WHITENESS, WEDDINGS, AND TOURISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

Paradise for Sale

Karen Wilkes

Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism in the Caribbean

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For Mama and Grandad

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Internet technologies facilitate the dissemination of visual discourses of island paradise and romance to a new generation of privileged travelers through the promotion of destination weddings. This is a growing trend. It is estimated that 25 % of US couples choose to have a destination wedding.[1] Mintel's consumer research estimates that in the UK, up to 20 % of ceremonies take place abroad where neither the bride nor the groom has family, or is a resident or citizen.[2] The destination wedding is a niche product for the tourist industry, and the Caribbean is a particularly popular destination due to the images of the Caribbean fulfilling "Western ideas of [paradise and] a romantic other" (C.M. Hall and H. Tucker 2004: 10). The "global market place" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 572) is the context in which Sandals actively sells the Caribbean as a paradise destination and attainable luxury, through its interactive web site and high-quality glossy brochures.[3]

> Say "I do" in Paradise.
>
> The Caribbean has long been associated with romance; the palm-shaded beaches, dreamlike surroundings and the sultry nights create an ideal backdrop for love. Sandals, the Caribbean family-owned resorts, pioneered the Caribbean wedding in order to offer the paradise settings of their island resorts for unforgettable destination weddings and heavenly honeymoons. Sandals (2014)

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Through these representations, postcolonial island states such as Jamaica, Antigua, and St Lucia are packaged as "exotic," luxurious vacation wedding sites that offer brides an all-inclusive princess wedding experience (Wilkes 2013). The Sandals promotional text presented here "informs" prospective guests that "*the Caribbean has long been associated with romance*." It is a statement which suggests a natural, taken-for-granted longevity of a place that appears to be beyond question, as it draws on established myths of Western ideas of paradise as tropical beach landscapes—a setting which provides a context for the privileging of heterosexual marriage and romanticizes sex by referring to the Caribbean climate as "sultry." Both meanings of the word "sultry" are used in the text to reinforce the idea of the Caribbean as a heterosexual haven: firstly, the Caribbean climate as tropical, hot, and humid (bringing to mind the idea that the temperature permits scant clothing and in the Western imagination this is frequently read as sexual freedom; see Borgerson and Schroeder 2002); and, secondly, it suggests sexual passion—a destination where sexual passion/liaisons can take place.

A discursive logic is created through the dissemination of images of the Caribbean as predominantly beach landscapes. They are ubiquitous as they appear on the television, on billboards, on the sides of buses and taxis, and in traditional print media and reach wider markets via visual media technologies. The images that accompany the texts that describe the Caribbean as a sexual haven are the vehicles used to secure meanings of gender, race, and class as they intersect with contemporary cultural practices of leisure for transnational mobile subjects. Ideas and myths of the Caribbean as paradise are "embedded" (Burns et al. 2010: xvii) within the nature of tourism as visual culture, and by producing "its own set of social realities" (Simmons 2004: 45), this discourse appears to be beyond scrutiny (Burns et al. 2010: xvii). This is particularly significant for audiences with no experience or with limited knowledge of the Caribbean. The visual rhetoric produced by media representations can be used as "stand in" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 571) for "experience as a source of information … when experience is lacking" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 571). As information is the key ingredient for success in the twenty-first century (Castells 2010), images which provide information in the form of repeated myths about paradise are able to convince the potential tourist that the destination depicted is a place that they actually "know." The fact that readers of tourism images are convinced by the ubiquitous illusions (Bourdieu cited in d'Hauteserre

2005: 202) circulated via so many visual technological media platforms (Schroeder 2002; Spencer 2011) may lead these audiences to believe that "[we] seem to know more and more about each other than we ever did" (Pitcher 2014: 1). Indeed, visual discourse "lulls [*sic*] viewers into believing that seeing is understanding" (Schroeder 2002: 12). However, an analysis of the images used to market Caribbean destination weddings offers insight into the global issues of travel, identity, economic power, and racial and social inequalities. This also draws attention to the "legacies of colonialism" (Parker and Song 2001: 13) as power relations that appear to "elevate" the first-world tourists above their "third-world" hosts (Simmons 2004: 45).

Images could be described as "socio-political artefacts" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 570) (creations which provide information about our culture), as they have the power to create, shape, and structure our understanding of ourselves and our relations with race through a system of visual language. In the contemporary context, how we understand ourselves and others continues to happen principally through the categories of age, able-bodied, race, class, gender, and sexuality. Images communicate representations of these categories, by utilizing myths, which as Roland Barthes argues, "*myth hides nothing*: its function is to distort" [emphasis in the original] (Barthes 1972[2013]: 231); myths have the "power to convince, to hypnotise, to present a world which seems normal" (Spencer 2011: 167) and desirable within "a visually saturated culture" (Gombrich 1996 and Mirzoeff 1999 cited in Spencer 2011: 11). Where the Caribbean exists to fulfill fantasies of the island paradise, the world is able to continue to deny "its own social stratifications" (Anim-Addo 2007: 17). Despite the reported inequalities that are exacerbated by tourism within countries (2002; Thompson 2006) and between regions, the appropriation and repackaging of formerly colonized spaces continue.

During a seminar in the second year of my undergraduate studies, I was given a page from a tourist brochure advertising holidays in Jamaica. I was interested in this representation as there were no black Jamaicans included in the image. The visual text signified a notion of whiteness that appeared to effortlessly be projected onto a postcolonial island in the Caribbean. Tourist brochures are important examples of contemporary visual culture and there is a significant tradition of analyzing tourist images (Dann 1996; Selwyn 1996; Cohen 1992) which is supported by the view that "the tourist brochure is probably the most conspicuous element of

the commodification process and recognized as vital in communicating the tourism product across geographical and cultural differences" (Dann, cited in Robinson, 1999: 13). I was/and am interested in the "it-goes-without-saying" messages in images, which began with my encounter with Jamaica represented by white leisured subjects. This journey has led me to write *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism in the Caribbean: Paradise for Sale* (hereafter *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism*).

It is also the case that the black American middle class may find elements of such representations appealing. Strachan (2002) notes that middle-class black people are not exempt from internalizing stereotypes of blackness as primitive and inferior, and to sufficiently convey "success", Stephen Nathan Haymes (1995) argues that middle-class black subjects are also encouraged to embrace the values of the free market through consumption of exoticized blackness (Haymes 1995: 58; see also Strachan 2002).

In an economic context which "demands high levels of consumption" (Bartky 2010: 416), high-quality crafted images of heterosexual couples strolling on empty white beaches and those mass-produced images of the Caribbean conjure up ideas of paradise and escape for largely white European and American tourists (Wint 2012; David Barber, Deputy Director of Jamaica Tourist Board, 2001). The repetition of these images encourages the manufactured content (Uzzell 1984) to be viewed as ordinary and so normative that they appear to have no historical, ideological, or political origins. Indeed, rather than telling us about the cultural, political, or economic context of the Caribbean region, the images provide insight into the desires and aspirations of the dominant cultural group. *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* is concerned with the ways in which the Caribbean has been appropriated and transformed into an apparently uninhabited space, to display luxurious white weddings on "empty" white beaches.

> Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact. (Roland Barthes 1972 [2013]: 255–256)

The rhetoric of images, myths, and discourses of the Caribbean as a homogeneous paradise have much to tell us about global media's tracks of power and "political logic" (McCann and Kim 2010: 5), and their role in

maintaining "system(s) of rule" (Hall 1996b: 254). These systems operate within the neoliberal context where the normative "meanings of gender" (McCann and Kim 2010: 15) and associated social positions are "incorporated into cultural practices (ceremonies, customs, and traditions)" (ibid). As Stuart Hall (1996b) asserts, distinctions should not be drawn between systems of rule and power, and systems of knowledge and representation. They are inseparable. The relationship between power and knowledge is well established (Foucault 1980) and tourism images which draw on nineteenth-century "tales of explorers and travellers" (Gabriel 1994: 146) produced in a neoliberal context via global media are also creators of knowledge. These systems are able to reaffirm traditional racialized gender relations as they draw on existing discourses and systems of meaning, giving the impression that these positions are natural rather than constructed. They are then successfully deployed via new media technologies (McCann and Kim 2010) as "a [new] system of knowledge and power" (hooks 1996: 199).

What is knowledge? Who is deemed to have the authority to produce knowledge and how does their knowledge become accepted and universalized? This book challenges the knowledges produced by seemingly innocent tourism visual texts and poses the question "who speaks?" (Spivak 1988; Hesmondhalgh 2002: 40). Indeed, who speaks continues to be a vital political question, especially when much of the contemporary tourism discourses about blackness in the Caribbean draw on nineteenth-century representations of black people under the conditions of colonialism and imperialism. The American and European architects of "nationalist imperial projects" (Gabriel 1994: 146) had a vested interest in dehumanizing black people on many levels: economically as labor and property, intellectually as only fit for servitude, and sexually as biologically determined to be concerned with the realms of the body (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002). Ultimately, blackness was deemed to be abnormal in relation to the ideal of the white European middle-class male.

Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism aims to explore the legacies of those discourses of "knowledge" and in particular examines how the threads of the processes of dehumanization have served to elevate whiteness. Contained within a rhetoric of wealth, success, and choice, the buzz words of the neoliberal free market are representations of princess brides strolling on Caribbean beaches along with heterosexual white couples being served glasses of champagne by white-gloved, black waiters, evoking nostalgia for the colonial period. This is a lens through which the relationship between

the global north and the global south can be examined, particularly as the images under examination promote the consumption of black labor in the Caribbean as an expression of luxury. This is an attempt to challenge the narratives of entitlement and servility, by asserting that the universalizing tendencies of mass-produced images within a neoliberal market model do not address all subjects in the same way. We need "to be sensitive to what is involved in representation" (Said 1978[1995]: 327), as "ideas about what constitutes white femininity/masculinity are constructed in relation to those about black femininity/masculinity and vice versa" (Ware 1996: 145). This occurs especially when representations of the Caribbean "assume a particular kind of tourist—white western, male, [middle-class] and heterosexual" (Morgan and Pritchard 1998: 167). Conformity is central to these discourses of the ideal white self as is evident in the displays of white femininity that are scripted by historical patriarchal conventions.

The images presented for discussion celebrate the postfeminist subject in her role as a consumer citizen, represented as "special" (Davis 2006: 566), successful, and a recipient of luxury and leisure. However, she must conform to "narrow prescriptions of femininity" (Wilkes 2013: 34; Butler 2007; Walter 2010; Stone 1995 cited in Cole and Sabik 2009) and embrace the narrative that a wedding is romantic and will be the best day of her life (Ingraham 2008).

All of this is examined in the context of the "modernization of patriarchal domination" (Bartky 2014: 406), which is disguised by commonsense narratives of the "magic of the market" (Simon 2008: 86), and deftly works its way into the intimate lives of individuals (Hall 2013). These neoliberal notions of consumer citizenship, choice, and individualism are the cornerstones of the modern white wedding as a spectacle. Couples (largely white middle- and upper-class Americans) can choose to host their weddings in a location that resembles paradise as an exemplar of good taste and perform this event as an act of "distinction" (Bourdieu 1986).

The wedding industry has capitalized on the desire for individuals to perform in Western cultures and emulate celebrities (Illouz 1997), making destination weddings an extremely profitable corner of the wedding market (McDonald 2005). In addition, destination weddings have contributed to keeping the existing patriarchal social structures alive and relevant (Ingraham 2008). Popularly consumed visual texts can be used to explore how the existing system, in the guise of the destination white wedding, reproduces and maintains white supremacy (hooks 1996: 199), that is "white interests and entitlements" (Banerjea 1999:14), by using the white

female body to carry meanings of privilege and entitlement to consume Caribbean landscapes.

This is not a close study of the destination wedding industry in the Caribbean, nor does the book seek to produce an analysis of the tourist industry in the region. *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* aims to challenge the myths and assumptions that appropriate the Caribbean as a site of luxury for affluent white wedding tourists. While Jamaica's colonial and slave history are extensively referred to, the book does not provide a full analysis of the island's history.

This work examines a range of visual texts, using a postcolonial historical framework. The old discourses of "the West and the Rest" (Hall 1992) that are enlisted to create new visual narratives of Jamaica and the wider Caribbean reinforce the assumption that whiteness is inherently entitled to privilege and luxury. The discussion aims to draw attention to the way in which the Caribbean is constructed as an object of desire and how privilege *and* subjugation inform the identities of white middle- and upper-class women. A new white aesthetic encourages classed, gendered, and racialized identities to be valorized, procured, and maintained within new global conditions.

Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism aims to make clear the significance of examining representations of whiteness from a black feminist and intersectional perspective in order to recognize "the limitations of seeing, [as this is] dependent on [one's] racial and gendered position" (Anim-Addo 2007: 54). This is the case particularly when images which represent the appropriation of Caribbean landscapes for the enjoyment and amusement of white subjects have a seeming naturalness to them.

Thus, there is a need to draw on complementing perspectives to effectively examine images that refer to a range of "visual conventions" (Goldman 1992 cited in Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 578). This includes an examination of essentialized binary categories, presented as predetermined and "fixed" (Wong 1994), gender and race stereotyping, and motifs and tropes that reference British royalty and British colonial history, and the "mass produced images of idealized thin femininity" (Hodge 2014: 76), all of which contribute to the need for this work to be interdisciplinary.

To address the interweaving discourses that are employed to construct contemporary representations of the Caribbean as a white space to consume luxury, a multidisciplinary approach is required to analyze the sophisticated visual texts which have been shaped by "historically entrenched racial hierarchies" (Thomas and Clarke 2006: 1). The methods required

to understand this will be discussed in Chap. 2; specifically, the importance of using scholarship from a "nondominant" perspective to effectively challenge the taken-for-granted nature of tourism visual texts. The discussion is undertaken with a specific focus on the positioning of the postfeminist body in discourses of paradise which connects with discourses of white weddings.

In order to critically examine the components of images, I have drawn on a range of literature: cultural studies, black feminist theory, and scholarship which address globalization and neoliberalism. This multi-theoretical approach includes postcolonial theory and tourism studies, with the aim of unmasking "Eurocentric assumptions" (Dirlik 2005: 33) that keep countries of the Caribbean as examples of island paradise in the Western imagination (Sheller 2003), premodern and separate from the contemporary era of globalization. Whiteness studies and intersectional scholarship have been applied to examine representations of whiteness, and heterosexual idealized identities which have the power as the designated "'norm' to define reality" (Wong 1994: 134) and against which all other identities are measured.

As a consequence of drawing on a range of theoretical approaches, this book does not offer a fixed theoretical position. Readers may want to consult the cited texts and end-of-chapter notes for a deeper analysis of some of the issues raised in the book.[4]

In the analysis of a selection of images, Roland Barthes' fluid approach to semiotics, discussed in his essay *Myth Today*, is adopted to critically examine the association of blackness with servitude. The associative and flexible capabilities of images have been combined with postcolonial theory, particularly the deconstruction approach developed by Homi Bhabha (1994).

Chapter 3 discusses the significance of postcolonial theory and Edward Said's and Michel Foucault's notions of discourse in relation to the colonial enterprise. Particular attention is paid to the influence of the discourses of the Land of Cockaigne in accounts of the world produced by colonial male voices, in addition to how their perspectives constructed the black female body as inferior and more broadly tied blackness to labor to service whiteness. The chapter ends with a discussion on the significance of whiteness studies and the assumed invisibility of whiteness within discourses of the global city, New York.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion on how the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality informed the construction of colonial relationships and in particular how white male demands for sexual gratification

were integral to the formation of their identities. The systematic abuse and dehumanization of the black female body was the basis on which white femininity was claimed to be superior. White womanhood was also a beneficiary of the colonial slave system, invited to share power with her colonial male counterpart. This discussion foregrounds the analysis of the contemporary positioning of the white female bride as special in Chap. 6.

The focus in Chap. 5 is on the historical and visual representations of Jamaica in guidebooks and travelers' accounts which promoted tourism in the late nineteenth century as a strategy to maintain the power structures as they had existed under colonialism. The scrutiny of black and mixed-race female bodies was a particular pastime of Anglo-American travelers to the Caribbean in which Jamaica was represented through the "native" 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 black and mixed-race women in the tropical landscape to represent Jamaica as a sexualized tourist destination.

Chapter 6 discusses a selection of visual texts of white beach weddings which appear to reaffirm traditional gender positions. The chapter explores notions of white femininity as the ideal standard of beauty (Cole and Sabik 2009) and the positioning of the white female as a postfeminist subject and consumer citizen. The tying of high levels of consumption (Bartky 2010: 416) to the manufactured ideal of a white wedding are specifically "rooted in fantasies of escape" (hooks 1996: 209) and frame visual texts that express "Western culture's enduring attachment to romanticism" (Lipsitz 2006: 120). The claims to Caribbean beaches as white spaces speak to existing ideas regarding race, as in race-centered societies with a history of colonialism, citizens are socialized to view themselves and others predominantly in terms of racial and ethnic categories (Stanfield 1993: 17).

In Chap. 7, I examine the packaging of the black body as servitude, drawing on Bhabha's discussion of the ambivalent stereotype. This chapter discusses the significance of the use of colonial iconography, which marks the presence of whiteness (Haymes 1995; Bhattacharyya et al. 2002), particularly with references to British royalty which evoke nostalgia for colonialism. The texts and images presented for analysis in this chapter reveal the way in which the consumption of black labor in the Caribbean is sold as luxury; these are reminders of successful colonial projects.

I conclude the book with a discussion on the economic realities which jar with contemporary representations of the Caribbean. In particular,

the way in which the region continues to be represented as a paradise when it so clearly is not a paradise for citizens struggling to survive in the face of neoliberal free market policies which threaten the environment and the very ability of island nation-states to provide their basic needs.

Notes

1. Mintel All-Inclusive Holidays Report June 2014.
2. Ibid.
3. The Sandals company is listed as one of the strongest brands in the UK by *Superbrands®* http://www.superbrands.uk.com/ [last accessed August 16, 2015].
4. Note that I have kept the original spelling for the quotations.

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CHAPTER 2

Using Intersectionality to Challenge Visual Myths of Paradise

There are intricacies within "the visual culture of tourism" (Burns et al. 2010: xviii), particularly in the case of representations of the Caribbean that draw on racialized hierarchies and represent the white female as a princess bride and portrayed as "special" (Davis 2006: 566) and pampered by a black serving subject (see Chaps. 6 and 7). This chapter discusses the intellectual tools that can be used to draw critical attention to such marketing of formerly colonized regions as sites of luxury. One of the ways that it is possible to achieve this is to utilize scholarship by black feminists and scholars who have taken an intersectional approach (Thornton Dill and Kohlman 2012; Cole and Sabik 2009; Grzanka 2014). They have argued for more dynamic perspectives that integrate race and class into sexuality and gender analysis. In the context of the work undertaken here, the use of a multidimensional approach such as intersectionality allows for an understanding of the ways in which the Sandals visual texts are underpinned by "complex and layered sets of inequalities" (Thornton Dill and Kohlman 2012: 155). The interlocking of gender, race, class, and sexuality can be identified in the displays of the white female body in the Sandals images and significantly in the way in which "privilege [is] defined in relation to its other" (Collins cited Thornton Dill and Kholman 2012: 156).

To examine the privileging of whiteness requires alternative perspectives (or gazes) to the approaches which have traditionally theorized phenomena from the perspective of "the white/male norm" (Wong 1994: 134);

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indeed, as "whiteness functions as the dominant epistemological assumption guiding much of" (Wong 1994: 143) tourism studies (Ayikoru 2009).

The significance of particular ways of seeing has been analyzed by a number of scholars. In Laura Mulvey's (1975) influential essay *Visual pleasure and narrative cinema*, she argues that the power of the gaze is not simply in the action of looking, but attests to the position and superior status that is ascribed to the subject doing the looking, which Mulvey concludes as being a male gaze. The concept has been explored and developed by John Urry (1990a) as the *tourist gaze*, which articulates the role that tourists and tourism play in "reinvent[ing] places as sites of consumption" (Schroeder 2002: 73). The concept has also been effectively utilized by Mary Louise Pratt (1992) and Mimi Sheller (2003), who critically examine "the gaze of the conqueror" (Schroeder 2002: 9) in colonial and travel discourses. In the contemporary context the practice of looking commonly operates as an unrecognizable form of Eurocentric power (Shohat and Stam 1998).

bell hooks (1996) discusses in her essay *The oppositional gaze: black female spectators*, the way in which the black female gaze has largely been ignored. However, in this work the black female gaze can be called upon to make sense of the coupling of discourses regarding the white female body and touristed landscapes that privilege a white neoliberal and masculinist perspective. As this is an intersectional approach, the analysis will demonstrate "that sex/sexuality … [is] not the primary and/or exclusive signifier of difference" (hooks 1996: 206).

Visualizing Idealized Femininity

Sandals' images draw on existing sex differences by aligning affluent white women with "ephemeral [and whimsical] concerns" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 578); they are the centerpieces for elaborate destination weddings. In these representations the princess brides are examples of "idealised thin femininity" (Hodge 2014: 76) that add to the mass-produced images displayed in contemporary media and encourage conformity to this idea of beauty that ultimately "define[s women] as [needing to be] attractive-to-men" (Morgan quoted in Hodge 2014: 67) and subjects to be watched (Hodge 2014: 70; Berger 1972). The desires and aspirations that society values are communicated in the repeated displays of white weddings by using a new white aesthetic which serves to circulate the myth that romance is the "face of desire

for [white] women" in contemporary Western societies (Bland 1983; Coward 1984, 2011).

This is in addition to the purpose that images serve as sign values (Murdock 1997: 100); without speech or explanation, they "impose meaning in one stroke" (Barthes 1972 [2013]: 219). With images, advertising quickly communicates the "celebrat[ion of] wealth, power and the status quo" (Schroeder 2002: 18) that "resonates with [specific] groups of consumers" (Spencer 2011: 129), and with the aim of evoking strong emotional responses (ibid), thus resulting in an emotional investment in specific commodities that are effective in "the display and consumption of wealth" (Barthes 1972[2013]: 253). The bourgeois "big wedding" which Barthes (1972[2013]) refers to is such a display which "through the press, the news, and literature, [and the Internet], it slowly becomes the very norm as dreamed" (ibid: 253) or becomes the stock of "aspirations, dreams and desires" (Spencer 2011: 129), which even a secretary on a modest salary identifies with these representations, as Barthes argues: "a typist earning twenty pounds a month *recognizes herself* in the big wedding of the bourgeoisie" (Barthes 1972[2013]: 253) (emphasis in the original). Commodities—commodified rituals in this case—have sign values that "shout about the kind of people we are [or] would like to become, and they beckon us to join their taste communities" (Murdock 1997: 100). Access to these taste communities is chiefly dependent on an individual's financial resources. Commodities, or commodified activities, signal the extent to which subjects have reached the goal of the "ultimate identity marker" (Schroeder 2002: 31) of a rich subject. Sandals' message of luxury and a white aesthetic provides a vehicle through which to communicate these values of "arrival," wealth, and status. The subtext is that this is the "good life" and here we have individuals who are exemplars of good taste.

The commodification of a destination wedding can be utilized as taste, "as recognition of social status" (Spencer 2011: 126) and therefore an example of distinction, distinction which expresses the apparent individuality and freedom of the wedding couple, as Sandals' six wedding packages claim to offer couples their own *wedding style*. However, as Mary G. McDonald (2005) argues, "while the destination wedding appeals to a 'sense of distinction' (Bourdieu 1986), it has become another commodity form" (McDonald 2005: 174). The commercialized ritual of a destination wedding occurs "in conjunction with vacation tours" (McDonald 2005: 172). Thus the rules and rituals for a white wedding are combined with

the rituals and performance of travel (Urry 1995). The marketing of destination weddings conveys the way in which advertising creates its own referent systems (Schroeder, 200: 29); like other activities in the economies of heterosexual romance (candlelit dinners, country walks, a proposal of marriage with a diamond engagement ring), the destination wedding can be incorporated into the values and beliefs of what is deemed to be conventionally romantic (Schroeder 2002: 29; see also Illouz 1997).[1] Thus destination weddings are displays of the trappings of affluence.

Global Media and Tourism

It is significant that "the interests of the media and the tourism industry [have] converge[d]" (Scherle and Lessmeister 2013: 91) and serve "the interests of wider global market[s]" (Skeggs 2001: 297) by intersecting related discourses of the Caribbean as tropical paradise with "narrow prescriptions of white femininity" (Butler 2007; Walter 2010; Stone 1995 cited in Cole and Sabik 2009). This amalgamation of related discourses addresses white women in their "specific role … as consumers" (Della Giusta and Scuriatti 2005: 41) and although these representations appear to be transformative, they draw on traditional forms of gendered representations (Törrönen and Juslin 2013). They are a reminder that "the body [is] the primary source of women's capital" (Gill cited in Hodge 2014: 82) in Western societies. The coupling of the obsessive attention paid to the female body and the images that represent white women as privileged tourists are what make these visual representations significant. They are able to circulate a version of reality through images of destination weddings as an object of desire and notions of aspirational lifestyles that ride on the discourse of the dominant version of beauty: a "conception of how [women] should look" (Trepagnier 1994: 201). This ideal of beauty is defined by narrow parameters, articulated as the thin torso, long hair, and pale white skin (although models with tanned skin are frequently used to connote affluence in tourism and fashion media). A "white [beauty] standard" (Spencer 2011: 150) is perpetuated and is significant for the way in which this idea of beauty "permeates almost every facet of western culture, most certainly the hegemonic discourse on all women which says that white is (more) beautiful" (Trepagnier 1994: 202).

As will be discussed in the following chapters, the construction of this ideal is dependent on the binary which delineates blackness as a natural opposite to whiteness; black women have historically been a counterfoil

for the constructions of white women as inherently beautiful (Hobson 2005; hooks 1996). As the guardian of beauty (Goldberg 1993), the white female is the beauty ideal for all women to aspire to (Cole and Sabik 2009). This idea of femininity as inherently white is twinned with celebratory representations of elaborate white weddings, which are also displays of normative gender ideals, wealth, and social class.

Successfully gendered identities are those which are performed. They require a continual repetitive performance in public to occupy the space of an elite subject. This can be identified in the staging of elaborate white weddings which legitimize public displays of status, wealth, and consumption of luxury products (Illouz 1997; Ingraham 2008; Winch and Webster 2012; Barthes 1972[2013]). White weddings as lavish spectacles draw on a range of discourses and myths that are quickly recognizable as they are embedded within Western cultural ideals (white represents purity) that equate female happiness with heterosexual romance (Coward 1984, 2011). Thus, the discourse of white weddings also epitomizes Western ideas of the romantic utopia, escape, and eloping which are employed in representations that interpellate white women, instructing them to perform and reproduce normative heterosexual displays with their own weddings, examples of which are produced in the monthly readers' section of *Hello*!, a celebrity magazine.

I have written elsewhere (Wilkes 2013) that one of the strategies used to entice consumers to stage their own wedding at a Sandals resort is the inclusion of testimonials and videos of previous Sandals weddings on the company's web site.[2] An air of authenticity is communicated by the statements that "nothing was too much trouble." In these testimonials, "spaces of real and virtual, commercial and personal fuse together" (Scarles and Lester 2013: 3), aiding in the process of myth making that a paradise wedding is attainable. These "visual [and textual] constructions disguise the power relations of the agent constructing particular myths and their intentions for encouraging particular perspectives" (Wilkes 2013: 35) and, as Said (1995) argues, myths need to be examined to reveal the power relations contained within them (Said 1978: 5, 6).

How Invisible Is Whiteness?

The idea of whiteness as seemingly neutral has been a subject of analysis for scholars, specifically articulating the assumed invisibility of whiteness that renders it the normative category (Dyer 1997; Bhattacharyya et al.

2002; see Garner 2009). This norm constructs the parameters for all subjects, particularly ideas regarding lifestyles and leisure that are disseminated as universal aspirations (Wilkes 2015; J. Butler 2013).

Whiteness studies include scholarship from a range of disciplines, such as literature, anthropology, cultural studies, and art (Engles 2006), that have been successful in making visible the cultural, social, and political practices of whiteness. However, there has been limited analysis of the way in which whiteness as an expression of neoliberalism projects the ideal human form as a young, white, and affluent female. This is particularly the case because white femininity as a privileged subject is a beneficiary of racialized structured positions (Puwar 2004).

I focus on the use of the Caribbean to facilitate the imaginaries of white weddings as an expression of the white bride as special; it is "the best day of her life," and is a public display of exaggerated femininity as in the intensive focus on the appearance of upper- and middle-class women during the nineteenth century (Craik 1994). Contemporary displays of white brides suggest that there is a return to this preoccupation due to the desire for white femininity to "become more distinctly visible" (Winch and Webster 2012: 52). This happens particularly when whiteness is the "dominant position that takes its own perspective to be a universal one" (Pitcher 2014: 55). It is the volume of images that are disseminated that underpins the assumption that whiteness is the norm and the repeated appearance of white women in white wedding gowns confers the value of being white. Applying an intersectional analysis to behaviors and practices that are projected as the norm is an approach that will "problematize issues of privilege and normality" by "tak[ing] into consideration the intricate webs of privilege, 'whiteness', heterosexuality, able-bodied, middle class and youth" (Wong 1994: 138). The white female body as a body not out of place on the Caribbean landscape is possible and believable as white bodies are "deemed to have the right to belong" (Puwar 2004: 8), it would seem, anywhere.

Bodies In or Out of Place

Discussions regarding bodies belonging or not belonging have resurfaced as a political topic, particularly in Europe and the USA, which finds the tradition of scapegoating and demonizing migrants to be an effective distraction from their economic troubles (Bhattacharyya 2011: 307). This reminds us of the unevenness of globalization; the movement of people from affluent nations across the globe is spoken of in positive terms for the

transnationally mobile who are free to travel without restrictions, whether it is for business or for pleasure. Thus theories of globalization have frequently celebrated "the opportunities of (and for) mobility" (Appadurai; Featherstone; Hannerz cited in Thomas and Clarke 2006: 6).

However, there have been aggressive responses to migrants from poor countries traveling to wealthier regions for a diverse number of reasons (Bhattacharyya 2011: 307). The costs and benefits of globalization are uneven, which produces privileges and penalties depending on one's position (Thomas and Clarke 2006: 6). The ability to travel to "exotic" climes is not separate to broader cultural and sociological discussions regarding mobility. It is within this postcolonial context that whiteness constructs free movement as one of its own privileges, echoing the practices of colonial agents who claimed that to "discover," acquire territory, and settle were essentially European entitlements.

We can see how this idea of mobility is not universal when movement is undertaken by those who are deemed to be out of place (see Bhattacharyya et al. 2002). Despite celebrating the "new technologies of knowledge and communication" (Thomas and Clarke 2006: 5) and cultural flows (Appadurai 1996), attitudes toward immigration have hardened in recent decades. Yet contradictorily, tourism images that depict contact with difference in the Caribbean context suggest aspiration and desirability. It is perhaps the idea that in a rapidly changing world, the idea of an unchanged paradise with black serving subjects who are fixed in place offers a sense of stability and reassurance that some things have stayed the same, thus making the images appealing. The operations of global power can be seen in the mobility of the affluent white tourists who leave their home in the West, where they are usually members of the dominant group and live in affluent communities (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002; Tyler 2012; Lipsitz 2006) and are employed in valorized and lucrative professions. These aspects of privilege are evoked by the images of the Caribbean that display tourists as natural features of the landscape.

Critiques of the Text and Not Consumption or Production

The consumption and production of images are key aspects of the circuit of culture, 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 *meaning* that the image conveys, the first stage in the circuit of culture (Hall 1997b: 226), that is central to the analysis of representation in *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism*, and not the reader, reception, or the production process of images that will be discussed.

If we take Johnson et al.'s (2004) version of the circuit,[3] which incorporates cultural methods, we can see that texts, readers, everyday life, and production are the categories that have been used to differentiate practices of cultural studies and also to demonstrate the intimate relationship between the cultural circuit and methodologies of cultural studies. However, *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* is concerned with exploring the visual expression of social hierarchies, in particular how contemporary images of the Caribbean "relate to the [current] US power structure" (Frankenberg and Mani 1996: 352) and what the hierarchies of class, race, gender, and sexuality can tell us about whiteness as it relies so heavily on myths about difference (Haymes 1995: 44). Hall has argued as follows:

> 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).

Images are polysemic and may not be read in the way that the producer of the image intended (Spencer 2011). However, as Borgerson and Schroeder (2002) argue, advertising and marketing material tend to rely on the familiar; historical stereotypes and "image creation draws upon and reinforces simplified, even subordinating representations of cultural difference, group identity and geographic specificity" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 571). This reliance on the familiar and easily recognizable representations that draw on the reductive binaries allows image creators to "evoke dominant (preferred) and traditional values" (Spencer 2011: 149) that steer viewers in their "preferred direction" (Goldman 1992 quoted in Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 578).

The different areas of social life appeared to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organized into dominant or preferred meanings (Hall 1992 [1980]: 134).

Thus, what is produced is visual discourses that present a perspective, "a world, but not *the* world" (Leppert 1997 quoted in Borgerson and Schroeder 2002:580). By undertaking a critique of the images, they

will provide insight into the specific (class, race, and cultural) position from which tourist images tend to be produced and apply a critical eye "which allows us to look beyond their surfaces" (Spencer 2011: 167) for an understanding of the Caribbean's position "in the contemporary global world order" (Wilkes 2013: 34).

Scholarly analysis does not typically address race and racialization as central issues in discussions of globalization (Thomas and Clarke 2006; Bhattacharyya et al. 2002); however, the study of tourism images of the Caribbean offers insight into the postcolonial context, particularly in terms of global divisions of labor and the dissemination of images of idealized social identities. Visual texts which facilitate our "taken-for-granted ways of knowing about the world" (Hansen et al. 1998: 222) are examined with close inspection of the continuities and apparent transformations in the "historically entrenched racial hierarchies" (Thomas and Clarke 2006: 1) that were established by European colonial projects and the expansion of American business in the Caribbean region during the late nineteenth century.

Although it is common practice for companies to use employees to front their marketing campaigns (see Borgerson and Schreoder 2002: 570–571), it is the repackaging of the Caribbean's colonial history of racialized slave labor that is being made available to global audiences that is so disconcerting. Indeed, Sandals market the Caribbean as paradise to wider audiences through their interactive web site, and through their particular brand of "luxury" they disseminate representations of blackness as servitude. These are representations of blackness that already exist in the Western imagination and are used by marketing agents to convey blackness as problematic (Haymes 1995; see Borgerson and Schreoder's (2002) discussion regarding Benetton's use of racialized identities in its advertising campaigns), or to enhance whiteness.

One of the ways that race is used to represent inequality as harmonious and benevolent is to romanticize these relations. Sandals' use of the compliant butler is an example of this. As scholars have commonly theorized, a key feature of globalization as late capitalism is the production of images as information (Appadurai 1996). Tourism images are embedded in the maelstrom of this visual language. However, rather than being a democratizing force—providing individuals with access to information—these mediating images do not provide marginalized groups with "access to the mass media's representational power" (Woods 1999 cited in Borgerson and Schreoder 2002: 573). What these images can do is communicate

the "new imperialism" (Robotham 2005: 47) which facilitates how "difference is [frequently] transformed into inequality" (Mullings quoted in Thomas and Clarke 2006: 3). The images portray the Caribbean as a region that is populated by a service class of black people and the tourists are represented as upper class whites. We have been encouraged to challenge such essentializing positions (Wong 1994; Hall 1996a), yet such representations are a reminder that the apparently transformative narrative of the Caribbean as a tourist playground is an indication that "hierarchies change over time but are always influenced by the legacies of earlier periods" (Thomas and Clarke 2006: 8).

The Image, Power, and Deciphering Myths

It is difficult to accept representations of Jamaica which suggest that it is a simple enduring "paradise." Jamaica as paradise is a narrative, a myth constructed to appeal to a specific group of people. I accept that some readers may find representations of the Caribbean as paradise appealing, and may not consider that there is a problem with the images. As Roland Barthes (1972) argues, there is more than one way to read and decipher myths (Barthes 1972[2013]), and the readings that I offer in this book are not intended to convey "the truth," but an alternative reading, a perspective that is not the dominant one. This is an exercise in seeing and being seen. *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* aims to question the way in which intertextual connotations are offered up as natural and is a "critique of traditional thinking" (Schroeder 2002: 16) that ensures that the region fits into Euro-American economies and perspectives (Pertierra and Horst 2009). As Chris Barker (2012) argues, "knowledge is not pure or neutral but is always from a point of view" (Barker 2012: 30) and it is from a specific history and culture that we write and speak (S. Hall 1997: 51). *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* discusses one particular view. By acknowledging that "research is never objective but always partial or 'situated'" (Haraway 1988 cited in Saukko 2003: 29), it is possible to welcome alternative viewpoints.

Thus "it is precisely the false and disabling distinction between colonization as a system of rule, of power, and of exploitation and colonization as a system of knowledge and representation which is being refused" (Stuart Hall 1996b: 254).

To decipher the myth of Jamaica as a paradise, a postcolonial position has been combined with Roland Barthes' approach to semiology and Michel Foucault's approach to discourse. Semiology is the study of signs

or the study of the devices 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 produce 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 and 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, practiced, 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 1997b: 49). 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 intertextual visual discourses which reproduce racial, class, and gender hierarchies represent this practice as true by drawing on colonial and imperial histories to substantiate their representations (Bhabha 1994: 74; see also Pickering 2001).

Foucault analyzes particular texts and representations, which is an approach adopted by some semioticians (see Barthes' (1972[2013]) discussion of individual texts in *Mythologies*). However, Foucault is "inclined to analyse the whole discursive formation to which the text… belongs" (Hall 1997b: 51). Foucault criticizes 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 Platontic form of language and dialog. (Foucault 1980: 114–5)

Although both approaches are concerned with language, discourse is the study of language through the production of knowledge and the consequences of this knowledge which produce a regime of truth. 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 a postcolonial approach to examine the images and the myths contained within them as discursive formations. Gillian Rose's (2003) discussion of Foucault's work outlines the different methodological emphases which have been produced from Foucault's analysis, and calls them "Discourse Analysis I and Discourse Analysis II." Discourse Analysis I is applied to a notion of discourse which analyzes various kinds of visual images and verbal texts and is mostly concerned with "discourse, discursive formations and productivity" (Rose 2003: 140). In contrast, Discourse Analysis 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 analyses of the medical profession and 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 using medical discourse, thus excluding nonmedical professionals. The ability of doctors to exclude nonmedical professionals with their use of language and knowledge of particular medical conditions secures their power and authority.

While this study draws on Foucault's approaches to provide a theoretical framework, which in turn has influenced the methodological strategies I have adopted, there is no easily distinguishable line that can be drawn as Rose (2003) 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). A broad interpretation of discourse has been adopted in *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism*, and incorporates historical visual and literary representations from both formal and contemporary cultural media texts. I am concerned with the codes of the visual texts under examination, and the preferred meanings that are implicitly being suggested to the reader.

Roland Barthes and Myths

Roland Barthes' (1983) conceptualization of myths in the collection of essays *Mythologies* explores their importance, operations, and the power they have in communicating a specific message for it to then 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 image (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. 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 colonialism, it appears "natural" for the black man to be saluting what is assumed to be 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 according to Barthes. For example, the first reading of the image of the uniformed black man saluting the tricolor 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 by the critical reader, such as the mythologist, who would be able to analyze the image and understand the distortion. The third 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 and the saluting black soldier is "the very *presence* of French imperiality" (Barthes 1983: 128).

The factors which influence the different readings of the same text are an awareness of the relevant historical contexts. The timing of the publication of the image 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, as being France's "present difficulties" (Barthes 1983: 119). This supports Barthes' concept of myth, since it could be suggested that the image serves to disguise the practice of racialized oppression in the French colonial territories. It is also evident that Barthes is in possession of the contemporary cultural knowledge 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. 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" (Penn 2000: 230) readings of the text.

A model of Barthes' approach can be applied to Round Hill Hotel and Villas' use of the pineapple as brand iconography. The pineapple appears on the Round Hill logo and is used throughout the company's web site. The connotations derived from the pineapple stem from the meanings that are deeply embedded in Western culture. The pineapple has come to connote the tropics, paradise, or, in a Western context, Otherness. Sheller (2003) notes that the pineapple "entered European iconography as a symbol of welcome and hospitality" (Sheller 2003: 80), while the use of the pineapple as a colonial symbol of fertility is noted in de Almeida's (2015) discussion of the 1807 satirical print titled *Patent Family Bedstead*. Round Hill Hotel and Villas, Jamaica, appropriates this symbol of the tropics as an emblem that distinguishes the hotel brand. It draws on the historical meanings of the fruit that was once enticing to Europeans and the ideas of a warm, tropical welcome for guests at Round Hill are connoted by the use of the pineapple.

Round Hill's White Aesthetic

The colors that have been used in the Round Hill text are significant since the use of white connotes luxury. The following extract from the company's web site 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-

Fig. 2.1 A bedroom in the Pineapple House Hotel, courtesy of Round Hill Hotel and Villas

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. (Round Hill Hotel and Villas web site [N.D.]) (Fig. 2.1)

The color white dominates the description of Round Hill's Pineapple House, designed by the American fashion designer Ralph Lauren. The walls, ceiling, and white tiled floors and four-poster beds draped in white nets allow guests to imagine themselves being contained in *white*, and reinforce the idea of whiteness as the dominant code. In addition, as Delgado and Stefancic (2012: 83) argue, "in the semantics of popular culture whiteness is often associated with innocence and goodness." Indeed, the color white has been positioned within a "constellation of signifiers for whiteness" to communicate not only cleanliness, but also "ease", "luxury", "freedom," and "spaciousness" (Harris 2005: 13), as in the terms used "in the sales and advertising literature—in print, and on television—related to [American] postwar house design and decoration" (Harris 2005: 13).

Fig. 2.2 Jamaican waiter, Belle Abri Private Villa Spring Farm Montego Bay Jamaica, Alissa Everett/Alamy

The third example continues the discussion of "white spaces," with a picture of a black man signifying waiter service (Fig. 2.2). He is formally dressed and is standing in the grounds of a private villa[4] in Jamaica. He is surrounded by tropical plants and the palms that fan out behind him confirm that he is in a tropical space. He is smiling with his hands clasped behind his back and the lamps that are located on the white columns are lit, perhaps to suggest that he is awaiting the arrival of his evening guests. His smile provides reassurance to the reader that they will receive friendly service from a black man just like him at Jamaica's luxury hotels. 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).

This conveys a complex process of a double articulation of the Othered black subject, yet disavowing that subject at the same time, or, as Hall (1996a) argues, as being evidence of a process of deracination for 400 years (Hall 1996d: 151). It is the notion of mimicry as Bhabha (1994) describes it. In Fig. 2.2, the black subject is made to resemble the colonizer in appearance and behavior (note the bow tie); however, this is a "process of reform, regulation and discipline" with a visualized 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 persist" (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 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 white subject cannot physically be seen in the images, yet this does not mean that they are not present. The myth which is con-

noted in the image is that racialized service is the natural order of things and that while the black subject is serving the white visitors, the culture remains stable and allows social 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 racialized power relations, ideas of paradise, and 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 2003: 136).

Strachan (2002) provides a brief semiotic analysis of a promotional image for tourism in The Bahamas which also features a black waiter, "Adrian Fox." He stands in an empty restaurant and is dressed in full serving attire; he wears a bow tie and smiles as he holds a silver platter. As Strachan (2002) suggests, Adrian is telling the prospective tourist what his country has to offer. In the form of "pride" in his work he says: "*Pride. It's the speciality of the house*." This is perhaps to reassure the tourist that the waiter is happy in his employment and tensions will not arise if they visit The Bahamas.

In the Round Hill example discussed earlier, the denoted or literal messages serve to naturalize the connoted message in the image (Penn 2000: 231). 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 Jamaicans to be constructed as servile and 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 Trollope[5] 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. Hansen et al. (1998: 222) argue that "visual images are implicated in establishing our deepest and often taken-for-granted ways of knowing about the world" and the textual analysis of images reveals why the visual message can be seemingly understood without explanation. Thus, in race-centered 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 racialized power rela-

tions 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 naturalization, 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 normalize inequalities. In race-centered societies, human interaction based on racism is normalized to convey such relations as "natural" (Bhabha 1994; Kincheloe et al. 1998).

White Masculine Triumphalism and the "Lazy" Slave

The assumed naturalness of black servitude can be understood as being integral to the narratives of the heroes of imperialism and colonialism. White men represented their masculinity by directly referring to the colonial slave system that they established and controlled. The imperial projects were a reflection and expression of how they viewed themselves as superior. Indeed, white men were aggressive in their "quest for monopolistic control" (Beckles 2003: 205), which was expressed as a right to "ownership and possession" (ibid: 205). Madge Dresser (2001) observes that "the lure of riches was made more urgent by aggressive notions of a masculine and Protestant national identity. Even in peacetime, anxieties were being constantly expressed lest the Dutch or French edge the British out of the lucrative African and West Indian trades" (Dresser 2001: 59). Therefore, the notions of "the right to power, profits, glory and pleasure," as Beckles (2003: 205) argues, were at the core of white masculine ideologies. The place of black men in this articulation was that of representing Otherness. Dresser (2001) points out that the eighteenth-century image of the African, "with a few exceptions," was that of a slave, and one not to be trusted, as "the overwhelming image of the slave abroad was of a violent, treacherous and dangerous being" (Dresser 2001: 59).

Anxieties brought about by the competition between Britain and other European powers were only matched by the anxieties expressed about controlling African subaltern resistance to slavery, as noted by the Jamaican Governor's message to the King in 1734 regarding their "present dangerous and distressed condition" (cited in Dresser 2001: 59). The conquest and control of the black body (Beckles 2003: 205) was "targeted [by] surveillance systems that sought to direct the nature of everyday life" (ibid.: 205). In addition to the physical repression enacted on the slave body—branding,

burning, and flogging—they were "kept down" (Beckles 2003: 206) by a process of psychological "infantalization" (ibid). Beckles (2003) argues that it is in the "slave owners' fictional literature" that "representations of black masculinities were constructed and ventilated" (Beckles 2003: 207). It was "in this literature … that slave owners coined the term 'Quashee' to represent their ideological characterization of black men" (ibid) as childlike. Beckles (2003) notes that "Quashee was gay, happy-go-lucky, frivolous, cheerful" (Beckles 2003: 207) and in John Stewart's "1808 account of Jamaican slave society," the Jamaican slave is described as "patient, cheerful, and commonly submissive, but also [has] … a temper extremely irascible; a disposition, selfish, and deceitful; fond of joyous sociality" (cited in Beckles 2003: 207). Through these characterizations, empowered white men were triumphant; they could assure themselves that by constructing the black male as devoid of intellect, they were ultimately in control. Such is the contradiction of this hatred that they lived off the proceeds of black labor, they spent their time watching and ridiculing black people, and enacted pain and torture on black bodies. Blackness was therefore at the center of their world: "the slave owner had to walk among the slaves, eat what they cooked and sleep within their reach" (Beckles 2003: 208).

These slave encounters, shaped by the colonialists' distortions of black subjects, do not convey the complexity of the slave system. As Burnard (2004) notes, Thomas Thistlewood's relationship with his male slave, Lincoln, was one fraught with conflict and negotiation, as Lincoln refused to submit to the position of subservient slave. However, the dominant positioning of the black male within this discourse of the childlike black slave was effective when expressed by those in power and was secured as "true" in the slave-owners' literature, which continues to shape black and white encounters.

Blackness and the Racial Schema

Stuart Hall's (1996c) reading of Frantz Fanon, in his essay *The After-Life of Frantz Fanon*, discusses the application of the racial schema to the black subject. Hall (1996a) 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 a body without a mind or intelligence—purely a body centered in the discourses of slavery and imperialism (Morrison 1992: 38, Anim-Addo 2007: 55).

In the commodified display of Sara Baartman,[6] as "The Hottentot Venus," the emphasis was on her as a symbol of "sexual primitivism"—

claimed to reside in her buttocks and cited as evidence to demonstrate how Europeans were more evolved than Africans.

Baartman drew large crowds, and she was shown in exhibitions and traveling shows in London and Paris from 1810 to 1815. As discussed in Chaps. 3, 4, and 5 imperialism constructed a framework for gazing at black women. Baartman 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, 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 cited in Hobson 2005: 29). Baartman was the subject of a Eurocentric construction, which was at once exotic and fabricated (Anim-Addo 2007: 49). She was repeatedly "depicted in the nude in … caricatures and sketches" (Hobson 2005: 23), a practice which invites a pornographic gaze (Abraham cited in Hobson 2005: 23) and desire and loathing of difference which colonial discourse linked with hypersexuality (see Chap. 4).

Even after her death Baartman was the subject of the colonial white masculine gaze. Her body was dissected by the famed French scientist Georges Cuvier and in 1817 he wrote detailed descriptions of her dissected body. Her genitalia were placed in a jar of formaldehyde fluid, and along with her skeleton and a plaster cast of her body, her body parts were held at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris until 2002, when she was returned and buried in Cape Town, South Africa (Hobson 2005).

The process of dissecting the black body is evident in the essentialized black subject and can be identified within the bodily insignia—black skin, thick lips, curly hair, large penis (Hall 1996c: 21)—and inserted into the racial and social hierarchy, along with a perceived intellectual ability or a lack thereof, which was considered to reveal inherent racial differences in mental capacity (Goldberg 1993: 30; Hall 1996c: 21). While 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 1996c: 21).

Fig. 2.3 William Hogarth, The Industrious Prentice Grown Rich and Sheriff of London (Industry and Idleness VIII) 1747 (© courtesy of The Museum of London)

Africans were incorporated into British imperial society albeit within well-defined parameters of service and subservience. The significance of Fig. 2.3 is that the black servant offers a historical indication of the black presence in Britain during the eighteenth century.[7] Perhaps more poignantly, this representation is not sexualized, 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, the grotesqueness as typified by Baartman's display is absent, yet, on the other hand, 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 seated in front of him. In short, service and subservience underpin the racial schema,[8] and

are an enduring legacy displayed in the contemporary representations of black waiters who offer white tourists food and drinks (Chap. 7).

More evidence of the African presence in Britain can be found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European portrait paintings. For example, Joseph Wright's *Two Girls and a Negro Servant* (c.1769–70), John Wootton's *The Racehorse Lamprey*, Bartholomew Dandridge's *Young Girl with Dog and Negro*, and Pierre Mignard's painting of the Duchess of Portsmouth[9] demonstrate 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 the slave body and the animal body is demonstrated in the controlled relationship between mistress and slave (Woods 2002: 404).

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). The portrait of the Duchess of Portsmouth is an example of this tradition as it shows how the skin of an unknown black boy enhances the whiteness of the Duchess and conveys warmth and depth in 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 the portrait of Louise de Kéroualle, the black 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. However, the Duchess does not reciprocate his affection—her gaze directly addresses the viewer.

The child's face is presented in profile. This was a painterly technique "to diminish the importance of the character in the narrative of the painting" (Mohammed 2004: 15). In addition, 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 arm draped 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 on the darker side of the image, and is placed 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 to 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).

In the advertisement which demands the services of a black boy, the black subject is both racialized and gendered. In this identification, he is not constructed within negative terms but it demonstrates a fetishistic claim to the black body in a "crucial bind of pleasure and power" (Bhabha 1994: 76):

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)

From the point of view of the colonizer, there is, albeit a limited recognition of the colonized subject. However, the colonial relationship is normalized by disavowing the colonized subject and replacing him with an alternative version as we can see in Fig. 2.3.

The black boy as "plaything" and chattel is demonstrated further in Hogarth's *Taste in High Life* in Fig. 2.4 (Shyllon 1974: 12), as in the case of the Duchess of Kingston's black boy "Sambo," whom she dressed in elegant style, and pampered (Fryer 2010: 73). 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; Fryer 2010). 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 desirable. As children they were treated as "pets," although their status as commodities is demonstrated by

Fig. 2.4 William Hogarth, 1746 Taste in High Life (© courtesy of The Museum of London)

their resale, usually to the Caribbean (Anim-Addo 2007: 63; Fryer 2010). As the Duchess of Kingston's Sambo grew older, his special treatment decreased and he was eventually resold 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 double-edged (Bhabha 1994: 85). It was desirable yet menacing. The commodification of black children located in the imperial center demonstrates that the splitting of the stereotype was neither 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.

Addressing the Limitations of Semiology

There are limitations with Barthes' approach to semiology as a historical context is required to articulate the racialized power relations that are presented in the images. Discourse analysis supports semiotic analysis by providing a context within which to place the image. This shows 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.

Barthes' second-order system can be aided by an understanding of colonial discourse, which allows for more in-depth readings to 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. Therefore, what is required is historical knowledge to be able to fully contextualize the image within French colonial history. The use of discourse analysis and a historical framework would be relevant to the analysis of Fig. 2.2 to contextualize the image within its specific colonial history. The relationship between images and their historical context assists in gaining an understanding of their implied or intended meanings.

Analyzing Images to Challenge Common Sense

Barthes cites the starting point for his writing on French daily life as a result of his impatience with the way newspapers, art, and common sense presented a particular form of reality (Barthes 1983: 11). The range of images in this work were chosen for their conceptual interest (Barthes 1983: 11; Rose 2003: 73) and the political and ideological issues that they raise regarding the intersecting positions of race, class, gender, and sexuality as they are circulated through global media.

Images promoting Sandals Resorts International and Round Hill Hotel and Villas are used as case study examples. Sandals Resorts International was founded in 1981 by a white Jamaican, Gordon "Butch" Stewart. The company is part of the Stewart business empire, which includes the *Jamaica Observer* newspaper and Alliance Traders Ltd. The Sandals chain of all-inclusive resorts currently stands at 24 across the Caribbean. All-inclusive resorts are secured tourist complexes which usually exclude local people as consumers, but not as paid workers. This echoes the policy that was instituted in the nineteenth century by the American-owned

hotels in Jamaica, such as the Myrtle Bank Hotel, which had a policy of excluding local black people (Thompson 2006). The Sandals chain caters for couples and its sister company, Beaches, is aimed at families and couples. The company claims to be the "largest private sector employer in the Caribbean" (YouTube video of the World Travel Awards 2011)[10] and the founder and chairman, Butch Stewart, has been described as "exert[ing] huge political influence in Jamaica, where he is considered by some to have even more power than the Prime Minister" (Decker Royal 2014).

Sandals are a Jamaican-owned company and have a local orientation, although their business developments could be considered to be "imperialistic" (Smith 2009: 63) due to the appropriation and recolonization of land for foreign visitors by turning once public beaches into private beaches for tourists.[11] The company's marketing strategy, which (re)packages Caribbean colonial history, raises questions regarding the conditions of postcoloniality, as in this approach "the other is reduced to an essence without history" (Dirlik 2005: 32). Therefore, Sandals and Round Hill are significant for the way in which black Jamaicans *are* present, highlighting the "historical legacies which inform contemporary representations" (Skeggs 1997: 1) of the Caribbean through the operations of tourism "after the formal end of colonialism" (Shohat and Stam 1994: 2).

Jamaica, a postcolonial nation, was granted independence from its former colonizer, Britain, in 1962; yet it continues to bear the hallmarks of that particular colonial project in its ethnically diverse society and the economic structures that it is subject to and which tie it to the demands of powerful global nations. Jamaica, like other nation-states in the wider Caribbean, is no stranger to coercion and exploitation. As a profitable territory in the British Empire due to the production of slave sugar, Jamaica was geared toward producing wealth for Europeans. I consider the contemporary representations of Jamaica as a simple place where white leisured subjects relax, to be a continuation of this mentality—Jamaica exists to embody the desires (Wong 1994) of Anglo-Americans. Sandals' black waiter, personified as brand personality in the form of their *Butler Elite Service*, sanitizes "the 'evidence' of European domination" (Spencer 2011: 114). The ubiquitous images of "compliant and submissive" (Simmons 2004: 46) black waiters (most notably "Rory the Butler") on its web site and in its promotional material provide insight into the sustained dependence on unstable colonial fantasies of beaches and tropical landscapes, which Smith (2009) argues, Anglo-Americans are attracted to, as they reaffirm their own myths and fantasies (Smith 2009: 67) of imperialism.

Tourism companies collude with these desires as, Butch Stewart states, "the winning formula is to find out what people want [and] give it to them."[12] However, is it the case that people aspire to have what is already presented to them as desirable in the wider imagination? Tourism promoters may rework "imperial and gendered discourses related to travel" (Simmons 2004: 44) in order for them to appear new and to appeal to a younger generation, yet the repeated presence of the uniformed black subject "speak[s] to continuing" (Mosaka 2007: 17) (post)colonial power relations in the Caribbean.

Sandals aim to make their all-inclusive resorts appealing to North Americans, their closest geographical market, by using a range of discounts, for example, the marketing of holidays to the US and Canadian military[13] and instigating partnerships with well-known business moguls such as the American businesswoman, Martha Stewart. As will be discussed in the following chapter, America has been extensively involved in the affairs of the region as a trading settler colony and as a global power that established its influence through American banana businesses such as the United Fruit Company.

Round Hill Hotel and Villas offers luxury tourist accommodation near Montego Bay in Jamaica and was opened by John Pringle 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. The resort was developed as a "luxury cottage complex" (Round Hill web site 2015) for very rich individuals, whom John Pringle invited to invest in his venture. Indeed, the first shareholder was Noel Coward. Round Hill has a history of hosting famous and wealthy guests: John F. Kennedy and Jackie Kennedy spent their honeymoon at the resort; Viscount Esmond Rothermere owned one of the villas; and Paul Newman, Joan Collins, and Bill and Babe Paley have been guests at the resort. In more recent times, the actor Chris North (Mr Big) from *Sex and the City*, Christina Aguilera, and Quincey Jones have been guests. Much is made of the patronage of wealthy guests, as *RoundAbout*, the Jamaica Tourist Board's newsletter boasts: "[Round Hill is] *steeped in the traditions of hosting decades of the talented and successful*." Aristocrats such as Lady Daphne Niarchos; Lady Sabrina Guiness and Lady Gabriella Windsor, the daughter of the Prince and Princess Michael of Kent, and shareholders Ralph and Ricky Lauren add to the resort's association with wealth and privilege, a focus which displaces any reference to the site's history as a slave labor camp.

The desire to have contact with difference suggests that "colonial thinking and discourse are far from over in contemporary tourism" (Smith 2009: 67). Staged and planned interaction is represented as appealing. For example, the images of Sandals Montego Bay show elderly black men playing dominoes with white tourists. Would the tourists socialize with black people back home? The images suggest that 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 this[14] and indicate the absence of tourist images of urban Jamaica (Pertierra and Horst 2009: 104). Therefore, black hotel employees are safe to be with on the beach. They do not pose a threat. Young (1990) argues that in the British film *Mona Lisa*, black people are fixed in the metropolis, London, and are associated with dirt, degeneration, and decline. It is the location of blackness which influences whether it will be seen as negative or positive in the white imagination.[15] For black people to be seen in a positive light, it has to be through white eyes; they must be nonthreatening, jovial sambo types, such as the romanticizing of docile, compliant house slaves like Mammy in *Gone With the Wind*. They are represented as endearing for their devotion to whiteness. In the contemporary context, legacies of white bio power can be found in the intimacy of the domestic setting as noted in Dianne Harris' (2005) essay "Little White Houses," which discusses the significance of the decline in black maids in the homes of affluent whites and the rise in kitchen and garden paraphernalia that resembles or mimics black servitude in mid-twentieth century America.[16]

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."[17] The impression is that black people are only nonthreatening when they are in positions of subservience as in the case of *Robinson Crusoe*'s Man Friday—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?

The Caribbean, Tourism, and Global Financial Institutions

Tourism for former colonies in the Caribbean has formed part of "postcolonial national development initiatives and market diversification including interventions from the World Bank" (Burns et al. 2010: xvi). This has involved countries such as Jamaica adopting free market policies in return for loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Jamaican governments have accepted these loan conditions and devalued their currency, and opened their markets to foreign companies and privatized public industries—strategies which have largely left small nations more exposed to economic shocks (Klein 2007).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the multi-theoretical framework that has been adopted to analyze representations of the Caribbean as a tourist destination. In particular, the need to examine images based on Western fantasies of escape from a nondominant perspective is a discussion which continues in Chap. 3. The formation of the white male colonial voice and the way in which this expression of power was used to construct discourses of black and mixed-race black women as sexually threatening within narratives of colonial expansion, possession, and settlement are discussed. These themes and how they have come to inform the apparent invisibility of whiteness, particularly as it continues to depend on the assumed subjugated position of blackness, are discussed in the following chapters.

Notes

1. Jonathan E. Schroeder (2002) argues that advertising creates its own referent systems. He acknowledges that this contention is controversial; however, he "points to the long-running De Beers diamond campaign that first established diamonds as the standard engagement ring stone, and then created a cultural belief that an appropriate amount to spend on such a gift is 'two months' salary'" (Schroeder 2002: 29) to support his point.
2. http://sandalsweddingblog.com/blog/category/trending/testimonials/ [Last accessed June 26, 2015].
3. The Circuit of Culture by Hall, S. (ed.) (1997b) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage, developed with cultural methods in Johnson, R. *et al* (2004: 41) *The Practice of Cultural Studies*, London: Sage.

4. This photograph was taken at Belle Abri Private Villa Spring Farm, Montego Bay Jamaica.
5. Anthony Trollope was an author and colonial civil servant for the British postal service in the 1830s.
6. Sara Baartman was a servant to Dutch farmers near Cape Town and came to England with her "employer's" brother Hendrick Cezar in 1810 and was exhibited in London at the Egyptian Hall.
7. Gilroy (1993a), Fryer (1993), and Anim-Addo (2007) note that Britain has had a black population for over 400 years.
8. Note how the black servant is aligned with the working-class women carrying trays of food across the dining hall.
9. The Duchess, Louise de Kéroualle, was the mistress of King Charles II. The black slave child holding the precious objects emphasizes de Kéroualle's wealth and status. This portrait of the Duchess, dated 1682, is held in a collection at The National Portrait Gallery, UK. The image can be viewed via this link: http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw05102/Louise-de-Kroualle-Duchess-of-Portsmouth, [Last accessed October 21, 2015].
10. A video of the World Travel Awards ceremony 2011 can be accessed via this link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F0hmOhd5l0o, [Last accessed October 22, 2015].
11. Traci-Ann Simone Patrice Wint (2012: 16) provides a discussion on the Beaches Control Act (1956) and the Prescription Act which limit public access to beaches in Jamaica.
12. http://www.sandals.co.uk/about/ [Last accessed November 17, 2014].
13. Sandals offer discounts to American and Canadian military personnel. Details can be accessed via this link: http://www.sandals.com/specials/firefighter-military-police-savings/ [Last accessed October 22, 2015].
14. Parts of London and Manchester have also been racialized as black and dangerous (Noxolo 1999: 144). Young, L. (1990) and Tyler (2012) also note that in the British context whites remove themselves from the urban centers by living in the countryside, where black people are largely absent.
15. Stephen Nathan Haymes (1995) argues that the black subject is fixed in place in poor neighborhoods in the USA and is regarded as evidence of black inferiority.
16. The Sambo Lawn Sprinkler. See http://www.rubylane.com/item/370999-5639/Black-Americana-Metal-Sprinklin-Sambo-Lawn [Last accessed August 16, 2015].
17. Donald Bogle's (1973) book, *Toms, Coons, Mulattos, Mammies and Bucks: an interpretive history of blacks in American films*, documents the repeated use of racial stereotypes in American cinema.

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Bedroom image courtesy of Round Hill Hotel and Villas, web site. (2016). http://www.roundhill.com/overview-en.html. Accessed 9 May 2016.

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CHAPTER 3

White Masculine Voices and Their Construction of the Colonized Woman as Sexual Primitive

This chapter explores the deep layering of discourses and relations of power which have historically constructed white masculinity as a natural producer of knowledge, specifically the narratives that have been constructed about the Other, as they appeared in colonial travel literature. I draw on Edward Said's discursive approach, whiteness studies scholarship, and intersectionality to examine the way in which whiteness has been able to construct an ideal self, while simultaneously framing and shaping representations of "Otherness" through the construction of myths. The aim is to gain an understanding of the legacies of colonialism and disrupt the seemingly unproblematic romanticized representations of postcolonial island states (Thompson 2006; Woods 2002), specifically the strategies used to sell the colonial past in the present (Schroeder 2002), which can be identified in the discourses of the white princess bride, alongside the dehistoricized representations of black waiters as compliant labor in Sandals and Round Hill promotional material.

Edward Said's *Orientalism*

Edward Said's (1978 [1995]) *Orientalism*[1] is credited with inaugurating the academic field we now call postcolonial studies (Williams and Chrisman 1993). In his seminal work, Said demonstrates in detail how disparate sources and fields of study worked together to construct European colonial powers as superior to the regions they colonized. Colonialism presented Europeans with a range of identities that they could form in the

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colonial territories (Said 1978: 7). Colonial projects were mapped out and implemented via "the scientist, the scholar, the missionary, the trader" (Said 1978: 7) and the military elite; these were the broad and interdependent structures which produced and dispersed discursive formations through the processes of colonial rule, and produced imperial discourses of superiority regarding peoples considered to be "uncivilized" and "backward" (Said 1978: 7). Europe's superior self-image was constructed with the major components of European culture (Said 1978: 7). Said (1978) observes how all disciplines were instrumental in constructing knowledge in this way, known as Orientalist discourse (Said 1978: 23). The human sciences were at the center of this knowledge construction, particularly the social science of anthropology (Pickering 2001: 52), which assisted in producing taxonomies of knowledge and what Said describes as knowledge about the "Other" as inferior (van Dijk 1993).

> Orientals were rarely seen or looked at; they were seen through, analyzed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined … the male conception of the world in its effect upon the practicing Orientalist, tends to be static, frozen, fixed eternally. (Said 1978: 207–208)

Said identifies the importance of travel literature's contribution to colonial discourses (Said 1978: 221) as it "brought the Orient into sharper and more extended focus" (Said 1978: 117). Colonial territories were settings for imaginary geography where these new territories became something "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 to which one came as Columbus came to America, in order to set up a New World" (Said 1978: 58).

The common ideas of travel, adventure, expansion, and possession that tied travel literature to colonial discourse have their origins in much earlier medieval fantasies of paradise and "uninhabited" or wild landscapes awaiting European "discovery" (Murray 2009). These fantasies and discourses of uninhabited territories were widely represented in medieval European fables that were concerned with the search for paradise or a "Golden World" outside of Europe (S. Hall 1992: 300), also known as the Land of "Cockaigne," which was popular throughout Europe and was depicted in literature and art.[2] During the periods of European exploration in the fifteenth century, these fantasies of paradise or Eden were "superimposed" (ibid.) onto depictions of the New World as lacking in social organization and civil society; they were mythologized lands of simple, innocent

existence, where "people [lived] in a pure state of Nature" (ibid.), were prone to nakedness, and were openly expressive of their sexuality (Hall 1992: 300). The beauty of the women was a frequently circulated myth emphasizing sexual differences that were claimed to be features of the New World. Thus, the idea of a female other as exotic and sexually unbridled was a fantasy that circulated widely in Europe before the explorations that Columbus and his contemporaries embarked upon during the fifteenth century. In the European consciousness, these sexual fantasies were mixed with the desire to "escape the realities of their societies" (Strachan 2002: 20). Thus, in the minds of Europeans, the New World was an opportunity not only to accumulate wealth, but also to live out their fantasies of guilt-free sex. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European white males went in search of fortunes throughout the Empires and also to experience the "exotic Otherness" of black and mixed-race women in the colonies. As will be discussed in the following chapter, these long-held fantasies regarding non-European women were imposed on enslaved women in the New World plantation societies. Chapter 4 discusses how constructions of gender are informed by historical constructions of race, evidence of which can be noted in the Italian painter Agostino Brunias' depictions of semi-naked mixed-race women in colonial Dominica.

Paradise and Racialized Labor in the New World

The establishment of English literature as an academic discipline coincided with the emergence of Britain as a nineteenth-century colonial power (Ashcroft et al. 1989). Contained within the English literary canon are Western-derived myths regarding paradise and the desire for sovereignty as in the autobiographical fiction *Robinson Crusoe*, which inspired many texts on similar themes of a lone white hero, surviving on a desert island (Murray 2009; Loxley 1990). However, the tradition of *writing back* in postcolonial literature challenges the notion of "the universal" (Ashcroft et al. 1989: 11) in English literature, specifically the colonial texts which represented "British superiority [and] reinforced [these ideas] [through] educational systems [that were] founded in the colonial era" (Anim-Addo 2007: 16).

In the rewriting of *Robinson Crusoe*, J.M. Coetzee's (1986) novel *Foe* encapsulates the European fascination with narratives of independent male adventurers, shipwrecks, and paradise islands. The novel draws on elements of the fable of "Cockaigne," in its references to a land of abundance

where food was produced without labor. Aspects of this earthly paradise are described by Coetzee's (1986) Cruso 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)

The whiteness of the castaway is made apparent through the assumed entitlement to relax and enjoy the environment, drink the natural water, and eat the uncultivated fruit. The idea that *he* can see out his days asleep until he is rescued from the island does not render the castaway lazy or idle. However, *Foe* clearly sets out that the benefits of the desert isle are not extended to all humanity, as Cruso justifies his reasons for enslaving an African man 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? For the business of the world to prosper, Providence must sometimes wake and sometimes sleep, as lower creatures do." (Coetzee 1986: 23)

It is significant that in this narrative, power to rule over others and claims to territory are the preserve of Europeans, while Africans are arbitrarily named (as in Cruso's Friday), which naturalizes the association of blackness with servitude as the inevitable order of things. What this appears to be is an explanation for racialized labor in the "New World."

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 Friday's lack of speech (he has no tongue). Friday exemplifies the silent Other or the subaltern as conceptualized by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988). Power provides the conditions for those who can speak to be heard, acknowledged, and believed, while simultaneously rendering those who are without power into a position of silence. This silence has been maintained due to the writing of history by European historians who frequently presented a European-focused view of historical events, by writing *out* the former colonies as though they were separate from European history[3] (Cannadine 2001: xvi, xvii). Thus, Patterson (1967) argues as follows:

> [T]he historiography of the West Indies has developed in two directions. On the one hand there are the large number of works by scholars of imperial history to whom the islands are of significance only in so far as they represented the platform upon which the European powers thrashed out their imperial differences. On the other hand, there are the scholarly, though often tedious works of those historians who have concentrated almost exclusively on the constitutional development of the islands. (Patterson 1967: 10)

It is significant that there is an established and assumed positioning of blackness as marginal, yet essential labor within capitalist regimes, as indicated by the Defoe narrative, and within the canon of Western civilization and grand narratives of history (Hall 1996c: 466), blackness is not attributed as having any active part in modernity. The colonial slave regimes have not been discussed as integral to the history of European modernity, yet paradoxically, as Bhabha (1990: 218) argues, "the colonial moment is the history of the West" and the advent of Western modernity was cultivated during the Enlightenment period through "master narratives of the state, the citizen, cultural value, art, science, *the novel*" (Bhabha 1990: 218). Despite this, a contradictory narrative was being told, where the West was producing a history of its colonial possessions and relations (ibid.: 218). As Grzanka (2014) argues, "history is a *political* construction of what certain people think has happened" (Grzanka 2014: 3).

The language and vocabularies of colonial discourse were "fashioned out of the experiences of many Europeans" in the colonies (Said 1978: 203), which established an apparatus of power that secured "ethnocentric perspectives" (Said 1978: 117) as regimes of truth (Foucault 1991). Ultimately, colonial discourse was successful in producing and controlling representations of colonized people, because Europe had the economic and military means to do so, and "by the end of World War I Europe had colonized 85 percent of the earth" (Said 1978: 123). It was the sheer weight of knowledge that was produced about the Orient that made it an arduous task to challenge the intricate web of discourses within the colonial framework.

The Enlightenment can be identified as providing the guiding principles of Western science and modernity, which have produced Eurocentric master narratives (Dirlik 2005: 32). The Enlightenment was a complex phenomenon which consisted of a range of views (Pagden 2013: vii); however, one of the principal concerns of Enlightenment theorists was their "preoccupations with classification and notions of progress that produced

a range of ranking schemes which placed Europeans at the top of human hierarchies and the darkest-skinned peoples at the bottom" (Samson 2005: 27). Enlightenment thinkers' self-image was one of "rationality of the Occident" (Castro-Gómez 2007: 428) and they were able "to legitimate, by way of science the establishment of disciplinary apparatuses" (ibid.: 429), which positioned the Enlightenment approaches as the standard model of logic.

This standard incorporates "dichotomous thinking" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 576), for example, male/female, "self/other, white/black, heaven/earth, civilized/primitive, rational/irrational" (ibid.: 576; Wong 1994). Significantly, these dualisms have been exploited by the white European, middle-class, male (Wong 1994) and were established as "common sense" through the writings of chroniclers and travelers, who drew on Enlightenment discourses and were "circulated throughout Europe," such as the "images of 'savages'" who lived in America, Africa, and Asia (Castro-Gómez 2007: 429). European philosophy has an intimate historical relationship with constructions of "race" and difference, as key 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). As Alison Bailey (2006) argues, "although Immanuel Kant is best known today for his work in ethics, metaphysics and epistemology, he made his living teaching anthropology, and his role in Enlightenment constructions of race was well respected in his day" (Bailey 2006: 9).

Central to the formation of the rational European white male as agent of progress and subject of "higher plains of reason and the mind" (Bhattacharyya, et al. 2002: 100) was the need to transcend the body and its attendant desires. The European white male aimed to repress sexuality while conceptualizing it as a mark of the racialized "terrain of us less-than-human peoples" (ibid.: 103). The result of this ideology has been to exploit, violate, and caricature the less-than-human status for failing to measure up to the mythology of "the pristine and total humanity of white people" (Bhattacharyya, et al. 2002: 100), which, as Bhattacharyya et al. (2002) argue, is a "standard of western behaviour which has never existed" (ibid.: 100).

The dominant view, ideology, or set of values which this binary has encouraged—a "standard or model of comparison" (Hall 1992: 277)—is crucial in the formation of white masculine subjects as modern, sophisticated, and knowledgeable, against which all others are measured (Gabriel

1994). It is the lens through which we are encouraged to view the world and, as Sheller (2003) argues, "since its origins in the nineteenth century social theory has continually used non-Western places as counterfoils for Western modernity" (Sheller 2003: 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).

The origins of whiteness can therefore be located in the emerging identities of the self-styled gentlemen of Europe, who, in their "quest for knowledge" (Haraway quoted in Johnson et al. 2004: 48), produced "gendered and racialized differences in Enlightenment thought" (ibid.:48). The construction of the rational male subject of the Enlightenment period is described by Haraway as "the 'master subject': that is, the subject constituted as white, bourgeois heterosexual and masculine" (Haraway cited in Rose 1993: 6). Drawing on Donna Haraway, Rose (1993) considers that what is "especially important … is the manner in which that 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" (Rose 1993: 6). This assists in gaining an understanding of how the positioning of the white rational male subject came to devise a message of science, modernity, and rationality that universalized essentialist "race-thinking" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 4) and "dichotomous thinking" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 576) while simultaneously cementing notions of itself as the "unacknowledged norm" (Apple 1998: xiii):

> 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)

It is within this context that difference to elite white men is conceived and expressed as inferiority and danger (Haymes 1995; Grzanka 2014), which brings us the understanding of how contemporary visual media is deeply implicated in harvesting colonial views of difference that are used to underpin "exaggerated [and distorted] forms" (Leiss cited in Schroeder 2002: 28) as they appear in contemporary visual texts.

Said's Debt to Foucault

Said's use of Michel Foucault's concept of discourse, and its relationship to power, is drawn on here. Foucault does not consider individual texts or authors to be significant, yet Said argues that for discursive formations such as Orientalism, individual writers are important as they contribute to "complex collective formations" (Said 1978: 23) and, specifically, for the way in which they refer to each other. Said regards Orientalism as essentially a system for citing works and authors, and 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 Gérard de Nerval, Gustave 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 depended on, and referred to, the works of previous writers on the Orient. Therefore, Orientalism was a discursive formation that defined what could be said by whom and what could be written about in accordance with the interests of the dominant group (Johnson et al. 2004).

Said draws on Foucault's concept of power/knowledge as a relationship which enables knowledge to assume authority to speak as truth within the discourse. Thus, the knowledge created by "European expansion has shown how travelers, 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" (van Dijk 1993: 159). The opinions and views of the colonial elite were therefore presented as factually true (Anim-Addo 2007: 64; Ferguson 1992: 5). An example of how an individual speaker lends his authority to a regime of truth is the case of the wealthy plantation owner and prominent supporter of the slave trade, Edward Long. Edward Long's much-quoted *History of Jamaica* (1774) is a text which claims to provide facts about the colony and demonstrates the use of "scientific" narratives to construct regimes of truth about colonized peoples (Anim-Addo 2007). Long wrote at a time when Britain was establishing its dominant position in the Atlantic and its colony Jamaica became "the powerhouse of the British Empire" (Burnard 2004: 13), and was able to secure its economic position as "in 1805 Jamaica was the world's largest individual exporter of sugar" (Mair 2003: 184). Thus, "Long estimated in 1768 that the total wealth of the average sugar planter amounted to £19,027" (Burnard 2004: 63) and as a slave-owner and sugar planter,

Edward Long had a personal interest in defending the system that was dependent on the black slave body to produce the "'white gold' of the New World" (Fryer 1993: 12). Long's views are typical of the "explicit biologically based racism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (Burnard 2004: 131) that was expressed by those making their fortunes from slavery and sugar production, expressing that slavery could be justified on the basis of "Africans [being] devoid of genius" and without "a system of morality" (Burnard 2004: 131).

Edward Long had specific concerns regarding the alleged threat that enslaved black women, whom he described as "scheming Jezebels" (Long quoted in Burnard 2004: 18), posed to the white family as a "prostitute" who he conceived as scheming to entrap the innocent white gentleman (see further discussion in Chap. 4). It is well documented that white men sexually pursued black women in the Caribbean and they were indeed expected to have sex with female slaves (Bush 1990; Burnard 2004; C. Hall 2014), yet the myth of the black woman as lazy and sexually lascivious belies the fact that in Caribbean slave societies, black women were visibly "at the head of the pecking order of [sexual] exploitation and oppression" (Beckles 2003: 214). It was a dehumanizing system in which black women extensively undertook hard labor, pregnant women were routinely flogged[4] (Anim-Addo 2007: 85; Burnard 2004: 215), and women were the subject of unwanted male attention (Burnard 2004: 5; Anim-Addo 2007). The black female body was the site for the sexual and racial politics of the slave system and in dealing with their dependence on the slave body, planters meted out despotic sexual abuse and "branding and torturing" (Anim-Addo 2007: 67) on female slaves. As we shall see in the following chapter, the dehumanization/stereotyping of black women as mindless, yet sexual bodies, has its origins in slavery and colonialism.

In his position as an authoritative speaker, Edward Long describes white Jamaicans as "humane and indulgent masters" (Long cited in Burnard 2004: 22) and contributes to the discourse of race by expressing derogatory and dehumanizing remarks about black female slaves. What this demonstrates is the power of colonial elite men, as "lovers of liberty" (Burnard 2004: 267), who presided over the "most dehumanizing system ever devised" (Burnard 2004: 155), yet were held in high regard. Colonial Jamaican society was infamous for amassing great wealth; "the richest Jamaicans had holdings that would have been emulated only by the wealthiest London merchants and English aristocrats" (Burnard 2004: 15). Their extravagant and reckless living consisted of spending "money

on lavish feasting, copious drinking, and all manner of sexual and sensuous delights" (Burnard 2004: 19), *and* they were "remarkable" (C. Hall 2014: 25) for their violent and brutal treatment of slaves. Plantation societies in the West Indies provided white men with their own "autonomous kingdoms" and as masters they were "sovereign lords" (Burnard 2004: 20). The extreme violence and total control that were used to rule slaves can be articulated by using Foucault's concept of biopower. Such regimes of power are described in Thomas Thistlewood's detailed diary, which vividly describes his own brutal treatment of slaves: "in his year at Vineyard [pen], he had whipped nearly two-thirds of the men and half of the women" (Burnard 2004: 7). Noted as one of Thistlewood's favorite punishments was what he called "'Derby's dose' in which a runaway slave was flogged, 'salt pickle, lime juice & bird pepper' were rubbed into open wounds, and then another slave defecated in his mouth. He was 'immediately put in a gag whilst his mouth was full' and made to wear the gag for '4 or 5 hours'" (Burnard 2004: 104).

Disciplining the Body in the Center and at the Margins

Operations of power as they are exercised on the body are central to Michel Foucault's work, *Discipline and Punish*, which is an analysis of systems of punishment that were used in Europe prior to the Enlightenment period. Punishment consisted of public displays of "tortured, dismembered, amputated bodies, symbolically branded on the face or shoulder"…, exposed alive or dead to public view" (Foucault 1977: 8). 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 organization of power on the other" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982 cited in Shilling 1993: 75). Foucault does not centrally discuss the exercise of power on the body outside of the European context; however, when Foucault (1984) notes that systems of punishment should be related to the systems of production in which they operate, he could be specifically speaking about the repressed *and* sexually incited body in colonial and imperial contexts:

> 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)

As discussed earlier, the West Indian slave economy depended on the exploitation of the black body to work the plantations and produce European wealth; as the subjected body, it featured in the ideologies of race and was defined by European pseudoscience as inferior. It was a system which characterized all of the elements that Foucault describes:

> [D]irect, 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)

Significantly, the physical abuses of the body that were typical features of the Caribbean slave plantation resemble the practice of punishment as a spectacle that was being eroded and deemed to be regressive during the same period in Europe (Anim-Addo 2007: 52). As Anim-Addo (2007) argues, "those from European societies, masters, and those from African societies, slaves, lived within the same period, in the same community and on terms dictated by those believing themselves, as a group, to be enlightened" (Anim-Addo 2007: 56). Prior to the penal reforms limiting physical abuse in Europe, "approximately 7,000 people [were] hung in England and Wales between 1770 and 1830" and they were subject to "slow and painful deaths 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.). Therefore, physical maltreatment and tyranny were integral to patriarchal feudal Europe and were transferred to the "savagery" of slave societies (Burnard 2004: 150) and became entwined with notions of racial hierarchies. Most notable is the ferocious flogging of black female slaves which was normalized under Atlantic slavery (Anim-Addo 2007: 110; Woods 2002: 91; Bhabha 1994: 86). Anim-Addo notes as follows:

> Remarkably, in the light of the physical excesses typifying Caribbean plantation realities of the eighteenth century, Foucault writes of the same period in Europe as one when "the gloomy festival of punishment is dying out" and of the "disappearance of punishment as spectacle". One might speculate

> that Europeans who took such practice to the Caribbean justified the maintenance of precisely those conditions being eroded in Europe. (Anim-Addo 2007: 52)

The pornographic representations of the flogged and enslaved female body discussed by Marcus 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 premodern era" (Gilroy 1993a: 49). By referring to the West Indian slave economies in his discussion of systems of punishment and the body, Foucault could have avoided the restricted version of the West that is presented in *Discipline and Punish* (see Spivak 1988: 293). By not centrally addressing slavery and imperial projects, it produces a distorted view of Europe's development (Hall 1996a; Gilroy 1993a). Regrettably, Foucault's conceptualization of "the management of space, the development of administrations and considerations of the periphery" was also conducted without reference to European imperialism (Spivak 1988: 293). As Gilroy (1993a) has articulated, European modernity cannot sufficiently be understood without recognizing colonial projects that constructed the "dualistic system" and "reproduces [the] dominance of bonded whiteness, masculinity, and rationality" (Gilroy 1993a: 46) and derogatory representations of the black female body. As we shall see in Chap. 4, conceptions of the black female identity within the slave system were contradictory and formed within an exploitative and sexualized context as a consequence of the demands for sexual gratification made by white men.

The writings of prominent pro-slavery supporters have left a legacy of racialized discourses of the Other that have produced aesthetics of sexual and racial difference in contemporary visual texts. This is particularly evident as the exotic female Other is an element in discourses of Western desire for paradise which frequently draw on narratives of conquest that have become entwined with "racial meanings" (Thomas and Clarke 2006: 5). The power of the Western male to present his voice, or worldview, as authoritative is a central feature of whiteness that represents not only the white self, but also all Others (Wong 1994). These are largely "singular privileged accounts" (d'Hauteserre 2005: 202) and constructions that are derived from "Enlightenment era [male] explorers" (ibid.: 203)

and "their literary counterparts and descendants" (ibid.: 203) who went in search of and articulated "the fantasy of the erotic and exotic female … Other" (ibid.: 199) in their writings and art, which "become a fetishized object of the male gaze" (ibid.: 199). Examples can be found in valorized historical figures such as the artist Paul Gauguin.

Paul Gauguin's Whiteness and His 'Primitive' Life

The nineteenth-century artist Paul Gauguin (1848–1903) was able to represent a romanticized version of the tropics (Poupeye 1998: 50) through his paintings and sculptures. He significantly drew on existing Western fantasies and myths of paradise and sexual Others to create a new aesthetics of Otherness in his depictions of Tahitian women as sexually liberated and living in harmony with nature. Gauguin was a French postimpressionist painter who traveled to the French colonial territories, Martinique, Tahiti, and the Marquesas in search of sexually open cultures and to escape the strictures of modern life in Europe (S. Hodge 2010; Mathews 2001). Gauguin is significant in European art history for the way in which he constructed himself as a "savage" and portrayed Tahiti as a paradise island in the South Pacific. Gauguin's fascination with the "exotic" was inspired by his visit to Martinique in 1887 and a liaison with a young black woman who, Gauguin claims in a letter to his wife, tried to tempt him with a hexed mango:

> I can tell you that a white man here has all his work cut out to keep his clothes intact, for Potiphar's wives are not wanting. Nearly all are coloured from ebony to dusky white, and they go as far as to work their charms on the fruit they give you to compel your embraces. The day before yesterday a young negress of 16 years old, damnably pretty, offered me a split guava [mango] squeezed at the end. I was about to eat it as the young girl left when a light-skinned lawyer standing by took the fruit out of my hand and threw it away. "You are European Monsieur, and don't know the customs of the country", he said to me. "You must not eat fruit without knowing where it comes from. This fruit is a spell; the negress crushed it on her breast, and you would surely be at her disposal afterwards." (Gauguin quoted in Mathews 2001: 86, 87)

Gauguin was skillful in constructing narratives through his art, and in particular the idea that a "primitive," prelapsarian life (Strachan 2002: 77, 85) existed, and for this he appropriated and positioned Tahitian women

within the established European fantasy of the sexual primitive. Gauguin is used here as an example to demonstrate the power of the white male imagination and how it has become the lens through which the white self is constructed by inventing notions of Otherness. When funding his trip to Tahiti, Gauguin claimed that the island had "primitive living conditions" and "quoting a travel brochure that portrayed the natives as living only 'to sing and to make love'" (Mathews 2001: 169), reminiscent of the fable of the Land of Cockaigne; Gauguin used this narrative to convince his backers to fund his expedition (Mathews 2001). He propagated deeply held beliefs regarding nakedness as profane, inferior, and a symbol of promiscuity within European culture (d'Hauteserre 2005). His depictions of semi-naked Tahitian women communicate the Western-derived connection between Otherness and sexuality, emphasizing the binary of the premodern world in contrast to the modernity of Europe. Gauguin was working within the conventions of the late nineteenth century (traveling to colonized territories and recounting the experience through either literature or art). He used tropes of nature and bold references to sexuality in his paintings, references which European audiences were already familiar with through the genre of eighteenth-century travel writing that further brought "them [images of the black female body] into the domestic and consumer realm of European consumer society" (Sheller 2003: 152). As Susie Hodge (2010) informs us, "colonial conquests in Asia, Africa and Oceania … meant that artefacts were sent home to be exhibited or sold as curiosities. Ethnological museums were opened in many European cities and numerous artists traveled to places such as North Africa and the Middle East" (Hodge 2010: 342). Gauguin was also responding to "what he knew would be the unacknowledged hunger of the European audience for a fantasy world of unfamiliar sexual sensations" (Mathews 2001: 178). His paintings and writings, which depict his erotic adventures with young Tahitian girls, also conveyed to his audience that he had thrown off the obligations of formal Parisian society in exchange for an unencumbered existence. Said (1978[1995]) argues that there was an economy for illicit sex in the colonies, "a place where one could look for sexual experiences unobtainable in Europe" (Said 1978: 190), and details of which were recounted and transported back to the metropolis, a particular celebration of sensuality (S. Hodge 2010) as in Gauguin's elaborate depictions of Tahiti.

In *Faa Iheihe*[5] (Fig. 3.1) (sometimes subtitled as *Tahitian Pastoral*), Tahiti is represented as exotic forest peoples: barely clothed women feminize and sexualize the landscape and Western ideas of the Garden

Fig. 3.1 Gauguin *Faa Iheihe* 1898 54 × 169.5 cm oil on canvas (Courtesy of © The Tate Gallery, London)

of Eden appear as the figures blend in with the forest to create a mood of "being at one with nature." However, his paintings do not reflect the reality of Tahiti at that time, and betray the fact that Tahiti had become a French protectorate in 1844, had been Westernized by British missionaries, and had established ex-pat communities (Mathews 2001: 168). Tahiti's established trade routes provided Gauguin with access to the lucrative art market in Paris, and significantly the cultural context of intermarriages between Polynesians and Europeans in Tahitian society is absent in Gauguin's paintings. In essence, Gauguin reinvented Tahiti through a powerful narrative of natural beauty and sexual freedom.

Much is made of Gauguin's search for a simple life; however, as a privileged white male he was able to insert himself into affluent Tahitian society and he "socialized with the hospitable upper-class community" (Mathews 2001: 172) and "almost exclusively of [*sic*] [with] well-educated Europeans" (Mathews 2001: 212), despite claiming that he wanted to escape "European culture in favor of the 'primitive' society in Polynesia" (ibid.: 212). His position as a member of the French intelligentsia made his access to the educated Tahitian elite, including Queen Marau, much easier.[6] As a citizen of the world he was at liberty to travel freely on account of his whiteness.

As we shall see in the following chapters, colonial visual culture is replete with representations of barely clothed black and brown women. The female subjects in Gauguin's paintings appear to communicate (Lutz and Collins 1993) with earlier works: for example, the Italian painter Agostino Brunias' (1730–1796) painting, *The Washer Women*, in which semi-clothed women are displayed in a topical setting. The repeated dis-

plays of women in some degree of undress in the conditions of slavery or colonized territories reflects the authority that colonial agents had to speak for and represent colonized women through the lens of existing discourses of Otherness as sexual, which Said (1978) argues "is remarkably persistent" (Said 1978: 309). This highlights the unequal power relations between the colonial agent and colonized women. Colonial contexts provided white men access to uninhibited and guilt-free sex in the colonies (Trevor Burnard's (2004) discussion of Thomas Thistlewood's diaries). As in the case of Gauguin's paintings of Tahitian women and young girls, the intersecting relationship between race, class, and gender was widely circulated in the visual narratives of colonized subjects as not only inferior but unrepressed to European audiences.

Later displays of the black female body as permissible to be viewed publicly by Western audiences was explained as being in the interest of science (Lutz and Collins 1993) and evolved into the "widely shared cultural experience of viewing [black] women's bodies" (Lutz and Collins 1993: 115) in the homes of American readers of the *National Geographic*.

Gauguin constructed a gaze of masculine whiteness in his representations of Tahitian women and transported this aesthetic of Otherness back to the metropolis. Gauguin was able to build his reputation by producing images of Tahitian women as frozen in time and forever sexually available and, cemented in the Western imagination, Otherness as visual gratification for a white male gaze. This is a theme of tourism narratives used to entice tourists to become an "adventurer" and explore the "timeless" and "unchanging" (Simmons 2004: 43) difference of non-European cultures. This is one strategy that is used and reused to fix and naturalize difference as inferior, and also to elevate assumptions about whiteness as natural creators and authoritative speakers with an inherent right to rule. Whiteness is therefore dependent on racialized others "to inform their own construction" (Wong 1994: 147), as is shown by the critique of the black female which places her in opposition to her European counterpart: the universal standard of beauty.

Absences in Foucault's *History of Sexuality*

In the discussions of European modernity, the colonial preoccupation with black sexuality is absent. In particular, the absence of the fetishization of the black female body serves to consolidate a restricted version of the West, noted in Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (volumes I), which specifi-

cally addresses the medicalization of the white female body, yet neglects how "racial presumptions invariably underwrite the discourse on gender" (Butler 2007: xvi).

Foucault identifies sexuality as a political apparatus (Foucault 1980: 189). In the *History of Sexuality*, he observes that sex was the "code of pleasure," the concept being that sex is at the heart of all pleasure. During the medieval period, the religious authorities professed that the purpose of sex was for procreation and not pleasure, and therefore sought to regulate sexual behavior by instructing self-control and self-scrutiny, and restricting sexual expression (Dean 1996b: xiv; Foucault 1998).

The formation of whiteness during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to emphasize rationality and deny sexuality, a process which meant that fears of sexuality were addressed by projecting sexual desires onto the bodies of women and foreign peoples (Shilling 1993; Bhattacharyya et al. 2002; Hobson 2005). In colonial discourses, black bodies were pathologized by drawing on European cultural and Christian associations made with the color black as dirty, sinful, and dangerous, thus rendering black skin as the "natural" home for these fears. These anxieties were constructed in terms of black people's alleged hypersexuality and supported by the discourse of the myth of the large African phallus. Africans, therefore, were deemed sexually unrestrained, uncivilized, and promiscuous—a threat to the moral order of Western civilization (Shilling 1993: 55).

One of Said's principal concerns was to analyze the process which exoticized the Other as sexually different and lascivious. As Burnard (2004) argues, white Jamaicans claimed that Africans were sexually promiscuous and they repeatedly singled out the supposed animal traits of Africans (Burnard 2004: 134). 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). The significance of this view of sexuality is how difference is exoticized, and represented as inherently opposite to white identities. The racialization of black identities as inherently sexual is a continuation of the assumptions made by Europeans at first contact with Africa, that the hot climate was symbolic of the "hot constitution" of African women, who were described as sensuous, animalistic, and sexually promiscuous (Bush 1990: 110). Willis and Williams argue that the body of the black female in the nineteenth century symbolized three themes: "colonialism, scientific evolution and sexuality" (Willis and Williams cited in Mohammed 2004: 17).

Homi Bhabha's Ambivalence—"The Other Question"

Bhabha (1994) argues that colonial discourse was not all powerful, and, in contrast to Said's totalizing analysis, demonstrates that colonial discourse contains conflicting positions. Bhabha (1994) 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 and something that must be anxiously repeated.

Bhabha (1994) suggests that while colonial discourse presents the idea that stereotypes are fixed or natural, contradictorily, the stereotype must be repeated to demonstrate its naturalness, as in the example of the smiling black subject discussed in the previous chapter. Such repetition can be observed in contemporary tourism media, where the complexity of the stereotype includes not only race and class, but gender and sexuality as social categories.

While 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, as depicted in Gauguin's paintings. While the body is inscribed with the binding together of different categories (race, gender, and class), which produce a political practice of hierarchization, the Othered body is appealing as a site where boundaries can be crossed. Hence, the body is a transgressive site where colonial dreams, images, fantasies, myths, and obsessions can be projected onto (Bhabha 1994: 71; Said 1978: 190).

It follows, then, that the identity of the colonizer is not fixed, nor are the self-representations stable, since the colonizer desired the colonized, despite the narratives produced by colonial agents which claimed that distinct boundaries were maintained in the colonies. In the complexity of exercising this power, the colonizer creates an ambivalence of both fear and desire. The fear of blackness was articulated within the colonial discourse, yet the black female body was commodified as a sexual tool and used to gratify white male sexual appetites.

The Black Female Gaze

To unpack/dissect the assumed lens through which we are persuaded to view white middle- and upper-class men as authoritative speakers and white women as the epitome of beauty, the black female gaze or "third space" is a position from which different questions can be asked that might not have been asked before (Mirza 1997: 4). Although Frantz Fanon (1986), among other postcolonial writers, has skillfully articulated the complexity of the colonial condition, he does not speak of the colonial context that produced fantasies and images of the black woman which informed 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 and similarly Fanon ignores women as participants in imperial power relations. Rather, Fanon focuses on "the white woman's so-called pathological desire to sleep with black men" (Hall 1996b: 30).

The feminist movement has also fallen short by failing to articulate that racism is a structuring force in the lives of all women (Mirza 1997: 10; Carby 1997; Shepherd et al. 1995; Wilkes 2015). To address these shortcomings, an intersectional approach is required to expose contemporary formations of whiteness as "neutral, 'normal', universal representations" (Mirza 1997: 3), which are still molded by the [recent] era of the great colonial empires (Hulme 1989: 6). These positions of privilege are conveyed as logical as they are represented as common sense. However, gender, race, class, and sexuality intersect and are enlisted to convey the naturalness of a white standard and the existing social order, and how they appear to be relevant and visible to all audiences is the focus of the following discussion.

Discourses of Race in the Postcolonial Imperial Era

The USA emerged as an imperial power at the end of World War II; however, its gradual ascension began "when the thirteen North American colonies finally won their independence in 1783" (Dookhan 1988: 158). Trade and commercial interests between the North American colonies and the Caribbean colonies existed long before the Declaration of Independence in 1776, with American investments in Caribbean economies "including sugar in Cuba, petroleum in Trinidad and bauxite in Jamaica and Guyana" (Dookhan 1988: 159). The USA also supplied the West Indian colonies

with "essential supplies of lumber and provisions in return for sugar and molasses" (ibid.: 160) and from the mid-1870s, American investment in Central America and the Caribbean included "railway construction, mining, banana growing and sugar cane cultivation" (ibid.: 161). This was in addition to the economic role that Americans played in developing tourism in the region as the first hotels constructed in Jamaica were frequently built with American finance (Taylor 1993; Thompson 2006).

The USA has historically acquired territories, as European colonial powers once did, and has "absorbed them into a new international network" (Hardt and Negri 2000 cited in Loomba 2005: 214). Thus, as an imperial, tourist-generating society, the USA has been able to define the of the tourist/host interactions as developing tourist-receiving societies in the Caribbean are reliant on producing images that successfully woo the Anglo-American tourist by revering whiteness and European-derived cultural traditions. This new world order is not "disconnected from earlier or older forms" (Loomba 2005: 216) of imperialism, since the "racially dichotomous worldview in the present" (Tyler 2012: 213) can be directly linked to the formation of the USA that is based on "the historical genocide of Native Americans and the enslavement of African peoples" (ibid.: 216), which set into motion a history of racial and colonial oppression. American visual culture is replete with images of black Americans (see Delgado and Stefancic 2012) which produced a "large body of texts" (Said 1978: 4) that cemented in the white American imagination distortions of blackness and how it should be viewed in relation to whiteness.

> 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 1996c: 466)

Thus, in speaking directly to largely white American audiences, the Sandals and Round Hill images appear to be "speaking to" America's history of racialized class hierarchies. The contemporary "tourist experience

is [itself] based on a colonial desire to fix the identity of the other in order that it remains (or perhaps in actuality becomes) distinct from tourist identity" (C.M. Hall and H. Tucker 2004: 17).

As Said (1978 [1995]) argues, "there is nothing mysterious or natural about authority … it is persuasive; it has status, it establishes canons of taste and value" (Said 1978[1995]: 19) and in the case of America, since World War II, it has been able to use its economic power to influence the styles and tastes of cultural production, specifically versions of the idealized white self which are ubiquitous in media productions, to communicate and exude beauty and power as being inherently belonging to whiteness (Haymes 1995). As Sandals operates within this new international network, its destination wedding packages are constructed using visual language that Americans would be familiar with; the specialness of the white citizen with the direct address *Love is All You Need* (the ubiquitous use of *you* in their taglines), the displays of hypersexualized blond females (the ideal standard of beauty), the emphasis on heterosexual relationships as the ultimate state of human happiness, and wealth, luxury, and material possessions are signifiers for success. To convey these ideas, the white princess bride is located within the discursive formation of paradise luxury as the designated carrier of social and cultural privilege. As "globe consuming Western travellers carr[y] with them the psychological features of the developed urban-industrial world and the accordant privilege to recognise/identify/position things in and of the world" (Hollinshead 2004: 31), they can expect to direct the relations that mirror their conceptions about *their* place in the world.

Making Whiteness Appear

Chapter 2 noted the scholarly discussions regarding the perceived invisibility of whiteness (Dyer 1997; Bhattacharyya et al. 2002; Garner 2009). This is what makes whiteness a paradox; its power lies in its apparent invisibility and yet it is made visible by performances that normalize the values, cultural capital, and aesthetic tastes of the dominant white upper and middle classes (Tyler 2012; Lawler 1999; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). It has the power to frame its relations with all other subjects through "its invisibility" (Redmond 2013: 60) as an unmarked racial category. In the field of whiteness studies, scholars have explored what it means to be white and examined the articulation of the power of whiteness particularly in

North American and European societies (hooks, 1991; Morrison 1992; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg 1993; Bonnett 2000; Garner 2007). One of the key points that have been discussed regarding whiteness is the assumed and unacknowledged privileges that accompany the status of being white in Western societies. Peggy McIntosh has explored the way in which having white skin in Western societies is accompanied by assumed and unacknowledged privileges that allow the status of whiteness to be ignored:

> [W]hite skin privilege and the advantages that accompany it are not necessarily obvious to those who are white and middle class. (McIntosh, quoted in Rains, 1998: 80)

McIntosh 1988 goes on to explain that the "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: cited in Lago 2006: 200).

Expressions of whiteness through wealth and privilege have a historical inscription, as in the case of the West Indian plantocracy who claimed entitlement to liberty and expressed their freedom through displays of leisure and luxury (Burnard 2004). Indeed, entitlement "has long been naturalized as a central principle" (M. Berger 2005: 26) of whiteness. As can be seen from Burnard's (2004) discussion of the formation of white masculinities in the colonial context, whiteness was fiercely constructed around the notions of Europeans' entitlement to power, and as Bonnett (2000) argues, whiteness has been the central signifier for European superiority (Bonnett 2000: 26). Those identities were shaped by the consumption of the proceeds of wealth derived from racialized labor (Gikandi 2012), and the afterlife of those identities is the continuity of expressions of luxury and leisure. Whiteness in the American context also has a strong attachment to leisure.

Dianne Harris (2005) details the way in which advertisers in mid-twentieth century America actively encouraged middle-class whites to form their identities by creating new tastes for *leisure at home*. These ideas regarding taste and style were also framed around the heterosexual nuclear family ideal, which designated women as the homemaker, responsible for carrying out this transformation of the white middle-class home as a site for leisure and a space for mass-produced technologies. Although women had been recruited en masse to support the war effort, the opportunities for waged employment were withdrawn at the end of the war and replaced

with a renewed emphasis (in magazines and through advertising) on the role of white women as homemakers and consumers (Craik 1994: 51), thus allowing white men returning from the war to reclaim their jobs and be reinstated into their positions as patriarchs.

Changing economic and social circumstances such as the American postwar boom is central to the way in which "whiteness is both strategically and ideologically procured and maintained" (Garner 2009: 8). In the contemporary context of neoliberal free market economies, whiteness is distinctly visible through displays of affluence that include lavish white weddings and all-inclusive honeymoons in the Caribbean. The idealized white female body is the construct around which these discourses of whiteness and entitlements are framed. The way in which whiteness is represented as occupying leisured lifestyles in tourism discourses of the Caribbean makes this "unacknowledged norm" (Apple 1998: xii) more apparent when placed side by side with black labor.

At first glance, the racialized power relations in the images may not appear to be a "problem, or, indeed, even an inkling that there might be a problem" (Lago 2006: 201) for those subjects within the dominant group, as images that elevate the idealized white self simply encode existing relations of power in white-centered societies. The images are persuasive in establishing "the standards that we use to judge ourselves and others … perhaps without [their] ever being consciously aware of it" (Lippke quoted Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 575). Such is the power of naturalized normative hierarchies that they produce responses that fail to view "damaging representations … as ethical or moral problems" (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 578). Indeed, the difficulty of identifying power as being represented in the images is due to the way in which the superiority of whiteness is embedded in "common-sense thought" (Dyer 1988 cited in Haymes 1995: 42) and therefore white power is able to "pass[es] itself off" as normal rather than superior (Haymes 1995: 42).

Scholars (Byrne 2006; Garner 2009; Tyler 2012) in the UK have drawn attention to the way in which whiteness is procured through "white" neighborhoods and how it is possible to construct idealized white identities through processes of removing the white self (white flight), and how in the USA, it is also possible to exclude racialized identities by living in gated communities (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002).

Scholarship which has sought to explore "the unseen, largely invisible collection of patterns and habits" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 5) of whiteness began during the 1990s when whiteness became a subject

of academic study (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 7), with Toni Morrison's (1992) *Playing in the Dark. Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, widely viewed as "a precursor" (Engles 2006: 27) to whiteness studies (ibid.). This scholarship has also articulated how whiteness is conceived as fundamentally dependent on economic and cultural circumstances to be convincing or effective. For example, Noel Ignatiev's (1995) study, *How the Irish Became White*, examines the fluidity of racial categories and the complex nature of how different ethnicities are described as white at different times in history (see also Bonnett 2000; Allen 1994; Roediger 1992). In the British context, Pickering (2001:144) examines the marking of the Irish as "white chimpanzees" during the nineteenth century and this was undertaken in accordance with the categorization 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." Of particular note is the offensive term *white trash*, specific to the American context, which demonstrates that the attainment of whiteness is not achieved simply by having white skin.

The construction of the archetypal American citizen as *white* was enacted through oppressive strategies (L. Lowe 2014). For example, the 1924 Johnson-Reed US Immigration Act, which was still in use until 1965, established the system of numerical quotas in the USA which "ranked northern Europeans as more desirable for membership in the nation" (Odem 2008: 363). The system of ranking included restrictions on immigration from Southern Europe and Eastern Europe and excluded African, Middle Eastern, East Asian, Indian peoples, and migrants from the Asiatic Zone (Ngai 1999). Therefore, the popular view of America as a melting pot detracts from "the development of the nation state [that was] characterised by the development of social regimes of inclusion and exclusion" (Hintzen 2007: 249, 250).

The process of amalgamating the migrant self into the ideal of American homogeneity was more achievable for migrants from Britain, Germany, and Ireland, as migrants from these countries had the highest quotas. Indeed, the process of becoming white is demonstrated by the "whitening" of the Irish in the nineteenth century. Cardon (2008) argues that the fictional character Gerald, an Irish immigrant in *Gone With the Wind*, is marked out by his Irish descent, "which characterizes him as loud, wild and prone to

vulgarity" (Cardon 2008:156). Clearly, Irish-Americans hold an ambiguous position within American history (Jones 2003) as the possession of white skin could not be assumed as providing access to whiteness.

In contemporary British and American contexts, the power of whiteness is to deny that whiteness is an ethnicity—*they are not white, they are just people* (Dyer 1997:2; Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 89). This is one of the key aspects of its power which supports Bonnett's (2000: 119) reluctance to view whiteness as invisible. It is important to examine what first appears to be innocent; without doing so would be to ignore the place of whiteness in hierarchies of representation and assumed entitlement to the best resources (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 23). 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 nonwhite peoples who do not share a Judeo-Christian heritage and a Western cultural perspective (Morgan and Pritchard 1998: 212; Roediger 1994).

The difficulty with approaching whiteness as a single unrelated entity that is not connected to economic, political, or social structures produces the current situation where whiteness defies and evades any notion that it can be recognized, 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)

However, *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* is concerned with the politics of representing whiteness and how it is made visible and constructed as universal, natural, and "normal" in contemporary visual texts. Whatever is regarded as normal requires no explanation.

In the shifting language of race, discussions on whiteness continue to be absent, yet we speak openly and frequently about "diversity" and "difference" (language that has been co-opted to promote the renewal of Western global cities such as New York and London, and more broadly neoliberal projects; see Melamed 2014). Yet diversity usually refers to everyone except white people. It is customary that "diversity is always extrinsic to the 'white we' for if the 'we' were genuinely diverse then there

would be no room for valuing anything other than the all-inclusive 'ourselves'" (Hage 1998 cited in Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 131–132).

Below is a quotation from Cohen and Kennedy's (2007) second edition of *Global Sociology*. The heading "Diversity within the Homogenizing States" introduces a section on the diversity of New York City and offers an example of how whiteness is unproblematically positioned as economically powerful and the "unacknowledged norm" (Apple 1998: xii) within discourses of multiculturalism:

> Apart from their native inhabitants, both Canada and the USA were formed out of the cultural ingredients imported from many countries. Indeed, the USA has long been described as the melting-pot society par excellence. The dominant Protestant Anglo-Saxon groups have made determined efforts since the early twentieth century to Americanize (or Anglicize) the masses arriving from Eastern Europe, Italy, Ireland, China, Japan and, more recently, other parts of Asia, the Middle East and Latin America—especially through the school system. Nevertheless, distinctive ethnic cores survive in many US cities. Most continue to celebrate their linguistic, religious and culinary legacies and retain connections through marriage and community with those descended from similar migrant backgrounds. Visitors to New York, for example, arguably the epicentre of world capitalism, may be struck by its vibrant multicultural ethos. Almost every conceivable cuisine, musical genre, ethnic art, style of dress, language, business form (complete with links into global networks), church and community can be experienced by those who have the desire to do so. Much the same is true of the much older European countries. (Cohen and Kennedy 2007: 329)

This account of diversity in the USA is significant for the way in which whiteness is positioned as distinct from "diversity"—alluded to in the heading, where despite the efforts to Americanize those designated as "ethnics," New York, a (white) center for global markets and free trade (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 21) has a "multicultural ethos" (Cohen and Kennedy 2007: 329). This account of the formation of American society sidesteps the colonial massacres of Native Americans and the land grabs that followed; nor does it remember the encampment of Japanese Americans during World War II: "dispossessed of [their] freedoms and properties explicitly granted to citizens, officially condemned as 'racial enemies', and interned in camps throughout the Western United States" (L. Lowe 2014: 12; Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 92–93). It is significant that black Americans and the history of slavery are absent in this

account of nation-building. Their contributions to the "melting pot" are not acknowledged, nor are the contributions made by Americans with Mexican and Japanese heritage.

The practice of using nonwhiteness to elevate whiteness is demonstrated here; capitalism is associated with whiteness as Cohen and Kennedy (2007) draw attention to New York's status as a global financial center and therefore the financial district in New York is a white space and the "the epicentre of world capitalism" (Cohen and Kennedy 2007: 329) which is placed alongside the narrative of New York as a multicultural city. References to the "vibrant multicultural ethos" (ibid.) enacts the binary that all things nonwhite (read: exotic) add a certain "spice" and liveliness to what could be described as the dullness of white middle- and upper-class practices (hooks 1992: 14; Cardon 2008: 147; see Byrne 2006). Here also is the linking of ethnicity/culture with food (pleasure), which is a taken-for-granted strategy for conveying difference (Pitcher 2014) and what Grace et al. refer to as culinary cosmo-multiculturalism (Grace et al., cited in Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 129) in the construction and marketing of "'Little Italies', 'Chinatowns', [and] 'Irish quarters'" (ibid.: 129).

However, this glossy marketing of New York for the international business class obscures the racialized inequalities and highly segregated communities that are also features of global cities (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002); those subjects who do not appear in the promotional brochures are the armies of low-paid workers (Bhattacharyya 2011). The ethnic quarters that are referred to in Cohen and Kennedy's (2007) summary of New York as a diverse and multicultural city are part of the "wider cultural strategy" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 130) that provides the affluent class of "highly paid professional workers, e.g. property-rights lawyers, fund managers, insurance and estate agents, bankers" (ibid.: 124) "with a taste of the 'other'" (ibid.: 130). Although Cohen and Kennedy (2007) appear to represent a liberal and self-aware (Mask 2015) version of whiteness, they neglect the inequalities and "highly segregated" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 131) locales that many global cities have become, despite being host to "the headquarters of multinationals and an advanced financial and business services sector (insurance, banking)" (ibid.: 124).

The tenets of neoliberalism are most significantly represented through "widely distributed American media texts" (Wilkes 2015: 23), such as *Sex and the City*, which privileges the lives of largely white middle- to upper-class North American women and postfemininist notions of choice and agency which are now tied to neoliberal messages of individualism and

consumption. Thus, white femininity and the city of New York are texts which the ideals of success and happiness are projected onto, to convey them as inherently belonging to whiteness. However, the "imaginative geographies of race are narrowly concentrated on the inner city" (Dwyer et al. 2008: 120), and "depict the different tiers of work in the global economy" (Bhattacharyya 2011: 310). This is most significantly represented in the portrayal of New York as an all-white prosperous space in the *Sex and the City* series with the "exception[s] of working class Asian people providing services" (Wilkes 2015: 23). Only in the first film adaptation was this omission addressed with the casting of African-American actor Jennifer Hudson as an assistant to the lead character Carrie Bradshaw. This raises questions as to "what makes one take up a position in a certain discourse" (de Lauretis 1987: 16 quoted in Borgerson and Schroeder 2002: 578). It is the *possessive investment in whiteness* (Lipsitz 2006) and emotional investment in white patriarchal structures that appear to be neutral; yet these popular cultural representations which display white privilege as the norm demonstrate how necessary it is for whiteness to be structured by racial and economic privileges (Sullivan 2006; Lago 2006; hooks, 1991; Chennault and Dyson 1998: 322).

Thus "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" (Tuckwell 2006: 206; Giroux 1998). Indeed, the work undertaken by postcolonial and cultural studies scholars has sought to challenge binary positions and essentialized categories. However, as Thomas and Clarke (2006) argue, such standpoints "puts [us] in the complicated position of debunking black racial essentialisms even as we parse how the color line really does divide" (Thomas and Clarke 2006: 33). Political essentialisms have not been displaced. As Bonnett (2000) observes, there has been the need for essentialisms to be retained to facilitate struggle, resistance, and solidarity, while at the same time maintaining a critique of reified categories (Bonnett 2000: 139). For example, in tourism discourses the emphasis is on the difference in far-flung places and reinforces the normalness of Westernized whiteness (Morgan and Pritchard 1998). The images presented for analysis in this book observe that what are being alluded to in the images are the racialized political polarities that exist within the current global context. Tourist brochures are one of the many texts in contemporary culture which do this (McCarthy 1998: 332) and it is possible to observe in the contemporary context how:

> From a social 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 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)

We are encouraged to see how the images bring the Western world together with the Caribbean, although the region is 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."

In Chap. 4, 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 moral protectors of patriarchy in contrast to black and mixed race women as lascivious and threatening to the white colonial family. The "tidy" (Jones 2003) and highly decorative representation of white femininity that was used to exemplify the superiority of whiteness, in the nineteenth century, provides insight into the assumed beauty of white women that continues to be propagated by contemporary advertising media. Whiteness as an "emblem of beauty" (Hobson 2005: 10) is a central theme in Sandals' images of destination weddings that accompanies a transformation in the representation of white femininity, as white affluent females are displayed as sexualized (although within a masculinist framework) in the contemporary context.

White masculinity asserted its position through discourses of sexual adventure, colonial narratives of paradise, and conquest. The power of the voices of these affluent white men has been discussed in this chapter. These views, universalized as "the worldview," comprise a white masculine construction that is derived from Enlightenment rationality. It is so normative that the escapades of Christopher Columbus, *Robinson Crusoe* (fictional, but valorized), and Paul Gauguin are celebrated and esteemed in Western discourses of modernity and culture. However, they are expressions of white aggressive masculinity that were dependent on the acquisition of land and the annihilation of unfamiliar cultures (Columbus), the exploitation and the institution of racialized labor (Crusoe), and the appropriation

of the "dark-skinned" Other to establish, furnish, and capitalize on an artist reputation (Gauguin). From an interdisciplinary and intersectional position, it is possible to challenge the adoration of these figures that sustains the valorization of whiteness as authoritative, yet neutral and the norm. The following chapter discusses the formation of whiteness in the colonial context and the construction and exploitation of the black female body through the exploits of colonial adventurers.

Notes

1. Said's (1978) *Orientalism* has been criticized for being one-sided and overly stressing the power and reach of Orientalist discourse (Cannadine 2001: xvii), and seeming to reiterate the very process postcolonial critics claim to challenge. Postcolonial 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 were historically unified and seamless in construction (Pickering 2001: 154). There have been criticisms of Said's *Orientalism* by scholars within the discipline (Porter, 1994 and Young 1995) for conveying the idea that the Orientalists' strategy was a single, homogeneous and systematic colonial discourse (Pickering 2001: 153), rather than demonstrating the complexity of the colonial outputs as varying in force and authority. However, Said specifically states that *Orientalism* is far from a complete history or general account of Orientalism. He considered *Orientalism* to be the first of several books and hoped that there would be scholars and critics who would write on the subject (Said 1978 [1995]: 24).
2. Artistic impressions of the Land of Cockaigne can be found in the engraving *Land of Cockaigne* attributed to Pieter van der Heyden (1570?), held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The engraving can be viewed via this link: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/26.72.44, [Last accessed October 22 2015].
3. Contemporary narratives of World War I and World War II frequently omit the role played by West Indian soldiers and service personnel who served in both wars. See R.N. Murray's (1996) *Lest We Forget*, Berwick upon Tweed: Martins the Printers Ltd, for a discussion on the exclusion of West Indian accounts in national narratives.
4. Joan Anin-Addo (2007: 85) discusses the flogging of a pregnant black female slave, Rosa (Roosje), on the Plantation L'Espérance in Berbice, Guyana. Her testimony was documented on June 10, 1819, and recorded in the Parliamentary "Papers Relating to Slaves in the West Indies: Record of

Proceedings of Fiscals of Berbice in Disputes between Masters and Slaves" (London, 1825). Rosa testified that she was five months pregnant when she was instructed to pick coffee in the field. She had not met the quota set by the manager and was whipped and consequently gave birth to a disfigured and stillborn child. In her testimony Rosa recalls: "[T]he labour was heavy, the midwife had to force the child from me, the child was dead, one eye was out, the arm broken, and a stripe visible over the head, which must have been done by the whip doubled" (Anim-Addo 2007: 85).

5. A color version of *Faa Iheihe* can be viewed via the Tate Gallery's web site via this link: http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/gauguin-faa-iheihe-n03470, [Last accessed October 22, 2015].
6. Gauguin's extended families were residents in both France and South America and he spent his early years in the luxurious setting of the presidential palace of Lima; the president Don José Rufino Echenique was a cousin by marriage (Mathews 2001: 9). Gauguin was later privately educated at the prestigious boarding school at La Chapelle-Saint-Mesmin, and following a short period as merchant seaman and sailor in the French navy, later he became a stockbroker. In the 1870s, when Gauguin began producing and collecting art, he was a bourgeois gentleman, married with five children. Thus, although Gauguin later experienced difficulties in funding his chosen profession as an artist, he had led a lucrative and privileged existence as an upper-class European white male.

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CHAPTER 4

Procuring White Femininity in the Colonies

The origins of the concept of discourse and its use in work by Edward Said and Michel Foucault were discussed in the previous chapter, specifically in relation to the intersecting colonial discourses of paradise, Enlightenment classifications of race, and notions of "exotic," guilt-free sexuality that were projected onto black femininity and were constructed in opposition to the morally superior white middle-class female. Idealized white femininity was also structured through the normative male gaze, and therefore to understand its construction as a moral, decorative ornament, representations of white femininity need to be simultaneously considered in relation to those of black and mixed-race women *and* white men (Beckles 1999; Mohammed 2000). In the contemporary context the privileged position of white femininity is visually represented by the white female body as a leisured subject on the Caribbean landscape. This is a transformative display of white femininity, yet it has a historical inscription that will be explored in this chapter. Mohammed (2004) argues that the "tidy picture of the white female in the tropics" has been defused by "literary and historical texts and contemporary media" (Mohammed 2004: 15); however, eighteenth-century constructions of femininity that were attained through consumption and expressed in displays of ease and decoration are surely representations that have been retained and reworked in the contemporary context. It could be argued that through the contemporary process of myth making, the white princess bride is the very epitome of exaggerated femininity. Then as now, white middle-class women were constructed in

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relation to heterosexual white men, and these favorable representations are produced within a masculinist framework. By virtue of their race, white women are invited by patriarchy to share power (Genz 2009: 5; Wilkes 2015).

This chapter considers the significance of existing scholarship with regard to the dehumanization of the black female slave, in contrast to the role that white women played in reproducing the slave system. Readers are reminded of the contradictions within colonial discourse and how this belied the practice of colonial agents. Critically, this discussion provides a historical framework to understand how white women were at once confined within patriarchal systems of oppression, yet were also beneficiaries of the same system. White women made investments in the slave system, despite the dehumanizing function at its core. The alliances that were made with patriarchal agents were based on the invitation to "share power" through whiteness. In the contemporary context, the reconfiguration of gender is underpinned by the familiar demands for women to conform to "conventional [and limiting] definitions of feminine appearance" (McCann and Kim 2010: 20). This procurement of white femininity is derived from the recognizable binary, which enlists the interlocking social categories of race, gender, class, and sexuality to denigrate women who do not conform to the European ideal.

The production of colonial discourses was as much about producing gendered idealized white identities as it was about representing blackness as being "at the bottom of the 'racial hierarchy'" (Anim-Addo 2007: 17). Thus, white femininity was procured and designated as "special" through the construction of the black female as inferior. Jones (2003: 201) argues that the notion of black inferiority in terms of "body, intellect and culture" (ibid.: 201) was becoming cemented in the consciousness of Europeans by the eighteenth century and therefore the classification system and the associations that Europeans made with Africans, as being the counterfoil for all things that Europeans considered themselves not to be—hypersexual and primitive—was increasingly articulated. On first contact with Africa, Europeans assumed a 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 sexualized 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 surviving "textual representations" of women

with African heritage “from the early Renaissance period which parallels British 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 (Anim-Addo 2007: 44).

As Burnard (2004) argues, if Thistlewood was typical for an Englishman of his age he would have grown up with a “highly unfavorable image” (Burnard 2004: 131) of Africans. Indeed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, “the belief that sub-Saharan Africans were uniquely deficient in color, character, and culture was widespread” (ibid.: 131). By the nineteenth century, “Africa was established as the quintessential zone of sexual aberration and anomaly in European lore” (C.M. Hall and H. Tucker 2004: 11) as “the very picture of perverse negation” (Jordan cited in McClintock 1995: 22) in which Africans were claimed to be “proud, lazy, treacherous, thievish, hot and addicted to all kinds of lusts” (ibid.: 22). However, “Western European nations were represented as having attained the peak of this [human] development” (Pickering 2001: 54).

White women in colonial contexts were positioned to convey the moral and cultural superiority of whiteness as a means of justifying slavery and the subjugation of blackness (Jones 2003), and at the same time, white femininity offered colonial regimes a face of compassion as conveyed by the following argument:

> 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 white household, rather than rejected and used primarily as natally alienated, disposable chattel. (Beckles 2000: 660)

Using an intersectional approach, this chapter will examine the way in which white women were the beneficiaries of a system that extended privileges to them (Jones 2003) *and* simultaneously oppressed them. Indeed, the colonial enterprise had a particularly gendered as well as racialized dimension. The gendered dimension discussed here explores the construction of the white female as superior; a category so normative and discursive that representations of white middle-class women as the epitome of womanhood and respectability are the “unmarked [carriers] of class and racial privilege” (Butler 2007: 19).

While feminist theories have enabled us to critique the constructions of gender and sexuality (Butler 2007; hooks 1984; Coward 1984), the discussion here endeavors to go beyond the traditional approach to gender analysis that positions gender relations as being in conflict and in opposition. A postcolonial, historical approach considers the claims to power which were made by white women in the West Indies during the colonial period. Although white middle-class women's identities were determined and constrained by marriage and motherhood (Mills 2003: 704; Stoler 1995), they were culturally and politically aligned with white men, as this was the primary route to obtain financial security and social status. To safeguard their investment within the colonial system, they were colonial agents who "care[d] for, care[d] about and protect[ed] masculinity" (Skeggs 1997: 129).

White Women, Empire, and Respectability

Whiteness, femininity, and the ideals of respectability were at the center of constructions of the British Empire. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the guardians of white civilization (Beckles 2003; Stoler 1995; hooks 1996; Mills 2003), white women were tasked with displaying, performing, and communicating respectability and their moral and social superiority within the domestic sphere (Skeggs 1997; Mills 2003). By using techniques of display that were concerned with elaborate decoration, manners, and etiquette, white women were visual centerpieces that were "shorthand for moral qualities" (Craik 1994: 46). The aim of this elaborate decoration was for the body to be read as literally superior (Craik 1994). Thus, the asexual white middle-class female, devoted to children and family, was the agent who executed the morality of the colonial capitalist project as modern and humane.

Economic positioning was central to perceptions of women's sexuality and femininity in the imperial context, both at the center and at the margins of the Empire. Middle-class white women were defined as passive in contrast to their masculinized and less sexually constrained working-class counterparts. In Britain, working-class women were positioned within the circuit of profit and less financially dependent on men, while the ideal of white womanhood was constructed on the very basis of economic and social dependence *on* men (Skeggs 1997: 99). The low status of white working-class women in the nineteenth century was attributed to them engaging in paid work outside the home, coupled with the coding of working women

as sexual and deviant others while middle- and upper-class femininity was elevated to a moral, superior status (Nead 1988: 51, Skeggs 1997: 99). Working-class women did not have the economic means to subscribe to the ideal of femininity as dependent and they were employed as domestic servants in middle- and upper-class homes, and worked as miners and prostitutes (Bradley 1992: 203, 208). A woman's ability to attain social respectability "was only ever achievable if the economic and cultural conditions were right" (Skeggs 1997: 20), and working-class women were therefore the furthest from the epitome of the frail, white middle-class ideal (McClintock 1995: 56). Working-class women were incorporated into the popularized pseudoscientific discourses that classified Africans as sexually deviant:

> 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)

White Male Power and the Black Female Body

At the center of the Empire, notions of laboring women as inferior to those who were closer to the signs of respectability were established and then successfully transported out to the colonies. This framework was used by whites to create a boundary and establish a hierarchy of social positions which presented an outward illusion that whites were morally superior, respectable, and the pinnacle of humanity. This was despite the obvious incongruity of owning and brutalizing slaves (Anim-Addo 2007; Burnard 2004: 20). However, it was overcome by denying that Africans were indeed human:

> [O]ne 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)

The slave ship is significant for its use as a visual symbol for the transatlantic slave trade in abolitionist literature, and for its function as an economic vehicle that transported "goods"; "people [enslaved, indentured, and free], texts, images, desires and attachments … in the transatlantic

world economy" (Sheller 2003: 14). The image entitled "The Abolition of the Slave Trade" is designed to encourage the denouncement of slave trade for its brutality; the cat-o'-nine-tails whip, which was "the icon of white domination" (C. Hall 2014: 29) sits at the captain's feet and suggests that he is about to mete out corporeal punishment on the slave girl's body. The image highlights the way in which images of the naked black female body were casually circulated within colonial and imperial contexts. While it was used to support the campaign to end the slave trade, this image conveys the view of black bodies "deemed fit only for enslavement" (Jones 2003: 209), their ascribed sexuality, and the phallic shape of the whip refers to the sexual mastery that planters were empowered with to enact on the black female body, and alludes to the whip marks on the slave's body that was a fetishized aspect of the pornographic slave fantasy (Woods 2002: 92/97). The caption below the image informs us that the female is a girl of 15 and has attested the unwanted sexual attention of the captain; flogging is her punishment. The power of whiteness is not disrupted by this brutality; the captain controls the fate of the slave girl and, as an embodiment of whiteness and patriarchy, his power and whiteness remain intact.

In his autobiographical account of sailors on board a merchant ship, Olaudah Equiano (1789) an African and former slave, recalls that it was the practice for the white male crew to sexually assault 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 quoted in Anim-Addo 2007: 74)

Although the abolitionists in England wanted to generate disgust in response to the slave trade, the messages communicated by the image in Fig. 4.1 operate in a context where the assumed white viewer is given license to gaze at the black female body. Thus, a dual reading of the image is possible as both pornography and protest. The abolitionist movement was a complex one, in which it was "fashionable" for abolitionists to pledge their support to the eradication of the slave trade, 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. Indeed, Madge Dresser (2001) draws on crew

Fig. 4.1 "The Abolition of the Slave Trade" or the inhumanity of Captn. Kimber's treatment of a young Negro girl of 15 (1792) (Alamy Stock image) for her Virgin Modesty

tales, and in one particular case told by Robert Barker, the ship's doctor and self-installed captain quarrel over who was to take ownership of the African girl that they both claimed as slave property. In Woods' (2002) detailed analysis of the visual representations of the romanticized, yet brutalized, slave body, he identifies the ambiguous place that the black female body had within the abolitionist movement; while denouncing the physical abuses of the mercantile system, it assisted in "producing mainstream publications depicting the black body in pornographic ways" (Woods 2002: 93). The black body was the basis for Europeans to express excessive behaviors of punishment, sado-masochistic fantasies, entrepreneurship, and monopoly capitalism. While expressing his "extreme revulsion at slave torture" (Woods 2002: 139) by a sophisticated sentimental agenda in his *Narrative*, Woods (2002) demonstrates how John Stedman is able to gain handsomely from selling the erotized and romanticized representations of slave punishment. The text and images produced by his 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), as demonstrated by William Blake’s *Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave* (Fig. 4.2).

Encapsulated in the complexity of the slave context of excess was the desire for and fear of blackness that could not easily be disentangled (Bhabha 1994). As discussed above, whites’ desire for blackness was enmeshed in their desire for power and expressed through extreme psychological and physical punishment of their slaves. Thus, as Catherine Hall (2014) notes, British slave-owners were “remarkable for their brutality” (C. Hall 2014: 25). Slaves were property, “stock,” or “commodities” (C. Hall 2014: 27) as in Edward Long’s comments regarding the Somerset case demonstrates: “As our trade esteemed Negroe labourers merely a commodity, or chose in merchandize” (Long quoted in C. Hall 2014: 27).

The abstract way in which slaves were referred to in the *parlance between planters*, to borrow Catherine Hall’s (2014) term, corresponds with their commodification of the slave body and can be observed in the private correspondence from John Whittaker, the administrator for the Edward Gregory Morant Gale estate, on May 12, 1795, to the firm Long, Drake, and Long, the trustees of the estate:

> 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 yes 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 44/3b 25 Gale Morant papers)

The brutal punishment on the slave ship continued with “the ideological, biological and labour apprenticeship” (Beckles 2003: 212), also referred to as “seasoning.” This was a period that slaves endured following their arrival at the plantations. Torture was enacted on the slaves to “acclimatize” them to the plantation and their roles as sexual and “productive

Fig. 4.2 Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave (Courtesy of The British Museum)

labour functions" (Jones 2003: 213). As in Thistlewood's accounts of the punishments that he carried out on slaves, the unpredictability and severity of the punishments were designed to traumatize the slaves into submission. There were no restrictions on how slave-owners chose to treat their slaves, as Catherine Hall and Trevor Burnard note. Thistlewood recorded in his diary only one incident in which a white man faced punishment for his ill-treatment of a slave (C. Hall 2014: 29; Burnard 2004: 32). Mair (2000a) argues that "the most highly publicized cases of planter brutality are [*sic*] recorded" and were just prior to abolition in the 1830s and "in most cases the victims were female slaves" (Mair 2000a: 395). The Jamaican Assembly's refusal to regulate or abolish the flogging of women demonstrates the antagonism toward enslaved women, such that aged and pregnant women were not exempt from corporal punishment (Mair 2000a: 395).

Myths of Stability and Colonial Structures

Colonial discourse conveyed the desire for whites to create "stability and supreme self-certainty" (Green 2007: 153) by claiming that slaves were held at a distance and were firmly fixed in place. However, transient male migrants to Jamaica, those of lower middle-class status, were required to remain single on arrival in Jamaica, and this contributed to the limited number of adult white women on the island (Heuman 2003: 655; MacCormack and Draper 1987: 144), as in the Jamaican colonial context, "adult men outnumbered adult women by over 2 to 1" (Burnard 2004: 18). It was also the case that 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).

White male migrants to the region were "enthralled" (C. Hall 2014: 33) by the Otherness of black and mixed-race women in the West Indies, and it provided the largely transient white male population with access to slave women as sexual resources. As Burnard (2004) notes, white men were expected to have sex with black female slaves, and living openly with a slave or free mulatto woman "brought no social condemnation" (Burnard 2004: 5).

Despite the male-dominated authorities denouncing racial mixing and expressing their fears of miscegenation as a threat to white "purity," this did not reflect their behavior in practice, as sexual relations with black

women was practiced at all levels of society in different European colonial territories. For example, in Barbados, where white women outnumbered white men (Jones 2003), white men still pursued black women for sex. Although white men from all social classes engaged in sexual relations with slaves, it was the lower-class whites who were used as scapegoats and blamed for concubinage and moral corruption (Bush 1990: 113). Edward Long (1774) expressed a low opinion of lower-class white men as "the very dregs of the three kingdoms" (Long quoted in Bush 1990: 112). Stoler (1995) notes that in the Dutch colonies the desire for opulence and sex, wealth, and excess was attributed to the lower social orders (Stoler 1995: 183) and was also responsible for the poor performance of servicemen. It is the accounts provided by pro-slavery white women, such as the pro-slavery writer Mrs Emma Carmichael, who attributed the moral ruin of white men to the alleged "seductive capabilities of the black woman" (Carmichael quoted in Bush 1990: 18). Similarly, Lady Maria Nugent, wife of the Jamaican governor, claimed that a distinction could be drawn between upper- and working-class men in Jamaica, and commented that "no vulgar Scotch Sultan or lowly overseer was without his black chère amie" (Nugent quoted in Bush 1990: 116). In support of this, Beckles (2000) argues 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" (Mair 2000b: 990). 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 civilization 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). The complexity of the sexual relations in the colonial context is revealed in "that crucial bind of pleasure and power" (Bhabha 1994: 76) in which white masculinity was directly tied to sexual relations with female slaves:

> [E]mbrac[ed] by nine-tenths of the male inhabitants [encompassing all strata of the colonial hierarchy] from the Governor downwards throughout all the intermediate ranks of society … everyone down to the lowest white servant had his native female companion. (James Phillippo quoted in Green 2007: 158)

Barbara Bush (1990: 17) 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 "constructs of the African Caribbean woman as natural prostitute and beast of burden" (Green 2007: 158) were effective in portraying her as an aggressor rather than exploited and traumatized within colonial and plantocratic societies. The reality for the black female slave, coerced into sexual relations with white men, subject to sexual abuse, and the demands made on them to be concubines, is silenced by the narrative that was perpetuated by social commentators such as Adam Smith (whom Green (2007) notes had never visited the West Indies), who stated that "among our slaves in the West Indies there is no such thing as [a] lasting union. The female slaves are all prostitutes and suffer no gradation by it" (Smith cited in Green 2007: 157).

However, the extensive research and analysis of Thomas Thistlewood's diaries (D. Hall 1989, Burnard 2004; Green 2007) provide details of his colonial project and the way in which he demanded sex from the slaves he owned, slaves on neighboring plantations, and slave women he encountered.

Thistlewood had a long-term slave mistress called Phibbah. However, throughout his life in Jamaica, he had sex with a total of 138 women, and performed 3852 sexual acts "in his thirty-seven years in Jamaica" (Burnard 2004: 156). This included sex with pubescent girls "Bess, Sally, Maria, Sukey, Coobah and Phoebe for the first time when each was only fourteen or fifteen" (Burnard 2004: 158) and when they were heavily pregnant. "Thistlewood had sex with [a slave called] Abba twice when she was over eight months pregnant, once a month before she gave birth" in 1776 and in August 1772, two days before she gave birth (ibid.: 158). In 1776, Thistlewood also had sex with Franke, who was heavily pregnant—she miscarried eight days later.

Thistlewood also provides evidence of the violent ways in which black female slaves were actively and violently pursued by white men for sex; his diary informs readers that female slaves had to be afraid of the sexual demands made not only by their owners, but also by strangers. On the Egypt plantation, Sarah was set upon at night by two strangers demanding sex, and her refusal resulted in her being set alight (Burnard 2004: 161). It was the practice for white men to gang-rape female slaves and, on one occasion, Thistlewood's employer, John Cope, brought a group of six men to the Egypt estate and after becoming heavily drunk four of the men gang-raped a female slave called Eve, who subsequently ran

away. Any attempts that female slaves made to resist sexual attention were severely punished, usually with rape or flogging (Burnard 2004: 160–161); as noted in Thistlewood's diary, Cope ordered Egypt Susannah and Mazerine to be whipped for refusing to have sex with him after a drinking session (ibid.: 161).

Despite the claims of a sexually repressed Victorian public, the Empire provided colonial agents with opportunities for sexual transgression that were not available "at home." Although Said (1978) is referring to "the Orient," his observation that it "was a place where one could look for sexual experiences unobtainable in Europe" (Said 1978: 190) can also be applied to the colonized territories in the Western hemisphere as a consequence of the changes that were taking place in nineteenth-century Europe:

> We may well recognize that for nineteenth-century Europe, with its increasing *embourgeoisement*, sex had been institutionalized 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, and even political and economic obligations of a detailed and certainly encumbering sort (Said 1978: 190).

Foucault (1980) observes that there were repressive discourses regarding sex during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; however, they did not exist within a simplistic binary formation of repression and liberation (Weeks 1986). 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). One of the accomplishments of Said's *Orientalism* is the conceptualization of patriarchal colonial discourse which underpins the relations between the West and its Others as sexual (Said 1978 [1995]: 309).

The hegemonic visual economies that were produced regarding the alleged "sexual lascivious" nature of black women reflect the power that white men had to control black females by inciting and administering black female subjectivities as sexually deviant. However, the practice of constructing a hegemonic view of black women, which demanded that their "sexual availability [be] an important feature of the black woman's ascribed identity" (Anim-Addo 2007: 46), masks the formation of white masculinities as aggressively tied to their demands for sexual gratification.

Visualizing the Enthralling Other

The Italian painter Agostino Brunias (1730–1796) was the personal painter of Sir William Young, the first governor of Dominica, which came into British possession "after the Treaty of Paris was signed between the British and the French" (Mohammed 2004: 12). Brunias also visited St Vincent "where Young owned land, and probably Barbados and Grenada as well" (Poupeye 1998: 32). Many of the minor artists who traveled to the region "in the company of wealthy patrons" (ibid.) produced "drawings and paintings [that] served as records of the landscapes, scenes of local life and other curiosities seen during these travels, often on the estates of their patron" (Poupeye 1998: 32). In addition to the works that Brunias produced for William Young, his paintings and sketches depicted the black and free "brown" populations in the region. Brunias focused on their customs, how they dressed, and in particular the Free Colored Festivals and dances in which he depicted the expensively and fashionably dressed women in "bright colours, elaborate head ties and plenty of jewellery" (Sheller 2003: 116), which were said to rival the attire of elite white women (Bush 1990) (see Lennox Honychurch's web site to view a selection of Brunias paintings).[1]

In *The Washer Women*,[2] Brunias is concerned with representing a mixed-race woman as a "seductive mulata" (Poupeye 1998: 54), as an example of "enthralling otherness" (C. Hall 2014: 33) that was claimed to be available in the colonies. The river scene is believed to be set in Dominica, in which a semi-naked mixed-race woman is in the center of the image posing in neoclassical style. She is in the company of three black women who are also semi-naked and washing clothes in the river while her barely clothed body directly draws the attention of the assumed male viewer. The "untamed" vegetation in the background refers to the famed beauty of the region and alludes to "erotic fantasies" (Poupeye 1998: 54) held by white men regarding the alleged "primitiveness" of black women, confirming their attribute of being "closer to nature." The painting is an example of Brunias' preferred style of representing the free and enslaved populations in "quaint" and harmonious scenes (Mohammed 2004: 15). The subject's neoclassical pose certainly points toward Brunias' classical training in the "European painting traditions of the eighteenth century" (Mohammed 2004: 12). The traditions of the old world are brought together with the potential of the new, and, in keeping with fantasies of the island paradise,

the "conditions for a rebirth or genesis are made possible" (Loxley quoted in Murray 2009: xvi).

However, this display does not refer to the harsh and brutal realities of the plantation. The only reference to slavery that could be gathered from the image is the slave band around the mixed-race woman's neck which has become "an ornament rather than a controlling device" (Mohammed 2004: 12). This image is in keeping with the visual economies that constructed the Othered black female body as always sexually available to white men.

The audience for Brunias' works were Europeans who were curious about those who populated the New World and "engravings based on his pictures were used to illustrate" (Sheller 2003: 116) Bryan Edwards' book *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (Poupeye 1998: 32). Edwards was a slave-owner, historian, and MP (C. Hall 2014: 28), and his book was published in London in 1793. Brunias' paintings were also "exhibited in London and sold to plantation [owners] in the region and collectors in Europe" (Mohammed 2004: 2). His work was therefore widely circulated and idealized the colonies as unproblematically romantic for European audiences, "as a space of innocence, simplicity, fertility and abundance" (Mohammed 2004: 15). As discussed in the previous chapter, the fantasies of Cockaigne that were embedded within the European psyche provided a foundation on which the new narratives of discovery, freedom, and taxonomies of race could be developed and which eventually led to the nomenclature of skin color gradation—samboe, mulatto, musteephino, quarteron (Anim-Addo 2007; Mohammed 2000)—as an expression of scientific racism.[3]

Brunias' 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 interracial 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).

However, as Bhattacharyya et al. (2002) argue, "many people of mixed origins enjoyed real advantages, but [this was] only in favourable circumstances, that is, where they had a wealthy white father" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 63). The reality for women of mixed origins 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; Bhattacharyya et al. 2002).

Such visual representations of mixed-race women exemplify Fanon's concept of racial liminality and demonstrate how miscegenation produced contradictory relations within the slave system (Beckles 2003: 213). Interracial sex transcended and undermined the crudely constructed ideological boundaries (ibid.: 203) of black and white in the colonies. Homi Bhabha's (1994) analysis of the colonial subject as instigating ambivalence and destabilizing the binaries within the discourse demonstrates the complexity of understanding how colonial power operated and goes beyond Said's original formulation (Lewis 1996: 4). The nineteenth-century satirical images which explicitly represent the practice of race mixing convey the contradiction between what was officially and vigorously opposed and the actual sexual conduct of white men; thus despite the fear that miscegenation would "contaminate" whites, white men openly took black and mixed-race women as mistresses.

Miscegenation as Satire

The popular satirical character Johnny Newcome appeared in "public prints, strip cartoons, serial picture narratives with captions and comments" (de Almeida 2015: 83) and was printed in newspapers, "octavo pamphlets and collected editions" (ibid.). The satirical graphics presented for discussion here were published in 1808, 20 years after the abolition movement had been launched in England and one year after the bill to end the slave trade had been passed (ibid.). The West India Interest grouping in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had been successful in "securing compensation and apprenticeship" (C. Hall 2014: 26) and the "holding back of [*sic*] the abolition of the slave trade and the ending of colonial slavery in parts of the British Empire for fifty years" (C. Hall 2014: 25). What are we to make of the satirical prints that display the apparent degeneration of whiteness in the colonies at this time? Are they a warning to the British public that now that the end of colonial slavery has been decreed by Parliament, the white plantocracy is at risk of degeneration?

The cartoons *West India Luxury*!! and *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies* were issued as a pair by William Holland, Cockspur Street, London, and detail the life of slave-owner Johnny Newcome in Jamaica (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4). *West India Luxury*!! is set in five frames. The first features Newcome, described as a *West Indian* nabob, wearing a planter's

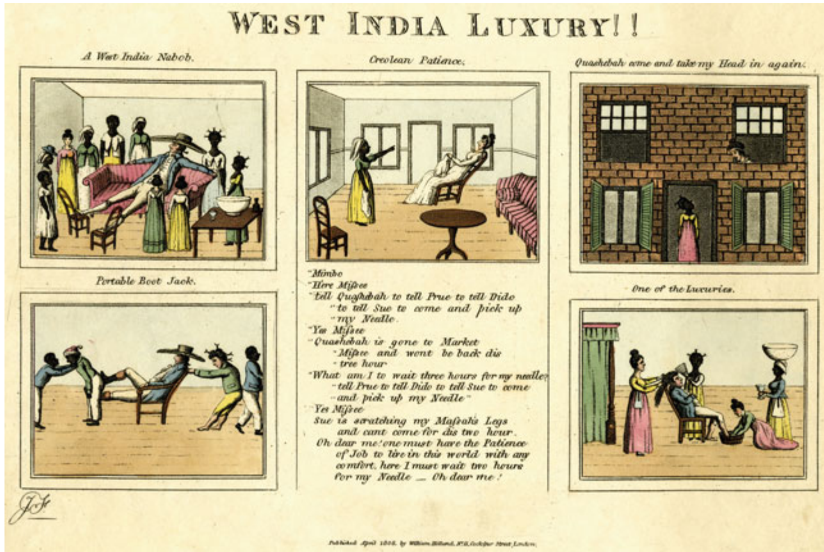

Fig. 4.3 West India Luxury!! (JF, William Holland 1808 courtesy of The British Museum)

wide-brimmed hat, his feet propped up, and lounging on a settee in the typical West Indian style of a sparsely furnished sitting room (Burnard 2004: 22). He is surrounded by black and mixed-race women and children, which appears to reinforce his status as a very wealthy man as a slave-owner in the colonies. In the second frame, Johnny's wife Patience is preoccupied with her needlework and is speaking to one of the house slaves, Mimbo. She instructs Mimbo to "tell Quashebah to tell Prue to tell Dido to tell Sue to come and pick up my Needle." However, as the slaves are busy, Patience complains that she must "wait two hours" for her needle to be picked up in order for her to continue with her embroidery.

These representations of "West Indian luxury" appear to be the origins of the Caribbean as a site claimed by Europeans to realize their desires of the "kingdom of *I*" (Ramsey quoted in C. Hall 2014: 29). Here, whiteness is indisputably expressed as entitled to luxury, and the scenes depicting whiteness at leisure significantly demonstrate the way in which whiteness is dependent on black and mixed-race labor for this to be achieved. In the first frame, perhaps the female slaves stand and wait for instructions from

Fig. 4.4 Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies (William Holland, 1808 courtesy of The British Museum)

the master. In the next two frames the exploitation of labor is explicit as four male slaves, working to remove the nabob's boots, are described as *a Portable Boot Jack*, and in the final frame, titled *one of the luxuries*, the mixed-race female slaves wash and groom Johnny as he is fanned and presented with a drink by the black female slaves. Their attentive servitude is a practice which is resurrected in tourism discourse, in which racialized labor is on hand to respond to the caprices of their largely white guests.

Luxury means that whiteness is unquestionably entitled to this status and obliged to have its whims answered; however, this is somewhat subverted in the second frame, as Patience has to literally be "patient" and is required to wait for one of her slaves to pick up her needle.

The satirical prints that depict whiteness at leisure and its construction of otherness as only fit for labor certainly record the power dynamics that were a feature of the plantation Great House. Domestic harmony is sug-

gested in the frames, enhanced by the industry of the slaves who have been put to work while the overindulged master and mistress are a contrast to the hard labor of the plantation fields on which their luxury depends, although this is not represented in the image.

The third frame of the print raises questions as to the identity of the woman calling to Quashebah from the upstairs window. If it is an image of the master's mixed-race mistress, it would support Green's (2007) analysis that "even where white wives were present, the system of concubinage flourished" (Green 2007: 161) (Fig. 4.3).

The second image, *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies*, which de Almeida (2015) describes as the prequel to the pair, is a narrative of Newcome's earlier life with a black house slave, prior to the "domestic propriety" (de Almeida 2015: 92) as displayed in *West India Luxury*!! However, as Green (2007) suggests, "white planters often became the mediating biological link between two (or more) sets of families, helping to reproduce two different classes either simultaneously (usually, but not always involving multiple residences) or sequentially" (Green 2007: 161). Indeed, there were rich bachelors such as "Simon Taylor, one of the wealthiest Jamaican planters in the eighteenth century, who, as Lady Nugent noted, had 'a numerous family, some almost on every one of his estates'" (C. Hall 2014: 33).

Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies illustrates the practice of planters "beginning—or resuming—their legal marital careers after going 'home' to England" (Green 2007: 161). As Catherine Hall (2014) notes, William Beckford was one of many planters who left "a mistress on the island and married in the mother country to secure legitimate heirs" (C. Hall 2014: 33). Thus the fourth frame in the image depicts *Mr Newcome taking leave of his Ladies & Pickaneenees, previous to his departure from Frying Pan Island, to graze a little in his Native Land*. In this expression of patriarchal power, the white "gentleman" is "the innocent slave owner [as] of Long's projection" (Anim-Addo 2007: 69) and escapes the title of exploiter and abuser of black women. His pursuit of Mimbo Wampo by consulting an obeah man, *Mumbo Jumbo*, does not disrupt the moral economy of whiteness; rather, the satire of Mimbo Wampo, daughter of a king in the Congo, described as the charming Sable Venus and *Queen of the Harem*, is represented through the white gaze as an ugly caricature of a fat, grinning, pipe-smoking "mamma" figure with drooping breasts (Bush 2000: 769). Although this is satire, this cartoon supports the already established view of the African woman as ugly and unattractive (Burnard 2004: 19) for not

meeting the white standards of femininity that were being formulated during this period (Anim-Addo 2007; Craik 1994).

There is also evidence of Europeans' ignorance of African cultures depicted in the print. Here, African knowledge and black masculinity are represented by *Mumbo Jumbo*, and in a description provided by Stark (1898), the obeah man was "usually an old and crafty negro" (Stark 1898: 189), represented in the satirical print with his obeah pot, which contains feathers, grave dirt, and egg shells. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of his name—*Mumbo Jumbo*: *language that sounds mysterious but has no real meaning*—draws on the colonial discourses that professed the unintelligence of Africans (Anim-Addo 2007; Burnard 2004) and dismisses the epistemologies that do not confer or support European constructions of knowledge. Yet, as Madge Dresser (2001) notes, African knowledge was appropriated when deemed fitting as in the case of the African slave who provided a "recipe for an antidote which had saved the life of a Carolina gentleman who had been poisoned by two of his slaves" (cited in Dresser 2001: 59). The recipe was published in full in the *Bristol Weekly Intelligencer* in 1750. Thistlewood also appropriates African knowledge that supports his sexual adventures when he learns "from slave men how to make a powder that made men irresistible to women" (Burnard 2004: 5). Thus, that which is recorded in Thistlewood's diary is represented in JF's pictorial narrative in Fig. 4.4.

Both graphics address "the cult of domesticity and the reinvention of patriarchy" (McClintock 1995: 17) in the colonies. The first print conveys traditional, patriarchal, white matrimonial relations. However, the second print suggests sexual desire, "courtship," intimacy, and race mixing, which are perhaps intended to amuse and/or shock European audiences regarding the double lives led by elite white men who would offer marriage and title to white women and sometimes freedom to black women (Beckles 1999: 179). The last frame in the print undermines the position of the appropriately attired white male as a respectable gentleman by revealing to the reader nine of Mimbo Wampo and Newcome's mixed-race children. As de Almeida (2015) suggests, this is what politicians warned against: "'Oriental indolence' and enervating degeneracy in the half-breeds and their dangers to British rule and English racial identity" (de Almeida 2015: 94). Although white masculinity is constructed as innocent in this satire of Johnny Newcome, a slightly earlier cartoon of 1807, titled *Patent Family Bedstead*, which de Almeida (2015) informs is a "print now accessible only in grainy reprint form" (de Almeida 2015: 95), conveys the risk of irrationality of power for white men as in this "satire," Newcome, with whip in hand, turns the family bed into a site of violence:

> JF show the Newcome four-poster bed, each post topped with small pineapples (a contemporary symbol of fertility): a slave woman lies in the bed, tied up in stocks, besides a seated and smiling Johnny, in his nightshirt, wearing a liberty cap and holding a whip. The enigmatic expression on the woman's face defies simple translation. (de Almeida 2015: 95)

This vivid description of the *Patent Family Bedstead* conveys the "dialectic and simultaneity of brutality and intimacy, of the sadism and desire" (Green 2007: 171) that were integral features of "West Indian slave societies" (ibid.: 171).

Although this pair of graphics does not undermine white supremacy it visually represents the ultimate power that white men had on their plantations and were supported by the social laws of the state. This institutional dominance was acted upon in their domestic and daily lives. As Burnard (2004) notes, white men "needed to show slaves the extent of their dominance" (Burnard 2004: 160) and performed their masculinity as "strong, violent, virile men" (ibid.: 160) by being tyrannical with slave women and demanding sex with them whenever they chose. White men domesticated this expression of power, as demonstrated by the way in which Thistlewood and his contemporaries enjoyed their human property in their beds as is satirized in *Patent Family Bedstead*, and on the grounds of their estates.[4] The cartoons also convey the power of white masculinity to deny and represent black masculinity as old and incomprehensible, not virulent and powerful like the young Johnny Newcome, who had sired nine children, and owns property, land, and chattel.

In practice, the white autocracy that consistently undermined the slave communities by exploiting slave women was challenged, and when possible slaves took revenge for what they considered to be white men "meddling with their women" (Burnard 2004: 160). Thistlewood reports that his former subordinate, Henry McCormick, was hit by a tree felled by slaves (Burnard 2004: 53).

White Women as Agents of Empire

The plantation provided white men with "little kingdoms" (Burnard 2004: 160) and, as autocratic rulers, their totalizing power was articulated in the destruction and abuse of familial structures through the alienation of slaves from rights to control their own bodies, "absence of rights over the children they had borne" (C. Hall 2014: 28), and the denial of paren-

tal protection from sale and the sexual predation of the master. As a house slave the black female did not suffer the painful backbreaking work of the plantation field and the overseer's whip, yet this came at a cost: because of close proximity to white power in the Great House, female house slaves were expected to have sex with the master as part of their role (Burnard 2004: 231). It was within this system that white women were able to occupy an elevated status and gain access to the privileges of whiteness. The white female was mythologized as superior in colonial discourses, and her commitment and conformity to patriarchy were secured by her adherence to the feminine propriety of dress and decorum (Mills 2003: 705; Lewis 1996: 22).

The close proximity of upper- and middle-class white women to ruling-class males meant that their movements were under surveillance (Jones 2003) and proper femininity was based on managing the home, and, tasked with reproducing the Victorian ideals of domesticity (Mills 2003: 704), her concerns were confined to nurturing her husband and children. Married women, confined to the domestic sphere, lacked any space for individual self-expression and this was underpinned by the enforcement of sexual regulation (Foucault 1998; Weeks 1986) that applied strictly to white women in the colonies. Middle-class women were defined as passive in contrast to their economically active, masculinized, and less sexually constrained working-class counterparts (McClintock 1995). The expectation that middle-class white women would be the care takers of the private sphere meant that their isolation was reinforced by being excluded from the political system and military activities (Bush 1990: 67; Beckles 1999). Such confinement attempted to convey the frailty of white women as requiring the protection of white men. Indeed, due to the law of coverture, married women were not permitted to own property (C. Hall 2014: 34; C. Hall 1992: 97), which included property and assets that were bequeathed to them through inheritance and were transferred to their husbands when married. The ideal of white womanhood was constructed on the basis of economic and social dependence *on* men. White working-class women were subject to the same regulatory regimes, as it was principally feared that they would take up black men as sexual partners and would in turn threaten the racialized social structure, as children born to white women were assigned as free (C. Hall, 2014: 29). However, working-class women did not have the economic means to subscribe to these narrow ideals of femininity. Yet, in order for patriarchy to be effectively enforced, the idea of the "white woman as a symbol of white supremacy, moral authority and

sexual purity" (Beckles 2003: 204) was promoted as an official narrative, and was made available to *all* white women to claim superior womanhood (Jones 2003). This was despite the fact that the creations of these stereotypes "were at times equally unworthy of such women" (Mohammed 2004: 15; see Jones 2003: 219).

One of the areas neglected in Said's (1978) discussion of colonial discourse is the complexity of gender in the colonial enterprises, as white women were able to utilize their valorized roles as wives and mothers to be the beneficiaries of a structure of systematic differences (Lewis 1996: 4). Although white women's movements were restricted, any "social representation which offered [white women] privileges was aggressively pursued" (Beckles 1999: 176).

White women were described as ladies and "were not expected to labour in the field or perform any demeaning physical task" (Beckles 2003: 204). To ensure that this hierarchy was reproduced in images of the region, white women never appeared "toiling in the garden or the hot sun" (Mohammed 2004: 15), and as Mohammed (2004) notes, when she did appear in the context of physical work, she was "generally well clothed, hatted and shod for the occasion" (ibid.: 15).

The Victorian "lady is a picture of exaggerated femininity" (Mohammed 2004: 15), displayed as "an emblem of beauty" (Hobson 2005: 10) in which "her profile is delicate and fine, her hair (a Victorian symbol of sexuality and evolutionary achievement) [is] fashionably restrained and coiffured, her skirts elegant and clean" (McClintock 1995, colon and 105). It was expected that her beauty would be "maintained and nurtured for her role in life, that of wife and mother" (Mohammed 2004: 15). This representation of "beauty and unattainability" (Mohammed 2004: 15) positioned the white woman in contradiction to ugly, yet sexually available, laboring enslaved black women. Thus, idealized femininity was associated with "leisures [*sic*] and ornament" (Craik 1994: 47) and coded through the display of "ease, restraint, calm and luxurious decoration" (Skeggs 1997: 99; Craik 1994).

> [I]n 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)

As Bhabha (1994) has demonstrated, colonial discourse was flexible and functioned through contradiction (Bhabha 1994; Lewis 1996: 9). White women were placed in an ambivalent position due to their oppression under patriarchy and their status as elite women (Carby 2003: 226; Lewis 1996: 22; Ware 1992). While being positioned as "other" in relation to European white men, they made significant investments in the slave economy. As slave-owners, white women were able to "extract a wide range of non-pecuniary socio-sexual benefits from slaves as a legitimate stream of returns on capital" (Beckles 1999: 22) in the form of owning the offspring of their female slaves (Beckles 2000: 663). This was effective in conveying feminine distinctions and contributed to the sexualization of the black female slave and the devaluation of black motherhood (Jones 2003: 212). As colonial agents white women were exercising their full rights and powers in what was regarded as a modern frontier (Beckles 2000b).

Colonial expansion was validated by the moral values which would be generated from the mother country; morality and colonialism were closely interwoven, not just in terms of justificatory strategies, but also as a prerequisite for economic success (Skeggs 1997: 42).

Indeed, their position within the racialized gender hierarchy was bolstered by their alignment with the elite males to exploit the physical and sexual labor of black women. Thus, the colonies opened up spaces of independence for white women. British women traveled across the Empire in search of employment and independence (Ware 1992: 126). The Empire offered white women "assertions of feminine agency" (Midgley 2007: 1). In the fictional and autobiographical accounts they produced based on their travels 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).

Single and widowed white women who owned slaves were operating fully within the epistemological framework of slavery's social laws, customs, and culture as it informed their consciousness and social behavior (Beckles 2000: 660). So, although the "official script" (Stoler 1995: 183) designated white women as the custodians of morality, "single white women made their living from the wages of black women hired out as nannies, cooks, nurses, washerwomen, seamstresses and general labourers and this also included the renting out of black women in port towns" (Beckles 2000: 663). Drawing on John Stedman's *Narrative*, Woods (2002) notes the eagerness of white mistresses to display the nakedness of

enslaved women to potential male clients and to sell them into prostitution (Woods 2002: 97). The significance of authoritative voices within the dominant framework is conveyed by Edward Long's "hysterical" (Burnard 2004: 267) characterization of the black female as a natural prostitute. At once the very practice of white men making payment to black women following their sex acts, as Thomas Thistlewood and his associates frequently did (Burnard 2004: 159, 161), exposes the sexual hypocrisy of whiteness, which demanded the sexual availability of black women who were structurally disempowered, yet the narrative that was constructed to position black women as natural prostitutes belies this claim. While some white women such as Eliza Fenwick viewed the practice of "female slaves … [being] encouraged to prostitution" as "a horrid and disgraceful System" (quoted in Brereton 2003: 243), there were certainly white women who capitalized on this practice of dehumanizing black women and used it to reinforce their own privileged position.

White women shared their domestic space with black slave women, and as "slave owner[s] had to walk among the slaves, eat what they cooked and sleep within their reach" (Beckles 2003: 208). Tensions frequently arose due to the "indolent, sloppy, and careless" (Walvin, 1996: 110) work of the women they controlled. However, such close contact with black women did not mean that white women were exempt from using the tools of slavery. Figure 4.5 is an image of a lady's whip. Although it is an instrument of torture it is delicate in appearance; engraved in silver and leather, it "would have been used to punish domestic slaves for minor transgressions in their work" (Understanding Slavery Initiative).[5]

Thus, white women were "locked into a peculiar set of relationships of race and class" (Walvin 1996: 110) as they performed the prescribed role of superior managers of the home and yet were forced to tolerate black female and mixed-race slaves as mistresses of their husbands (Beckles 2000: 664; Anim-Addo 2007: 116; Burnard 2004: 161). White women were often at the center of cruel and brutal unwarranted slave punishments (Bush 1990: 44; Ferguson 1993: 13; Prince 1831; Woods 2002: 97).

John Stedman describes the scenario of the white mistress who flogs naked male slaves on a daily basis for their lack of Christian belief (Woods 2002: 98). White women were therefore instrumental in reproducing the slave system, which made them indistinguishable from their male counterparts (Beckles 2000: 665). The practice of corporeal punishment made its "transition from Europe to the savagery of a slave society" (Burnard 2004: 150), as detailed in the only extant written account of a slave by Bermuda-

Fig. 4.5 Lady's Silver Whip (© courtesy of the Science and Society Picture Library)

born Mary Prince, who was a domestic slave and had four different owners in Bermuda, the Turks Islands, and Antigua.

Following years of physical and sexual abuse, which left her disabled, Mary Prince accompanied her owners to Britain and gained her freedom. During the debates to abolish slavery that were ensuing during the 1800s, Prince published *The History of Mary Prince, a West India Slave, Related by Herself* in 1831 and throughout the narrative, she charts the sadistic beatings and refers to the sexual abuse she received from her various owners. She details that while in the ownership of Captain and Mrs I, Mrs I "flogged and beat [Prince] with her own hands" (Brereton 2003: 246); she described Mrs I as "a fearful woman and a savage mistress to her slaves" (ibid.: 246). Thus, as Joan Anim-Addo (2007) argues, "pregnancy secures no specific maternal consideration" (Anim-Addo 2007: 86; see Burnard 2004: 215) in slavery. Prince recalls the death of Hetty, a pregnant domestic slave whom she fondly called "Aunt," who died after she had been violently flogged (Brereton 2003: 246; Anim-Addo 2007: 122).

In Frederick Douglass' account of his life as a slave, he recalls the murder of his cousin. A white woman, "Mrs Hicks, murdered her slave—a cousin of Douglass's for failing to keep the baby she was charged minding sufficiently quiet during the night" (Gilroy 1993: 67–68).

What is clear is that white women were integral to the maintenance and reproduction of the slave system. There is a wealth of documentary evidence which shows that white women were involved in commercial and service activities and they accumulated "property and profits" (Beckles 2003: 220) from slavery. There were circumstances under which they could exercise autonomy and independence within the slave system, as in the case of Anne Phillips, a widow in Barbados, who in 1778 bequeathed her chattel to her daughter and grandson in her will and testament. As a free white woman, Phillips had the power to determine the fate of the three black women she owned: granting her slave Kate "free liberty the same as if she had been freed" (quoted in Jones 2003: 209); instructing that Judy, Kate's sister, should remain with Kate in the capacity of a slave to Kate during her life, and be in no way ordered and controlled by any person except Kate; and ordering the sale of the young, pregnant Bessie if she were to miscarry. As Jones (2003) argues, Phillip's instructions in her will demonstrate that she shared the dominant patriarchal, colonial values that ascribed black women's identity to that of property and breeders. White women may have had little in the way of power to exercise agency over their own bodies, yet they did have the power to completely control the bodies of black people (Jones 2003). White women could be observed examining the genitals of male slaves in the markets before making their purchase (Beckles 2000: 660). Therefore, white women behaved as rational market agents and were shrewd in ensuring that they did not jeopardize the privileges of whiteness that were extended to them. White women did not "soften[ing] the 'evil and harshness' of black women's enslavement" (Beckles 1999:176); rather, as Joseph Shore (1911), L.J. Ragatz (1928), and Trevor Burnard (2004) suggest, white women were used to maintain the pretense of civility to obscure the moral deregulation in the planter's household and all his atrocities (Beckles 1999: 88).

Gender, Race, and Oppositionality

Hill (1997: 5) argues that oppositionality itself may sometimes function in order to maintain the status quo. Writing against slavery provided middle-class women with a space deemed fitting for their position and a public

space in which to express their individual identity. As anti-slavery campaigners and organizers of sugar boycotts they validated themselves using language that misrepresented the African slave as essentially different to Europeans, objectified and marginalized as silent victims in need of protection (Ferguson 1992: 3–4).

The publication of slave voices "speaking through white subjects" (Anim-Addo 2007: 128) 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 caused "any 'true-blooded Englishman' to raise an eyebrow" (Ferguson 1992: 25). Africans were represented "as a totalized, undifferentiated mass", and denied the continent of African and its people "any authentic heterogeneity" (ibid.: 4). Therefore, black womanhood was spoken for and constructed through the authoritative voice of imperial whiteness (Mirza 1997: 10; hooks 1996: 202; Anim-Addo 2007: 128).

As discussed in Chap. 3, white identities shift and change according to particular historical moments and they are not always invisible. As Ruth Frankenberg notes, "in times and places where whiteness and white dominance are being built or reconfigured, they are highly visible, named and asserted" (Frankenberg quoted in Jones 2003: 202). As in the case of colonial plantation societies these were spaces in which whiteness was being formulated as superior in intellect, body, and deed, all of which was expressed through excessive and exaggerated displays of wealth, hospitality, and most significantly the physical and psychological power that was exerted on the enslaved. Drawing on the framework of a racial dichotomy, the colonial space articulated these Cartesian ideas.

The socio-legal mercantile system had an obsessive interest in the black woman's body "as a key source of their labour power" (Mair 2000a: 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 contradictory positions that the female slave occupied, for example, the persistent stereotype of the enslaved African as lazy and at the same time exploited to perform hard physical labor and to provide white men with sex. 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 is a facade for the excesses of the brutality of slavery and the hardened attitudes toward slave women in the latter years of the slave regimes (Mair 2000a: 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 labor 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 also facilitated the masters' and mistresses' overindulgent and legendary lifestyles (Anim-Addo 2007:89; Taylor 1993: 94–95; Burnard 2004: 19). This is significant as it is 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 dehumanized and exposed to the worst excesses of the slave society (Anim-Addo 2007: 117), while white women were not only represented as symbols of beauty and made deliberately visible to convey the superiority of whiteness, they were also central to the operations of the slave system.

Both black women and black men were constructed within a masculine, colonial framework. Yet it was white women, with a vested interest in the slave system, who formed alliances with colonial patriarchs. This discussion foregrounds the analysis of the destination wedding images in Chap. 6, and demonstrates how race, gender, class, and sexuality have historically intersected to enable white women to take advantage of the patriarchal colonial context. Chapters 6 and 7 specifically address the symbolic and ideological position which white women currently occupy in tourism media's visual representations of wealth and luxury.

Notes

1. http://www.lennoxhonychurch.com/brunias.cfm [Last accessed June 15, 2015].
2. A copy of the painting can be viewed by accessing this link for the University of Virginia Library: http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/details.php?categorynum=9&categoryName=&theRecord=9&recordCount=60, [Last accessed October 30, 2015].
3. See the genre of castas paintings in colonial Latin America which represented the Spanish colonial elite's hierarchical system of socio-race classification and visualized the racial mixing of Amerindian, African, European and racial and ethnic groups
4. Thistlewood details in his diary that he had sex with slaves in various places: "in the Still House sup floor" (cited in Burnard 2004: 160), in his parlor, in

a loading place by the sea, on clearings near cane and coffee grounds, and in the slave grounds (ibid.: 159). John Cope would also pursue slaves in their quarters (ibid.:161).

5. The Understanding Slavery web site can be accessed via this link: http://www.understandingslavery.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=453:silver-whip&catid=146&Itemid=256 [Last accessed May 19, 2015].

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CHAPTER 5

Resurrecting Colonialism: Tourism in Jamaica During the Nineteenth Century and Beyond

Through the medium of television, the British prime time game show *Blind Date* gave Jamaica wide exposure as a couples' destination. The opening program of the new series in November 2001 presented a vignette of the contestants Michelle Whalley's and Darren Cook's 5-night, deluxe all-inclusive stay at the Swept Away couples resort in Jamaica. This airtime and promotion of Jamaica introduced new audiences to and reminded familiar ones of the narratives of romance, escape, and notions of the exotic that are associated with Jamaica; the appropriation of the island as a setting to convey Western ideas of a romantic paradise is contemporarily reiterated in advertising campaigns promoting soft drinks, alcohol, and confectionary, where Caribbean islands are indistinguishable from one another and any Western-derived fantasy can be enhanced with an assumed Caribbean beach backdrop (Sheller 2003: 165; King 1997: 2). Any concept or idea, it appears, can be projected onto the Caribbean as a simple beach landscape, and incorporated into existing discourses of paradise. Conceptualized as paradise in the Western imagination, there is nothing that demonstrates the uniqueness of Jamaica and the wider Caribbean when represented as a desirable, yet attainable and commodified, object in the form of a prize for game show contestants, or "lucky" readers of newspapers and magazines rewarded with a "luxury" romantic Caribbean holiday. This practice has been subsumed within the packaging of the Caribbean as a backdrop for heteronormative displays of wealth, and contributes to the way in which the region is framed in the "white [Western] imaginary" (Frankenberg and Mani 1996: 354), and through new media technologies, simply

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disperses colonial discourses “across space as well as time” (ibid.: 354). The “hegemonic discourses” (Edelheim 2006) reiterate the assumption that the Caribbean should not be considered with any seriousness, as it is a site of play and frolic, as the twentieth-century approach to tourism marketing suggests.

The range of colonial discourses that are reworked in the contemporary context are successful as “highly sensitive polysemic constructs” (Edelheim 2006: 1). The selection of motifs taken from the taste cultures of the colonial period (the white plantation house) and once sexualized and also racialized labor has become entangled within new discourses of unrestrained (and reckless) pleasure-seeking and sexual transgression (Kempadoo 1999) and forms a heady mix of socio-artifacts (Schroeder 2002) or behaviors that celebrate and display heterosexual romance and white destination weddings. These discursive elements are tied together by the elevation of the white female to princess bride, who appears to be transformative in the postfeminist, neoliberal context. Tourism through the medium of Internet technologies continues to communicate visual “truths” about the Caribbean as an unproblematic fantasy destination.

Therefore, we have come to “know” and recognize Jamaica and the broader Caribbean through colonial descriptions and visual representations as Eden, or an earthly paradise. Adventure tales of discovery and shipwrecked masculine heroes within the English literary canon, such as *Robinson Crusoe*, colonial travel literature and European art, such as Gauguin’s representations of the South Pacific as a sexual paradise, have converged and established these ideas within the Western imagination. The myth of paradise continues to be reproduced in the contemporary context, by appropriating these discourses and fashioning new ones that associate the presumed luxury of an island as paradise, with new discourses and regimes of truth that valorize ideal gender types and expressions of wealth.

This chapter discusses the myths, narratives, and images that were used to establish Jamaica as a tourist destination at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Within the context of declining sugar production that shaped the post-emancipation era in Jamaica, this chapter will consider the way in which colonial travel discourse was used to convey whites’ superiority by drawing on the colonial discourse that proclaimed the superior intellect and industriousness of whites, and justified the rightfulness of the racial order and hysterical claims regarding the ugliness of women of African heritage and their

assumed hypersexuality. This was particularly the case as they were discussed as part of the scenery of the tropical landscape.

The extracts from travel guides that are discussed in this chapter refer to the economic shifts for Jamaica: from being a major sugar producer to a banana producer and then to tourism as the country's main industry. The themes which recur in the texts are references to the past; thus there appears to be nostalgia for slavery in the travel guides (the repackaging of slavery as nostalgia in Sandals' images and text is discussed in Chap. 7), with an emphasis on service and the gendered and racialized female body displayed as the exotic signifier, exploited as the bridge linking the colonial period to the post-emancipation era.

From Slavery to Indentured Labor

Pro-slavery campaigners had been successful in lobbying parliament (many slave-owners and planters were British MPs) as they were able to hold back the abolition of the British slave trade by 50 years (C. Hall 2014) and sustained the system by introducing indentured (forced) labor from India and China into the Caribbean. The Apprenticeship System (1834–1838) was officially termed the transition period to "acclimatize" the former slaves to "freedom" and the planter class to the new regime. The rhetoric used to articulate the period of apprenticeship as positive for the slaves, described the member of the newly "freed" population 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). However, Mair (2000) argues that this regime was "quasi-bondage" (Mair 2000: 395) for the former slaves and in reality the newly freed population was barred from exercising their civil liberties as they were largely uneducated and without substantial land or property.

The economically, socially, and politically dominant white metropolitan males who "enjoyed unparalleled power and privilege" (Shepherd 1995: 235) during slavery were concerned with seeking an alternative to slave labor as early as 1832 with plans to introduce Chinese migrants into the Caribbean (Burns 1937: [1970]: 290), since they viewed emancipation as a threat to their ability to maintain wealth, status, and privilege as "white" elites in the region (they were descendants of the sugar plantocracy and the mercantile elite from Scotland and Syria in Jamaica (Thompson 2006: 13).

However, the fortunes of the planters were changing as the abolition of the Corn Laws (1846 Sugar Duties Act) forced British colonial sugar producers to compete with non-British slave labor for sugar (Cuba and Brazil) in the home market on equal terms (Green 1993: 34). In addition to the removal of favorable import duties, and the falling price of sugar in Europe, many slave-owners, merchants, and financial houses were facing bankruptcy. Planters responded to these new economic conditions with increasing hostility toward their workforce and continued with the same physical penalties that they had enacted under slavery, with floggings, chain-gang work, and other punishments by the treadmill (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 234).

The continued use of corporeal punishment as an approach to plantation management is not a sufficient explanation for the desertion of the plantation fields at emancipation. As Marshall (2003) argues, the conditions on the plantations at emancipation were complex due to the nature of former slave-owners' "labour recruitment and retention policies, on [*sic*] ex-slaves' insecurity of occupancy, and on ex-slaves' limited ability to influence the price of labour and the rent for small portions of estate land" (Marshall 2003: 117).

The decline of the sugar plantation economy in Jamaica (Thompson 2006), the many absentee planters (UCL Legacies of British Slave Ownership 2015), and the dwindling number of whites living on the island (Thompson 2006) added to whites' anxieties that Jamaica would, like Haiti, become an island of black self-rule. James Henry Stark (1898) expresses these anxieties thus:

> The terrible massacre of the total white population of Hayti is ever present in the minds of the whites of Jamaica as a frightful evidence of what the negroes are capable of when roused to frenzy. (Stark 1898: 196)

Stark's (1898) response to a black-ruled Haiti and Thomas Carlyle's sentiments echo those expressed by Coetzee's (1986) fictional Cruso, that black people are naturally suited to labor, indicating the interdependence of capitalism and a racialized labor force which should be under the direction and control of Europeans:

> Let him [the black West Indian] by his ugliness, idleness, rebellion, banish all white men from the West Indies and make it all one Haiti, with little or no sugar growing, black Peter exterminating black Paul, and where a garden of Hesperides might be nothing but a tropical dog-kennel and the pestiferous jungle. (Carlyle 1850, cited in C. Hall 1992: 272)

As a response to these fears and to encourage European and American settlement, the colonial authorities sought "a considerable amount" (Taylor 1993: 145) of American and British capital investment and tourists from those countries, as it was envisaged that they were strategies to retain the racial, social, and political order, as noted by the 1890 *Spectator* review of Owen T. Bulkeley's (1889) *The Lesser Antilles*: *A Guide for Settlers in the British West Indies*, *and Tourists' Companion*. The review notes that Bulkeley (1889) presents the acquisition and cultivation of land, in particular, the planting of cacao trees, to be a promising and profitable prospect for would-be migrants to the British West Indies.[1]

America's Increasing Influence in Jamaica

Declining sugar production in Jamaica and the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1834 coincided with the increasing influence of American companies in the region, which included the ownership of Jamaican land used for banana farms. Although Jamaica was still a British colony and its political control was derived from the British Parliament, it was directly affected by the USA's increasing political and economic power in the region. Taylor (1993: 7) argues that "by the close of the nineteenth century," products that had traditionally been imported from Britain (furniture, tools, and glassware) would be imported from the USA (ibid.: 7).

The colonial authorities introduced policies which aimed to secure foreign investment in Jamaica, such as tax concessions and the ability to purchase local properties. The policy of encouraging American capital to the island is exemplified by the fact that some of the earliest hotels in Jamaica were built with American capital (Jefferson 1977: 170; Thompson 2006). American firms such as the Boston Fruit Company (later to become the United Fruit Company) also purchased hundreds of acres of Jamaican land (Taylor 1993) and other American firms such as the West India Improvement Company, an American syndicate company, demonstrated the increasing influence of American businesses, as it owned 74,443 acres of land as a result of the agreement that was made with the colonial authorities that the company would receive one square mile of land for each mile of rail track that the company laid (Taylor 1993: 6).

As with sugar production under the slave regime, tourism was instituted as a monolithic business model that continued Jamaica's reliance on one product, and did not include a strategy to develop the island's infrastructure for the wider population. Tourism continued to marginalize the poor

black population, as infrastructure projects—"new roads, water and sewage systems, and telegram services" (Thompson 2006: 14)—were principally for the benefit of the tourists, and the rest of the island, particularly black communities, were neglected (Thompson 2006: 15). Tourism was considered to be a panacea for whites on the island as this new industry would welcome and host the wealthy white elite from Europe and North America (Taylor 1993: 7, 107; Jefferson 1977: 82). Frank Fonda Taylor (1993) has effectively argued that the colonial authorities were striving to transform Jamaica into a luxury destination for dominant white elites,[2] and the rich, being more likely to travel, were seen as trendsetters who liked to be fashionable (Taylor 1993: 107). Therefore, from its inception, Jamaica's tourist industry was established as a luxury trade, for relatively high-income tourists (Jefferson 1977: 82). Accommodation for tourists was provided by turning the "great plantation houses" into hostels by "adding new rooms and installing modern amenities" (Taylor 1993: 145).

It was also assumed that the poor black population would be subservient and become a service class. However, this assumption proved to be a hindrance to the plans for a white paradise as the authorities were confronted with the fact that wealthy white travelers from the USA, who were accustomed to having their whiteness acknowledged and reaffirmed by the regime of racial segregation and the use of close surveillance and harassment of black people (social control by lynching, particularly in the southern States of America), would not experience the same accord from the black population in Jamaica. Due to the legacy of slavery, the black population in Jamaica had no need to distinguish Americans from any other wealthy white person. The increasing presence of American tourists only served to exacerbate the racial divisions that had been established by British colonials as the black population was denied access to the tourist enclaves, which included beaches and hotels (Taylor 1993; Thompson 2006). Indeed, the black population was excluded from the famous Myrtle Bank Hotel in Kingston until the late 1940s (Thompson 2006).

When local people did appear in promotional photographs, they were represented as orderly, clean, "loyal," and disciplined colonized subjects (Thompson 2006: 6), and were used to convince potential white travelers that the region was safe; in his *Jamaica Guide*, James Henry Stark (1898) proclaims that "travelling in Jamaica is easy and safe" (Stark 1898: 44). Safety and the protection of property are two of the principal concerns of whiteness that are frequently repeated and expressed in colonial discourse. In their "need" to protect white femininity, white planters feared for their

safety and their property on the plantations (Burnard 2004), yet in the period of early tourism in Jamaica, Stark (1898) assures his readers that "in the main, the laboring classes of Jamaica are law-abiding and submissive" (Stark 1898: 193), thus assuring the potential tourist that the racialized laborers "know their place" and this is achieved through "absolute subjection" (Stark 1898: 193) exercised by the colonial government.

This "racialized way of seeing" (Ekman 2014: 167) taught through travel guides did not visibly represent whiteness, yet the values of a white elite can be identified in the references that are made to the physical power (or *threat*) that whiteness represented, as Stark (1898) asserts that "every country village has its constabulary; and the uniformed policemen are seen in the rural districts as in the cities and towns" (ibid.: 193), thus constituting systems of law that white visitors would be familiar with. The key issue here is that the economic value that is tied to black and Indian labor assuages any concerns that despite the "semi-civilized inhabitants, life and property are as safe in Jamaica as in England or the United States" (Stark 1898: 193).

Reassurances of the personal safety of the tourist are reconfigured in contemporary tourism images, as in the display of the uniformed butler, complete with a broad white smile, white gloves, and is branded as "Sandals' Butler Service." Trained by the "Guild of Professional English Butlers," the emphasis on loyalty (and the suggestion of royalty) continues, as they are trained to anticipate all guests' needs. Usually featured walking across an empty white beach, smile affixed and carrying a silver tray, Sandals' Elite Butlers appear to be a part of the landscape, although the black subject is now commodified to connote luxury and attentive service.

Tourism: An Escape from Modernity

Early tourists traveled to Jamaica via the steam ship (Jamaica Tourist Board 2005: 3), as the invention of the steam engine enabled more people to travel greater distances as the cost of travel 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)

The United Fruit Company, which owned many acres of banana plantations throughout the Caribbean, became the largest owner of landholdings

in Jamaica by 1938 (Stone 1985: 27). The corporate agricultural operations restructured Jamaica's economy as a banana-producing country, and this single cash crop laid the foundations required to meet the demands of colonial and imperial powers. The Caribbean became a haven for American tourists, and this was a result of The United Fruit Company's trade crossings to transport passengers to and from the Caribbean. This service had also been offered by the British Imperial Direct West India Mail Service (Fig. 5.1), which was established in 1901, and was part of the Elders and Fyffes Group. This was an effective use of excess space on the ships, as, despite the advantages that modernity was bringing to the USA and Europe, there were the negative effects of the increased pace of life which Europeans and Americans were eager to temporarily escape from, as Jas Johnston suggests: "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 1902: 7; Strachan 2002: 101).

The vintage poster details the promotion of the British mail service to the West Indies, and juxtaposes the modern steamship with the small boat, occupied by banana workers. Their presence in the boat with bunches of bananas emphasizes "the interdependence of capitalism and rac[ism]" (Miles 1999: 354). The structural subordination of blackness established through slavery continued in the early twentieth century with "the commodification of 'black' labour" (Miles 1999: 354), in contrast to the improving living standards and rising wealth in "First World" nations. We can relate this to the contemporary global capitalist context in which "semi and unskilled manual labour" (Miles 1999: 354) receives low wages and is concentrated within poor racialized communities (Haymes 1995).

Jamaica was positioned and held in place to convey timelessness and a static culture for Western romantic fantasies. The dialog between the client and the travel agent quoted below are significant for the way in which Jamaica and the wider Caribbean are placed outside of "modernity," calling forth the idea that the island only exists within Western conceptions of what was considered to be premodern. The extract below refers to the discovery that Jamaica "offers" "the strange music of the tropical night," and conveys the idea of desire and menace as in Bhabha's (1994: 91) conceptualization of colonial discourse:

> "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

Fig. 5.1 Vintage travel poster advertising (The Imperial Direct West India Mail Service Co. Ltd. mooziic/Alamy)

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-week vacation there myself last year and enjoyed every minute of it!" (Jamaica Tourist Association 1913: 3)

The colonial authorities invested heavily in developing tourist areas, as immense resources and funds were made available in the form of tax breaks and financial concessions to hoteliers and businessmen (Taylor 1993: 73–4). This was a marked contrast to the widespread poverty of the former slaves who mainly worked as peasant farmers. Poverty ensured that the majority of the black population were a subjugated workforce, since "the average wage remained a shilling a day in 1914" (Taylor 1993: 107), and the rural poor who traveled to Kingston to sell their produce once or twice each week were neglected as they had no shelter or accommodation provided for them (Taylor 1993). The policies that were pursued by the colonial authorities reflected colonial attitudes that Europeans and Americans were superior, as the hotels would import American chefs and waiters, and all positions of authority and status would go to whites, leaving only the most menial jobs to local black people (Taylor 1993: 109). The sugar plantation system and tourism share similarities as they are both labor-intensive and highly dependent on exploiting an expendable workforce (Wint 2012).

Emancipation did not eradicate the racist stereotypes and myths that had been constructed and circulated during slavery; rather the existing racialized social structure was reinforced by white wealthy visitors who espoused enlightenment ideas regarding black inferiority and expected to have those views affirmed during their visits to Jamaica. American sailors in particular were accused of igniting conflicts with the black population (Taylor 1993: 110), and tourists throwing coins to poor local black people to scramble over was a favorite pastime (Sheller 2003).

Therefore, racial sensibilities were renewed. Black Jamaicans may have been granted their freedom from slavery, but their continued inferiorized status and lack of economic and political power was a continuation of the slave system. The colonialists and their descendants controlled the narrative which remade race "a hierarchical category" (C. Hall 2014: 26). The narrative that was constructed and circulated by the colonial authorities, their

agents, and wealthy tourists was to dismiss the reality of poverty by claiming that black Jamaicans were on a "perpetual holiday" (Taylor 1993: 107), and repeatedly expressed the enduring colonial stereotype that black people were lazy and did not work, because Jamaica was a paradise. William Agnew Paton describes the absence of the need to work during his "offshore" visit to Dominica in the late 1880s, and expresses the fantasy of Cockaigne, which was also applied to Jamaica, that for black people [living in poverty], "living [was] cheap" and "food [is] abundant" with "wild fruits and vegetables to be had at no more trouble to the would-be eater than to put forth his hand and pluck" (Paton, 1888 quoted in Sheller 2003: 58).

For the poor black population, Jamaica was not a paradise. The apprenticeship period that had followed slavery had not brought social equality in recompense for the "hatred and cruelty" (Walcott, quoted in Sheller 2003: 69) that the slaves had endured. The former slaves were now tied "into another form of unfree labour for fixed terms" (UCL Legacies of British Slave Ownership Project 2015), yet the settlement that was negotiated with the pro-slavery campaigners and the former planters included the continuation of the slave system through the apprenticeship period *and* they were paid £20 million in compensation from the British state for abolishing slavery.[3] 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 centuries to seek employment there (Sheller 2003). The notion that black Jamaicans were carefree and content was a continuation of the colonial discourse, which claimed that Africans were happy to be slaves (Beckles 2003) and was used to disguise the social and racial inequalities that existed on the island.

To Travel Is to Be Modern; to Be Modern Is to Be White

Kaur and Hutnyk (1999: 1) argue that in our contemporary times, the ability to (legitimately) travel is strongly 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. Nor was this the case for nineteenth-century travelers to Jamaica and the wider Caribbean who shaped expectations of the Caribbean in the literature, travelogues, and travel guides that they produced. They advised their readers that they could expect to

see "a mixed assortment of humanity, with great contrasts of color, character, creed, and costume" (Stark 1898: 46) as they traveled through the Caribbean, and that they could also expect as a "white of position, with the visitor from Europe or the American continent, take[s] his place in a first-class carriage" (ibid.: 46). These guides are significant as whiteness is explicitly associated with luxury (seated in the first-class carriage) and the nostalgic style of address that reminded readers of the colonial era and thus framed black Jamaicans and the post-slavery context within anthropological terms or as "racial types" (Doy 2000: 111). Travel writers modeling themselves on Enlightenment adventurers reproduced the colonial gaze in their repeated scrutiny of the black/brown female body, which connoted exoticism and sexual "difference" in their descriptions of the tropical landscape.

The familiar colonial voice, which produced "a racialized way of seeing" (Ekman 2014: 167), through histories, diaries, and essays, was threatened by the abolition of the slave trade and the apprenticeship period; yet it was successful in reasserting the racial hierarchy by producing travel guides based on eyewitness accounts of travels in the Caribbean. Such writing continued to construct African and also Indian people as subjects to be studied[4]; travelers passed through the Caribbean and studied local people as though the region were an open-air museum. These attitudes and practices occurred within the context of the World Fairs and exhibitions taking place at the end of the nineteenth century (Pickering 2001; Haymes 1995). The dehumanizing, semi-naked display of Sara Baartman, derogatorily referred to as the "Hottentot Venus," was also conducted within this context of exhibiting difference to support notions of European superiority and show Africans as a species closer to orangutans and as sexually primitive, and African women as a "'natural' prostitute" (Green 2007: 158).

Creating "New" Knowledge: An Object of the Colonial Gaze

The practice of whites organizing their enjoyment through the Other has a long history (Lott cited in McLaren 1998: 67) and the production of knowledge from the perspective of colonial elites and their agents informs contemporary readers of the assumptions that were/are made regarding knowledge that was produced by "singular privileged accounts" (d'Hauteserre 2005: 202) and inspired by "Enlightenment era explorers" (ibid.: 203) implicitly viewed as "androcentric" (L. Young 1995: 95), authoritative, and factual.

The significance of the literature produced by colonial geographers, anthropologists, and later travel writers is that it has left a legacy of observing, critiquing, and recording blackness as a form of entertainment or "scientific interest." Similarities can be drawn with the recent Bronx tours of predominantly poor black neighborhoods in New York.[5]

Thus, observing the black and Indian body was a principal part of the tourist experience for early travelers to the Caribbean region, and they were particularly concerned with juxtaposing African and Indian behavior as either typical or untypical. Stark's (1898) preoccupation with black women was to convey their lack of feminine propriety and respectability, and therefore to elevate the practice of Christian marriage that was tied to European and American ideals of womanhood. Stark (1898) comments that "this is unknown among the negro population, as very few of them are bound by the marriage tie; in fact the negro woman does not care to be married" (Stark 1898: 192). The historical context of the situation of limited marriage and illegitimate children to which Stark (1898) refers reflects a key abhorrent of the slave system; slaves and their children could be resold at any time (Burnard 2004: 260), and marriage between slaves was discouraged (Green 2007). Slave-owners could have sex with any of the female slaves if he chose to do so (as noted by Burnard (2004) in Thistlewood's diaries). Slave-owners used their power to undermine, disrupt, and sabotage slave families. Stark's (1898) passing remark presented as fact is an example of the need to critically examine established epistemological frameworks in order to understand the ideological principles on which discourses of inferiority and claims of morality and decency are based. There was hostility toward black people who married and, as Green (2007) argues, "in post-Thistlewood Jamaica,[6] whites would increasingly find the idea of converted, literate—and 'properly' married—slaves to be offensive and dangerous" (Green 2007: 159). This was a threat to whites' "exclusivity" (ibid.: 178) and the racial, economic, and social order as it had the potential to undermine "planters' race/class niche" (Green 2007: 178). It also challenged the "unmitigated exploitation" of slaves as fundamentally "sexual and economic tools" (Green 2007: 178).

In order to continue to represent and commodify the black body, European and American travelers reported to readers surveyed and racialized scenes such as those reported by Stark (1898) with reference to the dwellings of black and Indian workers thus:

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

As in the case of Said's (1978) discussion of colonial writers who influenced and referred to each other, this was the practice of tourists who expected to observe what they had already read about in travelogues and guides and reproduced these narratives in an emerging colonial-derived travel discourse. This literary practice established a popular genre of travel writing, which was adopted by writers such as James Froude:

> 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 which characterized much of the travel writing about Jamaica and the Caribbean during the nineteenth century referred to alleged African "primitiveness" in appearance and behavior. References to the other as menacing were contained within the enticing yet threatening landscape. Such fears were described as "venturing towards the dark side" and being "swallowed up by the environment." Bhabha (1994: 72) describes the alternation between phobia and fetish as the colonialist's dream of a tropical paradise clashing 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 *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 civilization 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 *Jamaica Guide* and his reference to the "facts" is that he is drawing on the discourses of pseudoscientific racism 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, capitalist production would be absent, with "catastrophic" consequences (Strachan 2002: 179) and, as previously discussed, concerns regarding the influence of the Haitian Revolution on the rest of the region were ever-present in the minds of the colonial elites and their agents:

> 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: 262–3)

This is reinforced by James Henry Stark's view of Port Antonio, 10 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)

Tourism, as a project which reconfigures colonialism and occupation, is marked by the colonial presence through the rhetoric of superiority and the iconography of sexualized and racialized objects (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002). The colonial travel literature conveys the importance of using a historical framework to understand the relations of power that are disguised by rhetoric and iconography. This is since black people have had limited control over how they have been represented (Hall 1996a: 442). The anxieties regarding race and the need for power at any cost in the region is clearly expressed by the vehement views 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 civilization are expressed by Stark: "it is the blood of the Caucasian which gives brains, ambition, and the instincts of civilisation" (Stark 1898: 191). This supremacist discourse suggests that, as superior beings, they should "take charge" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 100). This is a view repeated by Johnston, a doctor who promoted the island as a health resort with lantern lectures, who 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 1902: 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 1902: 22). This is a benign and almost egalitarian representation of the capitalist agribusi-

ness, which operated within an "unequal and competitive system" (Wilkes 2013: 36). This view can be placed within the context of colonial discourse, which assumed that Europeans, while not performing the labor, were naturally industrious, (fair), and despite the agricultural skills that black people transported from Africa and developed during slavery, it is the capitalist corporations that are accredited with value.

Discourses of the Sexualized and Disavowed Other

Agostino Brunias' and Paul Gauguin's artistic expressions are significant for the way in which they have contributed to colonial narratives of the "New World" and representations of indigenous and colonized 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 "Othering." It is, as Bhabha (1994) argues, for the colonialized subject to be constructed, and colonial power to be exercised, and it is achieved through forms of difference that is 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 Brunias' theme of representing black and mulatto women performing domestic tasks. Stark's (1898) *Jamaica Guide* presents a sketch dated 1898 in Fig. 5.2, and repeats the theme of semi-naked women washing clothes in the river. The travel writer, employing the practice of observing from a distance, 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 laborers, a view which is expressed by Antoinette in Jean Rhys' (1966) *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 emphasize the alleged link between the lascivious sexuality of the black woman and her "natural" habitat in the tropical landscape. The splitting of the stereotype is evident in the suggestion that black and mixed-race women connoted sexual promise and,

Fig. 5.2 Washing Clothes in the River (*Stark's Jamaica Guide* (1898) courtesy of The British Library)

paradoxically, threat (Said 1978). This contradictory representation of racialized sexual desire was articulated within early promotions of tourism in Jamaica. However, as we shall see in Chaps. 6 and 7, black female sexuality has shifted to the margins and been replaced by a celebratory representation of white femininity and heteronormative sexuality.

The body is therefore significant for being inscribed in both the economy of pleasure and desire, as the black female body was scrutinized and objectified from a distance as travelers were passing through the region. Sheller (2003) quotes E.A. Hastings Jay (1900), Charles Stoddard (1895), and Prichard (1900) and demonstrates how the voyeuristic appetites of nineteenth-century European and American societies were being satisfied

by supplies of guides 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 behavior and appearance:

> The streets were densely packed, black women filing 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. (E.A. Hastings Jay quoted in Sheller 2003: 135)

The significance of this extract is the repeated sentiments of Europeans toward blackness as repulsive and also central to the ideology that 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 Hastings Jay's (1900) description of the black female's "figure and carriage as splendid" (Hastings Jay, 1900 quoted in Sheller 2003: 135). As an expression of the patriarchal gaze which structured the epistemologies of knowledge about black women, this account significantly belies the fact that the sexual abuse of black women during slavery was "systematic and widespread," and involved "white men from all social backgrounds" (Burnard 2004: 261). The physical and psychological abuse that was meted out to black women is completely erased by talking up the alleged ugliness of African women.

In Fig. 5.2, the black female body is the subject of the Europeans' objectifying gaze as in the case of Sara Baartman's display in English and Parisian freak shows and caricatured in cartoons. Although she is not physically handled by white men, she is fixed in their colonial gaze and represented as a racial "type[s]" (Bhabha 1994: 70); black, mulatto, and Indian women were used to create a particular "fixated" form of the colonized subject, which was supported by the racial schema, as discussed in Chap. 2. Thus the travel writer Stark pays particular attention to the physique of the women washing their clothes in the river, in keeping with the emphasis that was placed on black women's alleged physical difference from white women, as noted by Georges Cuvier's intense scrutiny, examination, and dissection of Baartman's body (Hobson 2005). The image and text allude to sexual undertones and repeat the triad of othered women, sexuality, and water as suggested by Brunias' *The Washer Women* and James Henry Stark's (1898) passing observation of black women undertaking domestic work:

> 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 and colonial sentiments are significant as they continue the commodification of the black female body as was undertaken in the slave period. The casual and routine way that the black female body was displayed in both pro-slavery and abolitionist visual material demonstrates the power of colonial discourses as they shifted toward a colonial travel narrative and the extent to which this practice shaped early twentieth-century views of black people in the Caribbean. These images are also significant for the absence of representations of the white population on the island. However, they visually reproduce the themes of race, sexuality and gender that have been discussed earlier in *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism*. The colonial subject does not exist outside of the colonial relations, but is scripted by the colonial discourse. As Hall (1996c: 18) argues, the black subject can only exist in relation to the presence of the white subject and includes a process of disavowal and mimicry, as read in the Victorian style of dress of the uniformed "fruit seller" in Fig. 5.3.

In this authorized version of otherness her "Africanness" is deemphasized by her white apron, yet her heritage is referred to as she balances a tray of fruit on her head to signify economic servitude. This image produces a "partial vision of the coloniser's presence"; thus in this example of surveillance we observe the colonizer 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 Brunias' painting and Stark's (1898) sketch of the women in the river. 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 *Heart of Darkness*.

Sady Brassey, an English traveler to the Caribbean during the late nineteenth century, demonstrates the keenness with which the views about the black female were expressed. Her focus on black women is a critique from the perspective of a privileged white woman, which allows her to use this difference to distance herself from women considered to be her inferiors. The specific focus was on the facial phenotypes of black women as an indicator of how far removed from the white European ideal of femininity black females were considered to be (hooks 1996; Goldberg 1993). In

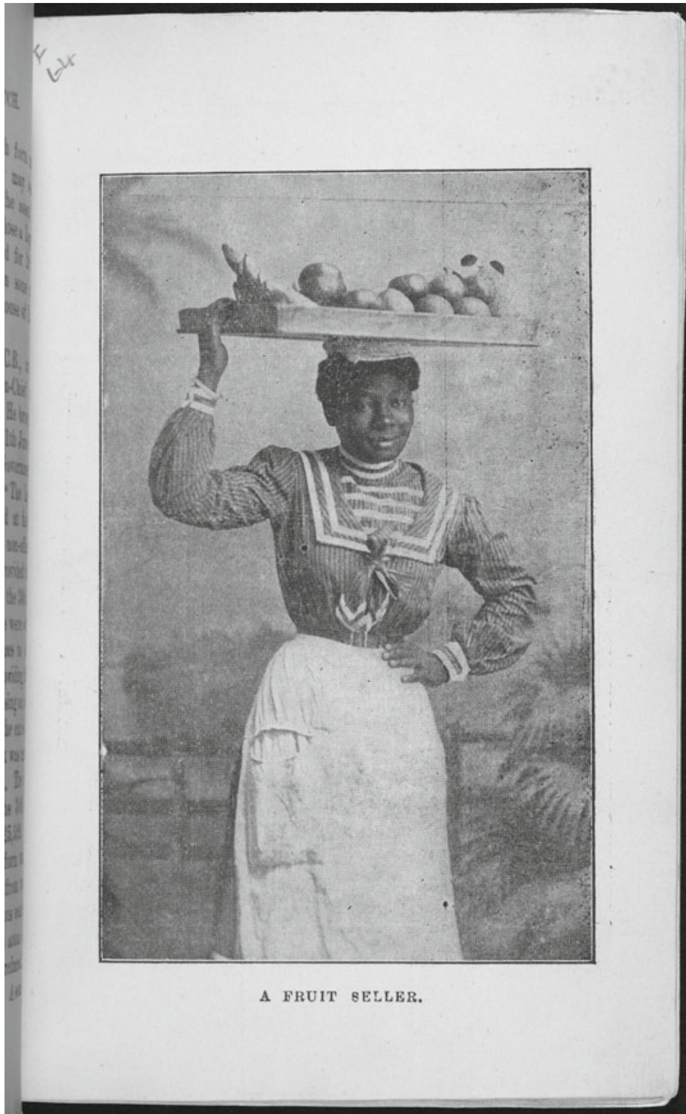
A FRUIT SELLER.

Fig. 5.3 Fruit Seller (*Handy Pocket Guide to Jamaica* (1902) courtesy of The British Library)

contrast to these perceptions were the descriptions of indentured Indian 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 travelers were keen to racialize gendered Indian and African women by depicting Indian women as stereotypically "submissive, shy, and timid" (Espinet 1996: 425), while African women were viewed as brash, loud, and domineering, as noted in Brassey's description of black women as "buxom black negresses, with their thick lips, gay turbans, merry laughter, and somewhat aggressive curiosity" (Brassey 1885 quoted in Sheller 2003: 132). Such descriptions of Indian 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 Indian 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 Indian women independently made the journey to Jamaica (Espinet 1996; Shepherd 1995).

As in Brassey's commentary, frequent references were made to the Indian woman's jewelry as a sign of her husband's wealth (shown in Fig. 5.4). However, as Olive Senior (1989) describes in her story *The Arrival of the Snake Woman*, Indian women, married or unmarried, wore large amounts of jewelry, usually from head to foot. This suggests that travelers, uninformed (or ignorant) of the culture and traditions of Indian 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 Chap. 4, 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). The distinction between the respectable and degenerate woman was firmly established during this period and was underpinned with notions of "suitable" and "unsuitable

forms of employment" (Bradley 1992: 208) for women. This ideology was transported to the post-slavery Caribbean context.

In an attempt to counter the belief that single Indian women in the colonies became prostitutes, family immigration was promoted to discourage Indian women from traveling alone. 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 in Jamaica in 1905, "71 per cent of the women on board were recorded as single or unattached" (Shepherd 1995: 240).

The colonial and racialized discourse was evidently transmitted through the writings and thoughts of European travelers. While Stark (1898) employs racist language to describe Indian people as "coolies," he asserts that "*he* [Indian] *belongs to the Aryan race the same as the white man*" (Stark 1898: 193). Stark continues with the claim that "[his] *civilisation is one of the oldest in the world*" (ibid.: 193). What is significant here is that Indian people are welcomed into the fold of white civilization, despite the obvious differences in skin color and appearance. This is important because it was on the basis of skin color that Europeans regarded Africans as inferior and it is the "key signifier of cultural and racial difference in the stereotype" (Bhabha 1994: 78).

> The coolie woman is seen gorgeously apparelled, 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 1898: 193)

The descriptions of black and Indian 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).

The admiration for Indian women overshadows the reality of how closely the indentured labor system mirrored the slave system on which it was based and the severity with which indentured workers were treated in Jamaica, as sick Indians "were turned off the estates and left to die on the roads" (Fryer 1989: 27). However, the description of the young Indian woman is a contrast to the description of the black women on their way to the market. These distinctions aggressively draw on racial and cultural differences; the customs, assumed lack of intellectual ability, and physical appearance of black Jamaicans are placed side by side with the indentured Indian workers for the European reader to consume and judge for their entertainment. Stark, Hastings Jay, and the novelist and historian Anthony

Fig. 5.4 Coolie Belle (*Stark's Jamaica Guide* (1898) courtesy of The British Library)

Froude contributed to the discourse of ideal, white femininity by juxtaposing it with a racialized representation of the Other, which was supported by the clearly defined class divisions that reaffirmed the racial hierarchy in Jamaica, and despite the discourse which lamented the inferiority of racial and cultural difference of black people, the images and travelers' accounts demonstrate that there was a deep fetishistic preoccupation with black and Indian women.

The Dominance of the Tropical Landscape in Early Twentieth-Century Tourism Representations of Jamaica

Representations of the female body were accompanied by repeated images of Jamaica's tropical landscape (Fig. 5.5). With the use of photography, promoters of Jamaica were able to provide pictorial evidence that Jamaica *was* an earthly paradise. The scene in Fig. 5.5 is framed by luxuriant lettering, synonymous with the elaborate flowing designs of the art nouveau period that was intensely popular in Europe circa.1890–1910 (Meggs and Purvis 2006). The significance of this design and the description of Jamaica as the "New Riviera"[7] is the juxtaposition of the modern, early twentieth-century graphic design used to frame the image of the implied "wild," tropical landscape and the local people in canoe boats. The image is ambivalent as the representation of the Jamaican landscape appears to be both appealing and menacing. The fishermen are seated in their boats against a backdrop of unruly palm trees on the shoreline. There was a resurgence in representations of the region as wild nature at the end of the nineteenth century (Sheller 2003) and they were accompanied by fears that post-emancipation would mean an "'in ruinate'" (Stark 1898: 144) landscape. This refers to the anthropological approach that was being used at this time, perhaps to reinforce the notion that the black population lived unchanged: "simple, innocent lives in a pure state of nature" (Hall 1992a: 300). The anthropological approach to colonial representations is repeated in Fig. 5.6, where the black women washing their clothes in the river are surrounded by an uncultivated, tropical 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 Chap. 3, and Brunias' *The Washer Women*, where the display of domestic labor is racialized and romanticized at the same time.

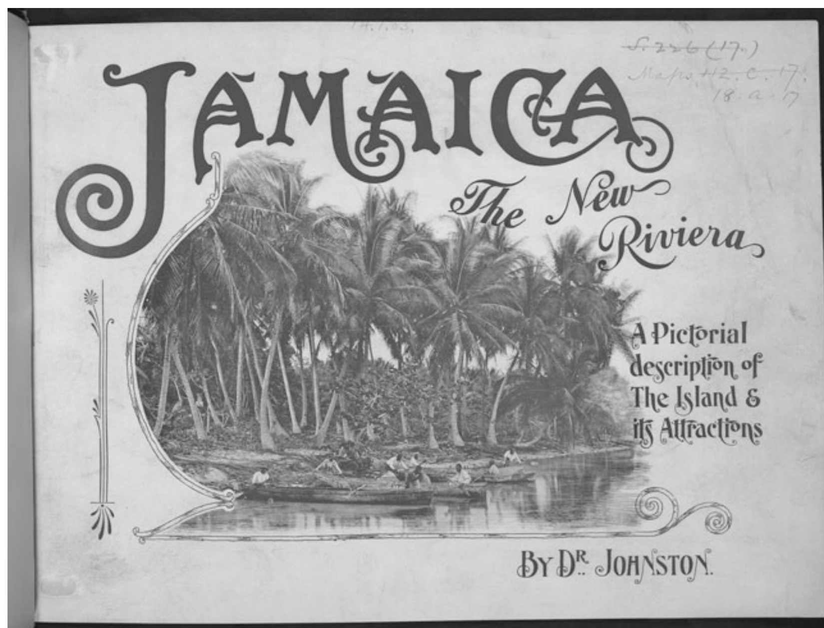

Fig. 5.5 Front Cover (*Jamaica*: *The New Riviera* (1903) courtesy of The British Library)

Jamaica as a Health Resort: Luxury Tourism for the Elite

In 1910, the Jamaica Tourist Association was formed to promote the colony as a health and pleasure resort and this coincided with the increasing number of tourists traveling to the island (Jamaica Tourist Board Library 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, which refers to the indigenous population that gave the island its name "Haymaica" or, as the Spanish wrote, "Xaymaica" the land of wood and water (Senior 2003: 250), before their annihilation as a result of European imported diseases and colonization.

Fig. 5.6 Washing Day on the White River (*Jamaica*: *The New Riviera* (1903) courtesy of The British Library)

This early promotional material ignores the island's history of genocide in the representation of the indigenous Arawaks and links Jamaica as "*the land of streams and wood*" with the capitalist investments intended to make Jamaica a *health and pleasure resort*. The landscape in this image features a calm stream of water running along a row of large palm trees into the distance. References to Jamaica's natural resources are twinned with references to physical health, and efforts to position Jamaica as a destination where visitors could escape the increased pace of life in Europe and America are in evidence here:

> 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. (Jamaica Tourist Association 1913: 41)

The packaging of the Caribbean region as a destination where tourists can visit health spas and enjoy retreats is used to convey the unique selling

points of resorts. It suggests to prospective tourists that they can expect to be pampered and receive attentive service in "paradise." Chapter 7 discusses the way in which images of leisured naked white bodies are used in the promotion of spas and pampering at Sandals and Round Hill resorts.

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 experiences of the "primitive" *and* luxury in the form of racialized service and the tropical landscape. Thus, the information provided in the 1913 issue of the *Jamaica Tourist Association Guide* claims as follows:

> 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 informs that "the buildings in King Street are undoubtedly the finest in the West Indies" (Jamaica Tourist Association 1913: 6).

Dr Jas Johnston's (1902) publication *Jamaica*: *the New Riviera* is an early example of how Jamaica was constructed for foreign visitors to regain their health. Dr Johnston draws on the island's natural beauty of "luxurious vegetation and lovely scenery, fragrant with the odour of spices and flowers" (Johnston 1902: 7), to promote and sell Jamaica as a health resort and to woo prospective tourists. Johnston comments on the source of this privilege, yet his narrative does not make the connection with the poverty of the poor blacks who earned an 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 1902: 11). Johnston (1903) silences the "uncomfortable" subject of slave emancipation by saying:

> 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 1903: 23)

Johnston's avoidance of the subject of the decline of the sugar economy and slavery ensures that the white reader is not made to feel uncomfortable by Jamaica's violent history in contrast to their position of privileged voyeur.

The Promotion of Tourism in the Modern Era

The colonial authorities established the Tourist Trade and Development Board in 1922, and began to officially record tourists' visits. The late 1920s to the mid-1930s saw one of the major periods of growth in Jamaican tourism, led by the growth in cruise ship passengers and stopover numbers, which continued to grow with the inauguration of the Pan Am airline service in 1930 (Jamaica Tourist Board Library 2005: 3). Centrally, the new organization was the forerunner to the present Jamaica Tourist Board and its purpose was to disseminate information about the island's facilities (Jamaica Tourist Board Library 2005: 3). As illustrated in Fig. 5.7, an image taken from the Jamaica Tourist Association's 1924 *Guide to Jamaica*, Ocho Rios, in the parish of St Ann's, is celebrated through the now well-established theme of the tropical landscape. As in Fig. 5.5, large palm trees and still waters are used to entice the prospective tourist, but positioned here against a backdrop of mountains. This image is an artist's drawing and appears to make reference to the resurgent interest in adventure tales, such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Treasure Island*; shipwrecks, desert islands, and heroic masculine survival that coincided with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century representations of the region as "wild nature" are all suggested in this image, which is constructed as though the reader is looking through a telescope. The viewer of the image is invited to accept the contradictory positions of "simple living" alongside luxury and paradise, enhanced by the framing of the tropical scene with detailed gold beading and elaborate cornices.

From the Landscape to the Sexualized Female Body

Una Marson's poem *In Jamaica* (1931) highlights the economic and racial divide that structured Jamaican society at the beginning of the twentieth century. In particular, Marson draws attention to the life chances for children, "not poor," and born with lighter skins, and the contradictions in Jamaica between the alleged "lazy life" of the smiling black population in what the tourists call a "garden of Eden" and the reality of poverty and the lives of the beggars in the slums. Marson (1931) draws stark parallels with this existence to one that has been constructed for the tourists, "there's golf, there's dancing, and swimming" (Marson 1931).

The unrest in other parts of the region—Machado was overthrown in Cuba, the Great Depression during the 1930s—and the rise of fascism

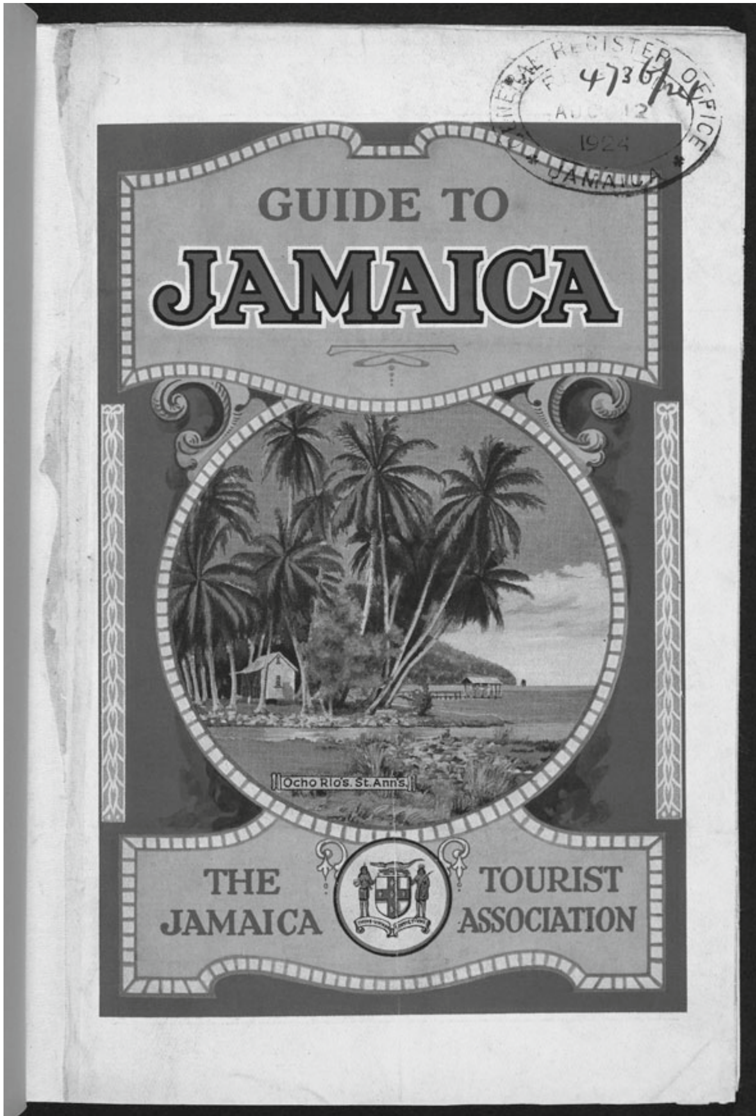

Fig. 5.7 Jamaica Tourist Association (*Guide to Jamaica* (1924))

in Italy, resulted in an increase in tourism in Jamaica during this period (Jamaica Tourist Board Library 2005: 3). There was a marked shift in the approach to advertising the island to prospective tourists as they began to appear in representations alongside the repeated motif of large tropical palms and beaches. The tourism poster entitled "Jamaica, British West Indies, No Fairer Isle in any Sea," circa 1937, is one example of this shift as the beach is now occupied with white female tourists. The beach scene and the phrase a "*rediscovered garden of Eden*" tell a story about Jamaica as "*beauty*, *tradition*, *romance*, *history*, *the joys of the comforts of life*," which are paradoxically dependent on the work of others, and draw on the colonial adventurer discourse discussed in Chap. 3. The text does not expand on the claims of romance, but 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 poster. All of this is presented to the reader as an expectation—that they need to recover from the pressures of modernity and attain "*renewed health and vitality*."

The theme of romance is significant for the way in which Jamaica has been constructed as a romantic destination in the twenty-first century and used to attract a largely white American public. The theme of romance is now perhaps just as clichéd as the portrayal of Jamaica as an exotic "paradise." Yet, central to all of these themes is the strategy which has been employed to make Jamaica *available* to fulfill tourists' whims and desires. This is particularly evident in the advert which was used by the Jamaica Tourist Board[8] to promote Jamaica as a fantasy island in 1968 and implied that the identity of the Jamaican people is shaped and defined in relation to the desires of tourists. As with Sheller's (2003) discussion of the Spanish planter surrounded by luxury commodities in the New World, part of that luxury package is the physical presence of the slave and the ability to consume the slave through their servitude. In the Jamaica Tourist Board advert dated 1968, the slaves, now become servants, continue to be part of the luxury package and they come as part of the for-hire country house or beach cottage or hilltop hideaway, and are "rent-a-maids, rent-a-nannies, rent-a-gardeners," on hand to do anything that their guests demand: "cook, tend, mend, diaper and launder." They have names like "Ivy, Maud or Malcolm" and are scripted by the colonial travel discourse. The rent-a-people are relevant only in relation to their guests, and will "Mister Peter, please" you all day long, pamper you with homemade coconut pie, admire you when you look "soft" (handsome), "giggle at your jokes and weep when you leave." This service of

"nannyhood for Grownups," as the ad described it, was to be performed by "gentle people named Ivy, Maud or Malcolm": the same people who in the colonial travelers' discourse were ruled with "absolute subjection" (Stark 1898: 193), because they were defined as "lazy," treacherous, and without intellect (ibid.). It is as Delgado and Stefancic (2012) argue that "dominant societies racialize different minority groups at different times" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 9), largely in response to shifting economic circumstances (ibid.). The need for labor to service the tourists means that the formerly treacherous become gentle people in tourism advertising discourse. The tourists were promised that they could holiday in Jamaica and "rent the life you wish you led," suggesting that they could indulge in the fantasy of being a nabob and own slaves. As social and economic conditions changed, and white fears that they would lose their power and control over the Caribbean region subsided, so too did the narrative of monitoring and repressing the former slaves. In this era it is more attractive to depict "free" black people "as happy-go-lucky, simpleminded, and content to serve the white folks" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 9) or as prospective tourists. This is perhaps now more subtly expressed in the Sandals all-inclusive Butler Service, briefly discussed earlier in this chapter.

Tourism for Mass Consumer Societies

The end of World War II brought with it surplus airfields, trained pilots, and the beginnings of mass international travel (Wright 2002: 183), and by the mid-1950s, Jamaica was serviced by eight international airlines—BOAC, BWIA (British West India Airlines), PAA, KLM, Trans Canada Airways, Delta, Avianca, and Avenca (Jamaica Tourist Board Library 2005: 4)—and despite Jamaica having a reputation as an exclusive destination which attracted wealthy and famous clientele such as Noel Coward (Jamaica Tourist Board Library 2005: 4), the long-haul jet services offered by the airlines made the Caribbean more easily accessible "to the ordinary holiday-maker" (Pattullo 1996 cited in Gmelch 2003: 5). Thus, "travel time from Europe to the Caribbean was [reduced] from three weeks by sea to eight hours by air" Gmelch 2003: 5).

The economic prosperity enjoyed by white working-class sections of American society included home ownership in the all-white suburbs (Harris 2013). Along with rising levels of consumption, improved standards of living contributed to new formations of whiteness that were transforming ideas of American citizenship, and which were increasingly

defined on the basis of being able to consume leisure goods (L. Cohen 2004). The foreign holiday was one element in the consumerist lifestyle of the working-class American public who had improved standards of living, rising wages, and paid holiday leave, which encouraged workers in North America and Europe to spend their disposable income on holidays. There was a period of unprecedented growth in tourist arrivals worldwide, and the importance of mass tourism was signaled by the increase in the number of travelers to Jamaica, which doubled between 1952 and 1960 (Jamaica Tourist Board Library 2005: 4). The tourist figures for 1960 (296,546 stopover and cruise arrivals) and the mass advertising campaigns during the decade promised white Americans and Europeans a "return" to a simpler existence with the campaign for white tourists, one assumes, to "rent" Jamaica and live the colonial life they wish they had led (Wint 2012). The antiwar protests, social unrest, and the Civil Rights Movement in the USA were all during the same period in which nostalgia for black nannies, maids, and gardeners became commodified in the form of kitsch items such as the Sambo Lawn Sprinkler, the Mammy Chalk Note Pad Holder, and the Aunt Jemima Spice Holders, now described as "vintage Black Americana."[9] The 1960s Jamaica would enable the racialized power relations of old to be restored if only for the period of a Jamaican holiday.

The Jamaica Tourist Board had been established in April 1955 and was 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). A full-time Director of Tourism was appointed in 1963 and was given a budget of J$1,000,000. From 1963, the number of visitors began to rise from 202,000 to 300,000 in 1965 to nearly 400,000 in 1968 (Jamaica Tourist Board Library 2005: 5).

There was a shift in the approach to the promotion of Jamaica in the 1970s. Alongside the "Come back to Jamaica" television campaign, the Jamaica Tourist Board released the famous image of Sintra Berrington, which featured her immersed in water, wearing a tightly fitted, red T-shirt (also featured in the 1988 American film *Cocktail*). The image appeared in magazines such as *New York Magazine* in May 1972, on posters, and postcards, explicitly displaying a sexualized (and commodified) female body to sell the island. The image is significant for the way in which it draws on the association of women, sexuality, and water—a product of the colonial male palate,[10] which has historically constructed colonized women as inher-

ently sexually available. Here, the mulatto woman has been replaced with a woman of Indian heritage as a mark of sex and "exotic" beauty. The brown sexualized female, against a tropical backdrop, ensures continuity with the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century images of Jamaica as enticingly feminine, a "close-to-nature native" pictured against "lush plant life" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 102) immersed in water. Now a code of pornography, this image harks back to the articulation of colonial expansion as a sexual experience (ibid.:102). Jamaica is personified as a brown woman (Jamaica is written on her T-shirt) and is an expression of unrestrained sexuality in the contemporary context. The Indo-Caribbean woman draws attention to the region's history of indentureship and its racial hybridity.

The theme of (hyper)sexuality continued in promotional materials in the 1980s, in which an attractive black model was featured wearing a tightly fitted T-shirt, with Jamaica written across her chest, to remind audiences of the classic 1970s Jamaica poster. The image created in the 1980s conveys the same pornographic codes and references and positions the black female model beneath a waterfall, with her lips suggestively parted as she looks directly into the camera. The tourist is invited to be sexually unrestrained, just as Jamaica is portrayed, 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, the "sable Venus."

In this image, Jamaica is personified as an exotic bewitching woman, feminizing and sexualizing the landscape; this is a liminal space (Urry 1995) which offers middle and upper class tourists opportunities to escape "the restrictions of their own culture" (Garlick 2002: 301). (see Wint 2012), here being beckoned to abandon their "tight-lipped self-control" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 101). This image is placed next to a picture of three tourists under Somerset Falls at Port Antonio, alongside text which describes Jamaica as being a *haunting, swaying rhythm*. The prospective tourist is instructed to *feel her sultry tropical beat*, which the tourist should not resist, but should *succumb to the pleasure*. Using a direct address of the second person, the text aims to persuade and entice the reader by constructing a holiday in Jamaica as an intensely physical and sexual experience in which, beginning with the sound of the sultry beat, the tourist awakens to *a lightscape that is dazzling*, and the text advises to *immerse yourself in waves of aquamarine translucence*, and drawing on the idealized experience of strolling on an empty beach, the tourist is invited to *stretch your arms to azure skies on a lonely sunswept beach*. Columbus-like, they can *explore jungles, lush with vivid greenery* and like the tourists and model pictured under

waterfalls, the tourist as reader is advised that they can *shiver with delight under a torrent of glistening cascades.* To complete the engulfing experience, and suggestions of sexual adventure available to the tourist, they can *stroll past hillsides ablaze with a profusion of hibiscus* and finally, at the end of the tourist's adventures (and completing the sexual connotations), they can *plunge into a luscious Planters Punch or Yellow Bird as you loll poolside.*

Behind the sexualized images of women used to promote Jamaica in the 1970s and 1980s, there was growing turbulence as Jamaica aimed to establish its economy following independence from Britain. In the late 1970s, Michael Manley's socialist People's National Party (PNP) government with close ties to Cuba and the introduction of domestic policies aimed to make healthcare and education more accessible, and a statutory minimum wage and new labor legislation were introduced. These policies alienated foreign business and were viewed by social commentators as anti-American. This led to an exodus of professionals and foreign businesses out of the country. In a context of rising debt and political violence during the election year in 1976, a State of Emergency was declared but was not lifted until 1977, which 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.

"It Takes Cash to Care": Neoliberal Approaches to Tourism in Jamaica

In contrast to the PNP, Edward Seaga's Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) government adopted what we would now recognize as neoliberal policies to manage Jamaica's economy. 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 USA and was regarded as a satellite US state (Chambers and Airey 2001; see Sullivan 2007 regarding Puerto Rico's relationship with America). The Jamaican government implemented policies that were in keeping with neoliberal ideology and assisted in reducing government intervention in the economy and encouraged private sector investment. The JLP administration's ethos was "It Takes Cash to Care" and succinctly summed up the government's principal concern of managing the country's economy.

The adoption of these policies was within the context of the 1972/73 oil crisis, which led to the Debt Trap for much of the African and Latin American continents (Mendoza 2015), and resulted in the rapid take-up

of unpopular but business-friendly bridging loans, or structural adjustment programs (Klein 2007; Simon 2008; Rai 2011) by indebted "developing countries."

Seaga worked in collaboration with the 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, reduced the financial amounts spent on healthcare and education, and introduced restrictions on commercial credit in the form of structural adjustment programs. Within this 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. While such policies were successful in increasing visitor numbers from the USA, 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.

The all-inclusives have proven to increase profits for hoteliers and increased the length of stay of visitors (Boxill 2003); however, all-inclusive hotels produce tourist zones, which are in stark contrast to their surroundings (Williams 1998: 76). The harassment of foreign visitors was noted as being a consequence of segregating guests and thus creating the resentment expressed by 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 behavioral or attitudinal problem (Burman 1999: 163).

Tourism in Jamaica in the Twenty-First Century

In 2001, the Jamaica Tourist Board launched what it described as its "biggest ever" (RoundAbout Newsletter 2001) advertising campaign in the UK, designed to persuade tourists to visit the island. They addressed prospective tourists through the "One Love" television commercial, "national consumer magazine advertising," and "poster advertising on 300 sites on the London Underground" (Round-About 2001). If audiences failed to be reached through traditional methods of advertising, they were targeted

through a range of television programs; Jamaica was featured on various travel shows: *BBC Summer Holiday 2001*, *Postcards From the Edge C5*, and *Dream Ticket*. Friends competed for a holiday in Jamaica on the show *Friends Like These*, and the gardening program *Ground Force* staged an episode on the island, and as previously mentioned Jamaica was featured on *Blind Date*. Jamaica was therefore appropriated and commodified to suit all (any) audience[s].

However, the familiar beach and seascapes of the Caribbean used in contemporary tourism promotions are so familiar that the same imagery that is coded as "exotic paradise" is used to represent the very different locations of Tahiti, Bali, Hawaii, Thailand, *and* the diverse islands of the Caribbean. Such reiteration of "tropical islands as paradise" (King 1997: 3) may explain the "resistance to knowing the political economic power dimensions that underlie these socially constructed tourist images, as they are integrated into and essential to global mass tourism" (D'Hauteserre 2005: 202).

The Caribbean has much to teach us about global relations, since the triangular trade integrated and made the region dependent upon the world economy for centuries (Mintz 1985; Mintz and Price 1985 cited in R. Wood 2000: 363). One of the challenges for Jamaica and the wider Caribbean is to address the "the global processes of uneven development" as they intersect "with those of global ethnic and racial stratification" (R. Wood 2000: 360). There is now a much more globally entrenched relationship between capitalism and black labor. The consequences of tourism as development for a "Third World" and debt-laden island such as Jamaica resemble (neo)colonialism (Wint 2012). As the island's human and natural resources are exploited and extracted at an alarming rate to meet the demands of foreign corporations and First World powers.

The Caribbean region occupies a marginal global economic position; with its continued indebtedness and growing poverty, it would seem that mass tourism is the only strategy available to island states, to earn foreign exchange and "develop." However, the current situation for the region, and specifically Jamaica, depends on the consequences of the political and economic decisions that have been taken in favor of outside interests. An example of this is the complaint that was filed by the US and Latin American banana producers in June 1992, regarding the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) banana producers' "preferential access" (Clegg 2004: 243) to the European Union (UK, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, and Greece) market, which had a system of quotas and tariffs (ibid.). Countries and

territories which had formerly been colonies in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific retained a relationship with their former colonizers (under the Lomé Agreement) and the European region through a system of protected markets. The small ACP countries had 7 % of the EU market; however, the US and Latin American banana firms (which included Chiquita, Del Monte, and Dole) produced dollar bananas on large farms (Ahmed 2004: 259) and had 62 % of the EU market, yet complained that the trading regime between the ACP and the EU contravened "international trading rules" (Clegg 2004: 243). In February 1993, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) met to "formally consider the complaint" (ibid.). It was a protracted legal battle, known as the "Banana Wars," which was settled in April 2001 by GATT's replacement, the World Trade Organization (WTO), which consequently undermined the ability of the region to ensure food security and improve basic living standards, as the agricultural industries in the region collapsed (Edmonds 2012: Sheller 2003; Clegg 2004; Ahmed 2004). Edmonds (2012) reports that at the beginning of the trade dispute, countries in the CARICOM (Caribbean) community had approximately a "net agricultural … surplus of $3 billion"; however, in 2010 the CARICOM import food bill was $3.5 billion (Edmonds 2012; see also Rhiney 2011).

As a consequence of the WTO ruling, and the dismantling of subsidies and "domestic support" (Desmarais 2011: 408), countries such as Jamaica were further pushed toward the favored policy of the IMF and the World Bank of shifting economies away from "manufacturing and agricultural sectors towards production for export" (Nisonoff et al. 2011: 205). Sectors considered to be ideal for such countries were "tourism and off-shore financial services" (Edmonds 2012), and therefore "tourism has become the important asset to the national economies of much of the region's countries" (Conway and Timms 2010: 330). It was an approach encouraged by the American political elite who dismissed the idea that the region could feed itself and should instead rely on the USA in the form of food imports; this point was made by the former US Secretary of Agriculture, John Block, in 1986 (Carolan 2011). The region's reliance on imported food (Klak cited in Sheller 2003) is a system of dependency that is in keeping with the West's offers of advice and personnel in relation to policing, and economic "aid" and "foreign investment" (Sheller 2003: 1).

Food imports and its intimate relationship with mass tourism in the region encapsulate the neoliberal doctrine, that individuals should have "choice," and guests at all-inclusive hotels are usually offered choice in

the form of a European menu (Gmelch 2003), as Sandals boasts on its web site: "*discover an impressive array of cuisine*, *ranging from the freshest seafood*, *regional Italian*, *Thai*, *Sushi*, *French Haute Cuisine*, *Southwestern*, *Mediterranean Rim*, *British Pub*, *Caribbean and even a decadent French Pâtisserie and Crêperie*." Thus, to provide a luxury menu, geared toward the desires of the tourist, much of the food is imported (Rhiney 2011). This is in contrast to the food crisis which the region is facing; growing levels of hunger and health complications such as high levels of "obesity, diabetes, and hypertension" (Centre for Studies in Food Security 2015) affect the populations in the region.

In addition to the import focus of the "site specific installations" (Paul 2007: 21) known as all-inclusive hotels is the reluctance of guests to spend money outside of the resorts, as payment for the holiday (including food and drinks) occurs in advance of the tourist's arrival at the resort and therefore the profits that are generated are not distributed throughout the population (Gmelch 2003; Rhiney 2011). The aim of mass tourism is to maximize profits, whether that is for foreign or Caribbean corporate shareholders (Conway and Timms 2010).

All-inclusive hotels continue the nineteenth-century objective of tourism in the region as principally an experience for white foreign visitors, and not an opportunity for the country to celebrate its own cultural heritage. The guests could indeed be holidaying anywhere in the world as "the fenced-off compounds, guarded gates and secluded locations" (Rhiney 2011: 124), and recommendations that guests should not go beyond the boundaries of the hotel (ibid.: 126) do not enable visitors to actually experience the distinctiveness of the country (Conway and Timms 2010).

White Western tourists from race-centered societies such as the USA 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). Neo-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 subjectivities are 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 "carriers of the privileges" 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 1990: 24).

In contrast to the economic and autonomous position of white tourists, the timing and direction of Caribbean nationals' mobility are highly policed when they travel, due to the tight visa and immigration controls applied to travelers with developing world passports. Their immobility is a consequence of the colonial suppression admiringly described by James Henry Stark (1898). Thus, in the contemporary context, when black Caribbeans do travel to the West, to the homes of their tourist guests, their mobility is restricted. Christer Petley (2004) recognizes 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 in contemporary tourist brochures). This positions Caribbean nations as timeless and premodern in comparison to the West. Jamaica could therefore be considered to be premodern and post-modern at the same time.

Chapter 6 continues the discussion of the romantic notions that are used to promote the Caribbean: fantasies of the Garden of Eden, as paradise and empty beaches, all feature in the creation of escape for heterosexual couples.

Notes

1. "The Lesser Antilles: a Guide for Settlers to the British West Indies" The Spectator Archive, April 12, 1890, the review of the book can be accessed via this link: http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/12th-april-1890/24/the-lesser-antilles-a-guide-for-settlers-in-the [Last accessed September 22, 2015].
2. Round Hill Hotel and Villas was built using the concept that it would be a retreat for wealthy individuals. The history of Round Hill can be accessed

via this link: http://www.roundhill.com/history-en.html [Last accessed October 30, 2015].

3. The UCL Legacies of British Slave Ownership project provides details of the £20 million that was paid to former slave owners at the end of slavery. Details of the project can be accessed via this link: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/details/ [Last accessed June 1, 2015].
http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/aestheticism-and-decadence
4. See Rikke Andreassen's (2015) *Human Exhibitions*: *Race*, *Gender and Sexuality in Ethnic Displays*, which discusses the display of people of African and Asian origin to educate and entertain. They were displayed in Denmark's Copenhagen zoo at the end of the nineteenth century up to the beginning of the twentieth century.
5. In 2013, the company Real Bronx Tours suspended tourist bus tours through the Bronx after neighborhood residents expressed their concerns about the misrepresentation of the area. A *Huffington Post* article about the tours can be accessed via this link: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/23/bronx-ghetto-tours-offered-real-bronx-tours-canceled_n_3324815.html [Last accessed September 21, 2015].
6. Thomas Thistlewood died in 1786 (Burnard 2004: 260).
7. As opposed to the "French Riviera," which was popular with wealthy Europeans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
8. The Jamaica Tourist Board ad was published in the *New Yorker*, magazine September 14, 1968: 38–39.
9. The California Girls online store sells items described as "vintage Black Americana." Images of similar items can be accessed via this link: http://www.rubylane.com/item/370999-5639/Black-Americana-Metal-Sprinklin-Sambo-Lawn [Last accessed September 22, 2015].
10. The 1962 James Bond film *Dr No*, which is set in Jamaica, features a beach scene, where Ursula Andress emerges out of the sea. Her blond Aryan body can be viewed as "exotic" in the tropical setting. I owe this observation to Steve Garner, who pointed it out to me. I would suggest that this scene is facilitated by the associations made with racialized female bodies, water, and sexuality established by James Henry Stark (1898) and his contemporaries.

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CHAPTER 6

The Postfeminist Bride and the Neoliberal White Wedding in Postcolonial Jamaica

The performative display and ritual of a heterosexual white wedding still cultivates social acceptance and status, particularly in the context of American and British culture in which romance, weddings, and marriage continue to be social aspirations (Banks 2011; Ingraham 2008; Winch and Webster 2012). The political campaigns for gay marriage in the USA (L. Duggan 2014) and Britain (Chambers 2001) are examples of the appeal of weddings and its attendant, marriage. Images of white weddings can be used to identify the valorized traditions and values that are projected into the world, and can then be critically examined. In the case of the images[1] presented for analysis in this chapter, the postfeminist female subject, while defined as autonomous, educated, and economically independent, continues to be socially constructed in relation to heterosexual white men. The white wedding, therefore, is one way of communicating the invitation for white women to share patriarchal power (Genz 2009), but this is on the condition that the female subscribes to heteronormative and sexualized conventions of appearance for women (McCann and Kim 2010: 20). On acceptance of these conditions she is transformed into a princess bride.

This chapter discusses the appropriation and (re)packaging of Jamaica as a destination wedding location for largely white Western heterosexual couples to stage their white weddings. There are references in the Sandals images to black and Asian heterosexual couples. However, the minimal and partial presence of "Otherness" in these images only serves to

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reinforce the homogeneity of whiteness as the dominant social category, indeed as a black middle class does not disrupt the marginal position that black people occupy in race-centered societies (Haymes 1995).

This discussion is concerned with the way in which the visual texts centrally position valorized white identities, particularly a narrative of white femininity as "special" and privileged (Davis 2006: 566; Thornton Dill and Kohlman 2012; 156) within the Caribbean landscape, which produces a marginalizing effect that continues the disavowal of the black subject and points to the "existing and enduring hierarchies of global power through the operations of tourism" (Wilkes 2013: 33).

The meanings and values that underpin the images are central to this discussion, and although the images may not be read and accepted in the way that the creator of the images intended, there is a specific class and race position from which tourism images tend to be produced (Morgan and Pritchard 1998). The images construct white bodies as natural recipients of luxury, and the tourists are positioned as "travelling social elite" who are "elevated above, local" people (Simmons 2004: 45–46) and are constructed within existing discourses of neoliberalism, which celebrates globalization and mobility, universalizing this value which claims to be "speaking for everyone", yet in practice only "represents the views and interests of a privileged minority" (Fiske, cited in Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 24).

The Lucrative White Destination Wedding

The niche product of a destination wedding takes its place within "the commercial environment of the contemporary wedding" (Coward 2011: 39) and the tourism industry. Bridal tourism is a corner of the market that is considered to be worth $1.1 billion (McDonald 2005: 191) and the average amount spent on a wedding in the USA has increased since the financial crash of 2008, and now couples spend almost $30,000 on their wedding (PR Newswire US 2014). Couples cite cost as being the reason that they choose to have a destination wedding, as this is frequently cheaper than staging a wedding at home (Mintel 2014).

The destination wedding can also be placed more broadly within consumer societies as a predesigned ritual which marketers have packaged as a lifestyle product, and an expression of individualism, noted in the American-style advertising taglines, which have a direct and personalized address. Terms and phrases such as "unique," "your wedding style," and "love is all you need" are used across Sandals' advertising media. Yet, para-

doxically, for such online services to be as user-friendly as when consumers order food or clothing, there needs to be standardization. This undermines the notion of "individual" style, which Sandals claims to provide. The destination wedding is frequently marketed as being stress-free, as in the case of Sandals' "inclusions," where the preparation of marriage documents is included in the cost of the wedding package.

The partnering of Sandals with *BRIDES* magazine to disseminate the BRIDES Wedding Live 2015 video[2] via the Sandals web site continues the strategy used by Sandals to reach new audiences, as with the partnership with Martha Stewart's company, Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia, Inc., to design the six wedding themes. This is an example of the "convergence culture" where brands/companies refer to each other so that audiences and consumers are "courted across multimedia platforms" (Jenkins 2006 quoted in Ingraham 2008: 133). These intense marketing strategies ensure that the widest possible markets are reached to promote methods of consumption that are "products of Euro-American perspectives" (Pertierra and Horst 2009: 104) and also that the structures of the social hierarchies, those of racialized gender norms and wealth and marriage, are maintained and reproduced.

In this narrative of the princess bride in paradise, a story of renewal can be told as an example of the "refinement of white civilization" (Barker 2012: 272) and the humanity of white people in displays of "heterosexual perfection" (Butler, cited in Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 100). As heteronormativity is a key theme in the images produced for bridal tourism, these images visually display "a white propriety which has no original" but is readily mimicked (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 100) with the wearing of an elaborate white gown. This is particularly noted in the lace appliqué wedding gown worn by Kate Middleton in 2011, which explicitly referenced the lace wedding dress worn by Grace Kelly in 1956. White femininity as performance is not new. As discussed in Chap. 4, white femininity was constructed and maintained to exemplify moral superiority in colonial discourses of whiteness, and its alleged frailty making it fit only for comfort was a deliberate effort to make it visible through leisure, attire, and decorum (Craik 1994). Middle- and upper-class white women were integrated into the slave system and were aligned with white men, making it possible to receive the privileges that colonial patriarchy extended to them. The identity of the middle- and upper-class female securely tied her to the supporting role of wife to the colonial planter, so that patriarchy would be reinstated in the colonies. It was important to convey the purity

of the domesticated Victorian lady as an example to all who came within her orbit (Mohammed 2004). When whiteness is being (re)formulated in the contemporary context, it communicates and asserts this status through visible acts (see the discussion of representations of white femininity in a contemporary luxury advertising campaign, in Wilkes 2015).

The repeated images of white leisured bodies forcefully emphasize the status of whiteness as rightfully entitled to luxury. It is existing discourses which form intertextual relations (whiteness and paradise) that "promote dominant cultural norms" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 7). This discursive formation incorporates discourses of love and romance and the ideals of heterosexuality, equating them with marriage and happiness *and* success. These images represent gendered and racialized consumer utopias, which continue to contribute to the construction of social meanings of identity and belonging, specifically the social categories of race, gender, class, and sexuality. Here, whiteness is tied to the pursuit of leisure and luxury, which are underpinned by notions that the Sandals guest is so special that he or she is treated "like royalty." The Jamaican and Caribbean landscapes are appropriated as backdrops against which the white female is celebrated as an empowered consumer, yet inscribed as young, thin, white (although tanned in tourism images to connote luxury and wealth (Ahmed 1998)), with long blond hair; this is the dominant version of beauty, called forth by the fashion and cosmetics industries, which includes celebrity culture, known as the "fashion beauty complex" (Bartky 1990 quoted in Redmond 2003: 171) and propagated by mainstream media (L. Hodge 2014).

Articulations of white femininity are only successfully performed with the correct "gendered stylization of the body" (Butler 2007: xv), which includes the "ideals and rule of proper and improper masculinity and femininity, as many of which are underwritten by racial codes of purity …" (Butler 2007: xxiv–xxv). These "codes of purity" are communicated through the possession of white skin (Dyer 1997), but also significantly the possession of blond hair, which "glows" (Dyer 1997) and is associated with innocence (A. A. Berger 1998 [2014]). The cultural significance of women sexualized within a masculinist framework frequently requires women to have blond hair, as is noted by hooks (1996) and Dyer (1997), specifically citing the construction of white female cinematic stars (Harlow, Monroe, Bardot) who "were not true blondes" (Dyer 1997: 78), but were (feisty) brunettes, and to subscribe to the "phallocentric gaze" (hooks 1996: 201) they were "peroxided to within an inch of their lives" (Dyer 1997: 78). These are narrow and oppressive gender prescrip-

tions which are evident in the tourism images and centrally position white women as disciplined by having conformed to the "cult of thinness" as described by some feminists (Hesse-Biber 2006 cited in Cole and Sabik 2009: 175).

The Valorized Female Body

The valorized and devalued subject positions which are represented in tourism visual texts demonstrate the way in which tourism organizes "the hyperextraction of surplus value from racialized bodies and naturalizing (*sic*) a system of capital accumulation that grossly favors the global North over the global South" (Melamed 2014: 238). The discourses which construct Jamaica as a perpetual paradise for white bodies associated with wealth (Melamed 2014: 239) are produced within the wider context of neoliberal feminism, using "commodified liberation" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 97) to valorize middle- and upper-class professional women as "symbolically central" (Hall 1996: 475). This is conducted within the "mythologies of urbanised industrial living … feminine propriety, privacy, [and] monogamy" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 98) and is placed in the context of a harmonious present.

However, despite the clamor of postfeminist subjectivities that are hailed as being "free," it is the "masculine subject … [that frames] a world of whiteness, western-ness and modernity" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 104) and indeed "in a world of gender oppression and racial privilege, white males embody power and run the whole show" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 94). Masculinity has also been subject to the forces of global capital, which has challenged the quantity and quality of work available in the overdeveloped North (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002), yet masculinity in terms of domestic responsibilities and childcare has remained largely unchanged (Campbell 2013; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2011). It is the case that "the ideological and cultural pressures at work [communicated via popular culture] … present parenting and employment as challenges relevant only for women" (Wilkes 2015: 30). While "global capitalism expects and demands that all workers work harder and for longer" (Wilkes 2015: 28), these are "patriarchal principles" (Campbell 2013: 5) which assume that workers are responsible for no one, yet 65 % of women in employment in the USA have children aged six and under (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2011: 241). Indeed, public childcare, paid family, and medical leave are not offered in the USA (ibid.).

The invited and valorized (Parker 2008: 193) white female subject presented in popular visual texts is “the central ‘hook’ around which discourses of wealth are constructed” (Wilkes 2015: 21). This aesthetic of wealth includes conforming to conventional ideals of femininity, (seeking) youth, long, blond hair, thin torso, and embracing consumption as a means to communicate this status position. Female appearance must be sexually appealing to a patriarchal palate (hooks, cited in Wong 1994: 138) and females subscribing to these ideals must be comfortable with being the subject of the male gaze (Julkunen 2010 cited in Törrönen and Juslin 2013: 487). Examples of this are most frequently displayed in “widely distributed American media texts … [which are concerned] with the lives of largely white middle and upper class North American women” (Wilkes 2015: 23), such as *Sex and the City*, *Desperate Housewives*, and more recently the film *I Don’t Know How She Does It*. *Sex and the City* was significant for the way in which it privileged the lives of women in a prime time series and it drew on the language and themes of second-wave feminism. In particular, claims for independence and physical and sexual pleasure were priorities for these “white women of the rich world” (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 93). However, in keeping with the neoliberal logic, the series did not acknowledge the feminist movement, which facilitated access to high-paying jobs and sexual liberation. This exemplifies the schism within the feminist movement as mainstream feminism did not recognize the economic, social, or racial differences between women (hooks 2000; Bhattacharyya et al. 2002), demonstrated by the contrasting concerns raised by “black women of many backgrounds” that “physical survival” (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 93) should be a priority on the agenda for the movement. Just as neoliberalism claims to be relevant to everyone, there were universalist claims of the shared experience of womanhood in the feminist movement (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002). The contemporary context vividly conveys the “deep interdependence of women from different locations” (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 88) and the interlocking positions of race, gender, and sexuality reveal “the exploitative relations between women within the West and across the globe” (ibid.: 89) and serve to demonstrate the “different tiers of work in the global economy” (Bhattacharyya 2011: 310). The top tier is occupied by “First World femininity” (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 89) and lower down the scale are the devalued women from the poor world who perform low-paid work in the healthcare and service sectors, most notably in the areas of luxury personal service (Bhattacharyya 2011), which

seems to proliferate during "times of relative affluence" (Bhattacharyya 2011: 311).

The valorized (female) tourist is brought face to face with a sanitized version of a marginalized area of the "Third World" and the existence of the international division of labor. Indeed, the "white western 'postcolonial' subjects are still interpellated by classic colonialism itself" (Frankenberg and Mani 1996: 354), as the ability to travel and "discover" was central to the discourses of colonialism and imperialism, and is now the bedrock of the entitlements of the twenty-first-century global tourist. As Jamaica Kincaid's (1988 [1997]) narrator in *A Small Place* informs the reader, it is the privileged few in the world who can become "that particular creature of leisure known as the tourist" (Alessandrini 2010: 567; Kincaid 1988 [1997]: 18–19; see Urry and Larsen 2011).

The beneficiaries of neoliberal policies have tended to be those already privileged (white, middle and upper class, and heterosexual); they are already equipped with the tools to make the "right" choices within this globalized context and "key to this positioning is the established idea that entitlement and affluence are represented as female" (Wilkes 2015: 26). The central positioning of the affluent white female, displayed in "mass produced images of thin white femininity" (Hodge 2014: 76), is also produced and circulated within tourism discourses that celebrate these gender conventions for performative white femininity as the ideal standard of beauty. It is the central component around which discourses of whiteness, wealth, entitlement, and paradise are framed, allowing affluent white women to carry the discourse of wealth and whiteness in the appropriation of the Caribbean landscape.

There are examples of black heterosexual couples featured in the Sandals and Round Hill images. A black wedding couple is currently featured on the Round Hill web site (at the time of writing in October 2015). However, these are displays of light-skinned black women with European features and they tend to have long straight hair. Indeed, their light brown skin renders their race sufficiently ambiguous to be commodified; these are the kind of images of "'corporate multiculturalism' that can be found within the advertising imagery of companies like Benetton" (Back 1998: 73). As noted by Mia Mask (2015), there is yet to be "proportional [media] representation—particularly for darker brown-skinned women" (Mask 2015: 7) in the American context. Thus the images of light-skinned women with European features serve the "dominant culture's beauty paradigm" (Hobson 2005: 9). By associating beauty with

whiteness or light brown skin, beauty and race are closely policed and therefore this does not disrupt these disciplinary regimes (Foucault 1991). The intense scrutiny of the female body aims to discipline women of all racial backgrounds into conforming to narrow ideals which aggressively communicate that women should adhere to an Anglocentric norm (Cole and Sabik 2009 ; Hodge 2014). For women who do not subscribe to this order, they risk being the subject of hostile criticism. For example, the co-presenter for the American program *E-news*, Guiliana Rancic, commented on Zendaya Coleman's appearance at the 2015 Oscars, specifically deriding her locked hair as smelling like marijuana.[3] This example of public derision draws attention to the way in which whiteness can enlist racial stereotypes to single out and then attempt to marginalize black women, whatever their status or position. Here, gender and whiteness collude with masculinist ideas of beauty and associates blackness with perceived dysfunctional behaviors. While all "women are subject to constant scrutiny and assessment of their appearance" (Gill 2014: 163), this example demonstrates the way in which race, class, and gender intersect to reinforce the idea that the rigid ideals that are imposed on white women are the norm that should be emulated and aspired to.

The Sandals Wedding Style

White femininity was constructed as the pinnacle of white civilization and there are legacies of the symbolic pedestal on which white femininity was placed; white women continue to be positioned as the ideal standard of beauty. In the new model of middle-class normativity, heterosexual marriage is eulogized as elevated humanity. It is celebrated through representations of white weddings and is associated with whiteness as an example of cultural capital and good taste. Chrys Ingraham (2008) has discussed the way in which the white wedding has become commodified and entangled within Western consumer cultures. This custom is now a highly packaged feminine performance which speaks directly to the "greater consumer expectations" (Bhattacharyya 2011: 311) of an aspirational, affluent, white postfeminist subject, who is able to create distinction (and display good taste) through the consumption of Sandals' six "pre-designed wedding themes" (*beautiful beginnings, flutter of romance, vision in white, seaside serenade, chic and natural,* and *island paradise*), which were originally promoted as a partnership with the well-known American lifestyle guru and media magnet, Martha Stewart.[4]

On the front cover of the Sandals 2015 WeddingMoons[5] booklet, a white wedding couple stand on a white beach.[6] The copy reads: "Love Is All You Need. The Rest Is Luxury Included." The bride and groom stand close to the shoreline, and the sea which fills the left side of the image provides a shimmering backdrop from the rays of an evening sun. On the right-hand side of the image, vegetation completes the scene to convey "tropical" nature. The couple stand with their bodies touching and their heads meet to emphasize their closeness. The groom is attractive, with film-star, "chiseled good looks" and dark brown hair, which is cut in a short conventional style, long at the front and across his forehead, to appear modern and on trend. His beige linen suit is accessorized with a boutonniere flower to match his bride's bouquet. He smiles, and looks off into the world of the image (as a seer looking into the future) and holds his bride's waist, as if to show possession (Uzzell 1984). As Bartky (2010) suggests, "men [tend to] touch women more often and on more parts of the body than women touch men" (Bartky 2010: 408).

The bride is white with tanned skin and her body conforms to the "current fashion [which is] taut, small-breasted, narrow-hipped, and of a slimness bordering on emaciation" (Bartky 2010: 406). Her dark brown hair is styled in a loose, braided chignon and is decorated with pearls. Her pearl earrings match the adornments in her hair, which are accompanied by a diamond necklace, and in her left hand she clutches a bouquet of pink and yellow flowers that resemble dendrobium orchids and lilies, dressed with a large orange bow. The bride's diamond engagement ring and platinum wedding band are now on display to confirm her married status and are highlighted by the whiteness of her conventional, strapless, silk wedding dress. The dress assists in constraining her posture (Bartky 2010), and her elbows are held in close to her torso, ensuring that she takes up little space. She smiles while casting her eyes downward to convey her "grace" and "modesty" (Bartky 2010: 408), but also as an "expression of deference" (ibid.: 408) to her new husband. This is a particular aesthetic which announces the "economic level and social status" (Bartky 2010: 413) of the subjects displayed. The high levels of consumption described here—the groom's attire, the bride's hair, her dress, and bouquet and the couple's location on the beach—all work to convey a special experience, or "the best day of their lives."

The continual evolvement of Sandals' web site is an example of the way in which the tourism industry has adapted and responded to the availabil-

ity of new media technologies. Since the launch of the online wedding package in 2012, Sandals has developed the "customize your wedding" option, which claims to offer a personalized approach to online wedding planning. In five steps, couples create a "unique" wedding day by first choosing the destination (a resort in Jamaica, the Bahamas, Antigua, St Lucia, Grenada, or Barbados), and then choosing from a range of 14 standard color themes, including "classic white," "blushed coral," "sea glass," and "fuchsia," to coordinate the accessories (the bouquet, boutonnieres, and corsages), the ceremony canopy, and reception centerpiece, table decorations, linen napkins, and menus. A two-tier white wedding cake is offered as standard, with 29 decorative variations available. The planning process includes options for the reception entertainment and couples can choose from a pianist, guitarist, saxophone player, or a calypso band. There are also four photography packages, plus a video package, and to convey the wedding as a complete luxury experience, brides can book salon treatments at the Sandals in-house Red Lane Spa. Bridal jewelry (a partnership with the Amoro jewelry company[7]), including gold and diamond wedding rings, can be ordered online. Each item is individually priced. Sandals also offer a wedding registry,[8] which provides couples with their own wedding web site, a wedding blog, and the option of uploading details of their courtship and forthcoming wedding onto Facebook.

The facilities are designed to draw on and exploit the popularity of social media, allowing ordinary people to sell themselves[9] as "media content" (Turner cited in Redmond 2013: 21) to companies such as Sandals and *BRIDES* magazine. These experiences are then reused and "turned into commodities" (Featherstone cited in Illouz 1997: 144). As McDonald (2005) argues, "weddings like tourism are designed to 'end in a photograph' (Sontag 1977)" (McDonald 2005: 175), yet the use of social media and the greater interactivity of web sites (Burns et al. 2010) means that the visual record of a "real" wedding can be used as a product to "guarantee[ing] future markets" (Ingraham 2008: 127). The Sandals' brand has made effective use of interactive Internet tools to exploit these multimedia platforms through a "complex series of cross-media promotions and alliances" (Redmond 2013: 53), where companies can sell their "images, products, goods, and services" (ibid.: 53) (May Kay Cosmetics, David's Bridal, Amoro Jewelry), merchandise which is "mass-produced for mass consumption" (ibid.).

Escape and Have a Beach Wedding

A destination white wedding is presented as the acceptable face of romance and female desire in the contemporary context (Bland 1983). A white aesthetic (white couples, wearing white clothes, running on white beaches) is normalized by the visual narratives being constructed by the taste makers. The white aesthetic is the dominant code.

Sandals invites the destination wedding couple to "Say 'I do' to the scenic splendor of a destination wedding in the Caribbean, where a myriad of locations have been perfectly shaped by nature" (Sandals web site 2015). This invitation emphasizes the "outside of modernity" position which the Caribbean is constructed as occupying, and the practice of homogenizing the Caribbean is repeated here, suitably packaging the region for those wishing only to consume the weather and landscapes. In addition, "Western culture's enduring attachment to romanticism" (Lipsitz 2006: 120) is conveyed by the empty beach, except for the couple, to connote notions of eloping and escape, thus suggesting that the ideal wedding 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 is emphasized by the smiling and carefree expression on the faces of the couple in Fig. 6.1. Youth and romance are encapsulated in this image of whiteness. Their white clothes are enhanced by the brightness of the sun, illuminating them (Dyer 1997). This is, as Dyer (1997: 122) argues, an established photographic technique and continues to be used to emphasize and exaggerate the status of white womanhood.

All white and overelaborate wedding dresses made of silk, lace, and organza clothe these white valued bodies as a "spectacle of wealth" (Ingraham 2008: 150) and a "marker of social distinction" (Cole and Sabik 2009: 179). This is achieved by the process of racialization, which distorts the process of gendering (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 98), yet permits white middle- and upper-class women to carry the discourse of respectability. Luxury is therefore encapsulated in the body of a white woman and the "social rules and moral codes" (Skeggs 1997:98) are mediated by cultural representations. This aesthetic establishes what is deemed to be the standard and conveys the way in which white bodies are made distinctly visible and are being shaped by this discourse of exaggerated femininity. The Sandals princess brides invoke images of weddings in magazines featuring celebrity weddings—to "snap" (Spencer 2011: 19) the interpretive framework into place and thus shape the way the elements

Fig. 6.1 Caucasian Couple Running on Beach, Blend Images/Alamy

in the text are read (Spencer 2011): women dream into the images. It is the strategy, as Barthes (1972[2013]) suggests, which uses the media and other outputs such as literature to "become the norm as dreamed" (Barthes 1972[2013]: 253).

The viewer is invited to voyeuristically look in on the young couple sharing a private moment in Fig. 6.2. Their foreheads meet to convey their intimacy. The couple's wedding attire is not traditional, although it refers to the dominant white code. The use of white is only broken up by the trees which frame the scene and the leaves in the bride's bouquet. The use of white in product design conveys sophistication in the American imagination (A. A. Berger 1999 [2014]), which appears to be referenced here. The couple's location in a garden draws on ideas of "simple nature" and Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden *and* sexual awakening. The need to convey "eroticism restrained by modesty" (Bartky 2010: 408) is presented in the bride's low-cut, backless dress which displays her disciplined thin body. However, the simple styling of her long blond hair and the meek expression on her face suggests "innocence" and the whiteness of the image supports a claim to purity. Her bouquet of white roses

Fig. 6.2 Bride and Groom, Romantic Newly Married Couple Embracing, Just Married EpicStockMedia/Alamy

enhances her Nordic blond appearance, which work together to express Eurocentric beauty values (Arogundade cited in Hobson 2005: 9). The bride's comportment and her closed eyes communicate the tradition of women using their bodies to convey "subordinate status in a hierarchy of gender" (Bartky 2010: 412). As in this example, "under male scrutiny, women will avert their eyes or cast them downward" (ibid.: 408). She is demure, and harmless. The bride appears to be content as the subject of the groom's gaze. He looks at her intensely, consuming her, while she averts expressing strong emotions (ibid.: 407), by posing with her lips shut, but slightly drawn in to suggest pleasure in his attention. The groom indicates his masculinity by placing his hands on his bride's waist and in

this pronouncement of marrying a beautiful woman we are assured of his heterosexuality (Gill 2014: 162). These components work together to convince the viewer of “a staunch celebration of emotional intimacy” (Illouz 1997: 147).

Masculinity and femininity work together to represent this “benchmark of normality” (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 98), as represented in Fig. 6.3. The wedding couple share a private moment and look into the distance, “in the world of the [image]” (Törrönen and Juslin 2013: 468). As they do not meet the viewer’s gaze, the reader is encouraged to stand back, observe, and admire the scene from a distance. Destination weddings and “luxury,” as with the mercantile plantation system, is labor-intensive and excludes local people by denying them access to the beaches. However, the way in which tourism visual texts “naturalize[s] inequality” (Melamed 2014: 239) is exemplified by the images of carefree white wedding couples photographed with a soft focus lens (popular in wedding photography), to reference romanticism and create a dreamlike fantasy of white beaches, azure blue sky, and sea, leaving the viewer with an impression of “otherworldliness.” This is accentuated by the couple’s isolation on an empty white beach in Fig. 6.3, as they “are removed from the daily urban world, symbolically and geographically” (Illouz 1997: 139). In the Sandals images, Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Lucia are all represented as empty single white beaches.

The dominant code of white and their location communicates to the viewer their “specialness,” social status, and claims to the foreign landscape. The mix of formality and informality (Illouz 1997) is suggested by the couple’s attire, particularly the elaborate and embellished dress that the bride is wearing, yet the casualness of the groom’s loose white shirt and his comportment in leisurely hanging his jacket over his shoulder suggests that they are relaxed and are having a good time.

The wedding dress worn by the bride in Fig. 6.3 is elaborate and impractical as it restricts her motility. The dress is positively luxurious and displaces any obvious need to undertake work for a living. As with her nineteenth-century counterpart her activities are organized and structured by the historically determined discourses of femininity which are now framed by neoliberal “global markets” (Skeggs 1997: 98). Here, the repeated representation of the white female as a “lady” is reinforced by her comportment as she holds her palms close to her body and is subsequently admired for her decorative appearance.

Fig. 6.3 A Married Couple, Bride and Groom, Together in Sunshine on a Beautiful Tropical Beach, Darren Baker/Alamy

"Love Is All You Need" is the Sandals tagline and the plethora of images featuring heterosexual couples demonstrates the priority of promoting heterosexual romantic love for this tourism product (Morgan and Pritchard 1998) as it is repeated throughout the web site's pages. The representation of couples, secluded from the rest of the world, is what is deemed to be romantic, and the island wedding brings heterosexuality closer to a romantic utopia by drawing on the dream of what many middle-class American men and women aspire to in owning their own private island, as islands give the illusion of sovereignty (Illouz 1997: 87).

This narrative of romance operates through a discourse of entitlement which claims that "love" of the romantic persuasion is an expectation and a right. I would argue that these representations of "love" are being appropriated and packaged as a product to be consumed through a Sandals wedding, honeymoon, the Sandals Honeymoon Registry, and the wedding web site. Although the Sandals' tagline is "Love Is All You Need," this may be the case for privileged and wealthy couples whose

principle concern is to obtain and perform romantic love to enhance their status and complete their accumulation of material possessions.

> It was a truly unforgettable day that couldn't have been more perfect. Everything was taken care of which allowed us to focus on each other. (Sandals web site 2015)

Capitalism and technology have developed an intimate relationship which has produced a new era (Hughes 1980 quoted in Burns et al. 2010: xv), and a principle feature of new media technologies is the central position that it occupies in the sphere of visual culture to circulate still and moving images. How these texts are read is highly dependent on the existing knowledge of the audience. They may appear to be unconnected to any historical or political framework (Wilkes 2013), yet the gendered and racialized representations of the white wedding in contemporary popular culture demonstrates "the privileged moment of heterosexuality" (Dyer 1997: 124) and "how race, gender, sexuality and other dimensions of difference are not secondary, but central to neoliberalism" (Duggan cited in Grzanka 2014: 233). They fall within a capitalist consumer logic that insists that romance is the face of desire for women in the twenty-first century, where white women are inscribed as beautiful, gentle, and ultimately reinforcing, not challenging white masculinity.

The colonial process of "translating difference as inferiority" (Hesse-Biber 2012: 5) was conceptualized by the discourses which stressed the nonhumanness of black women and emphasized their physiognomic differences as inferior to European ideals of femininity. This positioning of black womanhood was carried forth into nineteenth-century literature, where black women were featured as part of the tropicalized landscape (Sheller 2003; Thompson 2006). It is these historical caricatures which have formed the basis for the way in which certain bodies are more valued than others (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002; Cole and Sabik 2009) and held in place by what Patricia Hill Collins conceptualizes as "controlling images" (2000: 69)—stereotypes that have become so common sense that they are conceived as normal and natural. Constructed in opposition to these representations, white women have been 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, to a certain degree, able to assert their sexual agency while they had previously been denied this as a means of expression. However, to focus on individual entitlement

is actually to ignore the historical context and the structural force which "rewards whiteness" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 102) with "physical comfort" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 38) wealth, and luxury (Collins 2014: 53). The link being made here, between the historical positioning of white middle-class women, particularly in the colonies, and their contemporary representations is that the white middle-class woman remains the mistress of the great house and is located within the elite social group. The domestic sphere, or the dissatisfaction with it, is a key difference between black and white women's concerns within the feminist movement. For black women the home was often a refuge from the racism they experienced in society (hooks, 1991).

Sexism has not meant an absolute lack of choices for white women (hooks 1984; 2000), 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.

The performativity of the white wedding meets with the requirement for whiteness to be visible and to continually reinvent itself to sustain the idea that it is superior and culturally relevant. This works in tandem with consumerist ideology, which stresses that whiteness should appear as a form of distinction through elaborate consumption. The neoliberal framework which has facilitated the "upward redistribution of wealth" (Melamed 2014: 238) is supported by luxury media advertising as in the case of Michael Kors, an American luxury designer brand, which unashamedly promotes entitlement in a phrase accompanying the Spring 2015 campaign as follows: "There's this attitude that you can, and should, have it all." Peggy McIntosh (1988: 94–5) describes such an expression of white privilege as "an invisible knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass emergency gear and blank checks." The "you" being referred to in the Michael Kors campaign is the highly sexualized, yet privileged, white postfeminist subject.

This chapter has discussed the way in which the white female body is positioned as the ideal to carry the discourse of heterosexuality. In keeping with the demands of the neoliberal market to "maintain high levels of consumption" (Bartky 2010: 416), the white female is used to convey the desirability of a destination wedding as romantic and an expression of distinction through the consumption of the vast array of wedding products.

The discussion of the color white as the dominant code and its relationship with the social categories of race, gender, sexuality, and class continues in Chap. 7, where the discussion of the positioning of the leisured and pampered female body is juxtaposed with the black serving subject. The boundary between "ordinary and extraordinary moments in a heterosexual relationship" (Illouz 1997: 135) is visualized using the themes of nostalgia and escape, which draw on colonial narratives of power and entitlement to luxury, all featured in Sandals and Round Hill images.

Notes

1. The wedding images in this chapter are examples of the type of images produced by Sandals and displayed on the interactive web site.
2. Sandals hosts the BRDIES Live Wedding 2015: http://www.sandals.com/weddingmoons/brides-live-wedding/, [Last accessed October 1, 2015].
3. A *Guardian* article on Giuliana Rancic's comments about Zendaya Coleman's hair can be accessed via this link: http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2015/feb/25/giuliana-rancic-zendaya-hair, [Last accessed March 10, 2015].
4. The Martha Stewart and Sandals partnership was announced on the *Martha Stewart Show* and can be seen by accessing this link: http://www.marthastewart.com/243749/sandals-resort-and-martha-stewart, [Last accessed October 2, 2015].
5. Sandals WeddingMoons web site: http://www.sandals.co.uk/weddingmoons/specials/freeweddingandhoneymoon/, [Last accessed October 2, 2015].
6. The wedding couple featured on the front of Sandals' 2015 WeddinbgMoons booklet also appear in the "Your Wedding. Your Style" video, which can be accessed via this link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KVHd6dkrO1A, [Last accessed October 9, 2015].
7. Details of Sandals' partnership with Amoro can be accessed via this link: http://custom.amoro.com/Home.aspx?flag=amorosandal&custom=weddingbuilder, [Last accessed October 2, 2015].
8. The Sandals Wedding web site can be accessed via this link: http://registry.sandals.com/registry/Honeymoon-Registry-Wedding-Website, [Last accessed October 2, 2015].
9. Sandals' Real Weddings can be accessed via this link: http://www.sandals.co.uk/weddingmoons/weddings/real-weddings/, [Last accessed October 2, 2015].

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CHAPTER 7

Feted and Pampered Whiteness in a (Post)colonial Paradise

The privileging of the white postfeminist female body within discourses of scripted romance (Illouz 1997: 250) is employed by neoliberal "capitalism to maintain high levels of consumption" (Bartky 2010: 416). Mass-tourism, also an instrument used to promote consumption, utilizes this positioning of white women represented with "a certain eroticism" (Bartky 2010: 408) as a symbol of luxury.

Historically, colonial travelers scrutinized and positioned the black female body as an object within their sexual fantasies. The white female body has now replaced the black female body as a sexualized object in contemporary dominant visual texts, which feature Jamaica in myths of paradise as a backdrop for fantasies of luxury without labor. Blackness is displaced as an absent presence, yet paradoxically repeatedly appears as authorized versions of otherness (Bhabha 1994: 88). This chapter discusses the centrality of the white female body in Sandals' representations of luxury.

The Essentialized Black Subject as Entertainer and Butler

The manufactured paradise experience which Sandals sells is dependent on narratives which claim to offer the tourist a unique experience by drawing on colonial tropes and references to British royalty. This unique

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experience includes a (re)packaging of colonial history in the form of the Elite Butler Service:

> The art of stylish hospitality is reinvented at Sandals' only all-butler, all-suite, all-oceanfront boutique retreat; Sandals Royal Plantation … this romantic, upscale getaway is intended for those who are serious about taking life easy, and long for the indulgent pleasures of letting a butler take care of everything … your personal butler can make all your extravagant requests come true. (Sandals web site 2015)

Sandals' texts and visual media are firmly rooted in the process of romanticizing slavery and colonialism in their naming of a resort, Sandals Royal Plantation. Indeed the early hotels in Jamaica were "Jamaican Great Houses" (Taylor 1993: 145) and this is an attempt to continue to sanitize historical sites of colonial violence and brutality by romanticizing corporate hotels as luxury accommodation.

The implicit reference to the colonial planters can be found in Sandals' 'reinvention' of *stylish luxury*, as colonial planters were famed for their "cult of hospitality" (Burnard 2004: 79–82). These representations are "the culmination of various discourses which have developed over a considerable period of time" (Morgan and Pritchard 1998: 236). The language of luxury—*upscale getaway*, *oceanfront boutique retreat*—is used to attract potential guests, who it is assumed are astute in recognizing good quality and have excellent taste. The potential guests are invited to take life easy at Sandals Royal Plantation and are "elevated above local inhabitants" (Simmons 2004: 45), and the labor of the postcolonial host is displaced by the notion that they desire to serve the guest who is positioned within "a travelling social elite" (Simmons 2004: 45).

The phrase *long*[ed] *for indulgent pleasures* continues to construct the theme of whiteness as being entitled to black servitude, and nostalgia for colonialism is repeated as in the Jamaica Tourist Board's late 1960s advertisement which repackaged colonial relations as "Nannyhood for Grownups." In the contemporary context, a desire for colonial power relations is communicated in the form of the *personal butler* [who] *can make all your extravagant requests come true*. Continuities with the colonial past are enabled by drawing on the narratives of the Caribbean as paradise *and* the depersonalization of blackness through the repeated association with servitude (Bhabha 1994: 82; Shohat and Stam 1994: 228). The butler

is obliged to make the Sandals guest feel like royalty or a celebrity by indulging them in their delusions of grandeur and conforming to their wishes. Thus, this construction of pleasure and luxury is a continuation of the colonial relationship which was one of domination and dependence (Bhabha 1994; Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 11). As discussed in Chap. 4, the colonial discourse claimed that the "autonomous" white colonial male was self-producing (Hall 1996b: 252), despite the reality of being dependent on the products of the plantation to provide extravagant hospitality and to construct the illusion of a superior white masculine identity. This identity was juxtaposed with the stereotype of blackness as lazy *and* naturally suited to labor. 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 emphasized, while the fetishistic preoccupation with the sexuality of the black subject (as was discussed in the case of Baartman) is deemphasized. 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 packaging of the black subject as a natural bearer of food which is used to promote the Caribbean as a premodern paradise.

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 Eden-like tropical environment that is used to attract the reader using the context of the established and recurring stereotype. Delight in luxury and fear of the Other are combined and contained in this controlled environment. Thus, Said (1978) argues thus:

> 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 this chapter discusses, "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 colonial and travel narratives, but we get to know them again as the multifaceted aspect of the stereotype is more clearly visualized, worked up, and reemphasized. Chapter 5 discussed the representation of racialized female bodies and the novelty of the tropical landscape in nineteenth-century promotions of the region. In the contemporary context, paradise is denoted by empty white beaches, as in the discussion of Round Hill's iconography in Chap. 2, and white is the dominant code. For Americans, empty white spaces have historically been "associated with wealth and sophistication" (A.A. Berger 1998: 151–153; Harris 2013). To further emphasize this privilege, the uniformed black subject repeatedly appears on empty white beaches, in contrast to the historical images where black subjects were placed against a menacing tropical background (as in Fig. 5.6). It is the empty white beach or the secluded hotel that is a sanctuary and playground for the tourist (Simmons 2004: 46). However, for the postcolonial black subject, their work at the hotel ensures that the association with blackness and labor is sustained.

Revering and Pampering White Femininity

> [I]t 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 placing of the dominant within the contemporary representations of the Caribbean as paradise appears in the form of an idealized white female body. As discussed in Chap. 6, this ideal is narrow and oppressive, and does not challenge the patriarchal status quo as women continue to be placed under intense scrutiny in the "assessment of their appearance" (Gill 2014: 163) and the preoccupation with correctly styling the body (Butler 2007[1990]). This is facilitated through hyperconsumption, which meets the needs of the neoliberal market. White female bodies are valued only when they subscribe to conventional and masculinist notions of beauty. The modes of representation of gendered identities in tourism brochures are in keeping with the mass-produced images which promote the "cult of thinness" (Hesse-Biber 2006 cited in Cole and Sabik 2009: 175) and

youth as normative (McLaren 1998: 65). The plethora of images of women with "the perfect bikini body" (McNamara 2014: xii) and low-cut, revealing evening dresses continues the practice of portraying the female body as sexy and glamorous, thus "first and foremost as a sexual and erotic being" (Törrönen and Juslin 2013: 476). The images serve to convey the message of the female's "to-be-looked-at-ness" (Mulvey 1975) and the desirability of hedonistic lifestyles as performed by gendered whiteness.

Contemporary representations of white women "appear to depict a harmonious [postfeminist] present in which the neoliberal" (Wilkes 2015: 27) values of individualism and choice have been made available to an "economically independent white female elite" (ibid.: 27). A white woman can now be addressed through a range of identities, as a mother, a housewife, a beauty icon or a business executive, and this material success is universalized "in images from television commercials for credit cards, cell phones, and airlines" (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2011: 238), films, and television programs. This is in keeping with the neoliberal ideology of investing in the self, "the messages of postfeminism … instruct women to invest in their appearance and bodies as ongoing projects" (Wilkes 2015: 26; Barnett, 2014; Coward 1984). 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). In the pursuit of the ideal, to look "good" and to be healthy, the appropriately gendered body engages in excessive and aggressive narcissism, which capitalizes on class and race differences (Cole and Sabik 2009; Trepagnier 1994). The repeated display of the white female body as a disciplined body, in Foucault's terms, is the site on which ideologies regarding race, gender, class, sexuality, and health are projected (Coward 1984: 21; Bartky 2010).

Constructed notions of health as thinness are associated with beauty and disseminated by global media, which communicate this message through women's magazines, billboards, makeover programs, and advertisements promoting body care products, treatments, and techniques to persuade and encourage consumption (Coward 1984: 21, Kilbourne 2000; McRobbie 1991; Bartky 2010). This may be noted in the language used in "fashion magazines and cosmetics ads" (Bartky 2010: 409) to encourage a continuous making over of the female body. This emphasis on body renewal is evident in the Sandals promotional material, which intersects with existing advertising for cosmetics and beauty/health products, promoted as luxury in the form of health spas. The repeated images of heterosexual couples being pampered and attended to by black beauticians

at Sandals' own spas (Red Lane Spa) communicate the way in which white femininity is conceived as heterosexual and valued on the basis of subscribing to heterosexual values (McCann and Kim 2010).

> 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)

The stereotypical roles that have historically been ascribed to black women, for example, as hypersexual bodies (Collins 2000; Crenshaw 2014) or as welfare queens (Collins 2000; Reingold and Smith 2014), are not disrupted by the images of black women as beauticians; this is an addition to the archive which continues to position black women in service to whiteness. They explicitly contrast with the range of identities that have been made available to white women. As Bhabha (1994) argues, "the force of colonial and postcolonial discourse as a theoretical and cultural intervention in our contemporary moment represents the urgent need to contest singularities of difference" (Bhabha 1994: 74). The postfeminist neoliberal subject is juxtaposed with the laboring black subject and while there is the need to challenge essentialisms, the relationship between the white pampered subject and the black laboring subject reflects the global inequalities known as the international division of labor.

As discussed in Chap. 5, one of the themes used to promote tourism in Jamaica during the nineteenth century was the health resorts and this historical framework provides a context for the relations between blackness and whiteness in the Sandals web site videos and brochure images. Despite the claims expressed by colonial discourse regarding the assumed ugliness of blackness, there was a rampant desire to be close to and touch blackness in the colonial context. Colonial relations are reworked in the contemporary images which feature nurtured and pampered whiteness, conveyed by black women massaging white bodies (Fig. 7.1). The black subject is defined by their colonial status, "without appeal" as Fanon argues (Bhabha 1994: 91). 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 pampering of whiteness is a theme represented in the satirical print *West India Luxury*!! Pictured as

Fig. 7.1 Massage istock image; Christian Wheatley

one of the luxuries, Johnny Newcome is seated and groomed by a party of black and mixed-race female slaves. Thus, access to "physical comfort is shaped by … [the] allocation of value" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002). The Sandals and Round Hill images demonstrate the way in which "the subject and 'identity' … have proliferated … into new discursive positionalities" (S. Hall 1996b: 248).

These colonial informed positions are shown in Fig. 7.1, where the association of beauty with whiteness is conveyed by a naked white female body, a body which is valued and receiving a massage from a black person on what appears to be an isolated white beach, conveying freedom from social restraint and escape from effort and work. In "paradise" nakedness allows the white self to be rejuvenated, emphasized by the expression of pleasure on the woman's face, and her embrace of a relaxed attitude is suggested by the red tropical flower in her hair.

The display of white naked bodies being touched by black hands reinforces the idea that white bodies are bodies to be valued with luxury and pleasure, while the black woman continues to be positioned as an

economic tool. The black subject is disavowed, displaced by the authorized 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.

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 post colonial societies. (Bhabha 1994: 78)

Against the background of a guitar sequence, a video montage promoting the Sandals Red Lane Spa features couples having spa treatments in candlelit rooms, in the sea, and on empty beaches. Fade-out frames with the phrases *time to relax*, *time to escape*, *turn back the hands of time* are accompanied by the following voice-over:

> The world-renowned Red Lane Spas are modern temples of rejuvenation that turn back the hands of time, with an array of body and beauty treatments inspired by European spa traditions and infused with natural Caribbean botanicals. The Red Land spa experience is available at all Sandals Resorts.[1]

The voice-over informs the viewer that the Red Lane Spas are modeled on European traditions, thus referencing a "mythicised Eurocentric conception of high civilisation" (Hall 1996b: 246) and the soft focus used to film the video invokes a fantasy, gentleness, emotion, and intimacy which mirror the facets of romantic narratives discussed by Janice Radway (1987) in her study of romance fiction and female readers.

Prepare to Be "Wowed" by the Black Serving Subject

The Elite Butler Service[2] claims to offer Sandals' *most discerning guests an unimaginably supreme standard of service and luxury*, where their *every need is anticipated*. The web pages dedicated to promoting the staff trained by the Guild of Professional English Butlers boast that Sandals provides butlers and valets to aristocracy and celebrities throughout the world,[3] thus suggesting that prospective guests can expect this level of loyalty and dedicated service. Sandals' intention to satisfy guests' demands for excessive attention reinforces the historical association of blackness with —servitude, as butlers will *handle every detail of your vacation with*

unobtrusive grace. They have been trained to know their place in relation to the tourist. The black subject is dressed in uniformed attire, complete with white gloves, bow tie, and affixed smile, to fulfill their role as a dedicated servant of whiteness. There is an "exorbitant play of *lack* and *excess*" (Hall 1996b: 24) in colonial discourse, as noted in the planters' excessive brutality of the slaves and their extravagant feasting; thus, as Bhattacharyya et al. (2002) argue, "white supremacy is experienced as pleasure" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 102). In the contemporary context, enjoyment of excess by the white subject is "normalized" and conveyed by Sandals' promotion of its Butler Elite Service.

The promotional material informs that an elite butler will *greet you with lemongrass-scented hand towels to refresh you from your flight*, *supply a cell phone to reach him/her when needed*, *offer to unpack your luggage*, *tend your wardrobe and shine/clean your shoes before dinner*, [and] *serve you your favorite drinks while you lounge on the beach or pool.* Thus, the black waiter is incorporated into the luxury package; luxury is therefore the consumption of the labor of the black subject. The butler 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 displayed throughout the Sandals web site.

Sandals Whitehouse Personal Butler Service

> You know you've **arrived** when you meet your own personal butler. Trained in accordance to the exacting standards by the Guild of Professional Butlers (they're the ones who provide butlers to nobility and celebrities), your butler handles every detail of your vacation with unobtrusive grace.

The meaning of the word *arrived* in the promotional blurb for Sandals Whitehouse could indicate the arrival of the tourist at the resort and/or it could be referring to arrival in the sense of achieving social status. Thus the presence of the black butler and his reassuring smile and uniform assure the guest that they will be physically safe, they have attained social status, and therefore can be secure in their whiteness (Wint 2012). 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 the long-serving housekeeper Audrey Knott nicknamed "Pearly" for her dedication to keeping Round Hill clean and tidy for 50 years. She is an acceptable black subject, even admired for being ever-faithful and devoted to

serving "esteemed" whiteness (Hall 1997: 245). Audrey Knott fits neatly into the stereotype of the utterly devoted domestic slave, "Mammy," as Hall (1997) describes in his essay *The Spectacle of the "Other"* Indeed, Round Hill continues to celebrate the service of its staff, as in the promotional material featuring the concierge in Fig. 7.2.

The dutiful servant is depersonalized and replaced in a mimic form. Mimicry is an effective yet elusive strategy of the postcolonial 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 seems to be to distinguish the white from the black. Color is used as the "priority over all other dimensions of their social and historical experience, culture and identities" (Gilroy 1993b: 3).

Fig. 7.2 Concierge, courtesy of Round Hill Hotel and Villas

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 displayed in the repeated images of butlers serving white heterosexual couples cocktails as they lounge on white beaches and look out to sea from their large day beds. Butlers attend to guests' *luxurious*, *custom solid-mahogany furnished* suits where they prepare guests' clothes, sprinkle petals into roll-top baths, and lay dining tables in suites which include private patios and swimming pools that overlook the sea.

> Each suite offers the utmost in privacy and plush elegance, including 24-hour room service and professionally trained butlers who cater to your every whim in top-tier suites.

The Sandals web site promotes a leisured lifestyle as desirable by repeatedly displaying images of leisured white bodies which "hail" the potential tourist, who is promised dedicated service by a black subject, connoting exclusivity through the promotion of the *candlelit dinner featuring a personal waiter*.[4] This refers explicitly to the "script of romance" (Illouz 1997: 250), as the act of dining out in luxury is a performance which stages an "extraordinary moment[s] in a [heterosexual] relationship" (Illouz 1997: 135). One of the images featured to convey this idea is a dinner setting on a white beach against the backdrop of a dark blue sea at dusk. Sheer white tulle nets are hung from a large gazebo and decorated with long white capiz shell strands which frame a candlelit glass dining table. A large capiz chandelier hangs above the table, which is decorated with shells and a collection of large white church candles. This is an aesthetic which seems to be referencing popular Western styles of high-end interior design and luxury beach weddings. The screened-off dining space suggests that the location of this activity is for "special" or very important people. The fact that there are no other diners visible, that they are not sharing the space, positions them in exclusivity. They are attended to by their own black waiter who services this celebration of white heterosexuality.

The framing of the image gives the impression of the viewer voyeuristically looking in on a private moment which is heightened by the elegance of the setting: "an aesthetic decor" (Illouz 1997: 135) that conveys refinement. The couple seated at the table smile at each other. They are about to start their meal, which has been served on silver plates. They also have filled wine glasses. The man raises his glass and the light from the candles

produces a soft glow on his face and clearly displays his wedding band. He communicates his "social and cultural power" (Illouz 1997: 134) by taking his wife out for a personalized candlelit dinner on the beach.

Dressed in a dark brown shirt and brown trousers, his outfit mirrors his companion's brown evening dress, which has a plunging cowl neckline and is decorated with gold clasps. She is slim and tanned with tousled, shoulder-length hair and her comportment accentuates her figure; a straight back and bare legs are tightly pressed together to conform to the social ontology, which instructs femininity to be "demure and ladylike" (Bartky 2010: 416). She displays "emphasized femininity" (Sherwood 2009: 144) as her hands are placed neatly on her lap, while the black butler, dressed in a mustard waistcoat, white shirt, and matching white gloves, pours more wine into her glass.

The bind of pleasure and power is conveyed in the representations of service and pampering and deploys a regime of visibility to secure links with the colonial past (Bhabha 1994: 81). These images go beyond national boundaries and are significant for the way in which they link "America to Europe and its empires" (Gilroy 1993a: 159). As discussed in Chap. 3, America has its own history of racial and colonial oppression and a history of traveling to the Caribbean and commenting on the region (Chap. 5); therefore Americans from all racial groups would have no difficulty in recognizing the racialized class positions displayed in the images, which appear to be referencing the legendary hospitality and mythicized loyalty of black house slaves in the American South. Most notably represented is the character Mammy in the film *Gone With the Wind*.

The image does not refer to Jamaican culture, and, as discussed in Chap. 6, the scenes featured on the Sandals web site and in its brochures could indeed be anywhere. 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. The representations of white identities have their "particularisms …translated into absolute, universal standards for human achievement, norms and aspirations" (Gilroy 1993a: 8) that are centered on demonstrating heterosexual affections and desiring all that is constructed as luxury.

Sandals Royal Caribbean Montego Bay

> A kaleidoscope of cultures from Britain to Bali awaits you at Sandals Royal Caribbean. The resort's decidedly British heritage begins with the Majestic Georgian-style Great House, surrounded by manicured gardens and roam-

ing peacocks—all complemented with well-heeled traditions like afternoon tea and a rousing game of croquet. (Sandals web site 2015)

Influences from Britain and Bali, but not the Caribbean, are drawn on for the Sandals Royal Caribbean hotel. Every effort appears to have been made to convey sophistication and luxury with their references to British cultural traditions that have been used to style this resort, which is modeled on a Georgian-style Great House (the style of houses built by the wealthy slave and sugar merchants in England[5]), along with the English tradition of manicured lawns and the quintessentially English tradition of taking afternoon tea. Such references speak of the intimate and complex history that America shares with Britain, for having once been one of Britain's settler colonies. Here the struggle for independence and revolution is "forgotten" to "allowed [*sic*] the tourist to live a fantasy of British royalty and gentility" (Wint 2012: 42). The references to British rule and traditions continue with the video, which shows a day in the life of "Rory the Butler,"[6] accompanied with a soundtrack of *Rule Britannia*. Such explicit references to Jamaica's colonial history are used to hail potential guests. The "wow" factor is played out in several scenes, which show Rory greeting newly arrived tourists with glasses of champagne on a silver tray, carrying guests' luggage when they arrive at the resort, bringing guests drinks as they lounge on beach daybeds, offering freshly prepared treats by the pool, and singing an operatic version of happy birthday to guests—Rory can sing opera. He encapsulates Sandals' desire that their butlers offer *the best customer service*, *attitude*, *skills, and knowledge*. Rory appears to go out of his way to please his guests and the last scene in the video shows Rory attending to a couple having a candlelit dinner on the beach as described earlier.

The images suggest that there is a continuing "struggle to have blacks perceived as agents, as people with cognitive capacities and even with an intellectual history" (Gilroy 1993a: 6). This is the process of disavowal and the primary point of subjectification in colonial discourses. The disavowal of difference turns the colonial subject into a grotesque mimicry (Bhabha 1994: 75). 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 palatable, as in the enactment of mimicry (Fanon 1986: 114; Bhabha 1994: 78). The discourses of written language and visual text work to fix the meanings represented and disavow the male and female black subjects (Hall 1997: 232). Such representations of the black subject are scripted by particular white identities: "he must be black in relation to the white man" (Hall 1996b: 27).

With reference to the anxieties expressed by colonial travelers (discussed in Chap. 5), an additional reading of the images is that without instruction from whites, black people would not work and would therefore cause the "demise" of the region. The images depict the view that racialized inequality is naturally "a creation of space for subject peoples" (Bhabha 1994: 70). The notion is that this is their purpose—their place. They are '"naturally" born to, and fitted only for, servitude' (Hall 1997: 244).

The paternalistic tones in the texts are conveyed by the idea that the staff are genuine as their desire to please (their *masters*?) which is suggested in the description of Sandals Carlyle, which apparently has "famously attentive staff."

Sandals Carlyle "An Authentic Jamaican Boutique Resort"

This quaint 52-room hideaway, surrounded by tropical gardens and just steps from the Hip Strip may be the smallest Sandals but it's big on charm and huge on value—with an impressive array of amenities for its size. The cozy bed & breakfast ambience of this traditional Jamaican inn is warm and captivating. In a place where everyone knows your name, the famously attentive staff also happens to deliver 24-hour complimentary room service to all guests, assuring breakfast in bed can be a favorite any time of day. … Like everyone who stays here, the petit Sandals Carlyle is sure to find a big place in your heart.

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 white heterosexual ideal is dependent on him for his or her entitlement to luxury, connoted by the images of butlers serving couples as they eat dinner in their suites or relax by the pool.

White Masculinity and the Black Serving Subject

White masculinity is represented as being superior to white femininity (Bartky 2010). White men are displayed with muscular torsos, which draw on the conceptions of masculinity that require physical strength to be of value (Dyer 1997). They are portrayed as physically strong in con-

trast to the women's slender, "to be looked at" physiques in the Sandals images. Men participate in water sports to communicate their physical strength and, as Uzzell (1984) argues, the "male engaged in active powerful sports such as … water skiing" (Uzzell 1984: 90; Gill 2014: 162) also works to communicate economic and sexual power (Uzzell 1984). However, activities such as tennis and golf, which are regarded as "rich [white] man's sports" (Johnson quoted in Ingraham 2008: 126), are also promoted as being available, in keeping with the branding of Sandals as upscale resorts.

In addition to framing representations of white femininity, white masculinities are constructed in relation to black men (Connell 1996: 80; Hall 1996b). These are distorted representations that continue to be reworked due to the process of primitivizing and pathologizing black bodies, which was a principle feature of colonial expansion and slavery (hooks and West cited in Haymes 1995: 24).

> 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)

Thus, in Western race-centered societies, black men are frequently depicted as hypersexualized (Haymes 1995: 29–30), as failures, *and* as emasculated (hooks 1991: 76) for not fulfilling the role of an economically dominant patriarch within a global financial system that has removed manufacturing jobs traditionally undertaken by the black working class (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Haymes 1995). Under the white male gaze, black male bodies are often the subject of scrutiny and criticism; black men's bodies are objectified as in the case of the black male athlete, used as an example of "masculine toughness" (Connell 2010: 239; Hall 1997: 226) and to reinforce "cultural myths about black male sexuality and physical prowess" (Gill 2014: 161). As Delgado and Stefancic (2012) argue, the way in which racialized groups are represented depends on the economic circumstances and is often in response to the "shifting needs … [of] the labor market" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 9). For example, in the American context, "black actors principally appeared in mainstream films in the 1930s in subordinate roles of jesters, simpletons, faithful retainers and servants" (Hall 1997: 252) and black people were also represented as "content to serve the white folks" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 9).

As discussed in Chap. 5, the demise of the colonial plantocracy and fears regarding black self-rule and Haiti were represented in aggressive statements regarding the inferiority of people of African descent. Indeed, the treacherous colonized subject, or the "old and crafty negro" (Stark 1898: 189) ruled with "absolute subjection" (Stark 1898: 193), and punished for being "at play" (Burnard 2004: 206) with banjos, is now reconfigured as "gentle" Malcolms as noted in Chap. 5, or enlisted to entertain the tourists.

The stereotypes of blackness appear to be so natural that they "require no comment" (Hall 1997: 245). However, when these essentialisms are critiqued it is possible to denaturalize the stereotypes and challenge this as a method which constitutes the formation of whiteness. The black subject is displaced in the images and conveys the splitting of the stereotype and, as Bhabha argues (1994), "for its successful signification, a continual and repetitive chain of other stereotypes [are enacted]" (Bhabha 1994: 77). Here, the "happy native" is the archetypal banjo-player and the banjo is no longer a threat to white supremacist power.[7] They are ready to crack a joke and take nothing seriously (Hall 1997: 245) as they have no cognitive or intellectual abilities, but they can sing, dance, and entertain the white folks (Hall 1997: 245). Figure 7.3 portrays black male subjects as jovial, nonthreatening entertainers. While seemingly innocent, the images convey the inscribed economy of pleasure and desire, and the economy of discourse, domination, and power (Bhabha 1994: 67). Drawing on British colonial motifs, the Sandals Royal Caribbean resort is also described as a "British Colonial Estate with an Offshore Island." Images of black musicians dressed in colorful shirts and straw hats are subordinated in relation to the white guests who are all dressed in white and dance as they are served drinks and food by black waiters and waitresses.

In the web site images for Sandals Montego Bay, the musicians wear red shirts decorated with palm trees. The tourists they are entertaining dance and play the maracas and djembe drums; they appear to have lost their inhibitions and is a reference to the appropriation of black cultural and artistic forms for the revelry and amusement of whiteness (Haymes 1995), which decontextualizes, distorts, and commodifies black cultural practices. Here the black body is an "instrument of pleasure rather than an instrument of labour" (Gilroy 1993b: 36) which shows off its "good rhythm"—a stereotype which continues to position blackness as static using simplistic caricatures (Hall 1997). As Eric Lott argues:

Fig. 7.3 Musicians, Montego Bay, Jamaica, Caribbean age fotostock/Alamy

> [T]he other is always excessive … exotic food, strange and noisy music, outlandish bodily exhibitions, or unremitting sexual appetite. … Whites in fact 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. (Lott cited in McLaren 1998: 67)

The images reveal the broad scope of the colonial discourse in the discursive formations. In the images of the calypso band we turn away from the stereotype of servitude to amusement in the display of the musicians. The racial boundaries are revealed in the positioning of an all-white audience being entertained by a calypso band and fire eaters. Calypso is depoliticized. Its association with the carnival and origins in Trinidad and Tobago, a practice of social critique through the "means of parody"

(Mosaka 2007: 19), is decontextualized and commodified to allow for its transportation onto the tourism product.

The colorful costumes and headdresses of the carnival, fire dancers, and fire eaters have an African appearance, thus drawing on the stereotypes of black people as exotic elaborate, primitive, and menacing. There is danger suggested in the images. Getting too close to the black subject risks the white subject "going native." The broad range of the stereotype, from the loyal servant to the carnivalesque black subject, is represented in the images and an example 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 "Africanized" black body, which is masked and plays drums in the Sandals images.

This chapter has discussed the way in which Sandals uses a range of techniques that interweave race, gender, class, and sexuality to convince the tourists to experience their brand of luxury at their resorts. Here the tradition of associating blackness with servitude and labor continues with explicit references to the British colonial and slave history—a deceptive version of history which romanticizes those atrocities. The privileging of the white tourist is produced by centrally positioning the white female body within a masculinist framework. Thus, the white male is offered the landscape in the "all-I-survey-scenes" (Pratt 1992: 201); he is granted the "right" to consume the white female body, while she is persuaded to take up a position of compliant and disciplined body in order to share whiteness. This heteronormative unit is reaffirmed by the servitude of blackness.

Notes

1. Video montage promoting Sandals' Red Lane Spas can be accessed via these links:
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_LOvv05YCAY
   http://www.sandals.co.uk/main/whitehouse/wh-spa/ [Last accessed October 13, 2015].
2. http://www.sandals.com/main/plantation/rp-butler/ [Last accessed October 28, 2015].
3. The Elite Butler Service web page can be accessed via this link: http://www.sandals.co.uk/difference/butler-service/ [Last accessed October 16, 2015].
4. http://www.sandals.co.uk/general/candlelight-dinner/ [Last accessed October 17, 2015].

5. The Georgian House in Bristol, dated 1790, was originally built for and owned by the slave plantation owner and sugar merchant John Pinney. Details about the house and the African slave "Pero" can be accessed via this link: http://www.bristolmuseums.org.uk/georgian-house-museum/whats-at/life-above-stairs/ [Last accessed October 18, 2015].
6. A video of Rory the Butler can be accessed via this link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CSUbtkMR1C8 [Last accessed October 17, 2015].
7. Thistlewood smashes one of his slaves, Lincoln's banjo, as punishment for what he considers to be participation in obeah (Burnard 2004: 206).

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CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

In her essay *Visualizing Art in the Caribbean*, Annie Paul (2007) argues that "the Caribbean is a site of constant change" (Paul 2007: 19). The region continues to be transformed as the Caribbean's "economy is based on transnational capitalism" and bears the "hallmarks of a globalized, (post)modern society—in the form of transnational flows and diasporic populations, multi-ethnic communities and the hybridization and appropriation of cultural forms" (Pertierra and Horst 2009: 108).

However, the "market-driven images" (Mosaka 2007: 17) that keep the region "fixed" in place, combined with marketing narratives that claim that "you can find comfort in all that remains blissfully the same [in Jamaica]" (Forstmayr 2001[1]), trap island states in the Caribbean region within "colonialist norms" (Bianchi 2009: 490) of the imperialist guidebooks. As *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* has discussed, these are locations marketed as spaces principally to be enjoyed by largely European and American tourists desiring to be feted and pampered in "paradise," thus supporting the "strong emphasis upon consumption based upon the romantic ethic" (Urry and Larsen 2011: 104) in neoliberal, globalized, free-market societies. The privileging of the tourist subject is exemplified by the marketing and promotion of exclusion as luxury, as in the case of the appropriation and privatization of many of Jamaica's public beaches (Wint 2012; Momsen 2005). For example, Sandals boasts that "Sandals Montego Bay, Jamaica [is] [a] fun-filled holiday on Jamaica's largest

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K. Wilkes, *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism in the Caribbean*,
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private beach" (Sandals web site, 2015). As Bianchi (2009) argues, "the freedom to consume [tourist products, destinations, etc.] often comes at the expense of someone else's welfare" (Bianchi 2009: 495). The consequences of tourism-led development in the Caribbean have led to coastlines being dominated by all-inclusive hotels that bar local people from once-public beaches, now private and "protected" for the tourists who are secured within perimeter fencing (Bryan 2007: 57; Gmelch 2003; Alessandrini 2010). The empty white beaches typically populated with one heterosexual couple in the Sandals images, evokes myths of the deserted island paradise in the white Western imagination.

> [I]n 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)

These assumed entitlements structure the needs of Caribbean peoples as secondary to those of the tourists and are relations of power that obscure the contemporary realities of the region, which is so heavily dependent on tourism and is at the forefront of dealing with the negative effects of globalization, economic and social inequalities, and "ecological degradation" (Bianchi 2009: 498; Bryan 2007).

The Caribbean is one of the most tourism-dependent regions in the world (Bryan 2007; Conway and Timms 2010; Momsen 2005), yet island nation-states in the Caribbean do not operate this industry on their own terms. The demands of putting the tourists' desires first can be linked to the extravagant feasting and high living of the colonial planters discussed in Chaps. 3 and 4 and developed in Chap. 5, particularly noting the demands of providing foreign guests with a varied menu, which frequently requires food and products to be imported into the region (Rhiney 2011; Momsen 2005: 221). Even in the case of Round Hill, which has its own organic gardens, this food provision is available to impress the tourists who report back that during their holiday, they "saw the bounty of vegetables being harvested" (My Beautyberry.com). This refers to the discourse which constructs and disseminates the myth that Jamaica and the wider Caribbean are geographies of limitless bountiful nature or a Garden of Eden and evokes the idea that living in Jamaica is easy. This contradicts the reality of the food crisis in the region precipitated by the World Trade Organization (WTO) ruling, as discussed in Chap. 5.

Indeed, neoliberal ideology (deregulation, privatization, and drastic cuts in government spending) has become the Milton Friedman "economic orthodoxy in the North" (Simon 2008: 87) and one of its principle tenants, the promotion of "free trade," was, as in the case of Jamaica, exported to the global South and packaged as a remedy for developing countries' debt crises (Klein 2007; Simon 2008). Thus, through foreign-owned private corporations, the gains and benefits of the empire have largely been retained by privileged elites (Mendoza 2015).

Enlightenment philosophies pretended to have no ideological position (Grzanka 2014: xxii), yet were a source of inspiration for colonial slave projects and imperial expansion, resulting in "the big stories of white subject formation" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 101). In the contemporary context the coded language of neoliberalism means that "covert interventions of structural adjustment, global policing and market imperialism" (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002: 101) are the frameworks through which whiteness is enacted and "produces new privileged and stigmatized forms of humanity" (Melamed 2014: 239). Despite the fact that neoliberal policies "have consolidated wealth and resources while exacerbating inequalities" (Duggan 2014: 232) within and between nations, the rhetoric of neoliberalism has proved to be resilient to critique, as it has conveyed a message of benevolence that diverts "focus away from structural advantages and disadvantages" (Grzanka 2014: 227).

The emphasis that was placed on white femininity to convey superiority in the nineteenth century (re)appears in the contemporary images, which celebrate the decorative princess brides' claim to empty white beaches. This positioning of white femininity as special draws on and plays with traditional gendered stereotypes (Törrönen and Juslin 2013) that link women to the ephemeral concerns of romance. Although white women are invited to share patriarchal power and are at the center of the discourses of entitlement to luxury, the white female body performs within strict parameters of a masculinist framework.

Nostalgia for the colonial period is resurrected by the repeated appearance of the black butler in the Sandals images. This commodification of the black body serves to put the tourists at ease and ensures that they are secure in their whiteness. Tourism in the Caribbean continues to be firmly rooted in the narratives of "fantasies of escape" (hooks 1996: 209) and suggests timelessness, while simultaneously enacting colonialist claims of ownership of the land of others.

The potential for mass communication does not mean that there is a greater appreciation of the intersecting positions of race, gender, class, and sexuality. Although these positions continue to be compelling themes in visual texts, global audiences are presented with a pastiche of Western-generated ideas which continue to present whiteness as normative (McLaren 1998: 65). Tourism promotional texts dismiss the realities of debt, poverty, and crime that island nation-states in the Caribbean are struggling with (Thomas and Clarke 2006).

Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism has brought together a broad range of visual texts with the intention of challenging the seemingly innocent, highly crafted images that contain a plethora of myths and discourses that are designed to evoke notions of paradise that already exist in the white Western imagination and are constructed using existing referent systems.

The themes and concerns of *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* were discussed in Chap. 2 with the need to critically examine the content of tourism images that are disseminated via global media technologies. The intimate relationship between images and the production of knowledge has been conveyed throughout the discussion. The use of discourse analysis and Roland Barthes' approach to visual analysis has been combined with Edward Said's approach to discourse, specifically in the analysis of the construction of black masculinity in the colonial and postcolonial Caribbean. The colonial agents' need to position the black male slave as inferior was reinforced by the creation of the racial schema. This discussion foregrounded the analysis of the packaging of the black waiter in Sandals' promotional material in Chap. 7. Indeed, the significance of the body in discourses of the colonial context was discussed in relation to the continuing narrow positions that are made available for affluent white women.

A brief history of Sandals Resorts International and Round Hill Hotel and Villas demonstrated the way in which tourism is placed above the local inhabitants *and* the power of the tourist to define the terms of the tourist/host relations. As discussed in Chap. 5, this is a set of relations; it is colonialism under another name, which began with the inception of the tourist industry at the end of the nineteenth century.

In Chap. 3, I discussed the way in which the colonialist male voice has been positioned as authoritative, yet denigrated the colonialized woman as an expression of sexual gratification. Conveying the nonhumanness of the enslaved was a method used to "rationalize their oppression" (Stanfield 1993:17). The assumed invisibility of whiteness was discussed in relation to the development of the field of whiteness studies. In particular, the way

in which white identities are formed through the intersecting positions of race, gender, class, and sexuality. The chapter moved on to examine the way in which discourses of whiteness have a historical inscription and are highly contingent on particular social and economic circumstances, as in the case of Irish immigrants in America. In the contemporary context, discourses of whiteness stand for privilege and operate alongside discourses of multiculturalism and "diversity." I argued that idealized whiteness is made visible through its associations with economic power and entitlement to luxury, specifically in the notions of the modern white subject being defined by his or her ability to travel.

Chapter 4 aimed to demonstrate the way in which the black female was represented: visually to confirm her position as a body without a mind and a sexual tool to be exploited by both male and female colonialists. The positioning of the white female as conveying superiority and exemplified as the pinnacle of Western humanity foregrounded the discussion in Chap. 5. Within the analysis of the travel guides, the white subject is apparently absent, although attention was explicitly given to the representation of women to reinforce white femininity as the ideal. This was one strategy employed to alleviate the fears of black self-rule in the region, and aimed to reassure the public back home that they were indeed superior to the "natives" in the Caribbean.

The appropriation of the Caribbean, represented as empty white beaches for the display of heterosexual whiteness, was discussed in Chap. 6. Promoted as products for the affluent postfeminist subject, these images are "culturally central ways of making, producing and remaking gender" (Rossi quoted in Törrönen and Juslin 2013: 465), race, and class in new globalized economies. The assumed position of whiteness to reside *anywhere* is conveyed by the tourists' occupation of the beach landscape and, in an accompanying move, resurrects colonial relations which reimpose the black subject in a position of servitude.

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 discussion and analysis of tourism visual texts in *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism* offer a perspective on how to make sense of the formation of whiteness in a colonialist move that expresses entitlement to luxury and wealth through the consumption of black labor. The images could be read as evidence of white historical successes (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1998: 8) that are reaffirmed and assured by the dutiful service of the disavowed black subject.

Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism has aimed to demonstrate the significance of historical and contemporary images and their use in maintaining entrenched ideas regarding race, gender, class, and sexuality. To unpack the frequently contradictory and "goes it-without-saying" nature of images, a postcolonial intersectional and multidisciplinary approach provides an intellectual apparatus to effectively challenge romantic notions, often displayed as "facts" which position whiteness as naturally entitled to luxury.

Notes

1. Currently the Managing Director of *Round Hill Hotel and Villas*, Jamaica.

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