

Copyright

by

Traci-Ann Simone Patrice Wint

2012

**The Report Committee for Traci-Ann Simone Patrice Wint
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following report:**

**Once You Go You Know:
Tourism, Colonial Nostalgia and National Lies in Jamaica**

**APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

Supervisor:

Edmund T. Gordon

Maria Franklin

**Once You Go You Know:
Tourism, Colonial Nostalgia and National Lies in Jamaica**

by

Traci-Ann Simone Patrice Wint, BA.

Report

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2012

Dedication

This report is dedicated to those who seek truth and crave independence.

Acknowledgements

“One, one cocoa full basket” – Jamaican Proverb

Writing is a task so often done in solitude that it is easy to forget that we never come to words alone. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the many people who kept my fingers typing even through the occasional temptation to fold my arms and stop. Thank you to my advisor Edmund T. Gordon who believed in me and this project, despite my sometimes neurotic apprehension. Thank you also to my supervising committee member Maria Franklin for her meaningful advice and constant encouragement. I am grateful to the University of Texas at Austin, the College of Liberal Arts, the John L. Warfield Centre and the Anthropology, and African and African Diaspora Studies Departments, for their institutional, monetary and intellectual support in the completion of this project. I would also like to express my appreciation to the many professors who shared their time, ideas, articles and books with me especially Jemima Pierre, Tiffany Gill, Joao Vargas and Ruramisai Charumbira. A warm thank you goes out to my friends and colleagues especially Sade Anderson, Dominique Batiste, Tyrone Hayles, Celeste Henery, Tami Jackson, Jhanelle Khan, Nedra Lee, Miriam Varghese, and all the supremely talented members of the Performing Research Lab. A special shout of thanks is reserved for Maya Berry for being my coffee-shop ‘supervisor’ and Chelsi West for votes of confidence accompanied by cupcakes and yoga.

Last but not least, I would like say a heartfelt thank you to my large and loud family. I am fortunate to have such a wide net of love and support. Thank you to my mother for teaching me to love people and my grandmother for teaching me to love

books. A very special thank you my Aunt for the many late night hours and international calling cards spent editing, rethinking, reworking and rephrasing.

I am grateful to all who have been there through this process, offering me encouragement, support and inspiration in ways large and small. Your outstretched hand did not go unnoticed.

Abstract

‘Once You Go You Know’: Tourism, Colonial Nostalgia and National Lies in Jamaica

Traci-Ann Simone Patrice Wint, MA
The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

Supervisor: Edmund T. Gordon

Jamaica is rich in contradictions. Life, like the landscape, is made up of great highs and lows, a wealth of beauty paralleled by intense desperation. This report explores these contradictions through an examination of the image of Jamaica packaged and presented to the world as a consumable tourism product. In 2012 as Jamaica prepares to celebrate 50 years of (in)dependence, the small nation finds itself battling (neo)colonialism, dependence, dispossession. Tourism is Jamaica’s main source of revenue and the industry is a major employer. The island’s role as a premier tourist destination is thus inseparable from Jamaicans’ daily lives. The current marketing slogan says to tourists ‘Once you go, you know’, I argue that this assertion is representative of the form tourism takes in Jamaica. By literally and figuratively granting understanding and ownership of the island and its resources to foreigners, the construction of Jamaica’s tourism product systematically commodifies Jamaica, its people, and culture. I seek to interrogate the role of tourism in Jamaica’s continued exploitation and to question the presence of secrecy, colonial nostalgia and national lies

in how Jamaicans self identify and in how we are portrayed.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	ix
Introduction.....	2
Chapter One - Colonialism and Tourism: History and Impact.....	9
Chapter Two - Jamaica Fare Well: Nostalgia in Tourism Campaigns	21
It's No Place Like Home	27
Come Back to Gentility	36
Once You Go You Know.....	46
Chapter Three - "Give Us the Queen!": Jamaican Colonial Nostalgia.....	52
Conclusion	58
Bibliography	60

List of Illustrations

Illustration i: Jamaica Once you go, you know campaign print ad	1
Illustration ii: Come Back to Jamaica campaign print ad	29
Illustration iii: Make it Jamaica Again campaign print ad	37
Illustration vi: Jamaica Once you go, you know print ad	45
Illustration v: Jamaica Once you go, you know television ad still	46

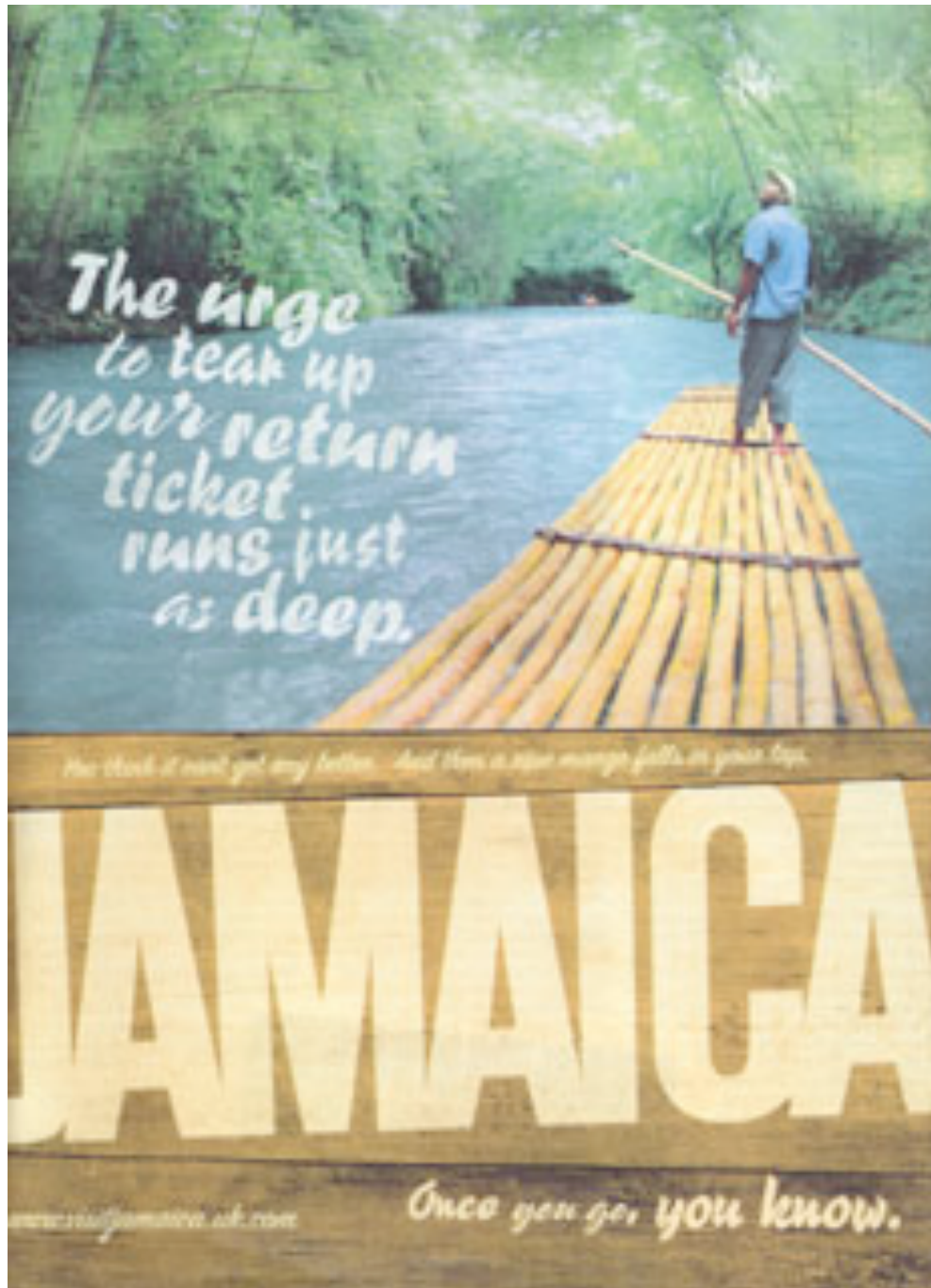


Illustration i – Jamaica Once you go, you know campaign print ad. (visit4ads)

Introduction

My mother calls me the collector of memories, the antiquarian, a packrat, a hoarder of things tangible and intangible, tawdry but invaluable. I'm the one at family gatherings retelling stories about long gone events you'd much rather forget. I own boxes upon boxes of random ephemera that haphazardly chronicle my personal history. Separate me from my boxes and there are holes in the story, you'll have only a hodgepodge of items someone else must now ascribe meaning to.

Ask me about some of my older, more yellowed, worn and torn things and the story I will tell you is not a memory of an actual item but instead a memory of the story itself. I remember the details of the story because I have told it so many times, though I can no longer remember the details of the event. And each time I tell that story it changes a little bit, there are small embellishments, things that make my personal history more palatable. I make additions and subtractions to my story that will make my listener stay. Some of these changes I have made without even realising it. I'm not intentionally lying, only selectively remembering.

And as for those few times I am telling a bare-faced lie, trying to cover up some particularly painful or embarrassing moment in my past, I take comfort in knowing that if I repeat it enough I may start to believe it and if I can tell you convincingly you will too. And then maybe, just maybe, if the world can see the best in me, then it will be true. You

know? I lie a lot, even as I'm telling the truth. Lies of omission, half-truths. There is a lot of nostalgic misremembering, unacknowledged forgetting and reminiscing here. There is a lot I must gloss over, shroud or hide. Jamaican-born and raised I am responsible for far more dirty laundry than just my own. And I've been taught that ugly truths should be covered with little white lies when there is so much at stake. Our very survival as a nation is contingent upon how well I – how well we all - lie to ourselves and to you. Why? Because we want you to go to Jamaica. Our economic survival is dependent upon the success of our tourism industry and you are a potential tourist.

Lies and coercion are part and parcel of the nationalist project. These lies, however, are often more about survival and cohesive identity creation than they are about pure deceit (though the role of deceit in nation-building is not to be ignored or denied). Lying is a slippery slope, almost as slippery as memory, especially when the memories are of histories we are trying to erase or forget or even merely to surpass. As Michel Rolph-Truillot points out in his book *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995), “Human beings participate in history both as actors and as narrators” (Trouillot 1995, 2) this results in the inherent ambivalence of history as a term and a concept. There is space between what we enact and what we narrate. It is here in this space, that remembering, misremembering, reminiscing, and forgetting are born; it is here that the distinction between what happened and what is said to have happened gets muddled. It is not history itself that is misleading, but it is instead our presentist memory

of it, skewed not only by us, but also by those who seek to exercise power over us (Connerton 1989) (Halbwachs 1992(1941)). As Truillot argues,

We are never as steeped in history as when we pretend not to be, but if we stop pretending we may gain in understanding what we lose in false innocence. Naiveté is often an excuse for those who exercise power. For those upon whom that power is exercised, naiveté is always a mistake. (xix)

Are we misremembering, misrepresenting, lying or simply being naïve? In Jamaica's nationalist project and in the promotion of tourism to serve national economic and socio-political development, it is not only the past that is lied about - or about which we feign naiveté- it is the present as well. Tourism in a place like Jamaica cannot survive without the employment of lying, misremembering and convenient forgetting, and as far as we have been taught, Jamaica cannot survive without tourism. So we tell lies, we keep secrets, and we coat even our present with a film of nostalgia. By virtue of our place in the world, the lies we tell extend beyond our control, and the voice we speak with is often not our own. We keep secrets, and tell lies, telling our potential visitors only what they want to hear, only what they want to know.

“Once you go, you know”¹ is the slogan currently being used to advertise Jamaica internationally as a tourist destination. Print, television, and electronic media advertisements portray a Jamaica of idyllic charm - wealthy in beautiful white sand beaches and dark, smiling faces; an exotic, lush Caribbean island ripe for pleasure and adventure, waiting to be discovered, explored and mastered. To the beat of sweet reggae music visitors and locals alike sway and smile in harmony - a picture of perfection.

‘Once you go, you know’. This is the latest in our string of pathological lies. Jamaica like everywhere else in the world is far too complex for the tourist to know it all

¹ Marketing campaign and slogan employed by Jamaica Tourist Board 2003 – present (2012).

in a short visit spent lying on the beach. We know this and somewhere deep down I think you know this too. Good liars all recognize the importance of a meticulously constructed, well-executed façade –but we are not just good liars, we are liars of the best kind. Our lies take on a resounding ring of truth because so often we don’t even know that we’re lying. Luise White (2000) also argues that lies are constructed and that secrets are negotiated, but states that lies and secrets do not necessarily signify a collective or individual decision not to tell. For White, telling lies and proclaiming secrets are decisions to give greater weight or value to certain pieces of information. She states “lies and secrets are explanations about the past that are negotiated for specific audiences, for specific ends, secrecy and lies conceal, they camouflage, but they certainly don’t hide everything” (White 2000, 15). We are expert negotiators and masters of camouflage,

Once you go, what don’t you know? The Jamaican economy is heavily reliant on service industries, which account for over 60% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Tourism is second only to remittances as a source of revenue for the small Caribbean nation and currently accounts for nearly 50% of Jamaica’s foreign income, also providing approximately 25% of all jobs². The nation’s economic well-being is dependent upon the dutiful service of its people and the survival of nation and people alike are contingent upon them being desirous to visitors and available for foreign consumption. We Jamaicans who have long prided ourselves and our nation on being “likkle but tallawah” –small but strong – and who will rejoice and laud our ancestors this year (2012) as we gather to celebrate 174 years of emancipation from slavery and 50 years of Independence, have unwittingly found ourselves once more in the service of ‘massa’³. We were

² Labour and national income statistics from STATIN, *Statiscal Insitute of Jamaica (STATIN)*, 2011, <http://statinja.gov.jm/> (accessed 2011).

³ Term historically used to refer to slave master. Today, popularly used to refer to any oppressive force

emancipated and decolonized but were we ever free? And today, as we find ourselves again (continuously) in a state of perpetual dependence, grudging deference, and palpable anguish, we cannot see who holds the whip.

Rather than being the ticket to development and deliverance it has long been purported to be, tourism, as it exists in Jamaica, grants ownership of the island and its resources to foreigners and denies access to Jamaicans, enmeshing us further into a state of dependence. Moreover, what is bought and sold is not merely an innocent vacation but an unchecked nostalgia for a colonial past. It is black bodies in the service of white people; it is white supremacy and black compliance; it is an imperialist yearning for adventure, discovery and sovereignty. And we Jamaicans, blinded by centuries of European dominance and unable to see our way out of white cultural hegemony, are complicit. Convinced that these beaches we are not permitted to lay on are ours to sell, we lay ourselves prostrate at the throne of white capitalism, certain that tourism will save us from economic depravity. Persuaded that the root of our problem lies in our mismanagement of our own independence we submit ourselves to (neo)colonialism⁴ cloaked in a floral shirt and straw hat. In this supposedly post-colonial era, we continue to suffer colonial dispossession; the only difference is that now we are unable to identify it as such. And even now as we celebrate 50 years of (in)dependence⁵, and the popular social and political discourse surrounds a proposal to finally detach our structure of

⁴ neocolonialism is defined as the use of economic, political, cultural, or other pressures to control or influence other countries, especially former dependencies. Colonialism is defined as the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. I use the term (neo)colonialism to argue that Jamaica is experiencing colonialism and neo-colonialism simultaneously as I consider the constant stream of tourists, encouraged to declare the nation 'home', to be simply a new kind of settler or colonist and the nation has been and remains economically exploited and subject to the pressures / under the control of outside forces.

⁵ I choose to write the term (in)dependence in this manner as a questioning of Jamaica's position as an independent state despite its heavy burden of economic dependency

governance from the hold of the British monarchy, we find ourselves seeking success as a model post-colonial state and proud of our image as a premier tourist destination -longing for a master and eager to serve.

Overall this paper aims to examine the ever-present place and immense weight of colonialism in the collective memory of Jamaica held by locals and foreigners alike and to explore the role of tourism in the perpetuation of this problematic ideal of Jamaica as a welcoming society and consumable place and people and the subsequent entrapment of nation and people into a permanent state of subservience. The reverberations of colonialism in Jamaica are emphatic, thunderous and loud. We have failed to successfully insist on their silence not because we are deaf or mute, but because we have heard the booming for so long that we have confused its noise with the beat of our own drums. There is barely enough ink in all the world to write out the many ways we have been and continue to be exploited or to truly unravel the intricate web of our relationship to our colonial past. I will hone in on the small area of tourism marketing campaigns, with the intention of using the examination of this seemingly minute area to illuminate some greater issues that Jamaica now faces in its post-colonial years.

Through an appraisal of the strategies used to market Jamaica as a key tourist destination, I seek to interrogate the role of tourism in Jamaica's continued exploitation and to question the presence of colonial sentimentality in how Jamaicans self identify and in how we are portrayed. When Jamaica says "Once you go you know" who is the 'you' to whom we are speaking and what is it that we want or expect 'you' to know? Is this the same 'you' we spoke to in 1963, in the year directly following independence, when we urged people to 'come back to Jamaica⁶'? And what then, was there for 'you' to 'come

⁶ Campaign information sourced from Jamaica Tourist Board, *Jamaica Tourist Board: Tourism Information Publishing Site*, jtbonline.org (accessed 2012) and images of advertisements found on *ebay*.

back' to? The impact of colonialism on Jamaica extends far beyond tourism and the presence of colonialism in the Jamaican tourism industry burrows deep beneath the surface of the print and television advertisements. It is through the lies told in these advertisements that I seek to find the truths untold. According to White it is through these lies and the secrets they keep that we can see the relations of state power and its operation within the state. In the case of Jamaica, these lies allow us to see the continued operation of colonial power. White states "secrets and lies signal that what has been declared secret, what has been deemed worthy of a lie or a cover story, is more significant than other stories and other ways of telling" (White 2000,15). In order to find the truth, we must begin to dismantle the lie.

Chapter One

Colonialism and Tourism: History and Impact

In 2012 it is difficult to talk about colonialism because not only are today's colonisers masters of disguise, but so are we. The colonial project has been so successful that for us living as colonial subjects comes as unquestioned habit⁷. It is an ingrained part of our identity, our social memory of ourselves (Connerton 1989). French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (Halbwachs 1992(1941)), one of the foremost theorists on memory and a memory studies pioneer, wrote extensively about memory and identity as social constructions. A Durkheimian theorist, he was largely concerned with the concept of collective consciousness⁸ which is a system of beliefs common to a society. Central to Halbwachs' theories lay the assertion that memory can exist only within a collective context. Memory, he argues is exacting and selective, various groups hold different collective memories, and recollections are dependent upon the framework within which a particular group is situated in society. No memory is possible outside these frameworks (Halbwachs 1992, 41) The individual's very sense of self is formulated based on her/his place within the group and as such her/his understanding of the past is intertwined with that of the group of which she/he is a part. In the words of Halbwachs, "one may say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the

⁷ See Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁸ Collective consciousness is a term coined by French Sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). It refers to the shared or group beliefs, values and norms that exist within society.

group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories. There is no individual memory un-impacted by that of the collective.

According to Halbwachs, our vision of the past is shaped by the present. Our current beliefs, interests and needs as relates to our place in the collective, determine our interpretation of the past. In this way we are prone to nostalgia, we are obligated to not only recall the past or reproduce our memories, but also to ‘touch them up’. In so doing we give them a prestige that reality did not possess (Halbwachs 1992(1941), 51). Collective memory does not merely preserve the past but rather reconstructs it with the aid of materials and traditions from the present. Our colonial past is ever-present in our current lives.

It is not that we live in the past, but that it is impossible for it to not impact our present. And it is not that we valorise slavery or colonialism, but that our experiences with them have been so extensive that they are now a lasting, unavoidable part of our present identity. We are not now nor have we have ever been a passive people, we have resisted servitude and oppression time and time again, however, today tourism is presented to us as a saviour and how can we fight against that which feeds us?

Jamaica’s primary tourism market has long been and remains White North Americans to whom Jamaica is presented as a colonial commodity to be consumed. That Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) and other prominent marketing campaigns seem to pander to a White Northern American desire for colonial nostalgia is intriguing as Jamaica was

never colonized by America. What are they desiring and what are we selling? And why are we selling it?

The line from sugar and slavery to tourism in Jamaica is short and bold. The industry began in the late 1800s, shortly after emancipation as sugar was waning and banana flourishing. The United Fruit Company, the leading banana traders, wanting to maximize the use of its ships, encouraged cruises to Jamaica. This steady arrival and departure of the banana boats allowed for the easy travel of American tourists to and from Jamaica. By 1955 the island was host to a steady stream of visitors from Europe and America and tourism's place as a viable economic industry was solidified with the introduction of the Jamaica Tourist Board to replace the Tourism Trade Development Board. The primary purpose of the JTB was to effectively and vigorously promote the island as a destination, with the aim of doubling Jamaica's tourism business. This goal was realized within 4 years. With this success tourism began to solidify its place as Jamaica's primary industry, and the JTB soon replaced the Sugar Manufacturers Association as the organisation responsible for greeting and welcoming the island's visitors (Jamaica Tourist Board).

In 1960 as both cruise ship and air travel frequency increased allowing for a greater range of people to have access to life as a tourist, the JTB augmented its push into North America with the launch of a North American office and the implementation of a

new marketing slogan: “Come to Jamaica: It’s no place like home”⁹. The slogan’s double entendre allowed White North American visitors the benefit of envisioning Jamaica to be as similar to or as different from ‘home’ as they wished. “Its no place like home” in one sense allowed the possibility of escape from war and racial tension and other era specific stresses of White American life. However, it also called to mind the nostalgic ‘no place like home’ of the 1939 film the Wizard of Oz¹⁰ where home is a paradisiacal place filled with happy memories and 1930s simplicity. The advertisements encouraged White Americans to take Jamaica and use it as a substitute for their own homes, a nostalgic interpretation of the past/present that they could use to escape from their own conflict-rife realities.

By the 1960s, the call had been made. Tourists were only increasing in number and Jamaicans had to be sensitized to this new form of ‘master’. While foreigners were being invited to “Come to Jamaica [because] It’s no place like home” a supplementary campaign was launched in Jamaica to make locals more aware of and conversant with the potential benefits tourism as an industry held for them individually. This campaign used the slogan “tourism matters to you”. Tourists were being invited to ‘discover’ Jamaica, and locals were being taught to make themselves docile and discoverable. To ensure the comfort of tourists and the deference of the natives the JTB, in 1961, began offering the service of courtesy police to reduce ‘tourist harassment’ in Kingston, Montego Bay, Ocho

⁹ Jamaica Tourist Board, *Jamaica Tourist Board: Tourism Information Publishing Site*, jtbonline.org (accessed 2012);

¹⁰ The Wizard of Oz is a musical fantasy film that has often been ranked high in lists chronicling the top or most watched movies of all time. Though it was originally released in 1939, the film did begin to gain notoriety until 1956 when telecasts of it started to air.

Rios and Port Antonio. Tourism as industry, however still had not attained the heights the pre-independence government envisioned for it. According to the Jamaica Tourist Board's information site the reasons for the decline in tourist arrivals in 1961 ranged from the "unsettled political situation in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti which affected travel to the Caribbean, the slump in the New York Stock Exchange and Jamaica's "Rastafarian troubles" prior to and during the general elections April and the subsequent declaration of Independence in August of 1962. These occurrences resulted in unfavourable publicity in the U.S.A. and the subsequent decline in tourist arrivals continued until the latter half of 1963 (Jamaica Tourist Board n.d.)¹¹.

The early 1960s holds particular significance to Jamaican History. 1961 saw Jamaica's departure from the West Indies Federation. A move that was a major catalyst in the Federation's 1962 demise and many argue a major factor in Jamaica's subsequent dependence upon foreign aid and external forces for sustenance. On April 10, 1962, the Jamaica Labour Party won the national elections, making Alexander Bustamante, the nation's first Prime Minister upon receipt of Independence from the British on August 6, 1962. By April 1963 Western Jamaica, which is now a prime tourist destination, found itself in the throes of violence with a clash between police and government forces and Rastafari brethren, which has since come to be known as the Coral Gardens Rebellion or Massacre. Considered dishonest and violent, Rastafarians were seen as a threat to the new Jamaica. Though the stories chronicling the origins of the clash that spurred days of

¹¹ Jamaica Tourist Board, *Jamaica Tourist Board: Tourism Information Publishing Site*, jtbonline.org (accessed 2012).

brutality and violence vary, by the end of Easter 1963, eight (8) Rastafarians were dead and several others had been forcibly shaved and imprisoned. By the close of the year, the dust had settled and Jamaica began to rise in prominence once more as a premier tourist destination. Tourism marketing campaigns began focusing on Jamaican art, landscape and cultural expressions, through showcasing fashion, jewellery, ceramics and gourmet food set against the backdrop of hilltop houses and quaint beach cottages. The irony here, is that in the 1990s following yet another period of violence, Jamaica turned once again to a highlighting the uniqueness of Jamaican culture as a means of promoting the island as a tourist destination. This time however, the cultural focus was on reggae and Rastafari. Advertisements showed a presumably Rastafarian man flashing his long dreadlocks through cool blue water. No longer deemed dangerous, reggae and Rastafarian culture has been subsumed into the mainstream and has become a vehicle for the advancement of the tourism project, a tool to be used in the creation of the paradisiacal fantasy.

Ian Strachan in his text *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean* (2002) identifies the problem of nostalgia and the perpetuation of the fictitious and possibly damaging fantasy of the Caribbean as paradise as region wide. As long as Caribbean pasts and presents are collapsed into one sugared sentiment, it will be near impossible to address the problems of both. And as long as governments continue to commodify carnivals and folk festivals¹², often sites of grassroots resistance,

¹² The commodification of Rastafari and reggae music is one of the greatest examples of this in Jamaica.

and turn these events into sources of exotic entertainment for the tourist there can be no hope for future change. “Despite its absence in their daily lives, Caribbeans have resurrected paradise for the people who invented it, for the people who placed their ancestors in *encomienda*, slavery and indenture in order to enjoy it (Strachan 2002, 2). Slavery and Caribbean tourism are fundamentally entwined, the plantation and paradise perennially tied.

In a number of crucial ways, tourism has grown out of and sustains the plantation economy. The plantations laid the economic, political, cultural and social groundwork that has enabled tourism to function so effectively in the Caribbean. As an institution of colonization, the plantation established a political and economic dependency on the metropolitan centers that tourism merely extends (9).

As Strachan highlights, the connections between plantation and paradise and slavery and tourism go far beyond the employment of former plantations as tour sites and hotels, and the ever-growing penchant for the use of the words ‘plantation’, and ‘estate’ or other such terms holding similar connotation in the names of hotels and tourist attractions¹³. Though it cannot be denied that the implications of such blatant resistance to a departure from glorifying the position of slave owner or plantation master in the Caribbean’s troubled history and heritage, are great and distressing, the ghost of the plantation haunts the Caribbean in even more profound ways.

¹³ Some popular examples of hotels and visitor attractions existing in Jamaica that carry the name or weight of slave plantation heritage are ‘The Rose Hall Great House’ – a historic plantation and mansion rumoured to be haunted; ‘Sandals Royal Plantation’ – a premier all-inclusive hotel on the island’s north coast; ‘Prospect Plantation Villas’ – luxury villas in Ocho Rios Jamaica; ‘Rhodes Resort Jamaica at Rhodes Hall Plantation’ – all inclusive suites and villas located on the former sugar plantation, features a private beach.

Like the plantation system before it, tourism in Jamaica and the Caribbean at large, operates within a framework that affords wealth and power to a small, often white or light-skinned minority, at the expense of a poor, often black, majority. Like the plantation system before it, tourism allows access to land and resources only to a few, and requires that those who do not own the land must work it for the benefit of those who do. Staying close to the model of the plantation system that came before, tourism exercises a monopoly on this land. Whereas little more than a century ago it was farm lands that were over-used, dominated and tightly controlled, today it is the islands' coast line¹⁴. And like the plantation system before it, the success of tourism is dependent almost entirely upon external forces.

¹⁴ Today there are very few free, public beaches accessible to the Jamaican public. While the current law allows the public access to all beaches, it does not allow unrestricted public use. The legal equivalent of the colloquial term 'beach' is 'foreshore'. The principal policies governing the use of foreshores (beaches) in Jamaica are the Beaches Control Act (1956) and the Prescription Act. According to Jamaican common law "the public has no right of passing along the foreshore, except in the exercise of rights of navigation or fishery, or in respect of a lawfully dedicated right of way from one place to another over the foreshore; there is no right of stay or of recreation there and no right to go across the foreshore for the purpose of getting to or from boats, except such places as usage or necessity has appropriated for that purpose, and no right to wander at will. This rule applies whether the foreshore is the property of the Crown or of a private person." The Beach Control Act of 1956 vests all rights in and over the foreshore and the floor of the sea in the Crown and further states that "No person shall be deemed to have any rights in or over the foreshore ... or the floor of the sea, save such as are derived from or acquired or preserved under or by virtue of this Act." (Section 3 (4)). ...The Beach Control Act vests all rights of the foreshore in the Crown, but the Act preserves the rights of persons having a registered title over the foreshore prior to 1956 and those of fishermen who acquire rights by prescription.

Owners of private property adjoining the foreshore may pass over or use the Crown's property for private domestic purposes (this extends to family and friends), subject to the rights of certain members of the public to use the seashore for purposes approved by law.

The public has unrestricted access only to those beaches which have been declared to be 'public recreational beaches' pursuant to Section 52 of the Beach Control Act and upon payment of a fee (if a fee has been set)" (National Environment and Planning Agency - Government of Jamaica, *NEPA Policies and Standards*, 2012, <http://www.nepa.gov.jm/policies/beach/Background.htm> (accessed April 2012)).

Even though in recent years there has been a push towards growing domestic tourism in Jamaica, encouraging local Jamaicans to ‘Experience Jamaica’¹⁵, the fact remains that tourism’s economic success is largely dependent upon the pockets of foreigners. The socio-economic structure of our country and our world, simply does not allow resident Jamaicans – often struggling to find their way in the so-called ‘third world’ – as much expendable income as Americans or Europeans. A ‘stay-cation’, as the concept has been colloquially referred to, while cheaper and more economically attainable than a trip overseas, remains for many Jamaicans, an unobtainable luxury.

For the majority of Jamaicans, both the ‘vacation’ and ‘stay-cation’ remain a pipe dream. While the JTB, hoteliers and attraction owners should be acknowledged for having offered marginally lower fees to Jamaicans under the aegis of the *Experience Jamaica* campaign, the fact remains that the economic climate simply does not allow the majority to be able to take advantage of such offers. Although according to 2007 statistics printed in the Jamaica Gleaner Jamaicans spent JMD\$27.5 billion on tourism related services, which included expenditure of JMD\$4.3 billion on overnight trips, JMD\$2 billion on hotels and short-stay accommodations and JMD\$3.9 billion on same day trips to local destinations, this expenditure pales in comparison to expected visitor spending.

A significant portion of the island’s visitors arrive on cruise ships. Though whether or not the benefits of cruise ship tourism outweigh the costs is debatable,

¹⁵ The Experience Jamaica campaign was launched by the Jamaica Tourist Board Sept 6, 2009

Jamaica receives over 1 million cruise ship visitors per annum and earns approximately 701 million USD. Caribbean cruise tours are targeted almost solely to non-Caribbean nationals. Tours almost always originate from outside of the Caribbean¹⁶, making the sweeping assumption that Caribbean nationals are not interested in or not worthy of a cruise vacation. And why would they be? Marketing campaigns often speak of the Caribbean as a singular entity, composed entirely of beaches. If you've seen one, you've seen them all. If you live in one island, why would you want to visit another?

Until there is true structural change we will remain dependent on tourism for survival and as long as we are dependent upon this exploitative model, change will be hard to come by. Tourism forms a core part of Jamaica's overall cycle of dependency. Often recommended by aid agencies, tourism has been heralded as the ultimate machine for development for underdeveloped and developing Caribbean nations.

Funding institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, generally support the creed that tourism makes economic sense for both tiny under-productive islands as well as for larger, more diversified if debt-laden economies, such as Jamaica or the Dominican Republic. Within the parameters of global neo-liberalism, the IMF promotes tourism through its structural adjustment programmes; the World Bank, which had closed its tourism unit in 1979, returned in the 1990s to the tourism arena, financing studies and loans for environmental or technical assistance projects with tourism components (Patullo 2005, 6).

¹⁶ To date there exist no Caribbean owned cruise ship lines (Patullo 2005).

Tourism makes economic sense for development, but what is development? And economic sense for whose development? Does using tourism as a major development tool really work in the favour of these 'tiny under-productive islands' or 'more diversified' 'debt laden economies'?

'Development' in this context is now often used much like the term 'civilisation' once was. James Ferguson in *Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticisation, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (1990) argues that "like the term "civilization" in the nineteenth century "development" is the name not only for a value, but also for a dominant problematic or interpretive grid, through which the impoverished regions of the world are known to us"(xiii). Therefore we remain trapped in a definitional quandary seeking to be developed, when by virtue of the term and its origins we can never attain development (or civilisation). We are told that the only thing that can break our cycle of dependency is further dependence upon foreign sources, through tourism, an industry that often has more costs than benefits. We are told by our former colonizers and present tourists, that a tourism resembling (neo)colonialism is what is necessary to free us from our perpetually dependent state. The aid and development industry seeks to freeze nations into pre-modernity and then suggest necessary technological improvements (Ferguson 1990). Like the development rhetoric, tourism freezes nations into pre-modernity in order to enable the enacting of nostalgia for a 'simpler' period. Geography, location, culture and crime are often used to explain reasons for poverty, convincing Jamaica and Jamaicans that our debt is our own, therefore, we are obliged to engage in

the tourism trade to repay it. A past of imperial and colonial exploitation remains conveniently forgotten and grassroots political movements, such as reggae and dancehall, which have sought to revolt against neo-imperialism are subsumed into the tourism project.

Tourism lives in the place in-between. Between demanding pre-modernity from Jamaicans and promising to be a ticket to modernity and development. Selling a hazy past to buy a brighter future, nostalgia – pain for the past, pain in the present, paying for/with the future?

Chapter Two

Jamaica Fare Well

“You know what? I’ll sing it for you” He said.

And before I could muster up an awkward “No thank you” or an uneasy “No, that’s ok” or even a desperate “Please, please don’t do that”, something, anything, that would sit comfortably in the space between firm and polite, he was already lost in the first stanza.

Head back, eyes half closed, fingers snapping, feet tapping in time to that old calypso beat.

“Down the way where the nights are gay and the sun shines daily on the mountain top, I took a trip on a sailing ship and when I reached Jamaica, I made a stop”

“Please stop.” I chanted over and over again in my head.

“But I’m sad to say I’m on my way, won’t be back for many a day.”

I checked my watch for the umpteenth time and walked a few steps towards the curb to peer down street, searching for the orange glow of the bus amidst the red, yellow and white blur of cityscape and street lights. Cars, bikes, trucks - no bus. I turned ever so slightly to glance back at the bus stop and there he was, standing right under my nose. He’d closed the gap I had tried to create between us. Whether or not I liked it, I was

going to hear this song. This song that he insisted on singing as though his life depended on it.

My heart is down my head is turning around I had to leave my little girl in Kingston town”

I really do need to stop saying ‘good evening’ to strangers at the bus stop. This accent of mine seems to trigger something in them that neither of us can escape. It’s as though merely by the lilt of my voice, I give permission - permission for storytelling and reminiscence, dreams of cottages, and coconuts, beaches and trees, luxury and austerity. Permission to live out some out deep rooted fantasy of something quaint, something quiet, something simpler than America; less complicated than now.

“Sounds of laughter everywhere, and the dancing girls swaying to and fro.

I must declare my heart is there, though I’ve been from Maine to Mexico.”

Paradise.

Nostalgia.

Whether they are months, years or decades apart, dominated by Black bodies or White ones, in magazines, or on billboards, in brochures or on television, the advertisements all hold central one main idea – Jamaica is paradise.

Paradise? Who says? Paradise for whom?

The fantasy of Jamaica as paradise is all at once specific and generic, and almost completely atemporal, aspatial and ahistorical. What is promised, is not Jamaica –past nor present – but the realisation of a colonial utopia, the embodiment of simplicity and leisure, luxury without work. What is desired is Whiteness and what is on offer is an ‘authentic’ Jamaican Blackness, in opposition to which Whiteness can be achieved. Whiteness is everything Blackness is not. In paradise, this opposition is fruitful and acceptable, not antagonistic. There can be no friction here. Paradise is perpetually harmonious and timeless and here – in the tourist’s Edenic fantasy - Blackness and Whiteness, have pre-designated, uncontested places.

Jamaica is not harmonious. Like the rest of the Caribbean it was built upon a foundation of brutal slavery, and exploitative colonialism. Today as the small nation battles poverty, crime, dependence and disenfranchisement, its present reflects its past in many disheartening ways. However, for the sake of a successful tourism industry, this reflection is warped and Jamaica as seen through the brochure’s funhouse mirror is exotic and quaint - lightly coated in the hazy, sunset-pink hue of reminiscence and nostalgia. It is not Jamaica or Jamaica’s colonial past that the American visitors who make up the majority of the tourist population remember or desire, it is the fantasy of Whiteness. Such reminiscence says more about America, the structure of American racism and the construction of Whiteness, than it does about Jamaica or the Caribbean.

According to historian and anthropologist Jan Vansina, reminiscences are the rationalisation of the narrator’s life.

They are essential to a notion of personality and identity. They are the image of oneself one cares to transmit to others. Reminiscences are then not constituted by random collections of memories, but are part of an organized whole of memories that tend to project a consistent image of the narrator and, in many cases, a justification of his or her life...Events and situations are forgotten when irrelevant or inconvenient. Others are retained and reordered, reshaped or incorrectly remembered according to the part they play in the creation of this mental self portrait (1985).

The 'self-portrait' shown in the advertisements past and present, are in many ways a collection of wishes and desires, a living remembrance of possibilities rather than a recounting of lived realities. Like my roadside companion's rendition of the famed old calypso song the advertisements all at once not only evoke the simultaneous joy and sadness of longing, but also the remarkable complexity of nostalgic post-colonial narration. Are the narrators of the song and of the advertisements the same as Vansina's? And whose story are they remembering? What 'self' are they painting and who is their audience?

Jamaica Farewell was tremendously successful. While the song was popularized in the USA by Caribbean-American singer Harry Belafonte when it appeared on his hit album *Calypso* in 1956, songwriter Lord Burgess (also Caribbean American) is credited with writing the lyrics to the now landmark tune – lyrics, rumoured to be a compilation of modifications he made to various Caribbean folk classics. Harry Belafonte was not the only famous interlocutor of Lord Burgess' lyrics, the song was also recorded by Sam Cooke, Sir Lancelot, Jimmy Buffett, Carly Simon, Sting and others. Like the Jamaica tourism advertisements, the narrators of this song's story have been Black and White, Caribbean-American and not. Does the

meaning of the story change with each telling? What portrait of himself or herself does each narrator paint? What identity or 'self' does each perform (Hall 1994)? And in the context of this performance does the race or nationality of the narrator matter? Whose laughter is 'heard everywhere'? Who desires the 'dancing girls' and who gets to have them? Who gets to choose where to leave their heart – to be nostalgic, to reminisce? Not everyone can take 'trips on sailing ships' - or on aeroplanes. That takes privilege and such privilege belongs only to a select few. Who can travel and who has to stay? Who gets to be a tourist and who has to build paradise?

Though clouded by nostalgia, most of the advertisements for Jamaica as a tourist destination provide clear answers to these questions. Poor Jamaicans are not tourists. Poor Jamaicans do not travel. Jamaicans are smiling faces and dancing girls. Jamaicans line up at the docks, to sell their wares to those who arrive on aeroplanes and sailing ships they do not board. Jamaicans are Black. Tourists are White. Jamaicans stay. Americans come and go. Jamaicans are attractions. Americans are tourists.

The narratives of the advertisements have become decidedly more complicated as the decades have passed. In the early years of the Jamaican tourism industry the advertisements were populated almost exclusively by White people, Black bodies, often obscured, were only seen in the capacity of service. Shortly thereafter the images shifted, and the focus was on Jamaica's landscape, artwork, and food. By the 1970s and 1980s, as Jamaica tried to establish itself as 'more than a

beach'¹⁷ the Black Jamaican body was inserted into the portrait. Jamaicans became ventriloquists, narrating the reminiscences of the White American tourist as they enacted storyboards drawn by the often US based advertising agencies hired by the Jamaica Tourist Board and prominent hotels. Political upheaval and a surge of violence in the 1980s necessitated an aggressive tourism marketing campaign in the 1990s. Ideals of multiculturalism, unity, and 'one love' came to the fore, and Black Jamaicans and White visitors were seen dancing and singing in perfect harmony. The current campaign, 'Jamaica: Once you go you know' rose partially in response to the tragic September 11, 2001 attacks in the USA and their aftermath. As fear and concerns over security increased and air travel decreased, the 'war on terror' held potentially devastating consequences for the Jamaican tourism industry. 'Once you go, you know', promised the security of surety and so much more.

Each campaign era, read on it's own is already a profoundly dense and complex text, together they form an intricate web, narrating the story of race and class relations in the Western world on a personal and national level. Although they may appear vastly dissimilar on the surface, the advertisements all in some way seem to pander to a White American sense of colonial nostalgia – even if White Americans are absent from the actual advertisement, their desires, and their 'justification of self and identity' are present (Vansina 1985). I will highlight only a few of the more prominent campaigns and address them chronologically, in an attempt to begin to

¹⁷ Jamaica Tourist Board, *Jamaica Tourist Board: Tourism Information Publishing Site*, jtbonline.org (accessed 2012).

elucidate not only how White American desire manifests in each campaign, but also to unpack what was and is desired from Jamaican tourism.

IT'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME

“room for rent, inquire within, you move out and I move in”

You had to wait until the rope was at just the right height. Moving in too early or too late meant tangling and tumbling and laughter and jeering - an awkward stumble if you were lucky, gravel stuck to your stinging, bleeding knees if you weren't. This was a game of rhythm and coordination, the communication of unspoken rules. Your eyes had to watch the swing of rope and teach your feet to follow its beat. Then you practiced, hopping back and forth till your toes caught the tempo, till your legs remembered its steady pulse, till your mind made it habit. And soon your feet would be dancing effortlessly in the space left vacant by the jumper before you, bathed in the breeze created by the swinging of the rope.

“room for rent, inquire within, you move out and I move in”

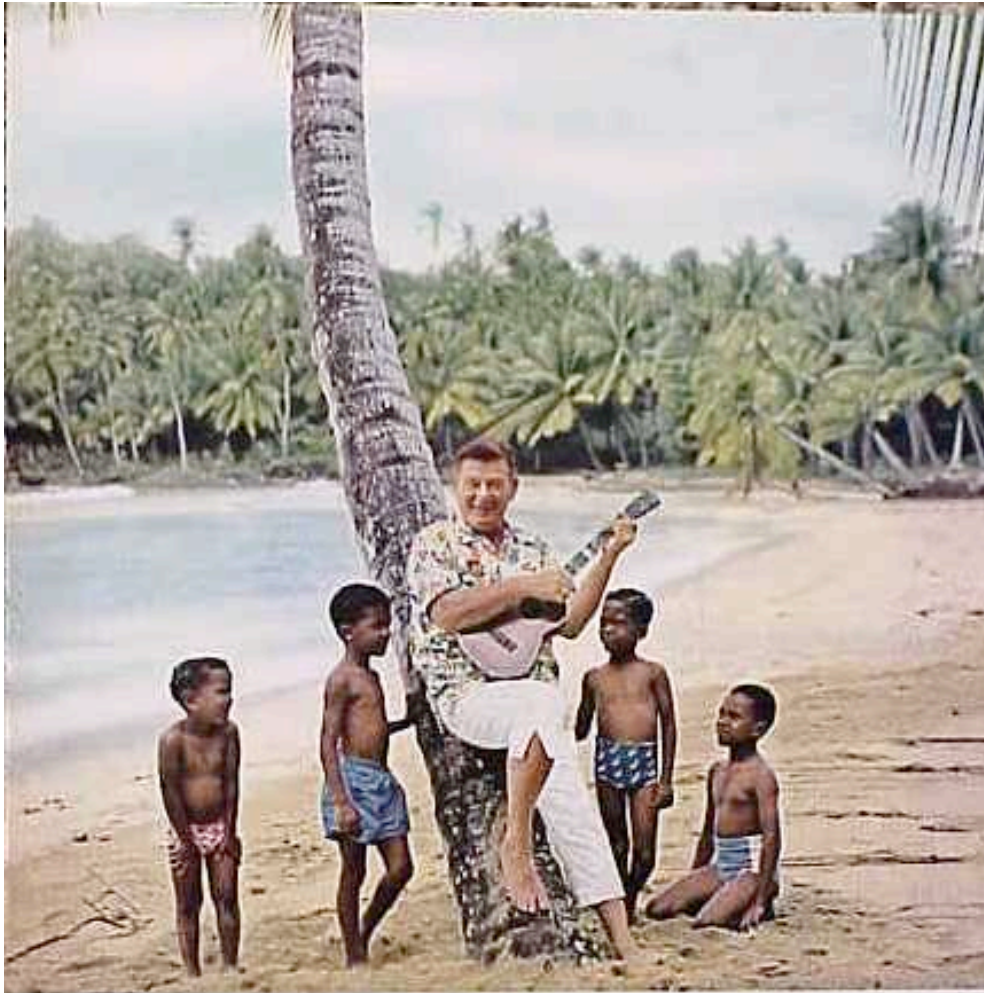
The 'swinging sixties' was a busy decade for Jamaica. Almost simultaneously, the island received its (in)dependence from Britain and became the 'most sought after tourist destination in the world'¹⁸. With America's rise as an imperial power, it began to seem as though the US had picked up right where Britain left off. Even as Jamaica celebrated its newfound 'freedom' it's political and economic troubles, found the nation swinging from one form of dependence to another. Tourism campaigns centred on attracting a North American market were given special attention and in 1963, the slogan 'Come to Jamaica, It's no place like home' was replaced by 'Come back to Jamaica.' In the early sixties, American cultural icons featured prominently in magazine

¹⁸ Jamaica Tourist Board, *Jamaica Tourist Board: Tourism Information Publishing Site*, jtbonline.org (accessed 2012).

advertisements that used images to evoke and pander to a sense of nostalgia amongst White Americans for uncontested Whiteness. By the end of the sixties, there was very little innuendo being used. That what was being sold was Black servitude and the nostalgia for a simpler time or a fantasy life in which that was possible was laid out in plain black and white text for all to see.

These print advertisements which often ran in popular magazines such as the *New Yorker*, can now be found littering internet shopping sites such as *ebay*, as persons continue to capitalize on nostalgic remembering and the desire to own a piece of the past.

A 1961 advertisement featuring American radio personality Arthur Godfrey, showed a smiling Godfrey on a beach, dressed for the tropics in a floral shirt and cuffed white pants, leaning against a gently curved coconut tree, playing his ukulele for four little Black boys dressed in nothing but swim trunks, who have gathered at his feet and appear to be listening intently. The caption, begins with the slogan still in use in 1961



come to Jamaica—it's no place like home

No man is an island. If women were islands they'd be jealous of Jamaica—it's so maddeningly beautiful! But there's more to the place than moonlight washed with night-blossoms (see June or July for 24 karat gold). The golfing is great (5 superb courses). The eating is great (you'll forget to count the calories!) The fishing is fabulous (the water is clear as a crystal and teeming with fish). Jamaica has 4400 square miles teeming with things to do. So why go just anywhere when it costs no more (70 a day and up) to really go everywhere?

Even my upstate went native Arthur Godfrey

Now more accommodations! Daily rates per person with meals from \$8 in guest houses, \$14 in hotels, \$20 in deluxe hotels. Completely air-conditioned cottages, \$175 per week for 6 persons without meals. More flights than ever before—many are jets. Tourist fare round trip from N. Y. \$294, from Miami \$112.

Jamaica: The Top 4000. Jamaica Tourist Board • New York • Chicago • Miami • Los Angeles • San Francisco • Toronto • Kingston, Jamaica, W.I. MS 4897. (800) 402-4477. Get service from Miami (305) 412-2222. International airfare rates seasonal. Also, regular airfare from New York, Miami and New Orleans. \$8.

Illustration ii Come Back to Jamaica campaign print ad (ebay - 1961 Travel Ad Jamaica Arthur Godfrey n.d.)

‘Come to Jamaica, It’s no place like home’ and goes on to say ‘No man is an island. If women were islands they’d be jealous of Jamaica. It’s maddeningly beautiful’. The typed text goes on to talk about the golf courses, shopping and food offerings. In red ‘pen’, scribbled throughout the caption is Godfrey’s signature and his own commentary on his Jamaican vacation. “Even my ukulele went native.” he says¹⁹.

Advertisements of this era seemed to thrive on the myth of simplicity, and quaintness, a performed nativism. It was a complex way of experiencing what Renato Rosaldo refers to as imperialist nostalgia. Rosaldo’s article addresses the longing and nostalgia of the researcher and imperialist for that which she/he has altered and at times intentionally changed. He defines it as what occurs when someone ‘deliberately alters a form of life and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to his or her intervention’ (Rosaldo 1989). Imperialist nostalgia imagines and longs for a simpler life amongst the natives. It minimizes as it traps the native in a perpetual state of false, imagined history, a memory created out of wishes – nostalgia. In so doing it frees the researcher, or in this case, the tourist to move and to travel and secures for him not only a present and a future in which he can enact his Whiteness and perform his place in the self-imposed hierarchy of ‘civilised and native’, but also a past that he can long for and use as justification for his current positionality. The photograph, the caption and the comments, serve a presentist agenda. They do not reflect the actual past, but instead the White yearning for Black simplicity in the present moment – the 1960s.

¹⁹ balovell (seller), *ebay - 1961 Travel Ad Jamaica Arthur Godfrey*, http://www.ebay.com/itm/1961-Travel-Ad-Jamaica-Arthur-Godfrey-/300397028040#ht_500wt_922 (accessed 2012).

David Lowenthal argues that ‘the past is foreign country whose features are shaped by today’s predilections; its strangeness domesticated by our own preservation of its vestiges’ (Lowenthal 1985, 3). For the American tourist of the 1960s, the past was indeed a foreign country – Jamaica. A foreign country where one could experience the indisputable power of Whiteness and dabble in the reckless abandon of native Blackness all at the same time - a dance that arguably could not be performed as effectively on US soil or at ‘home’. Jamaica as seen in its marketing campaigns, and through the eyes of the tourist, could be anywhere - anywhere but Europe, anywhere but America, anywhere but home. Jamaica is merely the embodiment of the past as a foreign country, it is site upon which memory can be enacted. According to French historian Pierre Nora, we ‘construct *liuex de memoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *mileux de memoire*, environments of memory’. We are unable to live within memory so we crystallize it and construct monuments and memorials in its name (Nora 1989). Jamaica in this sense becomes a monument to colonialism, a memorial of Whiteness, whose pedestal had been shaken by the Civil Rights Movement in American.

On September 14, 1968 a Jamaica Tourist Board advertisement that ran in the New Yorker, showed the indulgence of nostalgia to be far more than a mere suggestion. It was blatantly stated in the advertisement that that’s what tourists were being invited to do.

Jamaica's rent-a-villas
Come with rent-a-cooks,
rent-a-maids,
rent-a-nannies,
rent-a-gardeners
and even rent-a-cars.

You can rent a lovely life in Jamaica by the week.
It starts with a country house or beach cottage or
hilltop hideaway that comes equipped with gentle
people named Ivy or Maud or Malcolm who will
cook, tend, mend, diaper, and launder for you.

Who 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.

A kind of Nannyhood for Grownups, actually.
They'll spoil you.
But you'll also spoil yourself.

....

For more about renting the Life You wish You Led, see your local travel agent or
Jamaica Tourist Board in New York, Miami, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago,
Toronto or Montreal(Advertisement. 1968)²⁰.

1968 was a monumental year of upheaval, violence, protests, riots and tragedy for
the United States of America. It was the year the North Vietnamese launched the Tet
offensive at Nha Trang, and the year Andy Warhol was shot. It was the year Women's
liberation groups protested the Miss America Beauty contest in Atlantic City and the year
Robert Kennedy was shot and killed. 1968 was also - probably most importantly for the
purposes of the essay - the year that Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. The Civil
Rights movement's leader's assassination resulted in an explosion of discontent. It

²⁰ Excerpt from Jamaica Tourist Board, Advertisement. , *The New Yorker*, 14 September 1968: 38-39.

sparked riots in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, Newark, Washington, D.C., and many other areas of the United States. Forty-six deaths across the country would eventually be blamed on the riots. Racial tensions were high to say the least. African Americans had refused to remain silent about racism. It seemed centuries of oppression had come to a head and people were aggressively claiming their due. It is no surprise then, that Jamaica sold passivity. The 1968 Jamaica Tourist Board advertisements seemed aimed at counteracting all that was happening in the United States. At a time when White Americans feared the dissolution of their racial hierarchy, Jamaica offered a return to a simpler time - a time when Blacks 'knew their place' and did not contest it. The Jamaican tourism industry's target market at the time was more than likely adults in their mid 50s and 60s. Men and women, who had grown up secure in their Whiteness and privilege, holding tight reigns on their Black nannies and maids and gardeners, and who were nostalgic for a time their privilege or audacity went unquestioned.

The language of the advertisement is disturbing - 'rent-a-maids', 'rent-a-nannies', "rent-a-cars" – Jamaican people are not only confined to the capacity of service, but are also lumped in alongside objects. Dehumanised and objectified, they are not considered people but instead they are the 'equipment' that comes along with the tourist's rental of a "country house or beach cottage or hilltop hideaway". The Jamaican 'maid', or 'nanny' or "gardener" is no more than a slave, and in this way an object to be used and discarded - a short term rental – a non-human, non-being. Here there is no (there cannot be) Black

subjectivity. This absence of value accorded to Blackness, is what creates the symbolic value of Whiteness and enacting the memory of this in Jamaica, the foreign country stuck in the presentist past, the White tourist is able to reaffirm his Whiteness, symbolic and concrete. This notion of a 'rentable' Jamaican, speaks to the fungibility or interchangeability of the Black body. In this way Blackness is not allowed humanity. As Frank Wilderson states "[Blackness] as a structural position of noncommunicability in the face of all other positions; this meaning is noncommunicable because, again, as a position, Blackness is predicated on modalities of accumulation and fungibility, not exploitation and alienation"(Wilderson 2010, 59).

The overwhelming emphasis on colonial nostalgia, reinforces the slave position of the Black Jamaican and in so doing also serves to reinforce the place of Whiteness in society at large. According to Halbwachs it is through memory that people legitimate their own social classes and their position within the class framework. "Classes reproduce their own social positionality, reproducing through memory and action not only their own class position but also that of others. We participate in shaping the ways in which people conceptualize their own notions of self and in so doing we reproduce hierarchy" (Halbwachs 1992, 179). Living out this colonial fantasy in Jamaica allows White Americans to feel more secure in their own Whiteness. As mentioned before, Whiteness is lived or produced in opposition to Blackness, however in order to achieve this profound, progressive Whiteness a stagnant Blackness is necessary. There is a desire

for the simple or 'primitive' and for the 'happy Negro' who will "'Mister Peter, please" you all day long," whose only source of sadness is in the tourist's departure.

Paradise requires not only perpetual joy but also frivolity and carefreeness. In paradise, no one works. For the tourist there is no need to work as all his needs are taken care of by the 'rent-a-maid' or 'rent-a-gardener' or 'rent-a-nanny'; he need not lift a finger as he is catered to by Black Jamaicans who are more than happy to serve him. And for them, serving him is not work. The Black man, according to the White imagination is happy with his lot, and he is characteristically childlike and happy-go-lucky. The 'work' he does, therefore has no strain and takes no toll and as such is not considered work. Such notions of Blackness served to further solidify class and race hierarchy and to justify the marginalisation of the Black man. The Black man was/is thought to be incapable of work, and of complex thought - too childlike to manage freedom, wild and savage, made lazy by nature and by the warm climate, he does not need clothing nor housing or any other such essential. Frank Fonda Taylor discusses this ideal in his book *To Hell With Paradise: A History of the Jamaican Tourist Industry* (1993) saying,

that Jamaica (the isle of sunshine) knew no care was corroborated, according to reports, by the smiling faces, joyous laughter, and blithe behaviour of blacks. Happy denizens of an island paradise, the black masses of Jamaica, like the lilies of the field, had neither to toil nor to spin to make a living, since little effort was required to maintain human sustenance in this tropical Garden of Eden. To work like a "nigger" was not to work hard but hardly. Here was a retreat where life had passed in slothful ease and folks were on a perpetual holiday (106-107).

Tourism allowed for the perpetuation of segregation and inequalities in a way that was fast becoming taboo in America. Only through Caribbean tourism could the American have the opportunity to resurrect the ‘mammy’ of his past. Even though the modern tourism advertisements no longer so blatantly invite White Americans to partake in the experience of a ‘nannyhood for grownups’, the overwhelming desire still exists, and the opportunity to enact this kind of segregation remains what has been and is being sold in Jamaica, though it is now more often sold through images than through words.

COME BACK TO GENTILITY

Come back to Jamaica (come back to gentility)
What’s old is what’s new (come back to our beauty)
We want you to join us (come back to our people)
We made it for you (come back to hospitality)
So make it Jamaica (come back to our bounty)
Make it your own (come back to tranquillity)
Make it Jamaica (come back to romance)
Your new island home
(come back to the way things used to be, make it Jamaica again,
and make it your own)
*Make it Jamaica, your new island home*²¹.

²¹ *Come Back to Jamaica*, television advertisement commissioned by Jamaica Tourist Board, 1978.

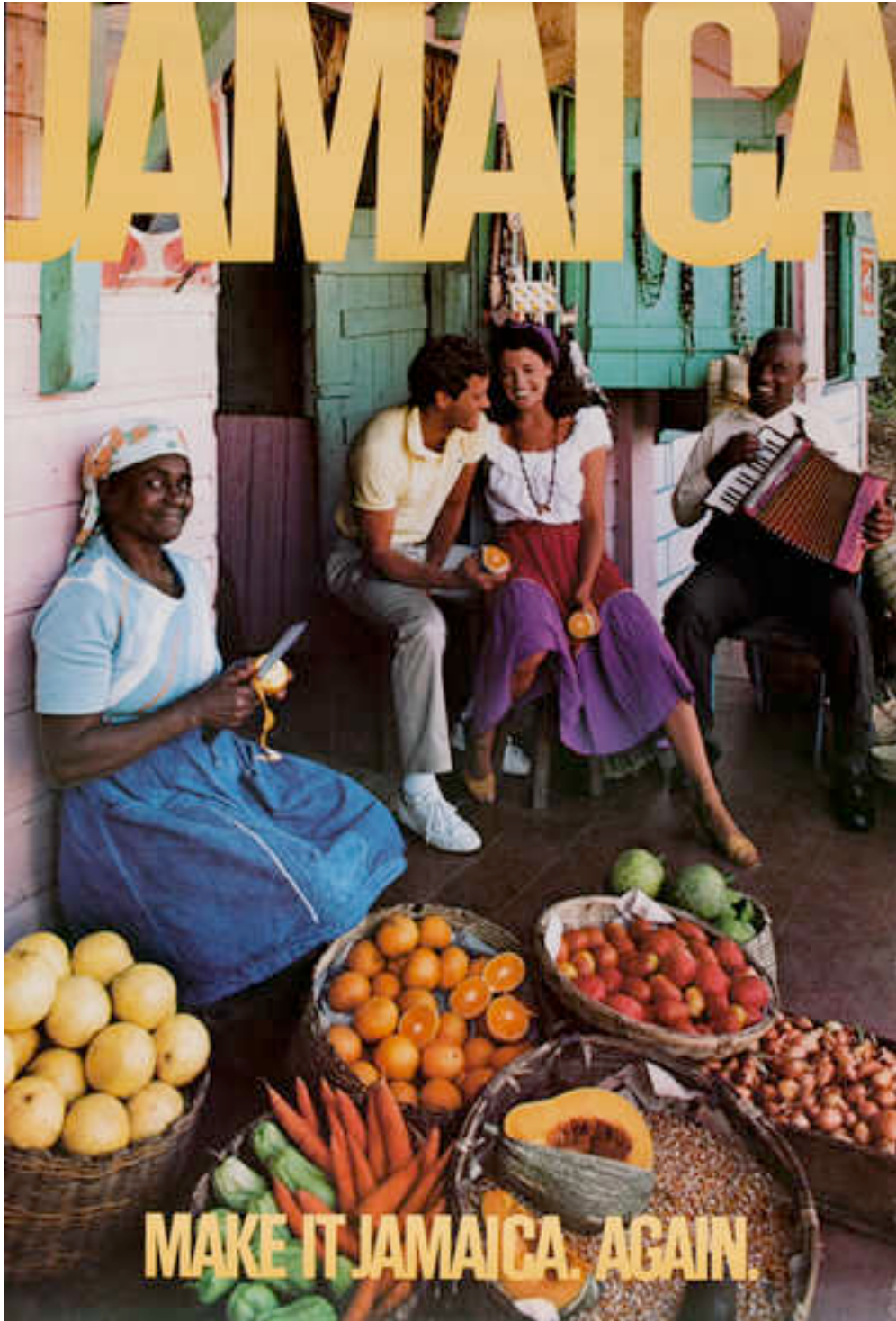


Illustration iii Make it Jamaica Again campaign print ad

A little over ten years after Jamaica invited visitors to ‘rent the life [they] wish [they] led’²², tourists were summoned to once again ‘come back to Jamaica’. This time, the campaigns, spearheaded by global advertising agency Young & Rubicam, focused on a perceived nostalgia for respectability, gentility, royalty, luxury and Britishness. The advertising firm’s aim was to develop a campaign that showcased ‘both the visitor and the product (Jamaica Tourist Board n.d.)²³’. Sung to a tune reminiscent of John Lennon’s *Happy Christmas (War is Over)*, the television advertisements of the Jamaica Tourist Board’s ‘Come Back to Jamaica’ or ‘Make it Jamaica Again’ campaign remain some of the most memorable. The first to include almost solely Black Jamaican bodies, this campaign appealed to both Black and White Americans in different ways. The advertisement emphasized Jamaica’s world position as a ‘past-tense’ place, where the tourist could ‘come back to the way things used to be’. What were these disparate populations seeking to ‘come back to’?

The television advertisement, which can still be found today on internet sites such as *youtube*, shows strapping young black men, sitting tall atop horses, in the midst of a game of polo encouraging the viewer to “come back to gentility”. A Jamaican woman emerges out of flower shrubs, her hair adorned with hibiscus and her hands holding a bouquet, wistfully staring into the camera she smiles sweetly and invites the viewer to “come back to our beauty”. A jolly looking fisherman, looks up from his work, just long enough to say “come back to our people” and then a dark skinned woman dressed in

²² Jamaica Tourist Board, *The New Yorker*, 14 September 1968.

²³ Jamaica Tourist Board, *Jamaica Tourist Board: Tourism Information Publishing Site*, jtbonline.org (accessed 2012).

pastel coloured, flowery afro-centric garb, beams as she extends her arm to showcase an exquisite dining spread and invites the viewer to “come back to hospitality”. Such an advertisement would not be complete without the rotund and joyful market woman, her head wrapped in floral fabric to match her dress, she sits in front of her luscious wares and called to those salivating behind the camera “come back to our bounty”. A svelte dark woman dressed in white, stands with a waterfall as her backdrop and beckons her viewer to “come back to tranquillity”. The camera takes us quickly from outside in the garden to the interior of a ballroom where men and women dressed ‘traditional’ Caribbean attire – white peasant blouses, brightly coloured flowing skirts and head-wraps for the women, and billowing long sleeved white shirts accented with brightly coloured vests for the men – waltz around gracefully. One woman halts mid-pirouette, turns to the camera and calls us all to “come back to romance”. The final interlocutor of the advertisement is an elderly Black man, quaintly attired in a khaki pants, white shirt, suspenders and hat, surrounded by little girls in frilly dresses with ribbons in their hair who skip circles around him as they begin to scramble up on the roots of a large tree. He walks slowly with the support of his bamboo cane and smiling into the lens of the camera says “come back to the way things used to be, make it Jamaica again and make it your own”.

The song and images speak to a White nostalgia for Black servitude and British royalty and respectability. This is fascinating considering that Jamaica’s main tourism market is middle class White Americans, persons who do not have a concrete history of

having experienced such colonial ‘gentility’, however, the memory of this racialised relationship of Black deference to White mastery is a collective one. This desire goes beyond Jamaica’s shores. It is a desire for Britishness, and the luxury, royalty and prestige that it is assumed is associated with it. America’s relationship with Britain has been and remains complicated. According to David Lowenthal (1985), American attitudes to the past, and as such their attitudes Britain, and the history of their colonial relationship with the nation, are sharply polarized. He says “on the one hand, freedom from the encumbering past was a virtual dogma of the Revolution and the new republic; on the other, Americans deplored their historically meagre landscapes and reverently protected the Founding Fathers’ achievements”(105). Lowenthal also argues that the legacy of British imperial heritage was more burdensome on America than its outgrown colonial beginnings. America thus tried to rid herself of Britain, British political institutions and British modes of thought. Equating the relationship between Britain and America to that between parent and child, Lowenthal speaks at length about the perception of America as a youthful country created by blameless men. Americans were then able to conceive of themselves as ahistorical or uniquely exempt from secular historical processes (109). Europeanness on the other hand was associated with antiquity and decay. “many Americans conceived of their country as exempt from decay because *eternally* youthful, newly created by rational and blameless men, America lay outside the historical process; Providence had specifically spared it from history” (109). If Lowenthal is correct and there is such contempt amongst North Americans for old British practices, imperialism and ways of thinking, then why was the employment of British

ideals of gentility, respectability and an appeal to a sense of royalty so effective in marketing Jamaica to North Americans?

The core contention of Americanness - of being all at once young and old - seem to play out in these Jamaica Tourist Board advertisements. Lowenthal argues that this desire for simultaneously latching onto and departing from Britain is because while Americans viewed European antiquity with disdain as they sought to establish themselves as a new nation, blameless without the weight of European history, "Europe's historical depth fulfilled needs that American juvenility could not. The foremost celebrants of the new confessed the pull of the old"(115). Americans who held that the New World could not afford to be corrupted by nostalgia, were nostalgic regardless. America desired a richer history for herself and a connection to the Founding Fathers. According to Lowenthal, yet another cause of post-Revolutionary ambivalence toward the past was that Americans were exhorted to revere the nation's Founding Fathers and protect their achievements, despite these Founding Fathers' pastness and connections to Europeanness.

They ardently admired their immediate forebears, yet also asserted total independence from the past. The Revolutionary generation had 'bequeathed to us almost all we have that is worth having', a precious legacy that must be zealously safeguarded; 'we inherited it from our fathers, and it is our duty to preserve it for those who come after us.' In short, while the past in general was to be sloughed off, the immediate past was to be venerated and preserved'(Lowenthal 1985, 117)

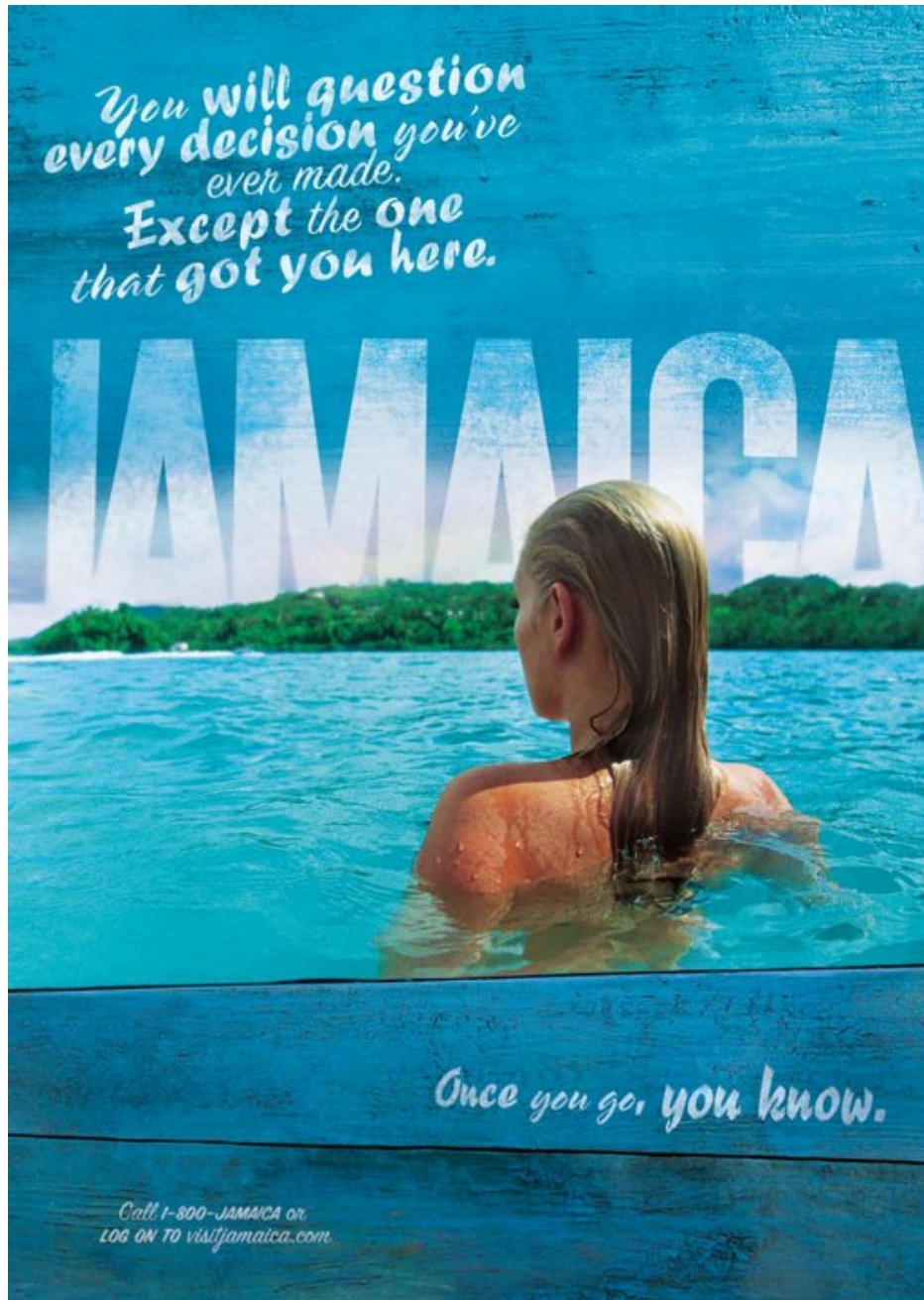
I argue that the desire for Britishness extends beyond a sense of longing for historicity and instead lives in a desire for control of racial hierarchy and for the maintenance of a Whiteness birthed out of and strongest under British imperialism. There is a desire, it seems, for the leisure and luxury that British royalty affords itself at the expense of African and African descended peoples and a drive to continuously maintain or live up to the racial hierarchy of the famed Founding Fathers. Jamaica's call to 'come back to gentility' provided for White Americans the opportunity to relive and "zealously safeguard" the "precious legacy" of Americanness bequeathed to them by the Founding Fathers. Following the uprisings of the 1960s, the multiculturalism of 1970s and 1980s as seen in these JTB advertisements, filled with docile, gentile and inviting Black folk, was just what White America needed. Black bodies 'Whitened' in multiple ways, provided a place of comfort, luxury and leisure for the White American and allowed the tourist to live a fantasy of British royalty and gentility while still professing a benevolence and multiculturalism, which would allow separation from Britain's history as a brutal imperial force. By vacationing in Jamaica, this newly independent British colony, that now offered its tourists the promise of British civility, Americans could be like British royalty but better.

This era of advertising was the also first time Jamaica was being marketed to non-White visitors. By the 1980s, when these advertisements were airing on popular television, Jamaica had established solid resident communities in the UK and in the USA. The advertisements, urged those Jamaicans who had left fearing the economic collapse

that seemed imminent in the 1970s to return to Jamaica now as tourists. It promised them the pre-independent, old gentile Jamaica of their youth. Also, for the first time, African-Americans had increased access to international travel. As the African American middle class grew in the US, Jamaican tourism marketing campaigns such as these that employed the bodies of Black Jamaicans in apparent subject positions, were aired to attract African American visitors. As a part of the push to attract African American tourists Jamaica, in the mid-1980s, played host to the 'Mowtown/Pepsi Soul by the Sea' concert and television special (Jamaica Tourist Board n.d.). What did Jamaica hold for African American visitors? What did they require from Jamaica that they could not receive in America? It can be argued that although America in the late 1970s and 1980s had been making strides towards multiculturalism, this did not equate to a move towards true anti-racism or racial equality. African Americans remained (remain) disenfranchised in America. Jamaica allowed them to enact American citizenship and the privilege that comes along with it in a way that they could not under America's racist regime. As Toni Morrison highlights in her text *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*(1993) "deep within the word "American" is its association with race....American means white and Africanist people struggle to make the term applicable to themselves with ethnicity and hyphen after hyphen after hyphen" (47). Africanness and Americanness were mutually exclusive in America, so the only place the African-American could be simply American was in Jamaica. Also, Jamaica as marketed during this era, promised respectability and gentility to a rising African American middle class, to whom such values may have been of great importance. It also promised a colonial

luxury and leisure that America's structural racism simply would not allow African Americans. And finally, with its performed nativism and inclusion of Europeanised Afro-centric, clothing, dance, food and ideals, Jamaica allowed African Americans a piece of 'authentic' Africa. The island in this sense became an important *Lieux de Memoire* (Nora 1989) for African Americans as well. Allowing them to access all at once 'authentic' Africanness and a connection to an African past, colonial gentility and old European values of respectability, and an Americanness that America denied them.

It can be assumed that Jamaicans who returned home as tourists desired many of the same things. Spending American dollars as a Jamaican tourist in Jamaica, allowed them also to access an Americanness that they had been denied in America by virtue of their skin colour, country of birth, and accent. It also allowed them a new kind of access to Jamaicanness, ownership of commodified Jamaican identity as well the enjoyment of the prestige associated with America or 'foreign'. These returning Jamaicans now straddled two positions, they held knowledge of Jamaica and so could stake claim to Jamaican identity, but now also held foreign wealth and so could come to know Jamaica in a way that they had not before, they now had access to the Jamaica reserved for tourists.



*You will question
every decision you've
ever made.
Except the one
that got you here.*

JAMAICA

Once you go, you know.

*Call 1-800-JAMAICA or
LOG ON TO visitjamaica.com*

Illustration iv Jamaica Once you go, you know print ad



ONCE YOU GO YOU KNOW

Once you go - we must tell you/show you/give you only the best - the cleanest, the brightest, the whitest, the best. No poverty, no slavery, no dirt, no guns, no crime, no race, no rebellion. White sand, blue sky, clear water, dark hand holding pink drink, red, gold, green, black all happily singing 'one love'. This is about you knowing – relaxation, perfection, skewed memory, nostalgia, little white lies. You know?

Once you go you know what? According to the advertisement, all you need to know is that ‘the sky is blue, the water is inviting, the drinks are cold, and the people as warm as always. In the Jamaica you know and love, nothing really changes, except of course the hearts and souls of those who visit - once you go you know.’²⁴

This new era of tourism marketing birthed in 2003 holds a mixture of the multicultural ‘One Love’ rhetoric of the 1990s and the perpetuation of the illusion of stasis and nostalgia of the campaigns of the earlier periods. Following the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York, there was a drastic decline in air travel. This threatened to devastate the Jamaican tourism industry which had become so heavily dependent upon North American travellers. In 2003, the ‘Once you go, you know’ campaign was launched as part of the strategy devised to counter the effects of the ‘war on terror’ which began in March of 2003 (Jamaica Tourist Board)²⁵. The global environment had changed, but Jamaica was still economically dependent upon tourism. The Jamaica Tourist Board had to work hard to maintain its place as a premier tourism destination at a time when for the few people who were travelling, security and predictability seemed to have taken precedence over leisure and luxury.

Jamaica was then presented as all at once old and new, modern and nostalgic, full of adventure yet secure and ‘knowable’. To reiterate the slogan ‘In the Jamaica you know and love, nothing really changes, except of course, the hearts and souls of those

²⁴ *Once you go, you know*, 2004.

²⁵ Jamaica Tourist Board, *Jamaica Tourist Board: Tourism Information Publishing Site*, jtbonline.org (accessed 2012).

who visit'. Jamaica, as always, was the tourist's playground, the place where he could enact fantasies impossible on American soil, yet do so without fear of judgement or danger.

The advertisements today, are less restrained than the ones that aired a few decades earlier. Rather than inviting the American tourist to gentility, we invite him to a place of freedom. Freedom from the restrictions placed on him as a result of the modern security implementations. Images of couples rolling around in the sand, or cuddling in hammocks seem to invite the tourist to experience libidinous freedom, to 'let loose' in Jamaica and rebel against the demands of respectability on successful Americans. The advertisements of this era have sought to find a balance between showcasing land and people, allowing not only mastery of the Jamaican people but also of the 'inviting', 'virginal' landscape. Through tourism the White male visitor is given possession of all – the feminized land, the White female body, and the Black body.

'Once you go, you know'. The statement is broad and all-encompassing and seems to promise the tourist, that a visit is all that is required for him to own or 'know' all there is to own or 'know' in or about Jamaica. It allows for a Columbus-like sense of mastery and discovery, one that allows the visitor the right to claim the land and people upon arrival. Like the advertising campaigns before it, the current slogan using different phrasing to once again encourage foreigners to consider Jamaica 'home'. In so doing, it robs Jamaicans of that right. In order to allow visitors a comfortable, ideal, 'home', one without race or class struggles or tensions, one without poverty or despair, one without

labour, work, sadness or pain, Jamaicans' reality must be hidden. Those who do not suit the picture perfect image presented on the brochure must be cast aside, barred from intermingling with or 'harassing' the tourists. To ensure this, the beaches, tourist attractions and boundaries of the all-inclusive resorts are tightly controlled, accessible only to foreigners and those with the means to pay to use them. Beyond these parameters, the courtesy police are charged with ensuring that the Jamaican people do not interfere with the tourist's nostalgic fantasy of 'homecoming'. The Jamaicans in the advertisements are warm, and sweet, docile and compliant. That is what tourists expect, that is all they should see.

Thanks to advances in technology and ease of travel, the Jamaican vacation and the mastery it brings along with it, is no longer reserved solely for the rich. So, at a time when many Americans are faced with financial difficulty due to the global recession, Jamaica, due to its proximity to the US and the prevalence of 'economically efficient' all-inclusive hotels on its shores, has become somewhat of a bargain vacation spot for the American middle class, allowing them to experience, if even briefly, luxury and leisure and the Black servitude that comes along with it, that a global recession, a war, incessant cries for racial equality and an unwavering cultural insistence on political correctness have disallowed them.

Canadian blogger Candace Derickx, is a frequent visitor to Jamaica, and in recounting her travels on her blog, notes that for her the campaign slogan 'Once You Go,

You Know' rings true. Her blog post chronicles her fifth visit Jamaica, a place she now thinks of as home. Derickx writes:

Way back in the 1400s, Columbus described Jamaica as “the fairest island the eyes have beheld; mountains and the land seem to touch the sky...all full of valleys and plains.” Columbus may have been a little bit of a fibber on his “discoveries” but the man sure knew how to describe a land. Natural beauty abounds in Jamaica, from crystal blue waters and soft white sand, to lush green mountains and valleys. Flora, fauna and fun. There is no question that this is what calls to me on cold winter days in Canada, but there's something else that keeps me going back.

The people.

If you go to Jamaica more than once, you don't get the standard “Welcome Back” so many places give you, you get a very sincere “Welcome Home”. The people of Jamaica are so warm, funny and sweet, that when they say that to you, it's not canned, it's genuine. For me, that first “Welcome Home” when I hit the island, sets me immediately at ease (Derickx 2011)

At what cost to Jamaicans does the 'sincere “Welcome Home” that Derickx enjoys come?

While Jamaicans continue to suffer the dire effects of poverty, corruption, exploitation, violence and crime, the advertisements promise us, Jamaicans, and the rest of the world that nothing will really change. The White tourist is given continued ownership, 'knowing' and understanding while the Jamaican continuously suffers colonial dispossession. The promise of citizenship, belongs to the Jamaican only as smiling figures in tourism advertisements. It is only through loyalty to tourism, and subsequently submitting to (neo)colonialism that Jamaicans are allowed to be Jamaican.

Although M. Jacqui Alexander speaks of Bahamas, her analysis is perfectly suited to the Jamaican situation.

For the tourist, the state-managed system adheres to the feminization of nature through symbols of unspoiled virgin territory, waiting to be transformed and possessed by imperial heterosexual design; the evocation of a land steeped in pathos and, by extension, mystery; a rewriting of history and the renovation of the narrative of colonization as a celebratory one of mutual consent, reminiscent only of imperial travel writing and rescue narratives. For Bahamians [Jamaicans], it involves the excessive production of a tourist culture and the almost painstaking building of an ideology that premises loyal Bahamian [Jamaicans] citizenship upon loyalty to tourism (Alexander 2005, 54).

What does loyalty to tourism look like in Jamaica? And how can loyalty to tourism ever grant Jamaicans Jamaican citizenship, when tourism in Jamaica grants ownership and 'knowing' of land and people alike to the foreigners who visit? As Alexander points out this citizenship seems to require rewriting of history and a retelling or renovation of the narrative of colonization to make it one of mutual consent. The success of tourism as an industry, in the form it currently exists, requires that we forget our oppression, and forget any desire for freedom - that we continue to see our past and our present through the rose-tinted lenses of nostalgia and remain more loyal to the tourist, and our colonial masters than we are to our own needs and desires. It is the perpetuation of the colonial lie turned national lie, the deceit of a false promise of citizenship. It keeps us blind, keeps us quiet, keeps us loyal to the tourist, loyal to colonizer, unable to envision better for ourselves. In promising home, nostalgia, ownership, understanding, comfort, security and the knowability of a place where 'nothing really changes' tourism in Jamaica limits what Jamaicans are allowed to 'know'.

Chapter Three

“Give Us The Queen!” : Jamaican Colonial Nostalgia

In our 50th year of independence Jamaica continues to heavily employ the colonial nostalgia trope in the marketing and execution of our tourism industry. What is the effect of the perpetuation of the tourism marketing lie of stagnancy on Jamaican national identity? How does tourism affect how we come to ‘know’ ourselves?

[Give Us the Queen!] Well that was my song all along, no so call independence, we are now almost fifty years back in the wilder nest, what we have to show for bust and Manley mistake, over a trillion dollars in debt and a country full of uneducated people, poverty, unemployment, working people cannot afford to buy food, we are the murder capitol of the world, is those something to celebrate, as night fall people must rush behind their prison bars, one cannot walk on the road freely with out rob or kill, i don't care what anyone said, but if we get so-call ind. from slavery, I think we were much better off be in slavery, for me nothing to celebrate[sic] (Commenter Glen, Give us the Queen! 2011)

IN colonial times:

1 no Gangs

2 no rapes

3 no murders for years

4 plenty of food for all

5 corruption by leaders would not be tolerated

6 no kidnapping of children and killing them

7 you could be safe on the streets any hour of the day or nigh

8 No high powered guns, M 16, Glocs, 9mms etc

Just a few of the benefits which is better than philosophies and political agenda and blind loyalty to political parties of this latter we are large on these in Jamaica today even when WE Guts a growl with hungry and we cant find the rent money. Please spare me (Commenter gegoful, Give us the Queen! 2011)

I agree let the Queen remain. Dont blame Her as she has nothing do with the mashing up of the country. As a matter of fact i believe if she was not the head of state it would be worst. She does not interfere withm he daily running of the island she is only a pendulum between the parliamentarians and the people. Again Let The Queen Remain !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!. (Commenter Adelroy36, Give us the Queen! 2011)

‘Give us the Queen!’ from the looks of things was more than just the Jamaica Gleaner article’s headline. As Jamaica prepares to celebrate 50 years of (in)dependence, this year (2012) assessments of the progress we have made as a nation and as a people over the past 50 years have been numerous. There has also been much discussion regarding our structure of governance, and whether or not the Queen of England should – 50 years following the end of British colonial rule in Jamaica – remain our Head of State. And leading up to the celebrations, the questions continue to be asked – Has Independence benefitted Jamaica and Jamaicans? Would Jamaica have been better off under colonial rule? Can we truly consider ourselves an independent nation? According to the June 28, 2011 Jamaica Gleaner article, 60 percent of Jamaicans held the view that the country would have been better off under British rule. Pollster Bill Johnson, conducted an islandwide survey among 1,008 people on May 28 and 29, 2011 and found that the majority were nostalgic for colonialism. According to the Gleaner article “conversely, 17 percent of those surveyed said the country would be worse off had it remained a colony of Britain, while 23 percent said they did not know. The poll has a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percent” (Gleaner 2011).

After 50 years, the majority of Jamaicans still cry out for the leadership of the Queen of England. Why? And should we be surprised? Is this what happens to a place forced into perpetually dependent stasis? Have we forgotten what colonialism looked like or is this response indicative of something more? Are we crying out to England to save us or to take responsibility for the ‘mess’ she left behind? Or is it more that we want to be able to ‘know’ the same Jamaica, we continually sell to tourists?

It is hard to tell what the motivations are. And it is harder to tell people who have never tasted freedom that we should celebrate Independence proudly. Is this the dependence the colonizer desired? As Frantz Fanon said in *The Wretched of the Earth* “The work of the colonist is to make even dreams of liberty impossible for the colonized. The work of the colonized it to imagine every possible method for annihilating the colonist”. I argue that the perpetuation of the idea that tourism is a necessity for economic development in Jamaica, has played a major role in this process. We have become so heavily involved in the tourism project that we have forgotten the work of ‘annihilating the colonist’. Instead we find ourselves literally begging the colonist to return to us. We cry out “Give Us Back the Queen!”. We beckon “Come Back to Jamaica”. We beg them to “Make it Jamaica Again” and promise that we will remain ‘knowable’ and pliable, an easy to master and easy to love Jamaica where “nothing really changes”.

Tourism in Jamaica, is an important part of the maintenance of race, class and sex hierarchies, and of the continued perpetuation of White cultural hegemony established

centuries earlier. Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony explains the means by which a minority social class is able to control and exploit a culturally diverse majority through the manipulation of societal norms, values and beliefs to extend the ruling class' worldview or ideology. Thereby maintaining the status quo. "Gramsci uses [the concept of hegemony] to examine the precise political, cultural and ideological forms through which, in any given society, a fundamental class is able to establish its *leadership* as distinct from the more coercive forms of domination" (Bennet, Martin and Woollacott 1981, 187). Within, the notion of cultural hegemony, there is a necessary air of subtlety and unacknowledged consent. The master class controls popular culture, ideology, popular beliefs and common sense. The majority ruled classes, without examination, consent to their own oppression – cementing society into a relative – though never complete – unity (192). White cultural hegemony is invested in the maintenance of a (neo)colonial structure of tourism in Jamaica. Jamaicans, the colonized having accepted the societal norms of the colonizer, are equally or perhaps even more invested in this structure of tourism, seeing it as the only means of survival.

At the expense of revolution we silence ourselves in the interest of maintaining the colonial and national lie. We are invested in the commodified Jamaica and self-police in order to ensure that we do not disrupt the saleable image of Jamaica and Jamaicans as warm and friendly, and quaint and desirable. Upon analysis of an article posted on the UK's dailymail webpage, I contend that this silencing and self-policing is prevalent and dangerous. The article titled '*Daughter who attacked her Jamaican*

father's killers on Facebook suspended by the country's tourist board' (Beal 2012), tells the tale of the plight of a British-Jamaican marketing representative working for the Jamaica Tourist Board. According to the article Zoe Bennett's Jamaican father Errol Bennett died while on holiday in Jamaica following an attack by 'machete-wielding intruders'(Beal 2012). Zoe used the social networking site, Facebook, to air her distress and lamented her father's death saying "The b***** [sic] have murdered my dad in Jamaica. My heartbeat, my life has gone." Shortly thereafter, Zoe Bennett was suspended from her post with the JTB and an investigation of her comments was launched. Miss Bennett was apparently told that "the disciplinary investigation [would] also cover 'breaches of confidence' after her suspension was reported in a local newspaper". According to the Daily Mail, The Jamaica Tourist Board confirmed that Zoe Bennett had indeed been suspended but did not release a detailed statement as the case was ongoing.

Zoe Bennett's case, highlights the deep-rootedness of Jamaican investment in the perpetuation of colonial nostalgia and the national lies so prevalent in the tourism marketing campaigns. It would seem from this case, that the maintenance of Jamaica's image as safe, secure, quaint, warm, friendly, beautiful and 'knowable' is more important than the pursuance of justice or the freedom to express grief, despair and rage. This sordid story is not unique, and Zoe Bennett's father was not the first nor will he be the last victim of Jamaica's desperation. While I cannot say that I see the harm or the benefit in a Facebook rant, I cannot help but wonder about the Jamaica Tourist Board's alleged

response. How can we ever find justice if we continue to remain silent? Can we ever find a better truth for ourselves if we remain so invested tourism so heavily dependent on secrecy and colonial nostalgia, outwardly imposed perceptions and national lies?

Conclusion

“nuff people come to Jamaica an’ nuh kno how wi live, tink seh everyting nice tru wi full a vibes an’ ting, dem same one feel it to dem heart wen dem come fi ovastand di real ting”

(Excerpt from Morgan Heritage, *Nothing to Smile About*, comps. Morgan Heritage, 2008,.)

What solace or benefit is there in hiding the truth? Are we gaining from tourism as much as we lose? What advantages or disadvantages are there to shattering nostalgia’s rose-tinted lenses and dismantling the lie? Is there productive space for the rage acknowledgement of the truth may bring? Can we ever move beyond secrecy and step outside the lie? Is it possible to break the colonial spell? Must we rid ourselves of tourism or do we simply need to do it better? Given our history, our memory and our current social, economic and political world position is better tourism possible? Is better possible at all?

I have argued that in Jamaica tourism, ever-steeped in colonial nostalgia, is a silencer. It makes Jamaica less threatening to the tourist, whose foreign exchange dollars we need, but it also requires that Jamaicans live in a perpetual state of incongruous duality. That we lie to ourselves and to you, keeping up the appearance of the warm, friendly, smiling, simple people we try to sell you in the advertisements, forced to hide the pain of desperation and dependence, colonial dispossession and perpetual uncertainty. We have been taught that where there is so much at stake, we must continue to smile,

continue to be welcoming and continue to lie - all in the name of survival. But are we surviving? Can we survive upholding the perpetuation of colonialism, living under the weight of too many lies?

Is there change to be found in our memories and if so how can we begin to access that? Even as I critique tourism, colonial nostalgia and the lies we tell as we market ourselves as a consumable place and people to the world at large, I cannot help but wonder if there is any space for resistance to be found here? Can Jamaica fight against colonialism while remaining dependent upon tourism? Are lies and secrets and nostalgia our way of fighting against brutal realities? And if so are there more effective ways to fight, to protect ourselves, to survive? Can we give thought and value to our own interests when we continue to be told that we must exist to build the paradise of others?

What happens to a place where ‘nothing really changes’ – where once you go, know?

Bibliography

Come Back to Jamaica. Advertisement. Directed by Young and Rubicam Advertising Agency. 1978.

Alexander, M. Jacqui. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory and the Sacred.* Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005.

balovell. *ebay - 1961 Travel Ad Jamaica Arthur Godfrey.* http://www.ebay.com/itm/1961-Travel-Ad-Jamaica-Arthur-Godfrey-/300397028040#ht_500wt_922 (accessed 2012).

Beal, James. "Daughter who attacked her Jamaican father's killers on Facebook suspended by the country's tourist board." *Mail Online*, January 12, 2012.

Bennet, Tony, Graham, Mercer, Colin Martin, and Janet Woollacott, . *Culture, Ideology and Social Process: A Reader.* The Open University Press, 1981.

Chevannes, Barry. *Rastafari and other African-Caribbean Worldviews.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998.

Clifford, James. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology* (American Anthropological Association) 9, no. 3 (1994): 302-338.

Cohen, Colleen Ballerino. *Take Me to My Paradise: Tourism and Nationalism in the British Virgin Islands.* New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2010.

Confino, Alon. "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method." *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (Dec 1997): 1386-1403.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Crewe, Emma, and Elizabeth Harrison. *Whose Development? An Ethnography of Aid.* London and New York: Zed Books Ltd, 1998.

Daway, Davidson, interview by Traci-Ann Wint. *Economist* (2012).

Derickx, Candace. *Jamaica: Once You Go, You Know: Why I Keep Going Back.* October 18, 2011. <http://www.yummymummyclub.ca/blogs/candace-derickx-see-mummy-juggle/jamaica-once-you-go-you-know> (accessed May 2012).

Dookhan, Isaac. *A Post Emancipation History of the West Indies.* Kingston: Carlong Publishers (Caribbean) Limited, 1975.

Dunn, Hopeton S., and Leith L. Dunn. *People and Tourism: Issues and Attitudes in the Jamaican Hospitality Industry*. Kingston: Arawak Publications, 2001.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 2008.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2004 (1963).

Ferguson, James. *Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticisation, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic*. New York: Jon, 2000.

Gleaner, Jamaica. "Give us the Queen!" *The Jamaica Gleaner*, June 28, 2011.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. International Publishers Co., 1971.

Gullotta, Maria Carla, interview by Traci-Ann Wint. *Chairman, Free Winnifred Benevolent Society* (2012).

Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992(1941).

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Colonial Discourse / Post-Colonial Theory : A Reader*, by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 392-404. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Haraway, Donna. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." In *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, 183-202. London, New York: Free Association Books, Routledge, 1991.

Hartman, Saidiya V. *Scenes of Subjection : Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Iweriebor, Ehiedu E.G. "The Psychology of Colonialism." In *Africa Volume 4: The End of Colonial Rule: Nationalism and Decolonization*, by Toyin Falola, edited by Toyin Falola, 465-482. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2002.

Jamaica Tourist Board "Advertisement" *The New Yorker*, September 14, 1968: 38-39.

Jamaica Tourist Board. 'Come Back to Jamaica' Television Advertisement . 1978.

Jamaica Tourist Board. 'Once you go, you know'. Television Advertisement, 2004.

—. *Jamaica Tourist Board: Tourism Information Publishing Site*. jtbonline.org (accessed 2012).

—. *Visit Jamaica*. 2011. www.visitjamaica.com.

Jamaica, National Environment and Planning Agency - Government of. *NEPA Policies and Standards*. 2012. <http://www.nepa.gov.jm/policies/beach/Background.htm> (accessed April 2012).

Kaplan, Temma. "Acts of Testimony: Reversing the Shame and Gendering the Memory." *Signs* 28, no. 1 (Autumn 2002): 179-199.

Kincaid, Jamaica. *A Small Place*. New York: Farrarm Strauss and Giroux, 1988.

Knapp, Steven. "Collective Memory and the Actual Past." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 123-149.

Lorde, Audre. *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches*. Berkeley: The Crossing Press, 1984.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Mintz, Sidney W., and Richard Price. *The Birth of African-American Culture : An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1976.

Morgan Heritage. *Nothing to Smile About*. Comp. Morgan Heritage. 2008.

Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

Moten, Fred. *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24.

'Once you go, you know'. 2004.

Patullo, Polly. *Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2005.

Richards, Sandra L. "What is to be Remembered: Tourism to Ghana's Slave Castle-Dungeons." *Theatre Journal* 57, no. 4 (December 2005): 617-637.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle L'Ouverture Publications, 1972.

Rosaldo, Renato. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 107-122.

Seaga, Edward. "Jamaicans Have Failed Independence." *The Jamaica Gleaner*, June 5, 2011.

Smith, Linda Tuhwai. "Imperialism, History, Writing and Theory." In *Race and Racialisation: Essential Readings*, by Tania Das Gupta. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2007.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Lawrence Grossberg and Cary Nelson. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

STATIN. *Statiscal Insitute of Jamaica (STATIN)*. 2011. <http://statinja.gov.jm/> (accessed 2011).

Strachan, Ian Gregory. *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean*. Edited by A. James Arnold. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Taylor, Frank Fonda. *To Hell With Paradise: A History of the Jamaican Tourist Industry*. Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.

Thomas, Ralph. "Jamaica must first believe to become developed, progressive." *The Gleaner*, July 3, 2011.

Thompson, Ian. *The Dead Yard: A Story of Modern Jamaica*. New York: Nation Books, 2011.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press Books, 1995.

Vansina, Jan. *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

visit4ads.

http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.visit4ads.com/sitecontent/LG/fullZZZZZZPRW061011005751PIC.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.visit4ads.com/advert/Jamaica-Once-You-Go-You-Know-Jamaica-Travel/38008&h=320&w=231&sz=26&tbnid=51SG1xJ0LS9f2M:&tbnh=93&tbnw=67&zoom=1&docid=NWMm9XPgrcTMsM&sa=X&ei=2u2jT_T7JI-u8AS1p6yLCQ&ved=0CGsQ9QEwAQ&dur=355 (accessed 2012).

White, Luise. "Telling More: Lies, Secrets, and History." *History and Theory* 39, no. 4 (Dec 2000): 11-22.

Wilderson, Frank B. *Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2010.

Williams, Brackette. *Stains on My Name, War in My Veins: Guyana and the Politics of Cultural Struggle*. Duke University Press, 1991.

Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944.