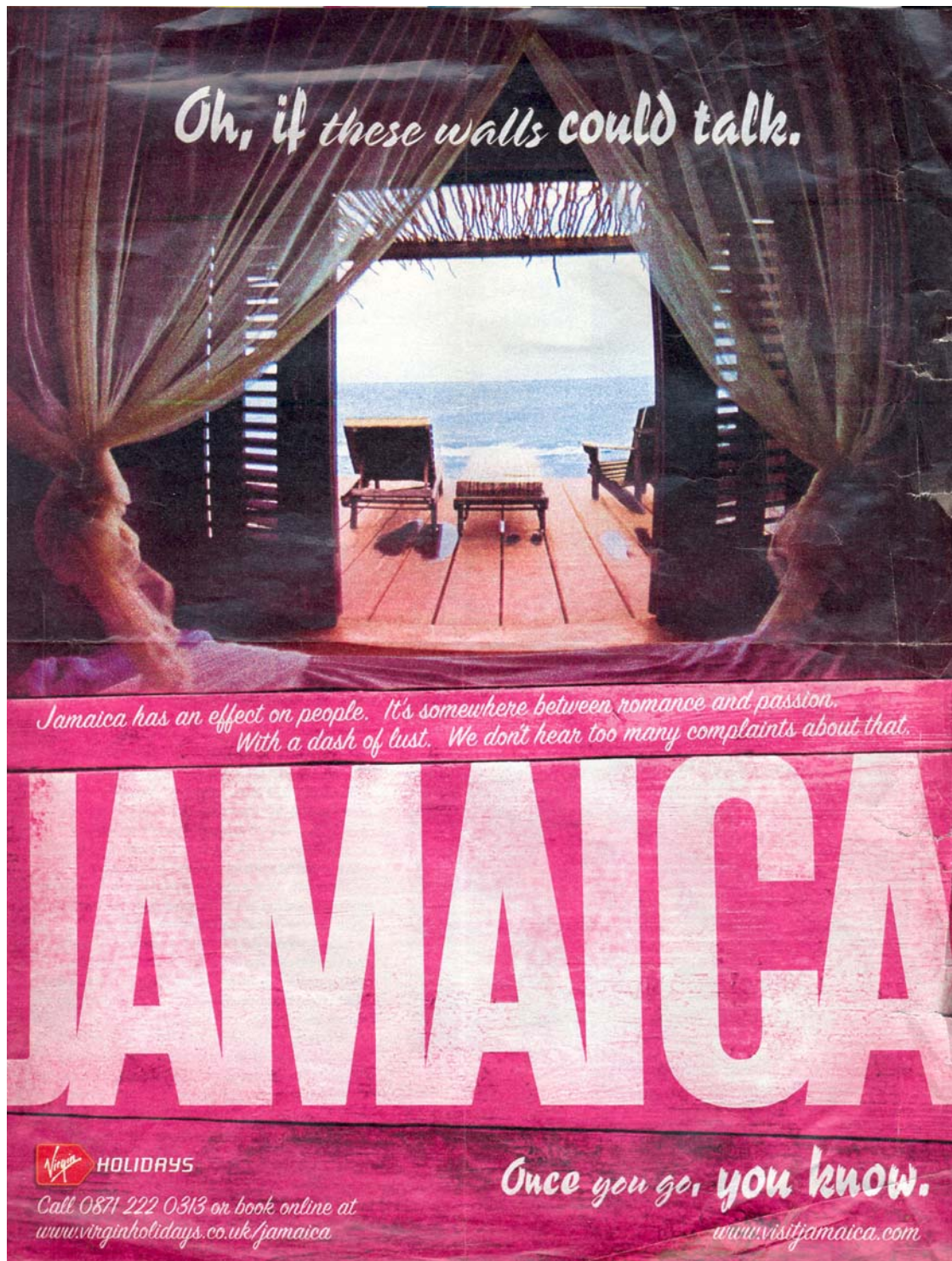


Figure 26 courtesy of The Jamaica Tourist Board (2005).

Jamaica continues to be promoted to major generating markets as a destination where sexual abandon can be indulged in. As the government funds the agency that promotes tourism (The Jamaica Tourist Board), it

has the power to transform and influence the shaping of tourism to ensure that the history and heritage of the island reaches tourists who seek knowledge and understanding of the art, history and culture that Jamaica has to offer. Figure 26 does not provide a representation of Jamaica that stretches beyond the limiting idea of an exclusive paradise. The image falls within the prelapsarian idea of tourism and suggests to the reader that they could come to Jamaica and shut themselves away from the outside world.

Continuities of inequality

Sheller (2003) observes that current representations of the Caribbean are framed in the concept of indulgence and are used as a backdrop for advertising campaigns to promote soft drinks, alcohol and confectionary in which the idea of indulgence and pleasure is reiterated (Sheller, 2003: 165, see also Brian E. M. King, 1997: 2). Sheller calls the process of reusing established visual metaphors of the Caribbean as a “deep layering and reiteration” of such representations. The idea of what the Caribbean represents in a global context has combined the traditional conventions of paradise discourse, the legacy of unrestrained colonial rule in the region and has incorporated new frameworks of unrestrained (and irresponsible) pleasure seeking and sexual transgression. This heavy sexualisation of the female body, has as we have seen, a long history but with important shifts of signifiers.

White Western tourists from race centred societies such as the US and the UK, are the products and beneficiaries of a social context in which

the accumulation of power has been reproduced in racial terms and derived from a history of colonial domination (van Dijk, 1993: 23). Colonial power is articulated through economic control, which enables tourists to exploit their affluent position. As Urry (1995) argues, “the modern subject is a subject on the move” (1995: 141). Therefore, to be modern is to travel and in the Western world modern subjectivity is influenced by the ability to travel and to engage in tourist practices. The concept of the modern tourist is that they are invariably white. As this thesis aims to demonstrate and has been asserted by Urry (1990) in his analysis of the *Tourist Gaze*, the gaze of the tourist is a white “gaze” as the only black faces in the advertising materials are present to represent difference, the “exotic natives” to be gazed upon (Urry, 1990: 143). As ‘bearers of the structures’ of Western nations, white tourists exemplify the ability or possession of resources to be able to buy time; that is the ability to take time away from work (Urry, 1990a: 24).

In contrast to the economic and autonomous position of white tourists, Caribbean nationals are restricted when and where they travel. Their immobility is a consequence of the colonial suppression admirably described by Stark (1898). When black Caribbeans do travel to the West, to the homes of their tourist guests, their mobility is restricted. Christer Petley (2004) recognises the inequalities in the ability to travel and that “unrestricted mobility is clearly not enjoyed by everyone in the modern world” (Petley, 2004: 17). He explains thus:

Travel to the US or to the UK to live and work, even for short periods of time, is currently very difficult for most Jamaicans, many of whom want to travel to these places for a variety of reasons, personal and economic (Petley, 2004: 17).

Scholars writing in this area of study have thus commented on how the mobility of local people is further restricted within the Caribbean by the policing of the tourist resorts, since local people are largely only permitted access to resorts in order to provide service work (Sheller, 2003: 30; Strachan, 2002: 134; Pattullo, 1996: 81).

Restricted mobility “constructs local people as rooted to the place, unchanging scenery as ‘natural’ as tropical nature itself was made to appear” (Sheller, 2003: 62) [in the nineteenth-century travel accounts and continues to do so in the tourist brochures]. This positions Caribbean nations as timeless and pre-modern in comparison to the West. Jamaica could therefore be considered to be pre-modern and post-modern at the same time.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the factors that have influenced the rise and development of tourism in Jamaica. I have aimed to demonstrate how the colonial views of empire were incorporated into the representations of the black and Asian population. Running throughout the historical travel accounts was the assertion of white supremacy and the obsessive categorisation of black and Asian people. Within Jamaica’s complex history lies the potential to understand the contemporary representations of the island which connote difference and intense pleasure. The visual was therefore an instrumental tool in representing the colonial discourse

and the guide books and travel accounts were in essence a picture of the colonial imagination.

I have aimed to demonstrate how Jamaica was positioned as a pre-modern paradise escape. The idea that Western individuals deserved to escape their realities of modernity for a short period of time, was established during the post-emancipation period. In the climate of increased prosperity during the 1950s, tourists exercised their economic privilege and temporarily suspended their roles of responsibility, and everyday social norms (Ryan and Hall, 2001: xv Preface). The 1960s saw a shift in the organisation of the Jamaica Tourist Board and the representation of Jamaica as more explicitly sexualised. As we shall see in more detail this suggests continuities and transformations that exist within contemporary representations of Jamaica through the Sandals brochures.

Introduction to Part Two: Universalising a Version of Whiteness

I have aimed to demonstrate in Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4 of this study, how the historical basis for racialised representations of blackness and whiteness, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century colonial discourses inform contemporary representations of race. This is particularly significant as in the post-colonial context we are encouraged to embrace deconstruction and diversity without discussing the contemporary effects of those relations themselves.

From my dual and marginal subject position, I have aimed to demonstrate that I, and the texts I have analysed have been shaped by the historical context of slavery and migration, and the representations which have been constructed for the brochures are “the culmination of various discourses which have developed over a considerable period of time” (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 236).

“Racial forms and identities have been, and continue to be constitutive building blocks of the structures of cultural processes and products” as Apple, (1998: x) argues, and in the process of constructing tourism products, holidaying appears to be an activity primarily for white subjects. Significantly, in the discussion entitled *A Politics of Recognition*, I explain how my claim to Britishness has been contested and drawing on this, I read the images as saying “This is where black subjects belong. You do not define the terms of reference for your identity. This is defined for you and your place in service is where you appropriately and naturally belong”.

Drawing on Homi Bhabha's (1994) concept of ambivalence and excess as discussed in his essay *The Other Question*, I am able to draw together the historical links with the colonial period and the post-colonial context with a selection of contemporary tourist images. From this discussion, I aim to make clear the agents and the recipients of the images.

Who are the images for?

Morgan and Pritchard (1998: 132) and Urry (1990: 90) state that the audience for tourist brochures is predominantly for white people evident in the limited representations of non-white realities. Given the historical basis on which white perceptions of blackness have been based, and the longevity of associating blackness with servitude (as represented in Hogarth's work, Figure 5), labour and forms of pleasure (Anim-Addo, 2007; Morrison, 1993), it is not surprising that they are not represented as legitimate recipients of leisure and luxury. As we know, white anxieties formulated the now entrenched myth of paradise which positioned black subjects as enjoying the bountiful nature and easily available food in the colonies (Pajaczkowska, 1992: 203; Pieterse, 1995; Hall, 1992b). They were bound and fixed as indolent and greedy. Yet, in the process of not differentiating between projection and reality, and the "splitting off" or disavowed aspects of the independent white man were not regarded as lazy and exploitative (C. Hall, cited in Young, 1992). The colonial relationship was one of domination and dependence (Bhabha, 1994; Bhattacharyya, et al, 2002: 11). As discussed in Chapter 3, despite the claim that the colonial male was independent, the reliance on the products of the plantation economy was fundamental to the maintenance

of white identities as superior. Bhabha (1994) argues that it is “ambivalence that gives the stereotype its currency and ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures” (Bhabha, 1994: 66). In the contemporary representations it is servitude as an aspect of the stereotype which is emphasised, whilst the fetishistic preoccupation with the sexuality of the black subject (as was discussed in the case of Baartman), is deemphasised. In the chain of stereotypical signification which is mixed and split, “the black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food)” (Bhabha, 1994: 82). However, it is the latter which is employed to demonstrate how the black subject as a bearer of food and is a recurring stereotype in contemporary visual representations as we shall see in Chapter 6.

Whiteness, as in Bhabha’s (1994) notion of colonial excess was expressed in terms of lifestyle, overindulgence that was so typical in wealthy planter households. This privileged identity was an element in the discursive formation, or the bind of pleasure and power. In an attempt to connect representations to their contemporary material effects (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 3), I aim to critique the racialised economic inequalities that are reflected in the images. The material and economic implications of whiteness are the financial rewards. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998) argue that the Federal Housing Administration in the US have “traditionally favoured housing loans for white suburbs instead of “ethnic” inner cities. Banks have ensured that access to property ownership and capital acquisition for Blacks is severely limited compared to Whites” (ibid.; hooks, 1991: 1; Simpson, 1981) and discrimination toward African Americans seeking to buy homes in

suburban areas (L. Cohen, 2004: 219). Similarly, ethnicity and class have been found to be “a key issue in determining access” to suburban housing in the UK (Scott and Marshall, 2005: 278; Simpson, 1981).

Although different ethnic communities have varying amounts of economic power, the reality is that “ethnic minorities are disproportionately poorer, have lower educational attainment and are more likely to become criminalised” (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 98; Williams, 2003: 5). This is in contrast to “the majority ethnic groups [who] retain power in most [Western] societies” (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 98).

Therefore, without the resources to holiday, we can conclude that poorer social groups in society – including those who are overtly racialised, would not be able to afford a holiday which is marketed as offering luxury, albeit “affordable luxury”. In short, £2,000 would be beyond the reach of groups without disposable incomes. Hooks (1984) argues that “class in American society has been shaped by the racial politics of white supremacy” and it is through analysing race that we gain an “understanding of how class relationships emerge” (hooks, 1984: 3). Class, beyond “Marx’s definition of the relationship to the means of production” is significant in influencing the decisions we make, the quality of life we have and the choices that are open to us (Brown quoted in hooks, 1984: 3). Thus, “racial, ethnic, gender and sexual differences are all deeply embedded in class formation” (Newitz and Wray, 1997: 180). The result of the neglect of class has been to overlook the workings of capitalism as a system of domination and oppression (ibid).

The United States has its own history of slavery and contemporary issues of race segregation. They would therefore recognise the racialised categories despite the cultural and historical differences between American slavery and slavery in the Caribbean. Contemporary analysis provides a route through the essentialist categories and demonstrates that whiteness is not homogenous. For example, Newitz and Wray (1997: 170) argue that class is a determining factor in how white people *are* racialised. The term *white trash* serves to single out a group of whites on the basis of their poverty.

This is not to suggest that the evident economic inequalities between black and white groups justifies the targeting of affluent white audiences, rather this indicates that by repackaging the “problematic” history of mercantile slavery in a more palatable form, avoids making white audiences feel uncomfortable and provides narratives which reaffirm those inequalities. Bhabha (1994) warns against viewing “the *perpetrator* of the discriminatory discourse to be in a position that is *unmarked by the discourse* to the extent to which the *object* of discrimination is deemed natural and visible” (Bhabha, 1994: 80). Thus, the coloniser is not outside of the colonial process.

...in black destinations the local people rarely figure and if they do it is largely in a service capacity or as an attraction...the Caribbean appears as an almost exclusive white, heterosexual playground...(Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 232).

Bhabha (1994) argues that, “fixation moves between the recognition of cultural and racial difference and its disavowal, by affixing the unfamiliar

to something established, in a form that is repetitious and vacillates between delight and fear” (Bhabha, 1994: 73). Perhaps this is what is happening in the Sandals images? It is the unfamiliar tropical environment that is used to attract the reader within the context of the established and recurring stereotype and delight in luxury, fear of the Other is contained in this controlled environment. Thus, Said (1978) argues that,

Something patently foreign and distant acquires, for one reason or another, a status more rather than less familiar. One tends to stop judging things either as completely novel or as completely well known; a new median category emerges, a category that allows one to see new things, things seen for the first time, as versions of a previously known thing. In essence such a category is not so much a way of receiving new information as it is a method of controlling what seems to be a threat to some established view of things (Said, 1978: 58-59).

As we shall see in the chapters that follow, “the stereotype vacillates between what is always ‘in place’, already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated” (Bhabha, 1994: 66). We already know the stereotyped subject through the established historical representations, but we get to know them again as the dual aspect of the stereotype is more clearly visualised, worked up and reemphasised. In the previous chapters, I discussed how it was the novelty of the tropical landscape that was emphasised, yet in the contemporary representations the black subject is not placed against the menacing tropical background, as in Figure 16. Rather it is the beach or the hotel that is deemed to be the appropriate location for the post-colonial black subject.

The enlisting of a fixity approach ensures that the indigenous population appear to be rigidly unchanging. In the brochures, it is only the national and local élite who are made visible, by consenting to representations which reinforce relations of subordination and domination (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 167; hooks, 1991: 21).

The tourist brochures indicate that colonial discourse informs the contemporary apparatus of power, in which a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited in a mixed erotic economy within the context of ambivalence. Thus,

the other is always excessive...exotic food, strange and noisy music, outlandish bodily exhibitions, or unremitting sexual appetite...Whites infact organise their own enjoyment through the other...and access pleasure precisely by fantasizing about the other's "special" pleasure. Hatred of the other arises from the necessary hatred of one's own excess; ascribing this to the "degraded" other *and indulging* it – by imagining, incorporating, or impersonating the other- one conveniently and surreptitiously takes and disavows pleasure at one and the same time. (Eric Lott quoted in McLaren, 1998: 67)

Yet, it is the excess in terms of overabundance, lavishness and extravagance which is inscribed in whiteness and celebrated in the images.

The ambivalence is in the binding relationship of dominance and dependence (Bhabha, 1994). Thus, the overdeveloped nations in the West are dependent on their poorer hosts as cheap destinations for travel. This is not to suggest that local people passively accept the exploitative relations of tourism exchange. As I was able to observe and experience in Jamaica, local people can and do maintain a polite distance from the tourists.

Morgan and Pritchard (1998, 2001) assert that the advertising profession is a predominantly white sector and as a consequence tourism images “assume a particular kind of tourist – white, western, male, [middle-class] and heterosexual” (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 167). Without the access to the mechanisms which reproduce representations, this limits and restricts the opportunities for non-white groups to represent and speak for themselves (Spivak, 1988; Hall, 1996). In order to resist and subvert the meanings communicated in the images the tools of critical analysis are required to assess the accuracy of the images. By drawing on post-colonial theory, it is possible to critique the nature of representation itself (Mongia, 1997: 2), particularly when “Western ideas about ‘race’ have been shaped by the fateful history of the slave trade, colonisation, and imperialism” (Hall, 1997b: 239). Therefore, the analysis of the images in this study enables albeit limited in this instance a critique of the inequalities that shape current global relations between First and Third World nations (Mongia, 1997: 7).

Representations of race exist within a discursive formation of overlapping and contradictory stereotypes as Bhabha (1994) has described as dutiful, yet deceitful. Equally, as I have aimed to demonstrate in the earlier chapters, what we have come to understand about ideas of what “constitutes white femininity/masculinity are constructed in relation to those about black femininity/masculinity and vice versa” (Ware, 1996: 145).

In the following chapters, I place the contemporary visual texts in an informed historical context, and I aim to make clear the linkages with

the imperial and colonial past with the visual representations of the present.

Chapter 5 The Observer is now the Observed: Examining Representations of Whiteness in Sandals Images

This chapter focuses on how Sandals packages Jamaica as a holiday destination. I am particularly concerned with how the visual texts construct a discursive formation which is incorporated into the bind of pleasure and power which work to connote notions of luxury, and paradise, along with discourses of love and romance and the ideal of heterosexuality and marriage within the images.

The analysis of the images focuses on how whiteness is tied up with the pursuit of luxury – if only for the temporality of a holiday. Yet this is significant, as Jamaica has a history of being appropriated by Europeans as a destination for sexual escape and self-indulgence as discussed in Chapter 3. This is a lingering element in the images.

The chapter recognises the influence of feminist theory on contemporary debates regarding gender roles and representation, yet broadens this discussion by addressing the contradiction between the white middle-class feminists' dissatisfaction with marriage, yet the promotion of marriage in the Sandals images as the ideal for human happiness. It is a fantasy which is supported by a colonial backdrop.

In Chapter 2, I noted the particular slant of the images towards an American tourist market whilst the images draw on British colonial tropes and references. In basic economic terms, Sandals are aiming to appeal to their closest market – geographically and economically as North American tourists make up 78 per cent of the market with 1,101, 754 stopover arrivals in 2004 (Hospitality Jamaica, 2005: 3). America, Britain

and the Caribbean have a shared history of slavery. The strategy which Sandals have instructed the creators of the images to adopt, unites their potential tourists (Americans and Europeans) as they originate from race-centred societies and will be familiar with the binaries (however essentialised) in the images. As Morrison (1993) notes, classic American literary texts were not written to centrally address black Americans; rather they were used as a fictional backdrop (Morrison, 1993: 16). What I aim to provide here, is a discussion of representations which reproduce this narrative in contemporary visual texts.

Romance

The importance of romance in the Western context is how it defines heterosexual love within the confines of a masculine framework and marriage. The central plot of a romance describes the course of the hero and heroine's courtship. This may include conflicts and denials which suggest that the course of love does not run smoothly, but safely arrives at a happy ending with marriage between the hero and heroine (Coward, 1984: 189).

Romance narratives convey the idea that struggles and differences can be resolved within the existing patriarchal structures and elevate marriage as the centrally significant event of the narrative (ibid: 176). Romance narratives do not present a challenge to patriarchal structures nor do they push the boundaries to alter the social conventions of gender. As Radway's (1987) study of romance fiction and female readers demonstrates, the most favoured narratives are those which endorse

marriage as the ultimate goal for women (Radway, 1987: 102). Thus, a woman's self-worth is only truly validated when she has secured the affections of a man (ibid: 106). Marriage is therefore elevated to the position of being the relationship in which women receive love, care and attention as epitomised by romance fiction.

When placed together the binary oppositions of gender produce a union of heterosexuality that is frequently represented as an ideal emotional state and reinforces the taken for granted "naturalness" of heterosexual marriage despite the negative side of this institution which includes divorce, domestic violence and economic inequality.

Second-wave feminism which resurfaced during the 1970s was centred on debates concerning the contradictions and the oppressive nature of patriarchy within marriage, alongside the promotion of romantic love and the propaganda regarding the joys of marriage (Joseph and Lewis, 1981: 158). Radway's (1987) research on women as consumers of romance fiction demonstrates the contradiction between the pursuit of escape which reinforces ascribed gender roles and the reality of inequalities within traditional marriage.

Contemporary feminists have been largely critical of this demarcation of gender roles which position men as breadwinners in the public domain, and women within the domestic sphere as housewives. In particular, the dissatisfaction that feminists had with this division of roles, was women's delegation to support patriarchy, and be dependent on a man for her identity and status (Boden, 2003: 119). Criticisms of this traditional view of gender have highlighted the fact that visual power is also in the male's favour, since the female is usually the object of his gaze

(Coward, 1984: 75; Mulvey, 1989). Joseph and Lewis' (1981) study of women's magazines aimed at black and white women concludes that adverts address women encouraging them to be decorative; to look and be sexy, smell nice and wear fashionable clothes, all based on male definitions and expectations of womanhood (Joseph and Lewis, 1981: 158). The contemporary media have extended the male gaze by displaying women's faces and bodies "on the streets" (Coward, 1984: 75). Thus, women are the subject of the male gaze as they stare, assess and judge the sexual allure and physical beauty that is tied to [women's] identities (Radway, 1987: 107).

However, despite the protests made by traditional feminist theory, there is a more complex identity than solely victimisation within patriarchy. White women are able to hold forms of power and "maintain them in the face of sexist exploitation – class and race privilege" (hooks, 1991: 76). Middle-class white women are free to assert their sexual agency, when they had previously been denied this as a means of expression. However, to focus on this is actually to ignore the material and economic consequences of equating whiteness with luxury. The link I aim to make here, between the historical positioning of white middle-class women, particularly in the colonies and the contemporary representations, is that the white middle-class woman remains the 'lady of the manor' and has access to the elite social group. The domestic sphere, or the dissatisfaction with it, is a difference between black and white women's concerns through feminism. The home was where, as hooks (1991) argues, a refuge from the racism experienced outside.

Sexism has not meant an absolute lack of choices for white women (hooks, 1984), and the suggested message in the images is that white women are not subject to the same respects or constraints as women from racialised communities (Bhattacharyya, et al., 2002: 105). Therefore, the images are addressing women who have largely benefited from the social changes as a consequence of the feminist movement.

Gender Relations in Contemporary Marriage

There has been a shift in the understanding of the conception of marriage, from the event as an institution, to a focus on the event as a conferment of a relationship of choice (Boden, 2003). In contrast to the concept of marriage as organising women as [ideologically] “equal” marital partners (Bland, 1983: 24), contemporary practice positions subjects as economically powerful. However, romance continues to be the acceptable face of desire for women in Western cultures (Bland, 1983: 9) and within the discursive formation of luxury and self-indulgence, the female is still inscribed as beautiful, gentle and ultimately reinforcing masculinity (Frankenberg quoted in McLaren, 1998: 65) as we shall see in the analysis of the images.

A Sandals Marriage

In the process of complementing each other, masculinity and femininity are combined to construct an ideal of exclusive class status. Through the representations of white weddings and marriage, luxury is normalised

and legitimated. My aim here is to challenge the representations as a regime of truth, so that they are not “subject to normalizing judgements” (Bhabha, 1994: 67) where the association with whiteness and luxury remains unmarked as normal. This is the element which links the contemporary images back to eighteenth and nineteenth century legendary and decadent colonial planters lifestyles.

The Sandals wedding is stated as being “*the perfect start to the perfect marriage*”. This slogan emphasises the romantic ideals that are presented here, however, the ideal marriage which Sandals represents does not occur in the context of everyday life, and that happiness is easier to achieve when there are no reminders of social constraints. This was echoed by Radway’s respondents in her study who expressed how they used romance fiction as a way of escaping the reality of their responsibilities as wives and mothers.

The images overwhelmingly feature white brides and grooms, smiling as they run along white beaches, as in Figure 27 and 28, and they exploit the romantic notions of eloping and escaping the constraints of social conventions. The images connote escape, freedom and the ultimate in romance. There are no references to modernity, in particular the urban context and representations of the local population are absent. All white and over elaborate wedding dresses encapsulate the ideas of luxury and displace any obvious need to undertake work for a living.



Figure 27 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).

Figure 27 reinforces the association with youth, whiteness and romance as the white couple are dressed completely in white. Their clothes reflect the white sand, yet contrasts with the azure blue of the sky and the sea. Luxury is connoted in the image as they appear to be drinking champagne. They are not dressed in traditional wedding attire. The female subject is wearing a low-cut, fitted dress, which could be described as a couture design. The aim of this image is perhaps to modernise the

concept of marriage by presenting to the reader the idea that marriage is glamorous, sophisticated and attractive, which produces a state of happiness.



Figure 28 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

Figure 28 presents the female subject as the bride in a full wedding gown. The discourse of marriage and romance is constructed within patriarchy in this image as the (hidden) groom is lifting his wife over his shoulder to

communicate his physical strength. The beach is connoted as the ideal landscape for heterosexual romance, weddings and the ideal of the happy ever after ending reinforces ascribed gender roles.

The film star image is conveyed by the bride wearing dark sunglasses and also connotes the idea of cool and sophistication. The three part scene technique is used to create a narrative and the three images come together to communicate part of a playful scene between a “just married” couple. The first scene shows the bride enjoying being lifted onto her husband’s shoulder; however, in the second image, her husband is carrying her into the sea and her raised hand and foot suggests that she is resisting his physical control over her. The gender order is restored when the bride has relented to being taken into the sea and can be seen smiling with her arms open wide.



Figure 29 courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].



Figure 30 courtesy of Sandals (2005)

Masculinity and femininity work together to represent the nuclear ideal, yet these representations omit the racialised sexual relations between white men and black women which undermined the construction of white heterosexual unity in the colonial context as we saw in Chapter 3. Tourism and luxury, as with the mercantile plantation system, is labour

intensive, yet references to this are omitted in the wedding/marriage images. The wedding dress is elaborate, impractical and positively luxurious as in the painting of the Duchess of Portsmouth in Chapter 3. Here, the repeated representation of the white female as a 'lady' is reinforced and subsequently respected for her title as 'Mrs'.

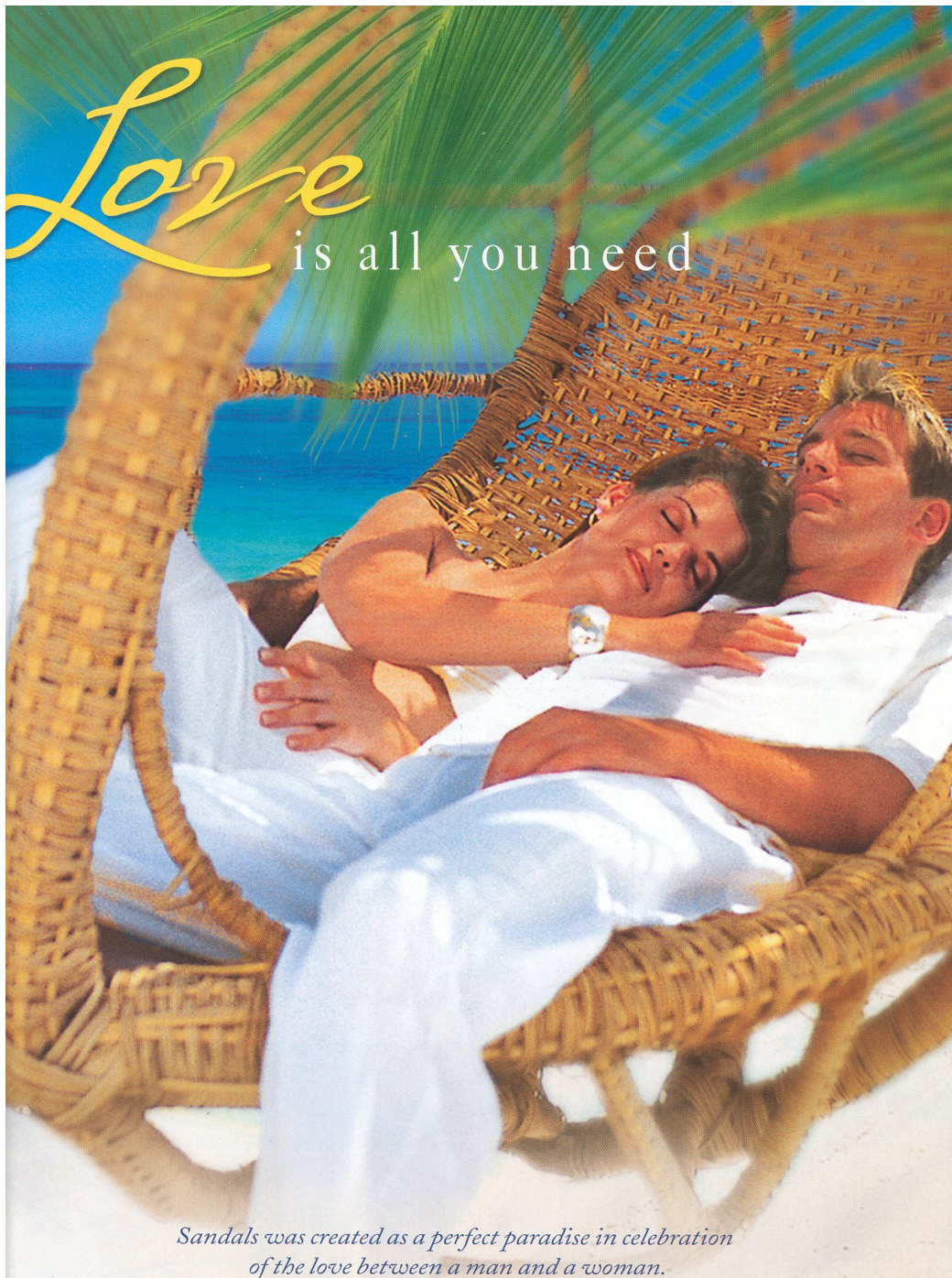


Figure 31 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

The Sandals company convey their policy of providing holiday locations for heterosexual couples only is explicitly communicated in the brochure images and their supporting texts. In Figure 31, there are two statements used to anchor the image. The first statement emphasises the priority of heterosexual love in the promotion of this tourist product since the word “love” appears personalised or brushscript and in large italic letters at the top of the image. The sequence of images that follow provide a representation of how heterosexual couples publicly demonstrate that they are in love. The subjects are entwined, relaxing in a hammock and shaded by a palm tree to confirm that they are located in a tropical location. They have their eyes closed and are expressing reciprocal affection by placing a hand on the body of their companion. This may suggest that they have equal status in the relationship which is echoed by their fully clothed white bodies. The statement at the bottom of the image reminds the reader, if they missed it the first time that:

“Sandals was created as a perfect paradise in celebration of the love between a man and a woman” (Sandals, 2005:1).

The images convey ideas of what is appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour, in the form of public displays of affection, although sanctioning this only for heterosexual couples (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 123). Love between two women or two men is not invited to participate in this construction of love.



Figure 32 “Honeymoon memories that will last a life time”
courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

Figure 32 could be described as a representation of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The image is captioned as being “Honeymoon memories that will last a life time” which reinforces the idea that marriage is the ultimate goal, is attainable and can last a lifetime. This image draws on a Biblical narrative that is familiar in Western culture and celebrates the heterosexual relationship which is reconstructed in this visual text. The themes of temptation and nudity from the Adam and Eve narrative are interwoven into the established and legitimate discursive formation of marriage. The couple are standing close together and positioned in a tropical setting. The scene has a backdrop of leaves to reinforce the idea that they *are* Adam and Eve and it is fitting for them to be there despite their obvious Europeaness. The tanned skin of the young couple, probably in their late twenties or early thirties and his short dark hair suggests a Mediterranean look and their nudity reinforces the idea that they are in a lush, warm environment. What this image conveys about the suggested ideal white female identity is that to be truly feminine in the contemporary context is to have bronzed white skin and to be thin. The torso of the male is muscular and draws on the conceptions of masculinity that require physical strength to be of value. The couple have toned and bronzed bodies which connote affluence in the Western context (Ahmed, 1998).

Although she is standing in front of the male in the image, his posture is confident and relaxed as his companion is the subject of his gaze. There are tensions within this image as he is lowering his gaze, but his confident stance suggests assurance and protection, yet the dominance of the female’s body in this image powerfully suggests that she

is seducing him. Her barely clothed body is touching her companion and she is caressing his face.

The physical contact that is the subject of Figure 32, suggests that sexual passion within marriage is the ideal. Radway's (1987) observation that the novels her respondents preferred to read the most were narratives where the heroine was associated with one man and eventually marries him. This reading of the respondent's preferences suggests that sex is acceptable, but only within the confines of marriage. What is communicated through the visuals is that sexual desire is permitted here and supports the accompanying themes of monogamy and marriage that are also represented in the images.

Figure 32 can be located within the European high art classical genre which has numerous illustrations of the Adam and Eve narrative. The positioning of the model's bent knee and the backdrop of leaves are similar to Titian's *The Fall of Man* (1570). The principle characteristic of Eve in this story is that she is a temptress as she persuades Adam to eat the apple. A reading of Figure could be that the female subject is Eve and she is a seducer. If the reader imagines that the female is holding an apple in her raised hand, there are evident connections with the Biblical narrative.

This appropriation of classical art may be an indication of the appeal of the images to white subjects. The staging of the couples in isolated settings reinforces the idea that the heterosexual relationship has priority and should be protected. The images are significant as they communicate to the reader that on a Sandals holiday they will be able to live out the fantasy of having their own paradise. The potential tourist

subject is interpellated by the myth of paradise that offers a primitive freedom that is devoid of social responsibility.



Figure 33 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).

The tropical backdrop to Figure 33, draws on the notions of Jamaica as sexually enticing, yet tinged with danger. However, the subject of the image suggests an ideal of pleasure and leisure without work. Servants are absent in this image, yet service is suggested by the tropical fruit on the tray next to the bed. Labour is required for this ideal of luxury to be achieved. As in Figure 32, the couple have tanned skin and the

heterosexual couple in the image draws on the narrative of Adam and Eve in a secret garden. The female subject in Figure 33 is wearing clothes adorned with sequins and gold velvet; with her alluring posture, the image is suggestive of Orientalist notions of the Orient as sensual, decadent and exotic (Pickering, 2001: 161) and reinforces the relations between the West and its Others [which] “are really defined as sexual” (Said, 1978: 309).

Pleasure Spa inside Paradise



Figure 34 “The Spa” courtesy of Sandals (N.D.) [2001].

Figure 34 presents an ideal version of a white heterosexual couple in “paradise”. It is also similar to Figure 32 since it has a soft focus to convey the idea of a fantasy, gentleness, emotion and intimacy which mirror the facets of romance fiction discussed by Radway (1987). The camera is drawn away from the couple and their positioning to the right of the

image frame suggests that they are not the subject of this image, but their tropical environment is the focus of the reader's attention. This is signified to the reader by the tall palms and bright, vibrant tropical flowers that frame the image. This connotes a secret garden and as the viewer you are peering over the flowers to spy in on a secret meeting. The Adam and Eve theme is also repeated since they are located in an isolated garden.

The heterosexual couple are relaxed as they meet each other's gaze. Her stance is open with her arms hanging freely by her side. The posture and gaze of her companion suggest that they are engaged in conversation and he is inviting her to join him in the pool. Relaxation is connoted by the still reflection of the water and the theme of pleasure is reinforced by the decorative wine glasses positioned on the edge of the pool.

In Figure 34, the physical presence of the couple does not dominate the whole scene. However, the viewer is invited to note their presence as their tanned skin is accentuated by their white garments. The significance of the colour white in this image is that the couple may be on their honeymoon as white; in keeping with the Western cultural context, white is used throughout the Sandals brochure images to signify marriage. The colour white also emanates the idea of luxury and wealth that is suggested, can be experienced during a Sandals holiday. In this image, the white sarong that the female is wearing and the white pillars that surround the pool function to reinforce the use of classical or high art references by featuring a Roman bath or spa. The man's relaxed and open pose in the pool accompanied by the title "*Spas for Body and Mind*" all work to support this representation. The emotions that are connoted in

this image are complex, since the isolation of the couple conveys freedom and they are at liberty to behave freely in what appears to be a pre-civilisation setting. However, the garden is tamed and controlled which may signify that the fantasy has limitations, and despite the suggestion of sexual freedom, it is actually a constructed and controlled space.

However, masculine and feminine identities work together as a unit to enjoy luxury; they are not separate or divided. Reading the images from this perspective enables a link to be made between the colonial history which in part epitomises luxury as whiteness and promotes the nuclear unit as the ideal with the contemporary representations which create a discourse of white heterosexuality, marriage and luxury as the norm.

Purveyors of All They Survey



Figure 35 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).

The theme of controlled spaces is continued in the following image which displays the ideal white female body as sexually desirable, yet within a masculinist framework. Although the female body is unthreatening and conforms to European ideals of beauty (as discussed in Chapter 3) with her long blond hair, she is enjoying the landscape and the luxurious

hideaway with her male companion. This hideaway is a room in a luxury hotel suite with pool, furnished with an Oriental rug, mahogany table and ornately patterned drapes to connote luxury.

Pleasure is signified by the activities that they can indulge in. They can eat, drink or swim in the en-suite pool. They can indulge all of their senses by enjoying the cocktails waiting for them on the table, gaze at the sea view, smell the tropical flowers in the room and feel the water and warm tropical breeze against their skins. The sedative hues of gold and yellow enhance the regal appeal of the luxury décor.

The white male subject is in control and his laidback pose suggests the crucial bind between pleasure and power, as his female companion is the subject of his gaze. Like a king, he confidently extends himself out in the pool and this representation suggests links with a racialised colonial history as,

It is within the framework of objectivity, masculinity as signs of stability and the highest expression of white achievement still work to construct everyday life and social relations (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 6).

Drawing on this knowledge enables a link to be made with how whiteness is represented and its associative possession of power. If the images are read from the colour-blind standpoint (Morrison, 1993), that we are all the same, that we live in a just world with equal opportunity and being white is no different from being any other race or ethnicity, then it is difficult to interpret the relationship between white wealth and racial exploitation. The political dynamics of this relationship are therefore neglected (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 15).

Whiteness, masculinity and femininity are co-producers of one another, in ways that are in their turn, crosscut by class and by the histories of racism and colonialism (Frankenberg quoted in McLaren, 1998: 65).

Thus, the analysis of the representations of whiteness as normal involve a process of de-normalising whiteness as universal. To be able to achieve this is to consider how whiteness is viewed by non-white subjects (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 15).



Figure 36 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).



Figure 37 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).

The enjoyment of luxury is conveyed in the images as the highest expression of white achievement and a testament to the notions of whiteness as superior. Figures 36 and 37 invite the reader to gaze upon the representations of whiteness as a position of privilege. The significance of the images is how this is endorsed and reinforced by masculinity and femininity

The two subjects are positioned in a bedroom with en-suite pool - similar to the previous image in Figure 35. The same shades of yellow have been chosen to dress the bed and decorate the walls. The dark

mahogany furniture creates a contrast to the warm hues and luxury is connoted by the Oriental rug and elaborate drapes.

The male and female subjects are apart, however, they communicate by meeting each other's gaze. The male subject is again in the pool and signifying that he is in possession of that domain. In contrast to the previous image, the female subject is reclining on the bed. Her attire in this image is a (white) skin coloured silk nightdress and she is giving her companion flirtatious signals by touching her hair. As the image is from the perspective of the female subject, it is perhaps suggesting mutual sexual desire and female sexual agency.

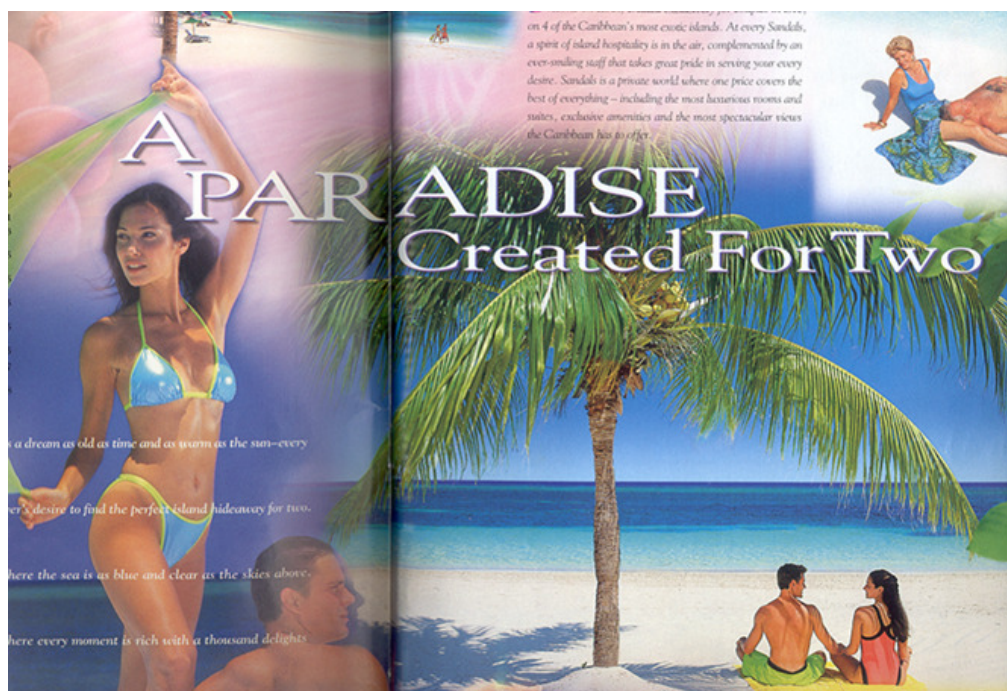


Figure 38 “A Paradise Created for Two” courtesy of *Sandals* (2002).

The emphasis on celebrating the heterosexual relationship and collaboration between masculinity and femininity continues in Figure 38. The female subject expresses her sexual agency by wearing a turquoise

blue and green bikini, linking her to her environment whilst she surveys the tropical scene with her male companion. The images also draw on a vision of equality. The couple in the bottom right of the picture are signifying a balanced relationship equally seated and mirror each other's gaze. The message that is communicated to the potential tourist subject is that mutual or equal relationships are recognised as a feature of contemporary versions of romance. However, the clear demarcation of gender in the images is achieved by using definitions of femininity that emphasis beauty and masculinity is conveyed by the suggestion of physical strength.

The focus on the white heterosexual couple, and their consumption of luxury that is significant in the images, yet the importance of consumption and its relationship with the construction of femininity has been debated by Lury (1996), Winship (1981) and Radway (1987) amongst others. What is significant about their observations is the emphasis that advertising campaigns place on consumption as a means to achieving happiness. In Figure 38, the subject could attain happiness just by being on a beach – and wearing a bikini. The message is that happiness is not an emotional condition one creates for oneself through action; it is a state of being that can be bought (Radway, 1987: 117).

As with the conclusions drawn by Illouz' research *Consumption and the Romantic Utopia*, the pictures in the brochures demonstrates the couples' almost total seclusion from the rest of the world and when other (black) subjects are present they are usually transient and there to serve the romantic couple. The pictures draw on the dream of what many

middle-class American men and women aspire to owning their own private island as islands give the illusion of sovereignty (Illouz, 1997: 87).

The ideology of romance operates through a narrative which generates the belief that “love” of the romantic persuasion is the solution to all our problems. I would argue that the concept of love is being appropriated and exploited as a commodity to be purchased. According to the Sandals’ slogan “*Love is All You Need*”, this may be the case for subjects who have wealth and security already. It appears that subjects should aspire to obtaining love to complete their collection of possessions.

The intimate positioning of the models and the sexualisation of women’s bodies in the visuals, suggest that sex is what couples need as part of their marriage. The pictures in the brochures are significant and are gendered to reflect the celebration of patriarchal gender roles. Figure 39 below conforms to this sequence of images as the woman featured could be described as being consumed by the man embracing her. She is resting on him which suggests that he is her physical protector. The female is the subject of the image with her closed eyes and open mouth which suggest sexual pleasure. White clothing is also used here to emphasis her tanned skin. The front cover of this brochure invites the subject to view the eroticisation of relationships and the privileging of heterosexual relations.

The individuals in the images are clearly models and not genuine tourists as they all look flawless. Radway (1987: 98) identified the theme of perfection in her study of romance fiction as it produced for her readers an escape from reality. As in the favoured novels, the models in the brochures are presented as physically perfect. They do not have hair out

of place, blemishes on their faces. Neither are they even slightly ‘over weight’ and this works to reinforce the ideas of fantasy in the images.



Figure 39 “Love is all you need” courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

Love on the Beach

If we turn to Figures 40, 41, 42 and 43 it can be seen that a particularly favourite composition is the couple engaged in lovemaking on the beach with the female lying on top of her male companion. It is the erotic fantasy of sex on the beach that is represented here. In Figure 43, the couple appear to be reclining on the beach, with their eyes closed, but in a reciprocal embrace of holding their partner’s hand.

Contemporary romance is characterised by the fusion of culture and commodity, the construction of desire within the idioms of consumption

(Illouz, 1997: 82). However, romance could equally be supplanted by sex, as this too is directly the desired outcome of erotic desire. The representation of sex in the Sandals images is more subtly conveyed by the display of male and female bodies embracing. The composition of the male and female bodies entwined together suggests that they are united, and appear to be reciprocating each other's affection by their smiling faces.



Figure 40 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).



*"Sandals Antigua - the ultimate in romance
and luxury that will leave you breathless."
- Bride's Magazine*

Figure 41 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

*Imagine an
enchanted paradise
created for two people in love
where every romantic wish
is graciously granted.*



Figure 42 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).

at Sandals

love **LOVE** *is all you need*



Sandals
RESORTS

Jamaica Antigua St. Lucia Bahamas Cuba

Figure 43 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).

Things to do in a romantic tropical setting

The visual texts provide a series of narratives that describe the range of activities that a couple can do together; they can engage in risk taking activities such as sailing or snorkelling or relax on the beach. Such activities offer a means of escape and adventure away from the monotony of every day urban living. The images could be described as the tool that is used to engage the tourist subject in identifying with the individuals that they see in the images. They too could be enjoying a variety of activities in “paradise”. The couples featured are also spending time embracing each other which suggests that the reader is privileged to be invited to observe such private and romantic moments. The representations are effective in conveying the “normalness” of white subjects engaging in privileged activities.



Figure 44 courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

The subjects in Figure 44 communicate to the reader how Sandals images celebrate and promote white heterosexuality and privilege. The emphasis on the pleasure seeking activities in the pictures is intertwined with the themes of “uninhibited sensuality, instant gratification, and spontaneous fun” (Illouz, 1997:88). The couple on the left of the image are displaying a reciprocal pose and are holding each other’s gaze. Their physical contact of holding hands suggests that they are equal and are united, one would think, in love.

Representations of white subjects enjoying luxury in the brochures is naturalised through the repeated images and is illustrated by numerous scenes of couples dining by candlelight in lavish restaurants or having a drink at the piano cocktail bar. The image in Figure 45 follows the established sequence of couples mirroring each other’s gaze. They are holding hands above the table to reveal their intimacy and unity and this atmosphere is reinforced by the lighted candles. The crystal wine glasses serve to reinforce the idea of luxury and pleasure that the couple are experiencing. Their smiling faces suggest that they are displaying reciprocal feelings of pleasure in this image. There is also a shift in the attire that the couple are wearing and this reflects the more public activity that they are engaged in. Their isolation suggests that they are having a private meal which emphasises their sophistication and status.

He is formally dressed in a tailored jacket, whilst the female wears jewellery to accompany her evening dress and styled hair. The reference to Sandals’ gourmet restaurants at the top of the image reinforces the

connoted middle-class status of the subjects represented.



Figure 45 courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].



Dine in your villa suite and enjoy a private evening with our exclusive Butler Service. ▲

With 17 categories encompassing 529 rooms, suites, and villas, this resort offers an incredible array of accommodations. A spectacular one-bedroom suite overlooking the ocean... a private villa suite nestled in the hillside with its own romantic pool... or a quaint cottage hidden in fragrant gardens. And all of the Concierge level accommodations include a variety of rich appointments and elevated services, while suites at the highest level include a personal butler who will attend to your every wish, even unpacking and packing your clothes.

A Riviera Oceanfront One-Bedroom Luxury Suite overlooks the ocean. ▼

Figure 46 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

Such images are used to convey sophistication and “good taste” which can be achieved through conspicuous consumption. The activities of dining, drinking wine, dancing and enjoying live music underpin the fetishization of romance and express economic power and social class. Black people are rarely featured in the images however, when they are present, it is to reinforce whiteness’ enjoyment of luxury. This is conveyed in the exclusive personal Butler service in Figure 46 which attends to the leisured subject by “unpacking and packing their clothes”.

In Figure 47, the face of the black subject providing the entertainment at the piano cannot be seen, as the focus is on the white couple as they share an intimate moment and display their sophistication by drinking wine from crystal glasses.

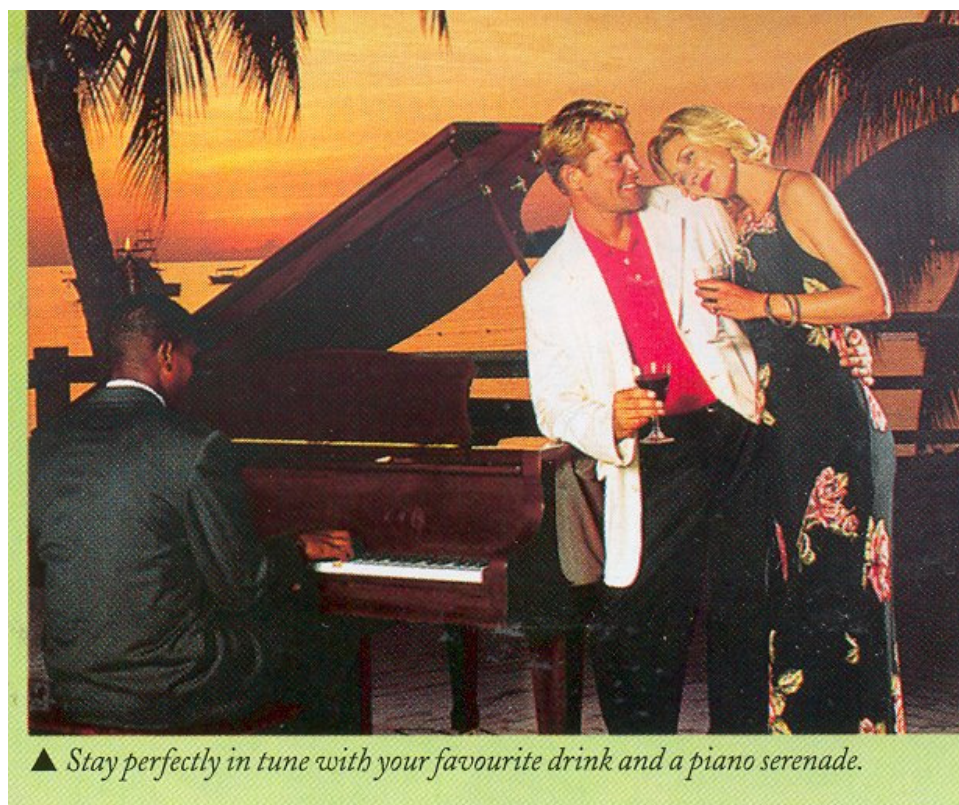


Figure 47 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).



Figure 48 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

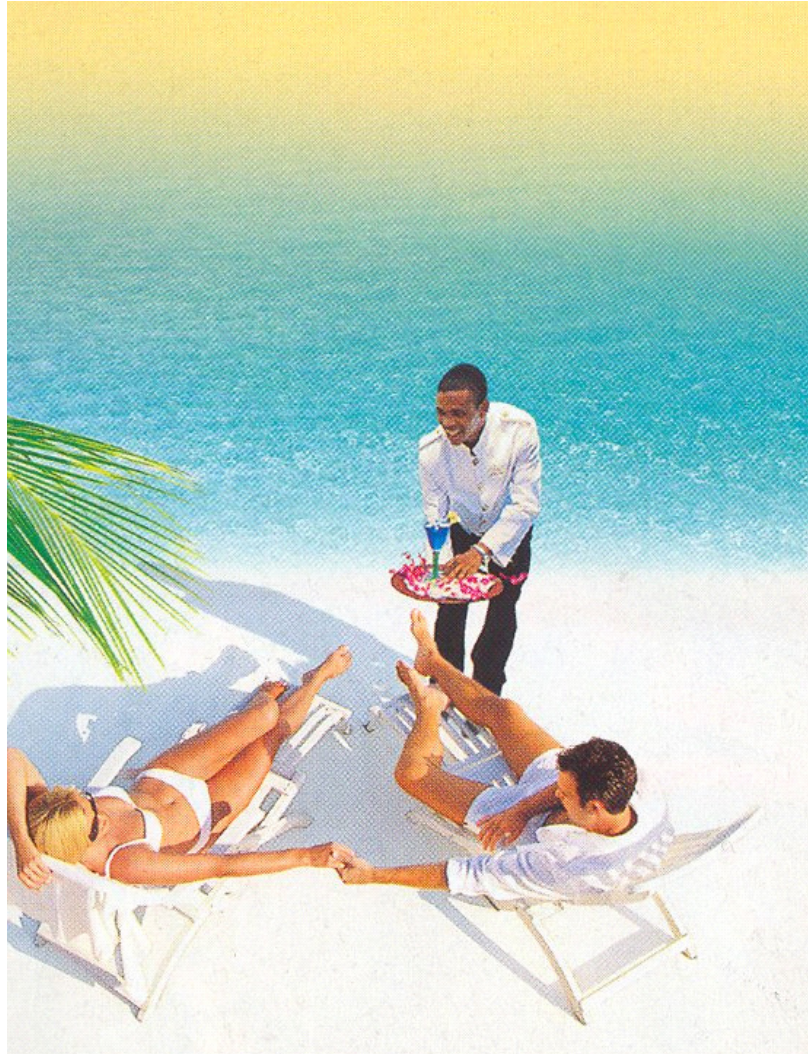


Figure 49 courtesy of Sandals (2005)

The last two images in this chapter support the discussion regarding white heterosexuality and privilege as the natural order and repeat the use of whiteness as the ideal by the white sand, white banister and their white clothes. The male subject is in control and he demonstrates his possession/ownership of his female companion by placing his hand her waist. They are the purveyors of all they see as they sit against the backdrop of the ocean. A layer is added to this argument by the presence of the smiling black subject who serves the leisured couple drinks. As we

shall see in Chapter 6, this representation has links with the colonial past as conveyed in the discussion of Hogarth's painting, in Chapter 3.

Conclusion

The chapter has aimed to convey the links that are evident between heterosexuality, whiteness and privilege within the context of a Sandals holiday. The continued significance of race in the modern world is evident in the analysis that has been presented here, as how people are validated, is highly dependent on race (Dyer, 1997). This has been illustrated by the repeated use of white models, dressed in white and relaxing in various isolated settings, but most significantly represented as enjoying luxury and being waited on by Others. Close analysis of the visual texts reveals that there are additional meanings which draw on the existing prominence of romance and the ideal of marriage in contemporary culture, which has been supported by a discussion of Radway's study of romance fiction and other scholarly work in this area. These meanings however are accompanied by subtextual messages regarding gender, race and social class in the contemporary context.

Whilst I have observed that the shift in social conventions allows more equality in marriage, the representations of gender follow proscribed ideas of white masculinity and femininity as recipients of luxury. The treatment of race in the images is also significant since black subjects are the Others doing the serving and waiting on white subjects. The white subjects are also racialised, and this is achieved by their class and conferment of gender roles. The chapter draws attention to and

discusses the change in the signifier which represents sexual desire. There has been a transformation in the use of the female body from the black, mulatto and Asian subject, towards the white female subject as desirable. However, the white female subject continues to be the 'lady' of the manor as she was during slavery. The Sandals images celebrate *her* participation in the elite social group within a masculine framework.

Chapter 6 Desire and Disavowal: Placing the Dominant in the Discourse

...it is difficult to conceive of the process of subjectification as a placing within Orientalist or colonial discourse for the dominated subject without the dominant strategically placed within it too (Bhabha, 1994: 72).

The aim of this chapter is to discuss how the white body is the subject of cultural production and how this particular body is constructed to conform to social definitions of gender. This discussion notes the continuities in using the female body to represent Jamaica as a tourist destination which incorporate notions of escapism and the continued racialisation of gender in the images. As discussed in Chapter 3, the black female body was scrutinised and positioned as an object of sexual fascination by colonial travellers and their imperial audiences. However, this chapter discusses the centrality of the white female in contemporary representations in the Sandals and Round Hill images, and blackness as displaced as an absent presence, or authorised versions of otherness (Bhabha, 1994: 88).

The chapter continues with the discussion set out in Chapter 5, which addressed the associations made with whiteness and privilege in the images. The links between the historical representations of blackness and whiteness are made with specific reference to the contemporary representations which repeat the depersonalisation of blackness through repeated associations with servitude (Bhabha, 1994: 82; Shohat and Stam, 1994: 228).

The white female body in advertising

As discussed in the previous chapter, traditional feminism has been concerned with representations of the white female body as exploitative (Coward, 1984; Kilbourne, 2000). Winship (1983) in her study of women's magazines from the 1970s identified how advertising and feature articles contain images of the female body which are portrayed as sexual, glamorous, and usually white. The issue of representation is significant as it determines who gets to speak and who is heard with legitimacy (hook, 1991: 9). Therefore, the modes of subjectivity that are represented in the tourism visual texts are considered to be normative (Mclaren, 1998: 65). In contemporary representations of women in the media, white female identities are permitted legitimacy and can appear to be contradictory in that a white woman can be addressed through a range of identities, for example, the housewife, beauty icon, business executive, yet at the same time desirable and legitimate. The discourse in which this increasing trend can be located is in the battle that women have with their bodies as Rosalind Coward (1984) has so eloquently described.

However, in the pursuit of the ideal body, to look "good" and be healthy, the adequately gendered body engages in an excessive and aggressive narcissism which capitalizes on class and race difference. As in Foucault's concept of the disciplined body, the repeated appropriation of the white female body as the site on which social concerns regarding sex and health are projected (Coward, 1984: 21). Health is associated with beauty and is underpinned by media which communicate this message through women's magazines, billboards, chat shows and radio

programmes, and advertising promotes body care products and treatments to persuade and encourage consumption (Coward, 1984: 21, Kilbourne, 2000; McRobbie, 1991). This particular use of the white female body is evident in the Sandals tourism brochures and creates a collaboration with advertising focused on products which are promoted as luxurious such as health spas (as we shall see later in this chapter). In the visual texts, the consuming white female body is positioned as a tourist and located within the context of a spa which is remodelled as an earthly paradise. The images in the brochures display a self-indulgent white body which takes up a position of privilege by being pampered, served and entertained at a Sandals paradise style resort. The images demonstrate how heterosexuality interweaves with the ideal of whiteness; communicated by the repeated display of the white female body. This is not the only message being communicated as white women are permitted to take up a variety of roles and positions without being fixed in place or stereotyped as only having one identity. A plethora of identities is available to them. This is in contrast to the limited roles ascribed to black women, for example as the sexual fiend and the overbearing “mamma” (hooks, 1996; Hall, 1997). It is, as Bhabha (1994) argues, “the force of colonial and post-colonial discourse as a theoretical and cultural intervention in our contemporary moment represents the urgent need to contest singularities of difference...” (Bhabha, 1994: 74).

Therefore, my aim is to examine the tourist images, as a “contemporary moment” and address their effectiveness in promoting singularities which gain meaning from the representations of whiteness that currently exist in the media as they play off these existing meanings

(Hall, 1997b). In particular, the privileged white female has been historically juxtaposed with the nurturer of white households, the black mamma; as in *Gone With the Wind*. The film romanticises the politics of black women's enforced sacrificing of their own families and paradoxically positions black women as the natural nurturers of white households.

As I have aimed to demonstrate in Chapters 3 and 4, the body was the discursive site through which racialized knowledge was produced and circulated (Hall, 1997b: 244). This continues in the tourist images as the site for contemporary representations of Jamaica. There is a connection between the enslaved females who managed the households of white planters in the slave colonies and the employment of black women as chambermaids in the Caribbean tourist industry as they would have done during slavery, as we shall see in the following discussion.

Sexuality in Advertising

Whilst feminists have been critical of the appropriation of the female body in advertising, it would appear that the market has used the feminist movement and subsumed it into mainstream advertising. Feminism is no longer a 'threat', but capitalism has been sophisticated in finding new ways to sanitise the issues initially raised by the movement. Within the feminist movement itself a hierarchy has developed with its own material rewards and opportunities for self-advancement through royalties from book publications, paid lectures, and high paying jobs (hooks, 1991: 99).

Therefore, the women's movement could be viewed as having opened up new markets and roles/identities for women to aspire to.

Popular representations of tourism consist of portrayals of gender, sexuality and social relationships that are celebrated and largely unquestioned from within the tourist industry and from readers of the industry (Ryan and Hall, 2001: Preface). Although representations of gender in the visual media are more liberalised in which it is acceptable for males and females to display their sexuality, there is still the social norm to conform to the body ideal of being slim or toned. As Foucault has argued, one can now "get undressed, but you must be slim, good-looking and tanned" (Foucault, 1980: 57; Rayner et al, 2001: 83). However, within this liberalised sexual setting, gender is arrived at through differentials in body shape and body hair, as physical senses of masculinity and femininity are central to cultural interpretations of gender (Connell, 1996: 52). In Figure 50, the demarcation of masculine and feminine can be seen in the female body that is thinner and leaner and without any signs of body hair. *His* facial hair and thicker, muscled torso defines his masculinity. The photograph appears to have been altered to create the illusion of the ideal female body as underneath the model's arched back has been greyed out, creating a shadow to emphasise her thinness. The shape of the female's body is ambiguous; verging on the androgynous as the only evidence that suggests she is female are her very small breasts. There is not an inch of spare flesh on her (having been disciplined enough to remain thin), reminiscent of an adolescent body which takes up limited space, a version of an immature body that is presented as sexual (Coward, 1984: 42). However, her sexuality is responsive to the sexuality of her

male companion (ibid). In this sense, we appear to still be looking at the world within the male sexuality framework (Weeks, 1986: 59). The ideal female body shape is reminiscent of a waif-like, androgynous form.

Incorporated into such images is the suggestion that consumption of the product being advertised will lead to amazing or wild sex and suggests that wearing Calvin Klein jeans will make you more sexually attractive (Kilbourne, 2000).



Figure 50 Calvin Klein Jeans (2004).

Sexual activity is conveyed between the two subjects as their upper bodies are unclothed. The image connotes the idea of the female subject enjoying sexual pleasure, whilst her companion is caressing her breasts; she appears to be trying to remove his jeans. Although such representations are a shift away from the historical perceptions of women that suggested women's sexuality should only be expressed within the confines of marriage and motherhood (Hollway, 1983: 128), female sexuality

continues to be represented within the confines of heterosexual relationships. Maleness and male sexuality are the norms by which white women continue to be judged, despite the contested meanings of gender (Weeks, 1986: 59).

The body is the site of the commodity endorsement; it is the instant impression of how an individual looks and what they are wearing that is significant. As individuals have sexual intercourse with their bodies; the body and sex are inextricably linked. A young body that is well exercised suggests sexual attractiveness- they will, it is assumed perform better sexually, are aesthetically more pleasurable to look at and therefore socially acceptable (Featherstone, 1991: 183). A slim body is associated with being a healthy body and one which is more likely to engage in sexual activity – an opportunity to display it publicly, explains the abundant number of bodies presented in the brochures.

The female subject is everywhere in the Sandals and Beaches brochures, the white female body dominates the landscape and is usually young, blonde, thin and white. However, alongside this representation of femininity, the images appear to be utilising the gains of the feminist movement by connoting the idea that women can have fun as a group independent of men.

Women's bodies have become increasingly sexualised more generally in the media and almost nude women on billboard posters advertising underwear are now common place (Weeks, 1986: 59). The Wonderbra campaign of the early 1990s perhaps best exemplifies this shift in representation (Figure 51).



Figure 51 Wonderbra Advertising Campaign. Source TBWA Ltd reproduced in O'Sullivan et al. (1994: 103).

However, as Coward (1984: 39) cites an article from *Woman's Own* in 1982, the female behind has long been the subject of public scrutiny on seaside postcards. The female subjects in Figure 52 draw on this composition as the sexualisation of their behinds is emphasised by their high cut and brightly coloured briefs which also reinforces their claim to femininity. The image has been cropped just below the models' behinds, a technique which draws the reader's attention to that part of the image, and is replicated for emphasis. Their stance, with their hands on their hips, connotes independence and assertiveness. The image is not a simplistic representation of ascribed femininity as the idea of female agency is combined with a version of femininity that is toned, bronzed, shiny skin, and long hair. Figure 52 positions the women as legitimate in their pursuit of pleasure. The text, which anchors this image, draws on the cliché of "sun, sea, sand and sex" in the statement "*Sun and Sea: Thrilling Ways to make Waves*". The text and image seem to be

suggesting that the resorts provide the setting in which the female subject can exploit the sun and sea and engage in sexual encounters whilst on a Beaches holiday.



Figure 52 Beaches “Sun and Sea: Thrilling Ways to Make Waves” courtesy of Sandals (N.D.) [2001].

The significance of the liberal displays of white female sexuality is that here sexuality is celebrated, rather than constructed as grotesque as in the representation of Baartman in Chapter 3. This suggests that white female sexuality is legitimate and encouraged, and the absence of references to black sexuality in the contemporary images suggests that it is prohibited and should remain absent.

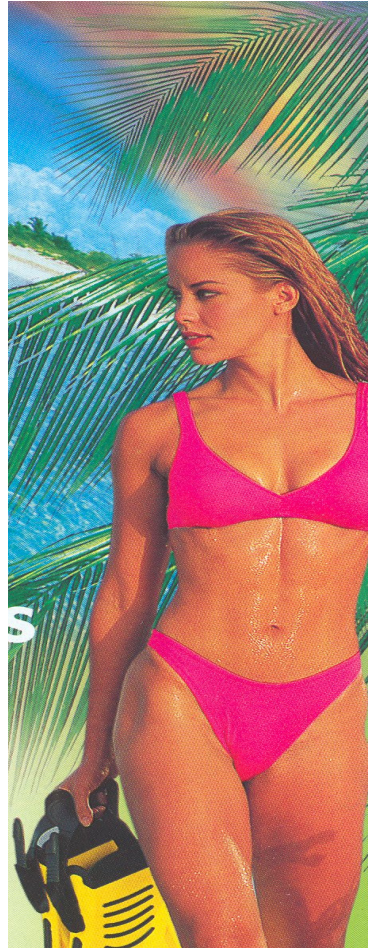


Figure 53 Beaches “Geared up for endless water sports” (N.D.) [2001]

Figure 53 explicitly represents the cultural ideal of the female body which is “between five foot five and five foot eight, long-legged, tanned and vigorous looking, but above all, without a spare inch of flesh” (Coward, 1984: 39; Rayner, et al, 2001). This ideal is being used to promote the resort as the white female subject in this image squarely faces the camera, but does not meet the viewer’s gaze. The female subject is sexually attractive and sex is connoted by her toned, tanned and shiny skin. The association with white femininity, sports and sexual attractiveness is repeated as the text accompanying this image reads “*Geared up for endless water sports*”. The model is clutching diving equipment to

reinforce the idea of her sporting abilities; however, the image could also read that she is geared up for sexual activity. She is a contrast to the women presented in Chapter 5 as the focus in the Beaches 2001 images are more explicitly concerned with sexual relations rather than courtship, marriage and romance.

Shifts in the ascribed gender roles

The images in the *Beaches* brochures provide alternative representations of white femininity to those which value females solely for their physical attractiveness. A Beaches image of a young woman with short hair engaged in wall climbing promotes her physical strength rather than her physical beauty (Figure 54).



Figure 54 Beaches courtesy of Sandals (2005).

This image can be linked to the changes in the representations of women in popular culture. Masculinized genres such as action movies now have females in their leading roles (Gledhill, 1997: 382). For example, Angelina Jolie as Lara Croft in *Tomb Raider* and Halle Berry as Jinx in the James Bond film, *Die Another Day*. Fun, independence and power are conveyed in the images to reflect the increased economic influence that women have in the contemporary employment market. Sixty-nine per cent of women are currently employed in the UK workforce¹ and the representation of women as active subjects suggests that they can be released from work and have fun. The shift toward individualised societies has resulted in women being more economically independent and able to make autonomous choices about what they do for pleasure. In recognising this social trend, Sandals is perhaps striving to demonstrate that they can cater for independent women at their resorts.

Sandals emphasises its difference to other all-Inclusive companies in the text below as the company that provides a choice of sporting activities with professional instruction – all included in the price of the holiday. These activities enable couples to engage in a range of sports together, and also apart as the text suggests, *'he can work out in the state-of-the-art fitness centre while she works on her tan at the beach'*. This suggests that there remains an underlying discourse that men are active, whilst women are to be gazed at despite the representations of women as independent.

¹ www.womenandequalityunit.gov.uk Last accessed 22nd January 2006



Figure 55 “High and Dry. Non-stop Action Adventure” *Beaches* courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

The idea that exercise is the guarantee to a healthy body is emphasised by the images of the women in the aerobics class in Figure 54 (Coward, 1984). In Figure 55, an image of a woman wearing boxing gloves demonstrates physical strength in her pose of striking a punch bag. The images in Figures 54 and 55 connote the transformations that have occurred in gender politics as there has been a shift in ascribed gender roles based on female physical beauty as a means of identifying female worth. The discussion of the images above demonstrate that the meaning surrounding femininity and contemporary white female identities are being challenged and contested via the combination of physical attractiveness and strength.

Images of Women with Women

In the media, visual representations of women are offered up to themselves and the images in the brochures which display women interacting with other women draw on this practice (Coward, 1984). As we shall see later in this chapter, the segregation of males and females contributes to the construction of gender and physical sense of masculinity and femininity. However, white women are agents and beneficiaries of the racialised contemporary discourse as they were in the colonial period. The representations of women are positioned as ladies; as they dine together in the hotel restaurant (Figure 56), and take spa baths together (Figure 57). The black female is largely depersonalised and displaced in the images. However, Figure 56 is significant as the black female dining at the table is represented as feminine and potentially desirable. She is also seated with a white female. The message connoted by this image suggests that providing they are of the same social status, it is socially acceptable for women of different ethnic backgrounds to socialise together.

Both of the women in Figure 56 are dressed in brightly coloured tight clothing, which emphasises their figures. This is in contrast to the waitress who distinctly stands out from the seated guests in the restaurant. Her uniformed black and white attire fully covers her body – including her white gloved hands to connote class and racial boundaries.



Figure 56 Beaches courtesy of Sandals (N.D.) [2001].

Whilst the presence of the black woman as a diner in the restaurant suggests that there is a contradiction in the discursive representations, the complex colonial history informs my analysis that black women were expected to nurture the families of their white owners, as hooks (1991) has argued. This was a contradiction for slave nannies for example in being required to socialise their own children into rejecting slavery and yet “assisting their owners by raising their children as proslavery agents” (Beckles, 1989: 68).

Pampering and the Spa



Bevel in the wonders of a grand-scale spa* that will renew your capacity for pleasure. Reminiscent of the ancient Roman Baths, there's a dedicated hot & cold plunge pool room of hand-painted murals and graceful pillars created exclusively to heighten your overall sense of well-being. Enjoy a blissful body massage. Feel your muscles relax in a sauna or steam bath. And let all your tensions fade as you experience the latest spa techniques, all personalized to your body's needs including deep cleansing facials, soothing mud baths, and aromatherapy. You can also exercise your options at the fitness center featuring kickboxing, yoga, and meditation. Learn how to dance and exercise to a beat that can't be beat with Reggaeize and Socerobics classes. Whatever you do, when it comes to pampering body, mind and spirit, Beaches Grande Sport will help you reach perfect harmony.

INVIGORATING WAYS TO REVITALIZE

*Spa services additional. Hot & cold plunge pools, steam baths and sauna are complimentary.

Figure 57 Beaches courtesy of Sandals (N.D.) [2001].

The spa is significant for capitalising on the shared meanings of what it means to be feminine. This works to “cultivate a female bond which acts as the social cement of female solidarity” (Ferguson cited in Rayner, et al, 2001: 153). Within the context of the spa and the notion of pampering, the white female subject is offered the opportunity to participate as a member of the elite social group and be waited on in surroundings that remind her of European civilisations and proof of “white historical success” (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 8). This is achieved through the

use of references to Roman style baths with white columns, white statues and Roman style murals. The high value that is attributed to all things European in the brochures is emphasised in the images.

Skin is the key signifier of cultural and racial difference in the stereotype, is the most visible of fetishes, recognized as 'common knowledge' in a range of cultural, political and historical discourses, and plays a public part in the racial drama that is enacted every day in colonial societies (Bhabha, 1994: 78).



Figure 58 courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

The spa images where the female is pampered by the black subject allude to the marking out of difference and division through skin colour. The black subject is disavowed, displaced by the authorised representations of blackness in their service uniforms, and yet there is a powerful fascination or desire to be close to blackness. The white female body indulges in what

is at the same time denied. Figures 58, 59, 60 and 61 demonstrate the privileging of the white body as it is being attended to as an object of beauty. Figure 58 displays a young woman seated in a classical pose on a pedestal and surrounded by petals, to create a fantasy narrative. Her facial expression and closed eyes suggest that she is indulging in the pleasure of having her body covered in a mask by the black female subject. The skin colour of the leisured woman and the beautician articulates 'difference and division' (Hall, 1997b: 267). The references to classical European culture offer safety, in the form of the white statue which mirrors the body of the female subject. As discussed in Chapter 5, the use of European high art references reinforces the idea that European culture is superior by celebrating the white female form.

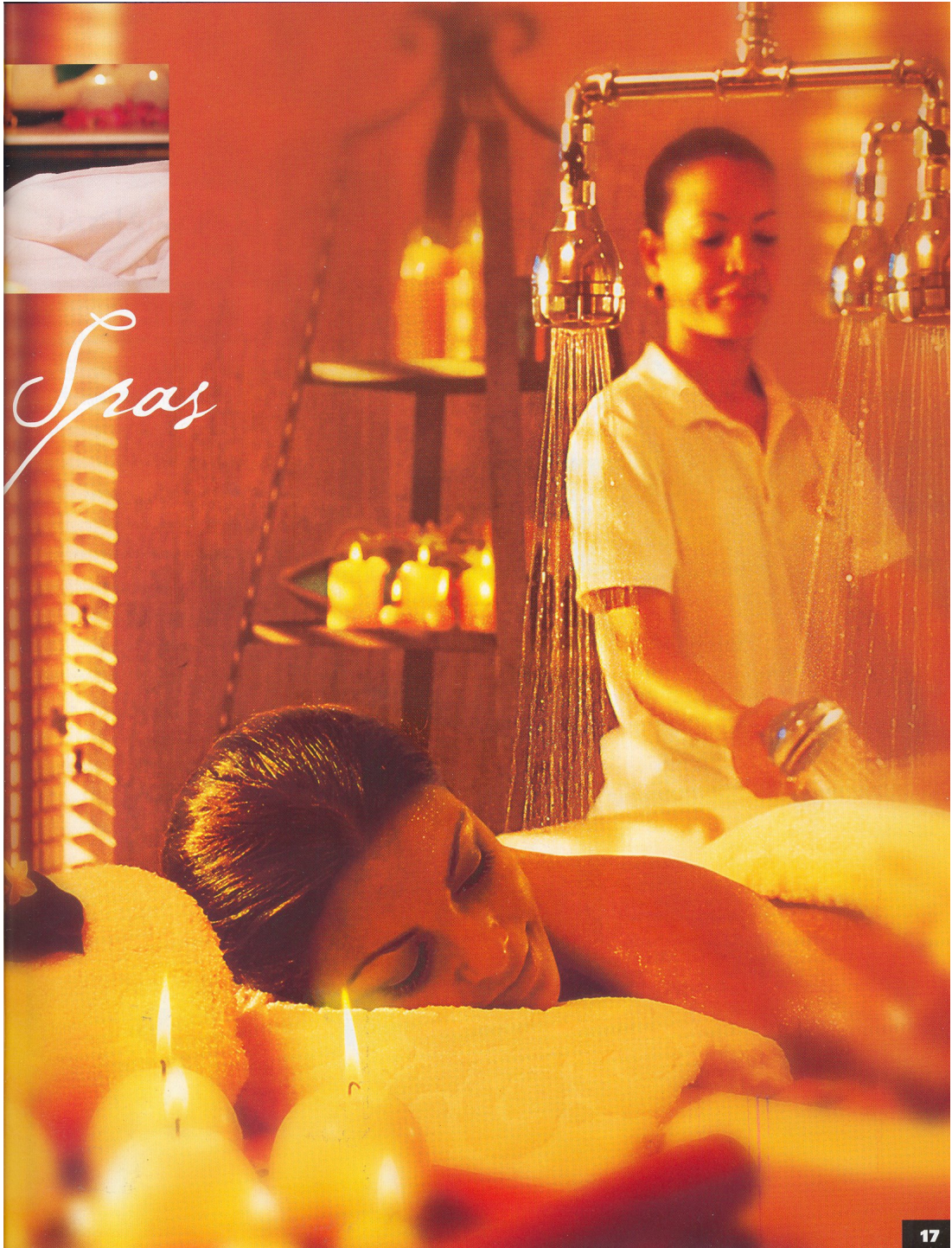


Figure 59 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

The black female subject in Figure 59 demonstrates that the positions of power and resistance are within a dichotomy and not separate. In the colonial context, the enslaved black subject was not obliterated by colonial power and resistance was integral to the slave system. This

historical context informs my analysis of the resistant expression on the beautician's face in Figure 59 which is in contrast to the white woman she is attending to who appears to be enjoying the experience.

By reading the images from a post-colonial perspective, it informs our understanding of the relations between blackness and whiteness which have a long and intimate history. As discussed in Chapter 3, there was a fetishistic desire to be close to and touch blackness in the colonial context, which is a legacy repeated in the spa images. A specific nurturing and pampering of whiteness is conveyed through the practice of massaging the white body in the representations. In contrast, the black subject is defined by their colonial status, "without appeal" as Fanon argues (Bhabha, 1994: 91).

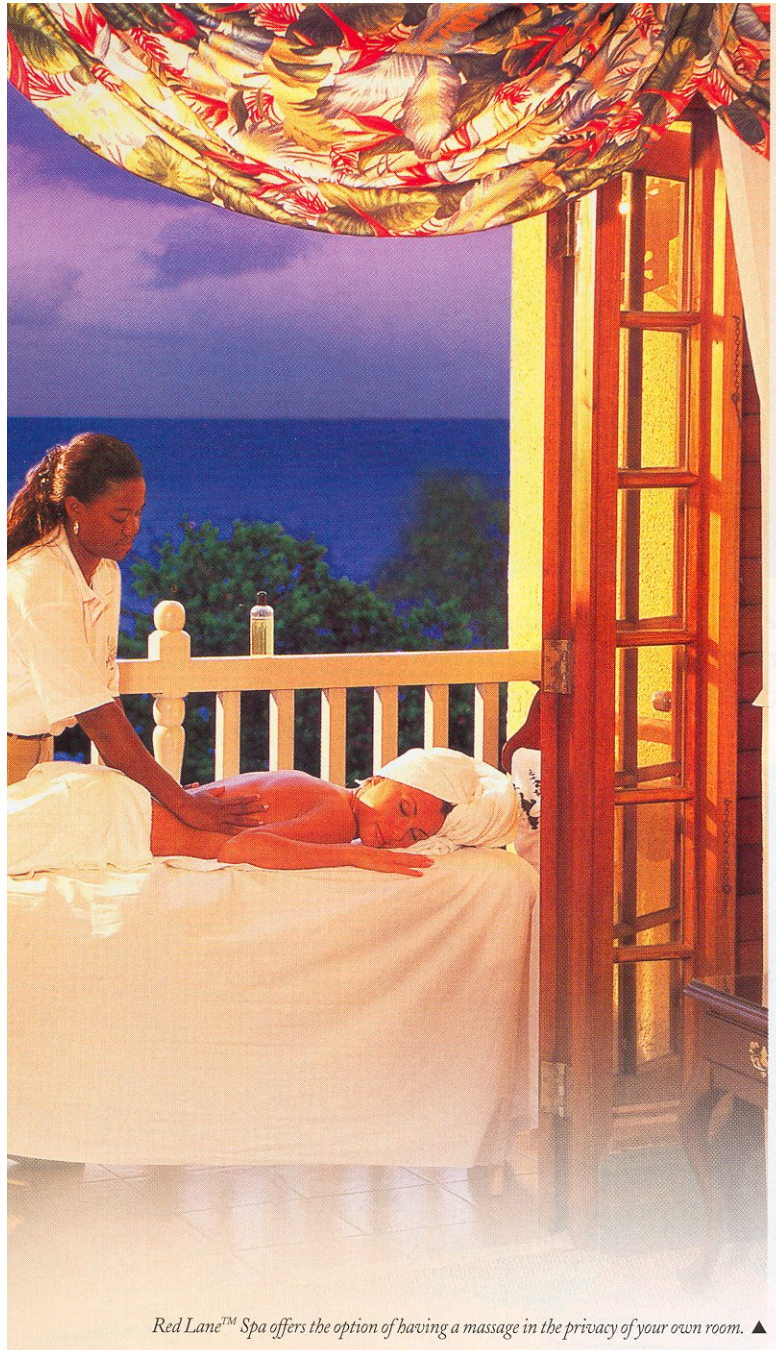


Figure 60 *Beaches* courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).

The wording of the written text in this compilation of images anchors the idea that the white subject can expect “perfect pampering” and “indulgence” from the spa and as discussed in Chapter 4, tourism in Jamaica began with self-styled health resorts.

In Figure 60, the white subject has the choice of swimming, meditating or a massage to renew her spirit. Pastel colours have been used in the spa images to encourage the viewer that here they will

experience feelings of calm and relaxation. The text supports a discourse of pampering through comments such as, *I celebrated feeling years younger* (Figure 60).



Red Lane™ Spa offers the option of having a massage in the privacy of your own room. ▲

Figure 61 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

The spa is important as it can ‘renew the spirit’ of the white subject and alleviate the pressures and demands of working in a competitive capitalist system. Full-time employees in the UK work on average over forty-five hours per week - the longest hours in Europe², and explains the emphasis that is placed on the rejuvenation of the mind and spirit in the visual and written texts which suggests that the European Spa is a vehicle which individuals can use to escape the constraints of urban living.

The white subject as the receptor of pampering, being pampered by black subjects conducting massages reinforces the class and racial divisions between black and white subjects in the images. The construction of colonial discourse is then a complex articulation of the tropes of fetishism – a metaphor and metonymy – and the forms of narcissistic and aggressive identification in the imaginary (Bhabha, 1994) is evident in the need for the female subject to be touched, pampered and beautiful. This is a link between the historical context of slavery and the contemporary images, as the white lady was able to exploit the position of the black subject to heighten her social status.

The Black Subject as Entertainer, Chambermaid and Cook

White masculinities are constructed not only in relation to white women, but also in relation to black men (Connell, 1996: 80; Hall, 1996f). If we examine the social and class position of black men in the context of white Western race-centred societies, black men are frequently depicted as

² www.statistics.gov.uk Last accessed 22nd January 2006

failures and in sexualised terms for example as emasculated (hooks, 1991: 76); for not fulfilling the dominant patriarch role. For example, “black actors principally appeared in mainstream films in the 1930s in subordinate roles of jesters, simpletons, faithful, retainers and servants” (Hall, 1997b: 252). As we shall see in the discussion in this chapter, the visual texts are a reminder of the representations of black masculinity displayed in 1930s visual texts.

Often the subject of scrutiny and criticism, black men’s bodies are objectified as in the case of the black athlete, used as an example of masculine toughness (Connell, 1996: 80; Hall, 1997b: 226). For example, the attention given to Lynford Christie was less for his skill and success as an athlete, but more for his assumed virility, thus falling back on the time-old stereotype of black hypersexuality (Hall, 1997b: 230).

As the discussion of Baartman and the abolition image demonstrate (Chapter 3), there was an obsessive preoccupation with sexuality of black people, and such that this preoccupation was ‘naturalized’ to ‘require no comment’ (Hall, 1997b: 245). However, when we critique this essentialism we are empowered to recognise multiple experiences of black identity ((hooks, 1991: 29) and challenge the lack of recognition given to the diversity of black identities in the Sandals and Round Hill texts. The black subject is displaced in the images and conveys the splitting of the stereotype as Bhabha argues (1994) “for its successful signification, a continual and repetitive chain of other stereotypes [are enacted]” (Bhabha, 1994: 77). The stereotypical representations of constructed black sexuality are peculiarly absent. Avoided are the references to blackness as animalistic, to the unthreatening, smiling,

dutiful servant; the black subject is depersonalised and replaced in a mimic form. This is significant as Fanon argues that western ideas about black male sexuality are also centred on the notion of it being excessive – penises as large as cathedrals (Fanon, 1986: 169; Hall, 1997b: 231).

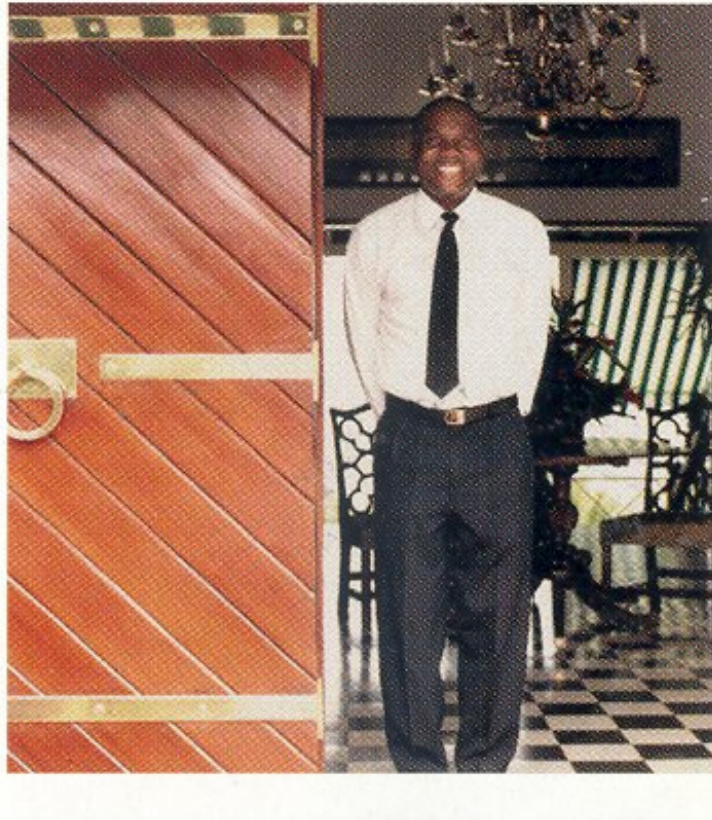


Figure 62 courtesy of Round Hill (2001)


Mimicry is an effective and elusive strategy of the post-colonial power as it reforms, regulates and disciplines the colonial subject (Bhabha, 1994: 85-86). Although the black man of course does not become ‘white’, he does not disappear either. The normalizing colonial state fixes the colonial subject as a ‘partial’ presence (ibid, 1994: 86) and the apparent aim of the display of essentialism in the images, it seems is to distinguish the white from the black. Colour is used as the “priority over all other

dimensions of their social and historical experience, culture and identities...” (Gilroy, 1993: 3).

The images suggest that there is a continuing “struggle to have blacks perceived as agents, as people with cognitive abilities and even with an intellectual history” (ibid: 6). This is the process of disavowal and the primary point of subjectification in colonial discourse. The disavowal of difference turns the colonial subject into a grotesque mimicry (Bhabha, 1996: 75). What is desired is denied at the same time.

Thus, the black waiter in Figure 62 is smartly dressed, standing dutifully to attention and smiling at his approaching guests. As in the discussion of the waiter in Chapter 1, he is standing in an empty, yet luxuriously decorated restaurant. A large chandelier can be seen above his head.

your own private
Butler




the *ultra* all-inclusive
difference

Your personal butler is trained in accordance to exacting standards by the Guild of Professional English Butlers, which provides butlers and valets to nobility and celebrities worldwide

- Serve gourmet meals prepared expressly for you in your suite
- Arrange for spa services and draw your bath scented with rose petals
- Coordinate activities and arrange special tours and excursions
- Attend to every detail of your wardrobe including pressing clothes*
- Provide for your every wish and request, no matter how small or grand

*Complimentary on day arrival, nominal charge after.



31

Figure 63 courtesy of Sandals (2005)

As discussed in Chapter 3, there is an “exorbitant play of lack and excess” (Hall, 1996f: 24) in colonial discourse. In the contemporary context, enjoyment of excess by the white subject is ‘normalized’ and conveyed by Sandals’ promotion of its ‘ultra’ private butler service. An element of

sentimentality is contained within the texts which describes the service which treats guests as though they are nobility or celebrities, in that they will, *provide for your every wish and request, no matter how small or grand*. The desire for Sandals to provide its guests with excessive attention reinforces the historical association of blackness with servitude. The black subject is dressed to fulfil the part in uniformed attire, complete with white gloves and bow tie. The image supports the text which states that he will take care of your clothes, carry your bags or “quick baggage-handling” as Fanon (1986: 49) suggests, and provide drinks on a silver platter as represented in Figure 63.



it's our pleasure to

Serve You



Figure 64 courtesy of Sandals (2005)

The excessive attention extends to the provision of elaborate and decorative foods offered by smiling and uniformed kitchen staff³, thus the brochures communicate privilege and power in the form of a racial dichotomy where the white subject can indulge in the excessive service made available by:

a visibility to the exercise of power; gives force to the argument that skin, as a signifier of discrimination, must be produced or processed as visible (Bhabha, 1994: 79)

Figure 64 connotes the idea that the black subject is happy with their subservient position, conveyed in their desire to please and smile at their guests. An additional reading of the text is that as noted by the anxieties expressed by colonial travellers in Chapter 4, that without instruction from whites, blacks would have nothing to do. This is “a creation of space for subject peoples” (Bhabha, 1994: 70). This is their purpose – their place. They are ‘naturally’ born to, and fitted only for servitude (Hall, 1997b: 244).

In the representations of the smiling and dutiful black subject, the signifier of discrimination is made repeatedly visible and where it is most effective is in opposition to the privileged white heterosexual unit of power, as in Figure 66. The bond of pleasure and power is conveyed in the representations of service and pampering and deploy a regime of visibility to secure links with their colonial past (Bhabha, 1994: 81).

It is apparent that there is an aggressive ‘quest’ for the Negro, the Negro is in demand as Fanon argues. He is needed, but only if he is made

³ The Oriental male subject in this image would not be positioned as white as he is echoing the smile and uniformed attire of his black colleagues.

palatable, as in the enactment of mimicry (Fanon, 1986: 114; Bhabha, 1994: 78).



Welcome to Sandals, where the bellman greets you by name, the bartender remembers your favorite drink, and every smile makes you feel at home. From the moment you step into our lobby, you'll know that we've been expecting you. A welcome of chilled champagne introduces a world where everything has been attentively prepared for your comfort. Our staff are the finest in the Caribbean, embracing a philosophy of unrivaled personalized service that is the hallmark of Sandals success. Every member of our staff has been hand-picked from thousands of applicants, then required to complete the most rigorous training programme in the industry — including attendance at Sandals University, the Caribbean's most sophisticated hospitality program. But you can't teach people to smile or care — that comes naturally from the warmth of the Caribbean people. At Sandals, our desire to please comes straight from the heart.

Figure 65 courtesy of Sandals (2005)

The discourses of written language and visual text work to fix the meanings represented and disavow the male and female black subject

(Hall, 1997b: 232). Therefore, the aim of the thesis is not only to explore how blackness has been visually represented in the past to be able to identify continuities with the present, but to demonstrate how such representations are dependent on the black subject being scripted by particular white identities – “he must be black in relation to the white man” (Hall, 1996f: 27). The staff, the text boasts, are ‘handpicked’, like fruit? They are trained to remember the names of guests, their favourite drink and of course the obligatory smile as part of the service. The paternalistic tones in the text are conveyed by the idea that the staff are genuine as their desire to please (their *masters?*) is natural as it ‘comes straight from the heart’ (Figure 65).

The representations of white identities have their “particularisms translated into absolute, universal standards for human achievement, norms and aspirations” (Gilroy, 1993: 8) and centred on demonstrating heterosexual affections and desiring all that is constructed as luxury.

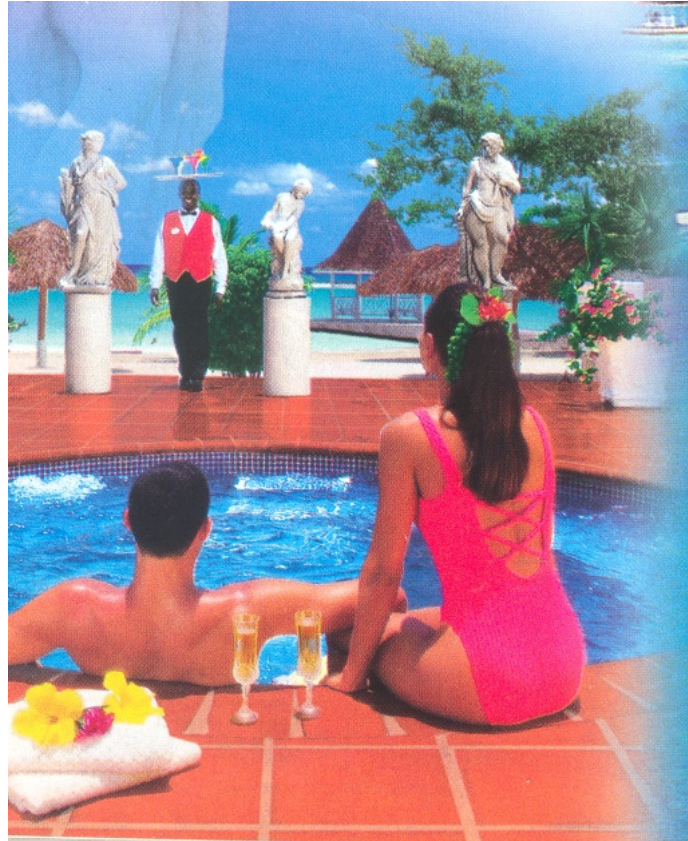


Figure 66 “Colonial Magnificence” courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

In Bhabha’s (1994) articulation of colonial discourse, he argues that the black man stops being an actual person, for it is only the white man who can represent his self-esteem (Bhabha, 1994: 88). This suggests that the black subject does not exist outside of these relations, but primarily in the relations of domination and dependence (ibid: 67). Yet, the heterosexual nuclear ideal is dependent on him for their entitlement to luxury, connoted by the couple who relax in the pool. They are reminded of classical European high culture in the presence of the statues, juxtaposed with tropical vegetation.

The face of the waiter cannot be seen as he approaches his guests - you can just about make out his smile. It is not necessary to see his face to

comprehend his role in this construction of subjects. Figure 67 repeats the representation of racialised servitude as the waiter is dressed in a traditional white shirt, black bow tie and gloved hand. The female guest is sitting down which suggests an air of superiority as the waiter bends down to take her champagne glass.

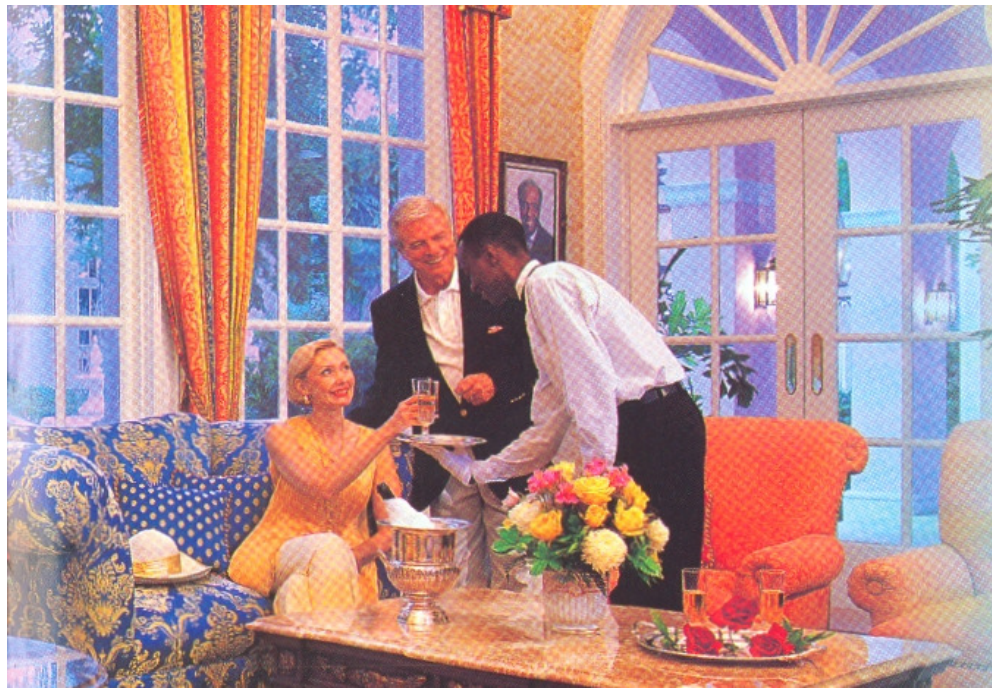


Figure 67 courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

The tourist brochures are able to advocate a lifestyle or cultural ideals in the repeated images, which “hail” the potential tourist by using the leisured white body in displays of social status and affluence to convey the idea that being attended to by the black subject offers prestige. In this sense, whiteness offers a known boundary and a fantasy of belongingness [for Other white] (McLaren, 1998: 68) and promotes the singularities of identity which Bhabha (1994) refers to.

Images of young black men and women are largely absent from the Sandals images and as I have aimed to demonstrate, the black subject is primarily displayed in a service capacity. Desexualised and depersonalised, the black subject is represented as being happy to carry out low status work for Sandals guests and this is even incorporated in the promotional text which informs that Sandals staff have been ‘handpicked’ to attentively prepare for their guests’ comfort. The repetition of the waiter’s smile is displayed as natural, an eternal justification – a statement of fact (Barthes, 1983: 143).

Indeed, Round Hill’s 2001 Winter newsletter celebrates the smile of long serving housekeeper Audrey Knott nicknamed “Pearly” for her dedication to keeping Round Hill clean and tidy for fifty years. She is an acceptable black subject, even admired for being ever-faithful and devoted to serving “esteemed” whiteness (Hall, 1997b: 245). Audrey Knott fits neatly into the stereotype of the utterly devoted domestic slave, “Mammy” as Hall (1997b) describes in his essay *The Spectacle of the Other*.

Audrey “Pearly” Knott Round Hill’s Heavenly Housekeeper

Since 1953, Audrey Knott has flashed her “pearly” smile at Round Hill, and over the years she has kept tidy house for our celebrity guests and esteemed shareholders. Audrey began her career at Round Hill working for our founder John Pringle. In fact, whenever he returns to Jamaica today, Mr. Pringle always stops by for a visit with Audrey.



She has managed several cottages and worked for many famous guests, from actors, to singers such as Joni Mitchell, Paul Anka and Pat Boone. Mr. Boone was so fond of Audrey that he even tried to lure her away to the U.S. to work for him personally, but Audrey’s heart belongs to Jamaica and Round Hill.

Since the early 1980’s, Audrey has worked as senior head housekeeper at Cottage 20. She is joined by her daughter Ethlyn and is in the employ of owners, Brian Reynolds and family who bought Cottage 20 in 1989.

After nearly 50 years of dedicated service, Audrey is still ready with a warm smile and pleasant greeting, and she keeps a spotless house. Hats off to Audrey who puts cleanliness next to godliness!

Figure 68 Round Hill newsletter Winter 2001.

In the images, black women undertake gendered domestic work in Figures 69, 70 and 71 and are dressed in uniforms to represent continuities with the work that they would have carried out during slavery. Clearly, it is the smile of the serving subject as the key ingredient to providing reassurance to the potential visitor. The smiling face of the chambermaid in Figure 69 is a reminder of the attentive service that guests can expect from Sandals’ staff. The text anchors the image to connote the idea that the face you see in the image will be instrumental in providing the pleasures of your paradise.

In Figure 70, the woman is dutifully holding a vase of flowers, suggesting to the viewer that she has prepared the empty room she is standing in. This image has some resonance with Mignard’s painting (Figure 6) where the black child is offering his mistress gifts of pearls. However, in Figure 70, the black female’s functional uniform contrasts starkly with the elaborate décor of the room. The chambermaid in Figure

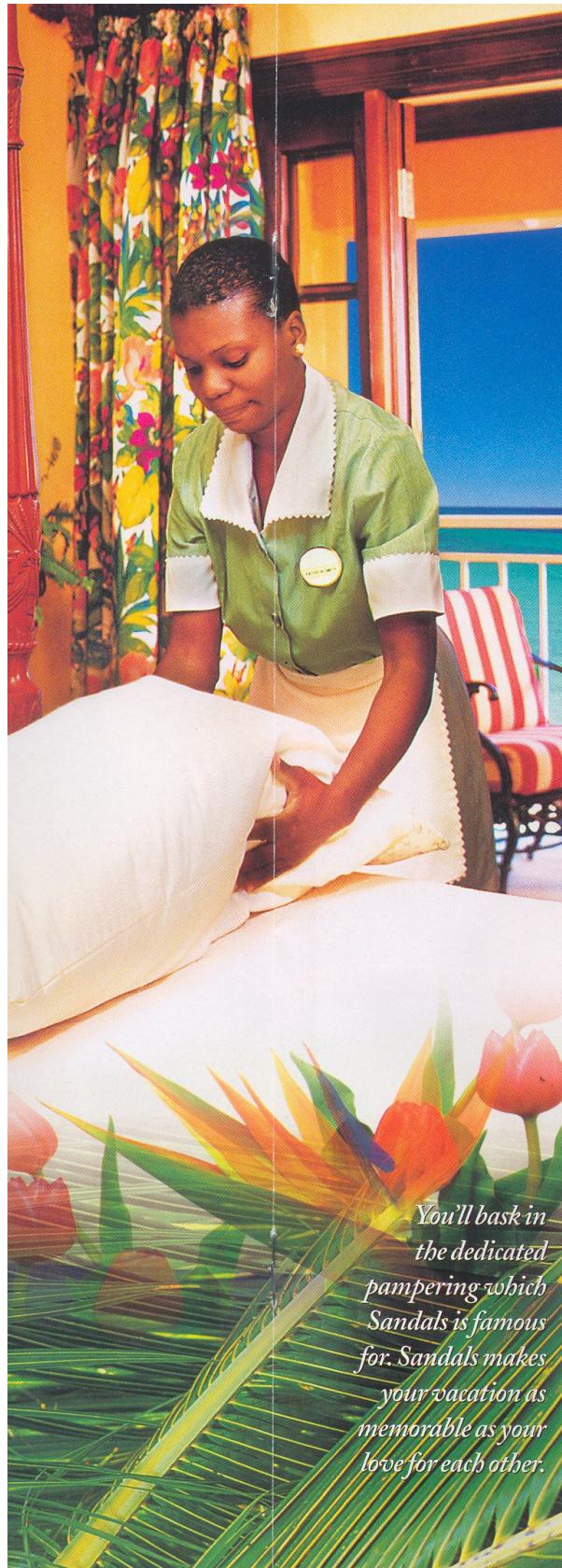
71 can be seen attending to the bed and plumping up the pillows. The text describes her actions as providing *dedicated pampering*. In Figure 72 the maid is attending to the flowers and despite receiving no tips, the viewer is persuaded to accept that she is happy to be the giver of pleasure. These images demonstrate how the black body is economically positioned to provide service and attention to the white subject. They are contained within their neat uniforms and the demarcation between the white subject and the black subject is that they are fully clothed and desexualised, whilst the white subject is free from social strictures; unencumbered in bikinis and shorts.



Figure 69 “The Pleasures of Your Own Private Paradise” courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

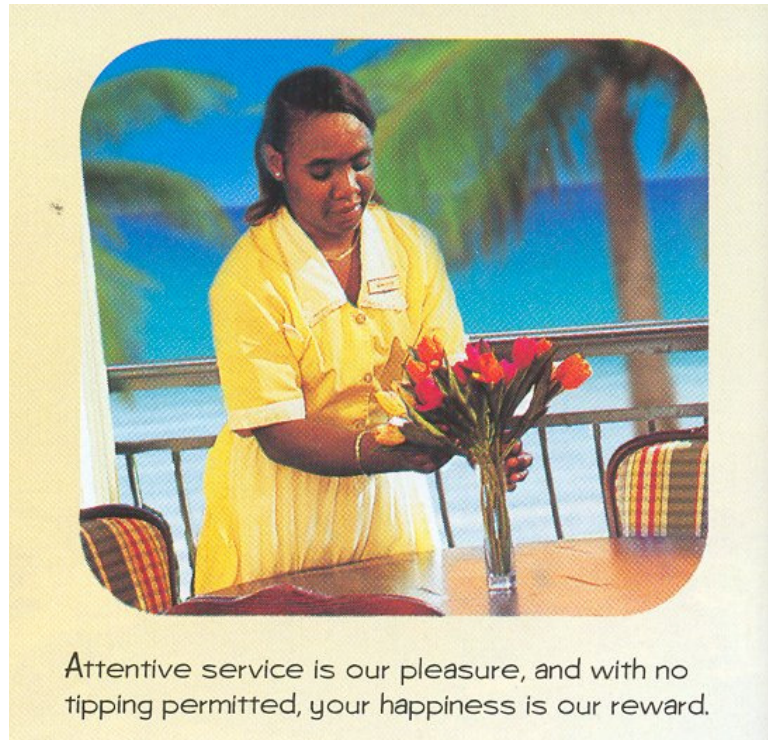


Figure 70 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).



*You'll bask in
the dedicated
pampering which
Sandals is famous
for. Sandals makes
your vacation as
memorable as your
love for each other.*

Figure 71 courtesy of Sandals (2005).



Attentive service is our pleasure, and with no tipping permitted, your happiness is our reward.

Figure 72 courtesy of *Sandals* (2005).

The repeated images of the black women attending to the hotel rooms of their white guests suggest that this is a continuity of the colonial era. It is explicit here that the pleasure of the white subjects is highly dependent on the labour of the black serving subjects. The exploitative nature of this relationship is emphasised by the fact that the staff are required to provide attentive service but with no financial reward as *no tipping is permitted* (Figure 72). As I have discussed earlier in this thesis, the black female subject did not represent herself as hyper-sexed, in the colonial context this was an imposed identity used to prop up the moral position of white women and absolved white men of all responsibility for their sexual indiscretions. Yet, in the contemporary context, it is white women who take up the position of the sexually desirable subject. The linkages with black women and their economic importance in the colonial context can be regarded as a colonial legacy in the contemporary representations.

The images connote black women's continued expected and delegated role of nurturer of whiteness.

Entertaining the Tourists



Figure 73 Round Hill (2001)



Figure 74 courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

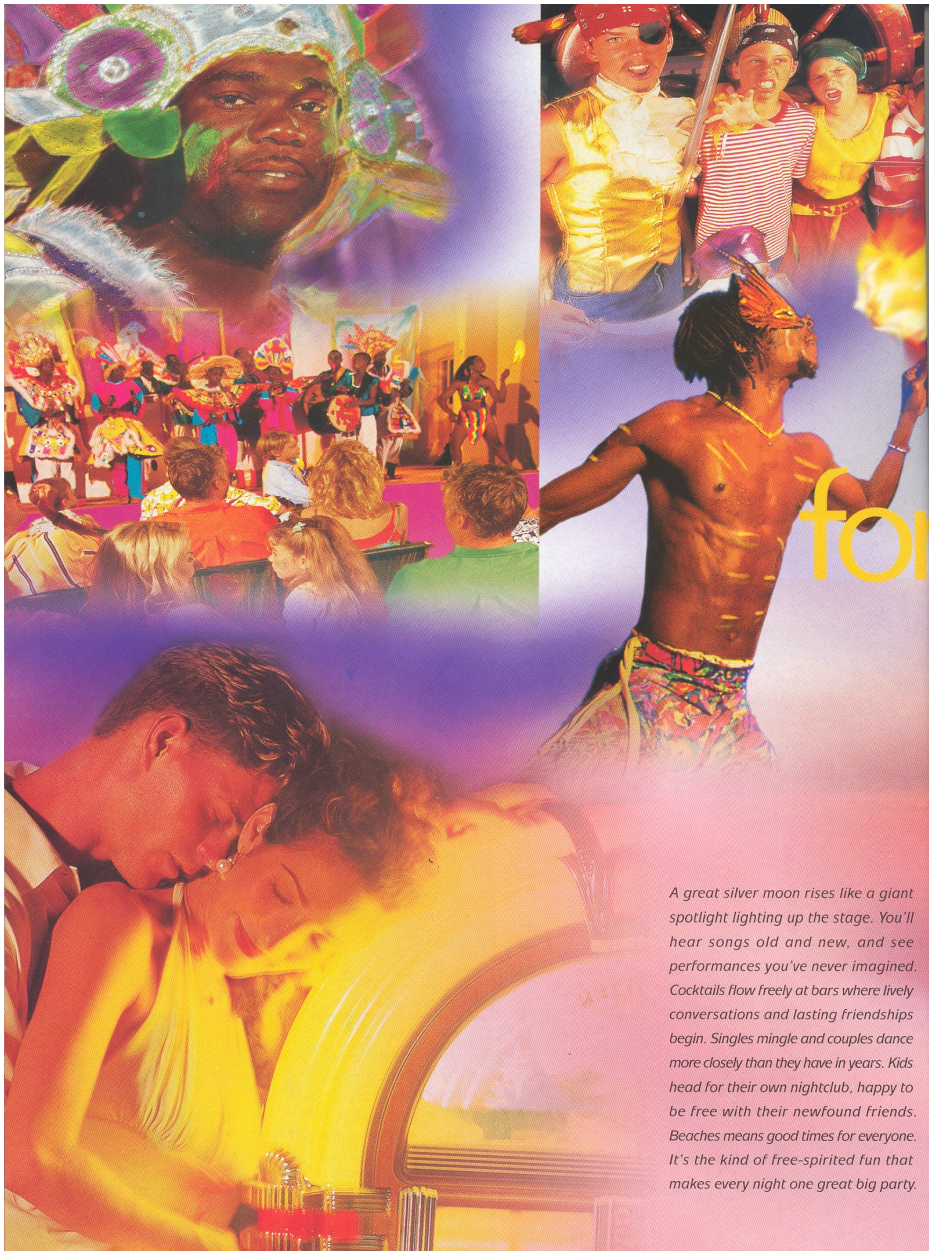


Figure 75 courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].

As an object of regulatory power, the subject of racial, cultural and national representation (Bhabha, 1994: 90) the mimic subject is split. The “happy native” is the archetypal banjo-player. Ready to crack a joke and take nothing seriously (Hall, 1997b) as they have no cognitive or intellectual abilities, but they can sing, dance and entertain the white folks (Hall, 1997b: 245). Figures 74 and 75 portray the black male subject as jovial, non-threatening clowns. Whilst seemingly innocent, the images convey the inscribed economy of pleasure and desire and the economy of discourse, domination and power (Bhabha, 1994: 67). The position of the musicians in Figure 73 renders them subordinate to the white guests who are dancing and enjoying themselves. Whilst their guests are partially dressed, they are fully clothed and wearing colourful costumes and straw hats to entertain the white subjects. Presented outside of their contemporary socio-economic context, the images are clearly avoiding any reference to black sexuality as they position the white subject in an expressive role. In Figure 74, both subjects are dancing and are presented as having lost their inhibitions. This representation is repeated in Figure 75 where the black man appears to be teaching the otherwise restrained tourists how to dance. These images draw on the stereotypes of black people as Other, they are able to dance and ‘have good rhythm’; a stereotype which continues to position black people as static and simplistic caricatures (Hall, 1997b).

The images reveal the effectiveness of Western representational discourse, and the broad scope of the colonial discourse in the discursive formations. In Figure 76, we turn away from resemblance in the display of

the waiters, to menace. The racial boundaries are revealed in the positioning of an all white audience being entertained by black performers. The colourful costumes and headdresses have an African appearance thus drawing on the stereotypes of black people as exotic and primitive, reinforced by the inserted image of the masked man holding a flame torch. The images in Figures 76 and 77 connote the idea that black culture is elaborate, carnivalesque and menacing. Yet there is danger suggested in the images. Getting too close to the black subject risks the white subject “going native”. What this demonstrates is the wide range of the stereotype, from the loyal servant to the carnivalesque native. Yet this is evidence of the ambivalent nature of the split colonial subject. For mimicry to be effective, it must “continually produce its slippage – its excess, its difference” (Bhabha, 1994: 86) as in the primitive display of the “Africanised” black body and the masks and drums in Figure 77.



A great silver moon rises like a giant spotlight lighting up the stage. You'll hear songs old and new, and see performances you've never imagined. Cocktails flow freely at bars where lively conversations and lasting friendships begin. Singles mingle and couples dance more closely than they have in years. Kids head for their own nightclub, happy to be free with their newfound friends. Beaches means good times for everyone. It's the kind of free-spirited fun that makes every night one great big party.

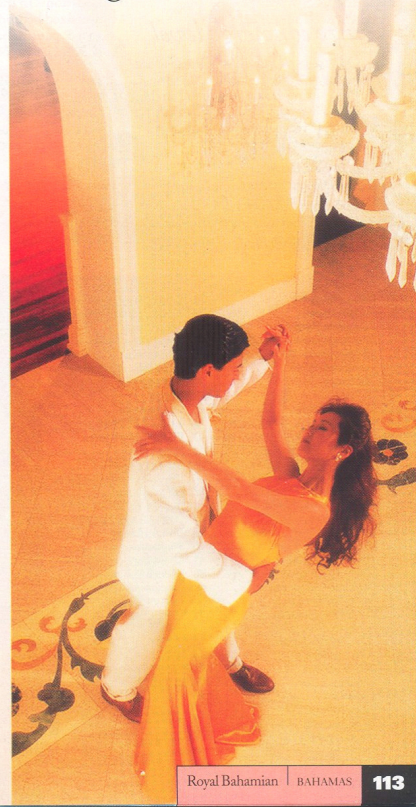
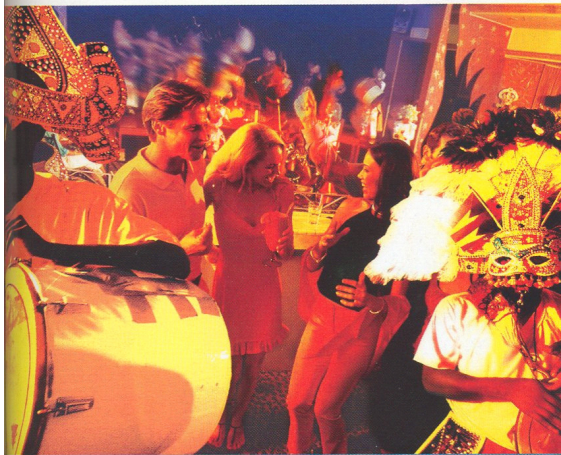
Figure 76 courtesy of *Sandals* (N.D.) [2001].



celebrate the

Rhythms of the night

The stage is set to entertain against a host of exciting backdrops. Check out the action at nine bars where there's never a tab. When the curtain rises at The Royal Theater, you'll applaud the best in live entertainment from Calypso bands to exceptional dance troupes. And there is always a party on the beach, followed by a tryst for two in the privacy of your suite for a final curtain call.



Royal Bahamian | BAHAMAS 113

Figure 77 courtesy of Sandals (2005)

the *ultra* all-inclusive
difference

Sandals includes truly world-class entertainment,
with live nightly shows.

- Star-studded entertainment featuring top local talent
- Weekly theme parties
- Exciting nightclubs and dancing
- Talent shows
- As many as 9 bars per resort
- Elegant piano bars
- Manager's cocktail parties

every moment is
Entertaining

With as many as nine bars per resort serving unlimited premium brand liqueur, you'll always be in good spirits and good company. Each evening, the spotlight shines on talented stars who rival those in the sky. From acrobatic dancers to fearless fire-eaters, to laughter-filled talent shows, Sandals turns every evening into a time for celebration. So don a costume for a theme party, put on your dancing shoes for an evening at the nightclub, or waltz barefoot on the moonlit beach...and end your evening on the perfect note with a nightcap at one of our lively piano bars.

SERVING
APPLETON
JAMAICA RUM

Learn how to make
A Perfect
*Appleton
Yellow Bird*

1 1/2 oz. Appleton Gold
1/2 oz. Creme De Banana
1/2 oz. Rumona
3 oz. Orange Juice
Splash Lime Juice
Dash Simple Syrup
Serve Shaken with Ice

39

Figure 78 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

The tourist subject is informed that at Sandals every moment is entertaining in Figure 78. The text constructs 'a perfect evening's entertainment for the viewer as all of this will be here waiting for you when you visit a Sandals resort. Alcohol flows freely and guests are able to engage in excess with unlimited premium brand liquor. The emphasis in the images and the text is to communicate to the reader that this is a

location where guests can expect to be entertained and have fun, yet this is within the controlled environs of the hotel beach and bar. The image provides a cocktail recipe and invites the viewer to sample a Sandals' style celebration at home by making an Appleton Yellow Bird cocktail. The demarcation of class and racialised roles are repeated in Figure 78 as the entertaining limbo dancers, carnival dancers and fire-eaters come together to provide the unconventional entertainment, with a pastiche of racialised stereotypes. Read: primitive.

No Mixed Relationships

The images do not feature mixed raced relationships, despite this being a motive for white female subjects visiting Jamaica (Albuquerque, 1998; Pruitt and La Font 1995; Kempadoo, 1999; Bindel, 2003). For all the alleged liberality of inciting sex in Western cultures, the reality appears to be that white individuals are encouraged to express their sexuality away from the Western social context and retreat to the tourist enclaves in the Caribbean to engage in unrestrained sexual behaviour (as in the ITV *Pleasure Island* series).

The recent media attention that has been given to the practice of white middle-aged women who travel to the Caribbean for sex with local men, in exchange for a meal, money or a plane ticket, has been subject of the French film *Heading South* and the British play *Sugar Mummies*. This suggests that the region continues to be exploited for the economic and sexual needs of individuals from the metropolis.

As discussed in Chapter 3, mixed relationships have a long history in Jamaica, yet the repeated images of sexualised white subjects suggest that black sexuality does not exist and indicates that there are anxieties regarding miscegenation surrounding the absence of these representations. This is despite the continued promotion of the entrenched stereotype that black male sexuality is excessive and Other in popular culture (hooks, 1991; Hall, 1997b). The silencing of black female sexuality in the images, omits the sexual agency that some black women have in the Caribbean, by representing themselves through popular culture music forms such as dancehall. Figure 78 presents a rare image of a young black woman. Her pearl headdress suggests that she is exotic and perhaps a carnival dancer. As her face is faded out in relation to the whole image, this suggests that representations of *young* black people are virtually insignificant in comparison to the representations of the young white body.

This does not reflect the prominence that dancehall culture, albeit highly criticised, has in Jamaica. The creators and artists of dancehall originate from the poor inner city neighbourhood of Kingston, St Andrew and St Catherine in Jamaica, and reflect and legitimise the lived reality of individuals in these communities which we do not see in the tourist images (Hope, 2006: 22). Dancehall is popular culture that addresses the social issues of sex, criminal activity and drug use in the lyrics. Although the dancehall is associated with “slackness” in Jamaican society or in the Jamaican English Dictionary, *the loose morals of a woman*, dancehall has enabled “the female DJ...to assume[s] the power to represent herself verbally and dance to her own beat” (Cooper, 2004: 21). In this context,

working-class women are able to take centre stage and “play out eroticised roles that may not ordinarily be available to them in the rigid social conventions of the everyday” (ibid: 17). This is especially “when the body of the black working-class woman is rarely validated in the middle-class Jamaican media”, and as in the tourist images, “where Eurocentric norms of delicate female face and figure are privileged” (Cooper, 2004: 86).

However, to return to my principle argument concerning the unity of the middle-class white male and white female is exemplified by the last image in this work. The display of privilege, luxury and comfort is maintained by the servitude of the black subject. They define the terms of the relationship and the white female is not marginal within this construction, rather she is central to it. Her beauty, sense of taste and class give the white male credibility and justification. She is demure, soft, gentle and does not connote the terms of an oppressor. As I have aimed to demonstrate, whilst not all white women share the same economic status, as this is negated by class boundaries, in the images, all white women are invited to take up the position of ‘lady’ by virtue of their position as white women.



Figure 79 courtesy of Sandals (2005).

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to demonstrate that white sexualised bodies are gendered as a key element in the promotion of the Sandals, Beaches and Round Hill resorts. The repeated use of the slim, white female body to celebrate heterosexual relations located in a masculine framework has been discussed within the analysis of the images. The transformation of the black female body as an object of desire (or derision) appears as a desexualised subject of servitude in the contemporary tourism images. She appears fully dressed and always fully covered to suggest that care is being taken not to address the sexuality of the black female subject.

In this chapter, I have discussed the construction of the Sandals resorts as the ideal, a luxurious location for the white female body to escape to, to enjoy being pampered by black subjects. These representations are at work within the racialised class dichotomies, as the black subject only makes an appearance in the images to enhance and reinforce the white subject's superior class status in the post-colonial landscape. The chapter has noted a retreat from the sexualised images of the past and the changes in signifiers, the meanings and the forms of representation, yet the contemporary representations draw attention to the post-colonial as they suggest a visual marginalisation of black sexuality. This calls into question the true nature of the modern feminist movements (prominent during the 1960s and 1970s) and raises vexing questions about permissive sex and the use of white female sexuality to aid consumerism. Thus, the white female is used to carry the discourse of meanings of entitlement through pampering and reinforces the notion that she is worthy of such attention.

Conclusion

This thesis has brought together a broad range of visual material. It has aimed to conduct a process of analysis, which is largely unconventional and approaches the subject of representation and race from an altogether challenging perspective. The discussion of race and racism has been a running thread throughout this work, yet as I have aimed to demonstrate, racism is not a momentary incident of name-calling. To understand how the subtleties and legacies of slavery operate, I have critiqued the representations of gender, race and sexuality in Sandals and Round Hill images.

What does all of this mean? The images are not suggesting that we remain in the colonial era, or that the structures of the colonial period have been simply transferred over into the contemporary period. Rather, the history of colonialism underpins and informs the contemporary social and economic context of post-colonial global relations.

Feminist theory has enabled me to critically examine gender and sexuality as formative categories, however, with the use of black feminist theory, I been able to go beyond the approach of prioritising gender, above all else. As a process of analysis for this work, a stress on gender categories would not have enabled me to draw the conclusions which reveal the importance placed on the heterosexual white couple in the Sandals images. As discussed in Chapter 3, under colonial relations, the white man and white woman were a unit that worked together to maintain a system which provided them with a privileged and extravagant lifestyle. To analyse this relationship from a traditional feminist

perspective would obscure the symbolic and ideological role that white women played in the slave system, despite the limited championing of the rights of enslaved black women. For her economic security, her allegiance was with white men and she was dependent on patriarchy for her survival. This included white working-class women who owned bordellos in the towns and cities and hired out black women to white men. White women had a vested interest in maintaining the mercantile slave system. They were members of an elite group. If not in practice, in theory the symbol of being a lady applied to all white women. Middle-class white women in the great plantation houses were the official 'ladies of the manor', and attributed with respect for their positions as 'Mrs' and the legitimate wives of planters. They were the moral arm of that union. Whilst their husbands pursued the benefits of moral deregulation, they used their access to social empowerment to exclude black women as less than human, not feminine and certainly not entitled to membership of womanhood (Beckles, 1999).

This is relevant to the contemporary period since a small, yet significant number of white women have been able to win spaces of independence in the forms of economic emancipation and sexual liberation through the feminist movement. As a marginal group in relation to white men, white women are displayed as symbolically central to whiteness in the Sandals images. As Hall (1996) argues:

It is for this reason that what is socially peripheral is so frequently *symbolically* central (Hall, 1996: 475).

Racial domination is significant as it is a system that “positions and constructs everyone who operates” within it (Ware, 1996: 143). This includes white subjects, constructed by their connoted wealth and comfort. The images could be read as proof of [their] white historical success (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 8). In the representations, the union of white men and white women is forcefully emphasised, to suggest their rightful entitlement to luxury, wealth and being dutifully served by the disavowed black subject. The emphasis on whiteness is explicitly connected to the real material benefits of possessing leisure time and living the romantic and consumer utopia, displayed in the images. This is not to suggest that contemporary representations of indulgence enjoyed by white subjects are novel or confined to the present. As I have aimed to demonstrate, these rituals have a history and longevity which gives them substance and legitimacy. Thus, connoting the idea that relations have always been as we currently observe them in the images, so is there a real need to question them?

The sexualised display of the white female body in the Sandals images and more broadly in advertising could be considered as exploitative. Yet, she does not have the ideological baggage of being labelled as grotesque, a workhorse, little more than human as her black counterpart has been historically represented. In contrast, the representations convey the notion that she should be accorded respect, be beautiful, relaxed and pampered, as she takes up the position of entitlement to luxury in the images.

There is in fact nothing unusual about the intimate moments which represent whiteness being touched and served by black subjects. As we

know from the discussion in Chapter 3, in Hogarth's engravings, the association with blackness and service was present in eighteenth-century British society, and in particular, the relationships white female aristocrats had with their child companions. Black women were close to white women in their role as domestics and nannies for white children in the plantation colonies.

This is what takes this work beyond an essentialist reading of the images. There are transformations – the white woman is legitimately permitted to express her sexuality (albeit within the confines of a masculinist framework), yet, she is not being denied access to the elite group. Rather she compliments the aggressive and profit seeking male. She is his softer side.

The thesis has aimed to convey these intimate and often contradictory links between the historical colonial past and the post-colonial present. Post-colonial theory is not a finished entity. As my explanation of my own position reveals, post-coloniality is not unproblematic. I may share a similar heritage as a middle-class black Jamaican, however, we do not occupy the same class position and this indicates that post-colonialism is more complex than identifying subjects who live in former colonies as only post-colonial. We are all in fact post-colonial. This includes the tourists and the black working class subjects. This is a post-colonial relationship.

In a sense, this is where ideas of race have become “stuck” and the contradictions make an appearance in binaried representations in tourist images. It is as though the discussions on difference and debates regarding essentialism had not taken place, or have not filtered through

to make a dent in the “conspicuous power of these modern subjectivities” (Gilroy, 1993: 2). Indeed, essentialism has been theoretically deconstructed, but not politically displaced (Hall, 1996).

It is therefore an ongoing process of struggle and vigilance to examine and question what is represented to readers as normal and beyond question in ubiquitous images of racialised social categories. We need “to be sensitive to what is involved in representation” (Said, 1978: 327) and as I have aimed to demonstrate in the images included in this work, images are not innocent. They contain a bind of power and pleasure which informs the regime of visibility of black and white subjects. I have employed a post-colonial theoretical approach to demonstrate how the images use race as the “priority over all other dimensions of their [the subjects] social and historical experience, culture, and identities...” (Gilroy, 1993: 3).

The originality of this project is my articulation of my claim to post-coloniality, and my aim to disrupt the binaries to examine whiteness from a non-white perspective. I have examined the images from the margins, as a black subject, but observed them from the inside of the black diaspora in Britain. I have achieved this by using my double consciousness, my dual vision to contradict notions of blackness as inferior and essentially fixed.

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Appendix

Table 1: Tourism Statistics 1922-1940

| Year | Stopover Arrivals | Cruise Arrivals | Total |
|-------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| 1922 | 1872 | 0 | 0 |
| 1923 | 2734 | 0 | 0 |
| 1924 | 3114 | 0 | 0 |
| 1925 | 3378 | 0 | 0 |
| 1926 | 3668 | 7951 | 11619 |
| 1927 | 4016 | 8208 | 12224 |
| 1928 | 3906 | 10550 | 14456 |
| 1929 | 4850 | 13763 | 18613 |
| 1930 | 4461 | 21726 | 26187 |
| 1931 | 4079 | 22474 | 26553 |
| 1932 | 5062 | 27669 | 32731 |
| 1933 | 6360 | 26994 | 33354 |
| 1934 | 5149 | 34113 | 39262 |
| 1935 | 6192 | 43608 | 49800 |
| 1936 | 6886 | 49007 | 55893 |
| 1937 | 10432 | 54837 | 65269 |
| 1938 | 9908 | 52782 | 62690 |
| 1939 | 7493 | 42413 | 49906 |
| 1940 | 4319 | 10828 | 14147 |

Sources: Tourist Trade Development Board *Report for the period from 1st January 1936, to 31st March, 1937*; Ministry of Trade and Industry, Ministry Paper 4 (April 1954), app.9. in (Taylor, 1993:144).

Table 2: Tourism Statistics 1952 to 1975

| Year | Stopover Arrivals | Cruise Arrivals | Total Visitors | Year | Stopover Arrivals | Cruise Arrivals | Total Visitors |
|-------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1952 | 85,104 | 19,682 | 104,786 | 1964 | 232,190 | 69,800 | 301,990 |
| 1953 | 95,445 | 26,287 | 121,732 | 1965 | 190,013 | 56,473 | 301,258 |
| 1954 | 75,158 | 37,650 | 112,808 | 1966 | 228,141 | 66,806 | 345,288 |
| 1955 | 86,793 | 35,356 | 122,149 | 1967 | 235,025 | 68,456 | 332,838 |
| 1956 | 118,130 | 43,798 | 161,928 | 1968 | 258,460 | 94,021 | 396,347 |
| 1957 | 115,004 | 46,660 | 161,664 | 1969 | 276,929 | 97,377 | 407,105 |
| 1958 | 122,624 | 47,688 | 170,312 | 1970 | 309,122 | 86,247 | 414,720 |
| 1959 | 144,652 | 53,054 | 197,706 | 1971 | 359,323 | 66,366 | 448,564 |
| 1960 | 226,945 | 69,601 | 296,546 | 1972 | 407,806 | 71,450 | 493,488 |
| 1961 | 224,492 | 69,407 | 293,899 | 1973 | 418,257 | 91,450 | 517,410 |
| 1962 | 206,838 | 64,854 | 271,692 | 1974 | 432,987 | 92,675 | 530,726 |
| 1963 | 202,329 | 69,374 | 271,703 | 1975 | 395,809 | 150,433 | 553,258 |

Source: Tourism Development in Jamaica: A Synopsis © Jamaica Tourist board Library June 2005.

Table 3: Tourism Statistics 1976 to 2004

| Year | Stopover Arrivals | Cruise Arrivals | Total Visitors | Year | Stopover Arrivals | Cruise Arrivals | Total Visitors |
|-------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1976 | 327,706 | 141,494 | 470,714 | 1990 | 989,275 | 385,205 | 1,384,573 |
| 1977 | 264,921 | 120,982 | 386,514 | 1991 | 1,006,804 | 490,473 | 1,502,703 |
| 1978 | 381,818 | 148,644 | 532,864 | 1992 | 1,057,182 | 649,517 | 1,711,269 |
| 1979 | 426,540 | 159,577 | 593,571 | 1993 | 1,095,382 | 629,587 | 1,733,007 |
| 1980 | 395,340 | 133,423 | 543,088 | 1994 | 1,098,287 | 595,036 | 1,697,358 |
| 1981 | 406,355 | 139,672 | 551,878 | 1995 | 1,147,001 | 605,178 | 1,752,552 |
| 1982 | 467,763 | 194,430 | 670,202 | 1996 | 1,162,449 | 658,178 | 1,821,296 |
| 1983 | 566,151 | 210,153 | 782,943 | 1997 | 1,192,194 | 711,699 | 1,904,509 |
| 1984 | 603,436 | 231,039 | 843,774 | 1998 | 1,225,287 | 673,690 | 1,901,252 |
| 1985 | 571,713 | 261,508 | 846,716 | 1999 | 1,248,397 | 764,341 | 2,015,270 |
| 1986 | 663,593 | 278,507 | 954,621 | 2000 | 1,322,690 | 907,611 | 2,231,765 |
| 1987 | 738,827 | 292,156 | 1,037,634 | 2001 | 1,276,516 | 840,337 | 2,117,928 |
| 1988 | 648,873 | 367,732 | 1,020,293 | 2002 | 1,266,366 | 865,419 | 2,132,592 |
| 1989 | 829,288 | 444,054 | 1,277,753 | 2003 | 1,350,285 | 1,132,596 | 2,483,696 |
| | | | | 2004 | 1,414,786 | 1,099,773 | 2,514,559 |

Source: Tourism Development in Jamaica: A Synopsis © Jamaica Tourist board Library June 2005.