
Jocelyne Guilbault and Timothy Rommen, editors
SOUNDS of VACATION
Political Economies of Caribbean Tourism

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Political Economies of Caribbean Tourism

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Acknowledgments

This book emerged in a series of conversations between Jocelyne Guilbault and Timothy Rommen in which we remarked on how Caribbean tourism has now become the main source of income for musicians throughout the entire region. And yet, even after working for many years in the region, we acknowledged how little we know about the cultural politics and the economies that drive not only the hotels' financial investments and their entertainment management strategies, but also the artistic choices musicians make in these spaces. We also recognized how sound (the surf, bird song) plays a crucial role in tourism promotion and how, paradoxically, little attention has been paid to the ways in which sound in touristic resorts has been commoditized. We then began to envision an edited collection that would address these concerns, drawing on new inquiries by experienced researchers throughout the region. The resulting volume explores both the range of theoretical issues previously unaddressed as well as new perspectives on specific Caribbean sites and settings. It is our hope that this work will open a new series of conversations at the juncture of music and sound studies and tourism studies.

We are very grateful to the Institute of International Studies, the Townsend Center for the Humanities, and the Department of Music at the University of California, Berkeley, for their generous support of a symposium that afforded us the opportunity to gather all of the contributors to this volume and continue developing our ideas. Our warmest thanks go to Ken Wissoker at Duke University Press, who believed in this project. We are also grateful to Susan Albury for shepherding the book through the production process, and to David Heath for judicious and meticulous copy editing. The external reviewers of our manuscript deserve special thanks for their

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Prologue

STEVEN FELD

In her reflective Afterword to *Sun, Sea, and Sound* (Rommen and Neely 2014), Jocelyne Guilbault poses two provocative questions:

> What would it mean to take music and tourism studies not simply as an additional area of focus at the end of the day, but as the critical starting point, as the first chapter one must write to begin examining twentieth-century Caribbean musical histories of encounters? What would happen if the twentieth-century "tourist other" and the historicized and already-complex character of the "Caribbean local" were described as co-present and co-producers of contemporary musical practices? (314)

Her answer to both: "Tourists and tourism would then be consistently woven into the analysis of the colonial and the postcolonial, the local and the global, the national and the transnational, and the very idea of tradition and the past into the present" (314).

This book picks up right there. Seizing on the ubiquitous ways sound and music inform tourists' experience, editors Guilbault and Rommen's substantial theoretical introduction takes tourism management and performance as a direct springboard for reexamining Caribbean histories of sonic and musical encounters. And, as if this springboard were not springy enough, something else is very much added to the mix: the silences and noises within and beyond "the music" and the musicians who labor to produce it in and for tourism's central Caribbean institutional nexus, the all-inclusive hotels. Exploring the distinctive forms of these popular beach resorts with one-stop, package-priced hotel, food/drink, and entertainment options, five probing studies follow, written by Caribbeanists with experience studying populations that are complex products of multiple move-

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ments across island geographies: Timothy Rommen writing about the Bahamas, Jerome Camal about Guadeloupe, Susan Harewood about Barbados, Francio Guadeloupe and Jordi Halfman about Sint Maarten, and Jocelyne Guilbault about Saint Lucia.

Guilbault and Rommen's framing, like the essays that follow, takes no prisoners when it comes to deconstructing dismissive commonplaces about tourism and tourists as an inauthentic or spurious subject, including assumptions about tourist music as "bad" music, bad in both musical form and content, and bad for local integrity. What is critically at stake, as Guilbault puts it in the opening to her Saint Lucia chapter, is "to investigate the complexity of management's and musicians' agency in a site that is often dominated by too much attitude . . . and too little empirical research."

To study tourism not with a sledgehammer but with ethnographic, historical, and critical subtlety—by deeply listening to it—the introduction proposes, and the case studies that follow specifically deliver on, a political economy approach, an approach to revealing, in Jerome Camal's words, just how "labor structures and their histories are audible." Colonialism and slavery provide an opening frame to examine histories of labor and its appropriation and exploitation. Labor as wealth and resource reorganization in turn specifically underlie stories of how race, gender, class, and identity build and then stack the structures of action and agency in favor of rulers against the majority of subjectivities. In other words, it is impossible to separate the history of tourism from the history of slavery and colonization, the history of gaze, the history of reproduction of power relations of tourists and touristed. And thus, it is equally impossible to dismiss the centrality of tourism to the very substance of Caribbean history, a history as sonically alive and musically vibrant as the complexities that have routed its makers and listeners through space and time.

That the tourism industry is central to large and increasing percentages of GDP in most of the islands means that tourism is critical for musical employment. For many Caribbean musicians, all-inclusive hotels are the main source of regular work in an industrial music economy where steady income opportunity is precarious and where musicians cannot count on recording revenues, royalties, or union scale and protections. Political Economy 101 again: musicians are ever and always workers as much as they are creative artists. They labor relationally not just to live audiences of local and visiting listeners, but to managers and to corporate management invested in regimes of music and sound control, understood as integral to

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the industrialized hospitality business. From a management standpoint, music and sound are supply necessities as critical as ample and enticing food and drink, or beautiful ambiance and weather. Sounds on the ears are thus as critical as sands on the toes in the making of a sensuous experiential zone for vacationers. Music and sound, then, must be located within a management ecology of strategically located and owned property, employable resources across entertainment and service sectors, locally available skill assets, and market competition driven and made predictable by consumer desires.

In what follows we get multiple instances of the intertwined anxieties and complexities of taking seriously tourist and management subjectivities through what Guadeloupe and Halfman call "listening without prejudice." This experience of sound is multisensual, always an environmental betweenness of specialized sound and image, often compounded by feel, taste, smell, and surrounding acoustic ambiances and architectures that are deliberately and carefully crafted and managed. What does it mean to engage such a zone of experience mindful both of a necessary openness and a critically informed suspicion? What does it mean to engage such a zone fully mindful that, in Jerome Camal's words, "the camera—rather than the sound recorder—remains the quintessential tourist accessory" (not to mention the quintessential ethnographic accessory). What does it mean to engage contestation as central to audibility in both the colonial and postcolonial, to juxtapose the takedown of an "imperial gaze" and an "imperial audition"?

It might not have taken four months of sitting in all-inclusive hotel lobbies for Francio Guadeloupe to grasp the colonial-global reality that for Sint Maarten: "France actually borders the Netherlands in the Caribbean Sea." But surely such a distinctive way of hearing the conjunctions of (post)-colonial sonic geographies yielded a very grounded reasoning for asking how and why "all-inclusive modes of vacationing create the forts of the twenty-first century." In other words, it is listening to, and recording, sound as emplaced subjectivity that yields a rich sense of how a multiplicity of overlapping languages, voices, and accents—French, Dutch, Spanish, English, Creole, Caribbean—echoes a larger, multiply hybrid, sonic and musical ecology, in all ways and at all times porous but unequal, local but cosmopolitan, raced and placed, bounded and unbounded in space and time. What better medium than sound to inform a researcher's desire "to undo the certitudes and identities of today," as Guadeloupe and Halfman put it?

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Susan Harewood has another powerful answer to the "undoing" in that question: to listen for noise, the unwanted sounds in the background that get in the way of the pristine, the beautiful, the utopian, the island getaway. And doing so in Barbados, she hears a thunderous noise indeed: the silence where "sonic walls replace militarized walls." Listening to the central clock chime a repertoire of Westminster quarters, reveille, Bunessan, the national anthem, Christmas carols, and popular songs, she hears "disturbing noises of persistent coloniality." Asking how much hearing "heritage" entails a complicated resounding, a relistening to the "noisy viciousness of imperialism," she reveals how the Barbados clock chime is a machine for alternating noises and silences that sound "routes of Caribbean diaspora" in the ambient background to the sonic erasures, overdubs, and reroutings of the ambient and musical interior of the local all-inclusive hotels.

Another way "to undo the certitudes and identities of today" is offered by Timothy Rommen's take on why "the musical 'it' that the Bahamas is selling to tourists" is difficult to identify. Tracing how "cosmopolitan set lists" replaced the more popular and singular sound of 1970s calypso, Rommen moves from local tourism administrative history to conversations with musicians Funky D (born 1958) and Alia Coley (born 1974). Those conversations reveal how globally informed and locally infused listening biographies proliferate expansively. Generational and gendered, they insist on their emplacements while sounding exponentially "at home" to multiplying layers of visitors, from near and far.

Equally engaged with cosmopolitics, Jerome Camal's research on an all-inclusive hotel in Guadeloupe started distinctly, with a denial of research access. This resulted, quite anxiously, in Camal's decision to visit as a paying tourist and to write through the reflexive and self-questioning voice of auto-ethnography. Sensing multiple ways that all the relational forms he experienced were raced and classed structurations of power, Camal invokes sociologist Henri Lefebvre's approach to the social production of space, specifically his "rhythmanalysis" of the repetitions, alternations, and cyclics of everyday life, to reveal how "rhythms . . . are also productive and symptomatic of social hierarchies." Through this analytic lens, Camal analyzes the "all-inclusive as a repeating machine, which is itself the repetition, or more precisely a remix, of the plantation machine." His concerns with consonance and dissonance, arrhythmia and polyrhythmia, echo other anxieties, as well as counterproposals, about how the tourism system parallels, emerges from, mimics, and diverges from the plantation system.

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Jocelyne Guilbault's Saint Lucia chapter draws on many of these political economic issues of labor and power, particularly adding a more detailed socioeconomic analysis of the gendered spaces and subjectivities of labor. Her sustained emphasis on placing "in conversation the managers' and musicians' predicaments" juxtaposes the differing outlooks, and differing registers of work necessities, ethics, and pragmatics in specific subjective accounts.

Taken as conjunctions "that reveal the mediating forces of history, politics, and economics," Guilbault comes full circle to infuse the analysis of labor with its affective dimension, analyzing how musicians working in all-inclusive hotels don't just perform songs but rather labor in the fields of hospitality enhancement, working to provide "affective ambience" and "experiences that are memorable." Here we come to understand one of the many ways that political economy expands into the terrain of managing and commodifying pleasure. The musicians who perform for tourists, and the managers who select, employ, and pay them, are thus entangled in an economy where musical entertainment and hospitality skills extend far beyond the immediacies of musical performance for hire.

All that said, it's time to explore the distinctive audacity of my appreciation for this book. I mean, why does someone who has never visited or studied the Caribbean islands and has no expertise in tourism studies get to have the first words here? By what stretch of the imagination does an anthropologist of sound experienced in faraway Papua New Guinea and Ghana get to introduce, to larger scholarly communities in anthropology, ethnomusicology, and sound studies, a work on the political economy of music and sound in the Caribbean?

One way to answer is to explain how reading these pages deeply helped me reflect critically on my own experiences of sonic tourism. No, I've never set foot in the Caribbean, but I occasionally visit via the hundred or so Caribbean LPs, cassettes, and CDs in my music collection. Scanning them anew, and scrutinizing their content and the authority of their production, notes, and representations, I'm thinking about the construction of Caribbean "music" and the exclusion of noises and silences, the presentation of "authentic" hybrid creole cultures and the representation of tourism. Then I ask, having just read this book, why and how do these widely circulating mediations erase or mute the very world historical complexities these essays reveal to be so poignant? What does it take to (re)listen and hear the noises, silences, aporias, the colonial violence and postcolonial conjunc-

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tions and disjunctions so consistently revealed in this book's way of resituating the very subject of Caribbean music as its political economy of sound?

Then I pull an LP from the Caribbean section of my shelves. It is the Esso Steel Band's *On Top*, recorded in Bermuda in 1969. The liner notes speak of the band's "new and exciting music to entertain the thousands who come to Bermuda" and how it "will serve both as an introduction and a lasting memento of their visit to this tropic paradise." I put on side 2. The covers start with the Paul Mauriat easy-listening French hit "L'amour est bleu," then proceed to Otis Redding's "Sitting on the Dock of the Bay," then Mozart's *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, then Francis Lai's theme song for the 1966 Claude Lelouch Academy Award–winning best foreign film *A Man and a Woman*, then conclude with "Mr. Walker," a well-known calypso hit by the Mighty Sparrow.

Curious about this wildly diverse repertoire and a novice to all things Caribbean, I did a quick internet search for the name listed on the LP as the band leader, Rudolph Commissiong. The first item that came up under his name was a May 21, 2016, article that he wrote, "Steel Pan Man's Forty Years of Music" for Bermuda's *Royal Gazette* newspaper. The autobiographical piece tells of the musical journey that took him from hotel music work in Trinidad to Bermuda in the 1950s, details of the band's Esso sponsorship and numerous Caribbean, Canadian, and U.S. tours, his advocacy and action work against racial segregation in Bermuda, and his thirty-plus-year career in hotels and lounges, including eight hit albums. Add to that his musical relocation to Maui for seven years to work in the top hotels there, and, finally, a life in retirement on Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

All of a sudden, I'm stunned by how much more I've just listened to the kind of historical and contemporary soundtrack revealed by this book, a soundtrack featuring musicians laboring in the circumstances, circuits, and circulatory politics chronicled by each author here. There's the colonial and postcolonial story of oil and steelpan music, the discrepant and vernacular cosmopolitanism of a repertoire filled with the silences and noises, the inclusions and exclusions, the routes and roots of Caribbean labor and laborers in a political and affective economy of sound. All of a sudden, as an outsider to Caribbean studies, I really get it about why tourism is the real "critical starting point" to the region's postcolonial history of music and sound.

There's a second reason why my appreciation of this book runs deep. As someone long associated with advocacy for the fused study of sound

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across species and technologies, languages, musics, and environmental ambiences, and specifically for the study of acoustemology (acoustic epistemology—sound as a way of knowing), I've tended to crankiness about much of the new "sound studies." Why? First, because I find it a market-rationalized attempt to round up, commodify, and manage diffuse ideas into products with a more singular identity. Next, because I find that it totalizes the object "sound," and then presumes an imagined coherence to that object that one is supposed to know in advance. And finally, because I find most of the work to be sound technology studies, and most of that to be Western in focus. So if I refuse "sound studies," it is because I think that studying dynamic interactions of species and materials is a vital way to listen to histories of listening.

That's a way of saying that I want studies of sound that embrace relating and relationality across environments, histories, species, and materialities: more "sound agency studies," more "sound *actant* studies," more "sound plural ontology studies," more "sound relationality studies," more "sound companion species studies," more "sound difference studies." Of course, that means more empirically informed and critically engaged political/affective economy studies of precisely the sort you hold in your hands, studies that both substantially increase historical and cultural knowledge, and that resist forms of ideological text reading where answers are known in advance of questions. So read on. I think you'll hear what I've heard: how the multitracked, amplified, and always noisy polyphonies and polyrhythms of "listening without prejudice" is the real future of sound studies.

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INTRODUCTION · THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MUSIC AND SOUND

Case Studies in the Caribbean Tourism Industry

JOCELYNE GUILBAULT AND TIMOTHY ROMMEN

Why does the tourist site and class remain an inauthentic, unauthorized, or otherwise spurious subject? Is it because the term *vacation*, in the West in particular, has become a taboo topic, increasingly viewed as a questionable and deficient use of time in regard to a range of moral and economic issues? Is vacation simply deemed a luxury in a research landscape dominated by work? Is vacation the "gap" made all the more glaring in the frenzied neoliberal ecumene?[1] Perhaps the overwhelming focus on the visual and material aspects of tourism has silenced the importance of the political economy of music and sound in sites of leisure? Or (might this last possibility be the main reason?), is it because musics played for tourists on vacation have typically been regarded as "bad" music—as sanitized, commoditized, lacking authenticity, and devoid of originality?

This volume responds to these questions, and has two aims. The first is to emphasize the need to examine all the ways in which economics and politics (read capitalism and power) are intertwined and interpenetrated across social scale and musical production. The second is to propose a new perspective on the tourism industry by linking political economy with the notion of hospitality by and through music and sound. Focusing on how music and sound are managed, performed, and offered as part of the commodities essential to touristic resorts makes it possible to argue, following novelist Earl Lovelace (1998, 56), that to speak about Caribbean aesthetics is to speak about Caribbean politics. And to speak about politics in the tourism industry, we need to add, is to speak about calculations, judgments, and aspirations that are not solely cultural, but also economic.

"In the classic, holistic anthropology of the founding fathers and mothers," James Ferguson (1988, 488) reports, "economy and culture were inevitably connected." As he explains, "Whether economic institutions or

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practices were seen as 'total social facts' (Mauss), as parts of an interdependent, 'functioning whole' (Malinowski), or as aspects of a total 'culture pattern' (Benedict, Kroeber), their analysis was inseparable from the analysis of the larger culture whole" (1988, 488). Even though "economic anthropology" in the United States was seemingly dropped in the 1960s and 1970s in favor of a focus on culture, since the 1980s cultural analysts have recognized that they cannot ignore political economy any more than economic anthropologists can ignore the fact that culture matters (Ferguson 1988, 491).

The pioneers of ethnomusicology were not generally concerned with the interrelations of musical practices and economy—referring here to the relative scale of the social network and the materialities involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of musical goods and services. The great majority of ethnomusicologists focused exclusively on musical forms and then on practices. Concerns about aesthetic, religious, social, moral, and political values—political values here usually understood in relation to colonial power, the nation-state, or particular community formations—were developed later. By the 1960s and 1970s the connections between music and economy were the main concerns of popular music studies and cultural studies. Even though a few ethnomusicologists and anthropologists did address not only the politics but also the economy of the musical practices they were studying (cf. Charles Keil, A. J. Racy, H. S. Becker, David Coplan, Veit Erlmann, Roger Wallis and Krister Malm, Peter Manuel), by the 1960s political economy did not have much currency as a term, nor did it provide the analytical framework for the vast majority of music studies in these academic disciplines until the mid-1980s.

To paraphrase David N. Balaam and Michael A. Veseth's definition,[2] political economy in this volume examines the social, political, and economic pressures and interests that affect music labor and the commoditization of music and sound. It explores how these pressures influence the political process, taking into account a range of social priorities, the local, national, and regional competition in the Caribbean tourism industry, development and promotional strategies, and philosophical perspectives. As Balaam and Veseth explain, political economy significantly differs from the mathematical, putatively "objective" analytical framework of economics. Its broad perspective provides us with a deeper understanding of the many aspects informing music labor and the commoditization of music and sound that cannot be assessed simply in economic terms.

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Interestingly, Jacques Attali (1985), neither a musician nor a sociologist, but a prominent economist, is arguably the first to have prominently foregrounded a preoccupation with the political economy of music by provocatively calling his book *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*.[3] This book was important not so much because of what it said, but because of what it overlooked and silenced. It provided a universal history of the relation of music to politics and economics in four unilinear phases that he calls sacrificing, representing, repeating, and composing.[4] The problem is that Attali's teleological scheme overlooked history and materiality such as colonialism and slavery. It silenced insurgent voices and ignored agency. It conflated nation-states' politics and economic agendas. It universalized the definition of value.

Arjun Appadurai's exciting Introduction to *The Social Life of Things*, published one year after Attali's book, did much to reinvigorate the notion of political economy by looking at what he refers to as "the social lives of things" to address commoditization as process. By considering commoditization as process, he (re)inserted time, space, power, agency, and the relative degree of investment in things by various people with varying interests. His emphasis on the social lives of things implies that things' relation to commoditization is neither fixed nor static but goes through different phases, in and out of commoditization, during their social lives. Their "candidacy," to use Appadurai's term, to be a commodity varies according to what he calls "regimes of value" (1986, 15). This notion of "regimes of value" is here understood as calling attention to the different worlds an object becomes associated with and the contrasting ways objects become valued (desired) at different times and for different reasons. Appadurai thus speaks of the commodity potential of all things to be part of a form of exchange. This notion of the "commodity potential of all things" is useful in the context of the commoditization of music and sound in tourism.[5]

Significantly, Appadurai adds, the notion of "regimes of value" does not imply that every act of commodity exchange presupposes a complete cultural sharing of assumptions, but rather that the degree of value coherence may be highly variable from situation to situation, and from commodity to commodity" (1986, 15). When music is in the commodity phase, it is able to circulate across cultural boundaries precisely because it does not require all parties to share in equal measure the value standards promoted in the commodity (music) exchange. Two important publications, both tellingly on world music (also called "world beat"), marked this latter

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point about regimes of value in music studies. In his 1988 "Notes on World Beat," Steven Feld drew on this understanding of regimes of value and commodities' circulation outlined by Appadurai and also by Charles Keil to think about "world music" and music globalization as "sonic touristry"—a trend that brought political economy perspectives to the 1980s–90s story of interpenetrations of pop and world music makers and styles.[6] Nine years later, Timothy D. Taylor, in his book entitled *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (1997) foregrounded this new focus on political economy (at least for many musicologists and ethnomusicologists), astutely exploring music commodities and musical exchange from around the globe to recognize the persistent workings of Western hegemony through and also against the dizzying variety of local appropriations and alterations of styles and musical identities.

But in his introduction to *The Empire of Things*, Fred Myers (2001, 6) significantly furthers Appadurai's notion of regimes of value by looking at how such regimes simultaneously exist and compete with each other. They are not all regimes of value governed by economics. They are, rather, also informed by political, religious, class, gender, nationalist, activist, and many other concerns and desires. They are "regimes" in the sense that they consolidate certain kinds of values, incessantly in need of reinforcement and reification.

Appadurai's notion of "regimes of value" and its elaboration by Myers are most useful here to explore the political economy of music and sound in the context of human encounters in touristic sites. By definition, such encounters bring into contact overlapping and contrasting regimes of value about music and sound. Myers's (2001, 29) insistence that "art is not just another example of material culture" helps emphasize how the specificities of certain commodities such as music play a significant role in both the particular "cultures of circulation" (Lee and LiPuma 2002) and specific regimes of value in which these commodities become embedded.[7] Accordingly, what needs to be examined is the labor, rationales, and motivations that go into producing, out of specific things like music and sound, commodities for specific spaces and places. This volume explores what goes on in the commoditization of music and sound in touristic sites and how such commoditization is intimately linked to particular notions of *hospitality* entailing both regimes of value and governing regimes.[8]

The meaning and practice of hospitality through music and sound in touristic sites cannot be taken as evidence.[9] The notion of hospitality is

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not only culturally defined, but also historically, politically, economically, and materially informed. It is, furthermore, influenced by who is involved in these human encounters, that is, by the types of visitors and the personnel—in our case, the entertainment staff and the musicians—hired to work at the hotel. In that sense, as Guilbault suggests in her chapter in this volume, the political economy of music and sound directly implicates the *political economy* of hospitality—as is demonstrated in our case studies, discussed further below.

In the tourism industry, Guilbault further remarks, hospitality means "commercial hospitality."[10] In contrast to private hospitality, where welcoming behavior and caring acts by individuals toward other individuals are performed for free in a private setting such as the home, commercial hospitality provides guests with lodging, food, and entertainment for profit. In the context of the Caribbean, however, this latter definition is not so simple, for it cannot be isolated from history. Commercial hospitality cannot but be understood as inextricably linked to the experience of colonialism, slavery, and the colonial legacies that endure to this day.[11] It is indeed hard to use the term *political economy* in the Caribbean tourism industry without foregrounding specifically the historical relationship of human labor—the labor of the slaves and of the colonized marshaled by the colonizers to reproduce the structure of wealth abroad and poverty at home. Appropriation of materials, exploitation of laboring bodies, and regimes of colonial enforcement functioned politically to normalize and expand imperial wealth and local subjugation. In this connection, our exploration of the political economy of hospitality builds from the body of work addressing the politics of race, ethnicity, and class by Caribbeanists C. L. R. James, Eric Williams, Aimé Césaire, Gordon K. Lewis, Frantz Fanon, Edouard Glissant, Stuart Hall, Sylvia Wynter, Antonio Benítez-Rojo, Kamau Brathwaite, Sidney W. Mintz, Mervyn C Alleyne, Roger Abrahams, Percy C. Hintzen, Selwyn Ryan, Hilbourne A. Watson, Belinda Edmondson, Anton Allahar, Obika Gray, Jamaica Kincaid, Brian Meeks, Hilary McD. Beckles, Anthony Bogues, Kevin A. Yelvington, Mimi Sheller, and Deborah Thomas.

In the context of the "Caribbean postcolonial," as Shalini Puri (2004) calls it, it is also impossible to study the political economy of hospitality through music and sound without foregrounding how music is linked to the specter of race. As Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman, the editors of *Music and the Racial Imagination*, write, "The imagination of race not only informs perceptions of musical practice but is at once constituted

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within and projected into the social through sound" (Radano and Bohlman 2000, 5). The discursive impact of linking music with race, and more specifically with blackness, has not only produced understandings of black music as a "figure of liberation," but has also generated a "highly problematic romance of race" (Keil and Feld 1994, cited in Radano and Bohlman 2000, 32). Such conceptions have conveniently overlooked the impact that race has had on the business side of the music industry and on the material world of musicians, as is eloquently addressed in R&B *Rhythm and Business: The Political Economy of Black Music*, edited by Norman Kelley (2002).[12]

This volume cannot but also be in conversation with existing scholarship that reminds us that the linking of music with race never stops there. Discourses about music in the Caribbean indeed loudly point to how race interacts and intersects with gender, class, and ethnicity—themes that are addressed in this volume and that are informed by the foundational work of Rhoda Reddock, Patricia Mohammed, Carole Boyce Davies, Carolyn Cooper, and Linden Lewis.

Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan's (2016) call to hear and critique the *Audible Empire*, the capitalist global expansion by means of colonial and neocolonial politics of ordering and disciplining through sound, is echoed in the essays included in this book. In the context of the Caribbean, the volume turns on how empires (in the plural), past and present, continue to be audible in the way some musics and sounds are valued and others are not, and in the way that "peace and quiet" takes on the quality of exclusivity. As Radano and Olaniyan remark, "Since the ground of resistance is veritably impure—it must of necessity work within the terrain it is resisting against—only the hard *work* of conscious counteridentification and misidentification can harvest the possibilities of a susceptible hegemony" (2016, 18). Our case studies address not only the work of counteridentification and misidentification, but also the local ambivalences toward, as well as the embrace of, what has become putatively, after centuries of empires' audibility, "normative aesthetics."

Sounds of Vacation in the Caribbean tourism industry expands the purview of sound studies whose "epistemic center," according to Jonathan Sterne (2015, 73), is still "the West." Exploring a distinctive and long-standing non-Western site of vacation, these essays examine the political economy of musics and sounds performed and listened to in spaces that are arguably central to global tourism and most emblematic of "vacation": the Caribbean islands. Following Sterne's call to broaden the sites and issues

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addressed by sound studies, this book takes a different focus and approach to the mainstream literature in sound studies, exemplified by these three main publications: Bull and Back's *The Auditory Culture Reader* (2003), Pinch and Bijsterveld's *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies* (2012), and Sterne's *The Sound Studies Reader* (2012). Instead, this book aligns with the broader and more explicitly anthropological focus for the field enunciated in *Keywords in Sound* (Novak and Sakakeeny 2015), following a long line of calls in the last ten to fifteen years for a less Western, less technology-centered, more agency- and practice-oriented approach to sound studies.[13] In this vein, what *Sounds of Vacation* seeks to do is not to provide an exhaustive survey of Caribbean touristic sites. The aim, rather, is to bring together cultural theorization and empirical studies linking the political economy of music and sound with tourism. Our focus on lived experience, touristic musical cultures, human and nonhuman sounding ecologies, and ubiquitous musics[14] in Caribbean resorts marks an important step in this direction.

Critical theoretical and ethnographic studies of tourism are well known.[15] While music is beginning to receive attention in tourist studies (see the 2014 special issue of the journal *Tourist Studies* on "Music and Tourism" with Brett Lashua et al.), in contrast with our project, few publications address the phenomenology of sound in and at tourist sites.[16] *Sounds of Vacation* empirically explores the histories, management, and experience of sound- and music-making designed for touristic encounters. It examines the cultures of listening to both musics and sounds, whether ambient, mechanical, animal, or human. These sounds and their auditions, we argue, powerfully interact to inhabit, emerge through, and shape the Caribbean tourism industry.

Our project also differs from the recent publication *Sun, Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean* (Rommen and Neely 2014), which presents widely divergent case studies ranging from mass tourism, ecotourism, and cruise ship tourism, to festival tourism, expatriate tourism, sex tourism, and heritage tourism, in order to illustrate the many vectors of tourism that find their way into the Caribbean. We are, instead, interested in a more focused study of so-called all-inclusive hotels (the all-inclusive hotels, also called all-inclusive resorts, refer to prepaid vacation plans that include lodging, a minimum of three meals a day, soft and alcoholic drinks, sport facilities, free entertainment, and other services in the same price). In her chapter in this volume, Susan Harewood reports how in the Carib-

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bean the all-inclusive hotels were developed in Jamaica out of a need to be able to market the hotels in spite of the political and economic upheaval the country was facing.[17] The Jamaican concept of all-inclusive hotels was literally conceived as a way to shield the tourists—and, she adds, "for the tourists to shield themselves"—from the country's problems. The goal was to delink the touristic site as much as possible from the rest of the country, to the point of making the touristic site an "island" within the country-island. While the concept of the all-inclusive hotels overlaps with that of the cruise ships, it also differs from it in significant ways. In contrast to the cruise ships, where the personnel typically hail from many different countries, the great majority of the all-inclusive hotel personnel in the English-speaking islands are nationals of the islands where the hotels are located.[18] Hence, even though they hardly ever venture outside of the hotels' comfort zones, the visitors in these hotels are nonetheless still in contact with the members of a local culture, associated with distinct linguistic accents, dominant religious traditions, normative values, and more.

The reader may still wonder, why choose all-inclusive hotels to study the political economy of music and sound? We chose to conduct our research in all-inclusive hotels because they are the dominant institutions and thus the dominant sites of encounter in the Caribbean tourism industry. The all-inclusive hotel is a site where not only questions of what is local and what is not are negotiated, but also questions of what musics and sounds can be bought and sold are asked and answered. It is also a site that allows us to observe the collaboration (or lack thereof) between corporations (or private ownership) and state governments, and thereby to understand who is responsible for selling, for example, the Bahamas. The all-inclusive hotels also represent a focal point to address the entertainment staff and musicians as workers and the role they play in the political economy of music and sound, and the political economy of hospitality in these sites.

Our goal is not to compare relative degrees of difference or similarity between all-inclusive resorts. We did not ask the contributors to this volume to investigate a specific list of elements expected to play a significant role in the selection or availability of the all-inclusive resorts' music and sounds. Our studies follow a humanistic tradition. They are empirical and interpretive. They reveal the contrasts between the all-inclusive resorts examined here, and bring out the salient mediations that produce difference even when things look similar. Coming from different academic perspectives, and with different research interests, experiences, and convictions,

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the contributors each highlight and explore various facets of the political economy of music and sound that inform their selected sites. Our hope is to provide an *aggregate knowledge* and a better understanding of the various economies and politics that are at play in the management, performance, and consumption of music and sound in Caribbean all-inclusive resorts. This volume sets out to investigate how key concepts and concerns central to sound studies and tourism studies have been articulated in the Caribbean region. It also seeks to identify the new questions that empirically based case studies on the political economy of music and sound in touristic sites raise for both the tourism industry and sound studies.

The long-held disregard for the sounds of vacation has engendered numerous myths and scholarly silences about both the sound environments and musical performances in/at Caribbean hotels. Misconceptions about the status of the musician still abound. Often, they are assumed to be amateurs, possessing only basic musicianship, not good enough to be "real" professionals—not highly skilled and/or formally trained performers. The long-standing disregard for the sounds of vacation has also led scholars to overlook the power of programmed music broadcast through loudspeakers on tourist compounds. It has, furthermore, fostered a regrettable inattention to the ways that natural and built environments, the materiality of sound-producing sources, participate in the construction and perception of hotels as fully social sites.

And yet all of these musics and sounds are, in fact, central to the rhythms vacation takes, whether in the physical loosening up of walking styles, through the affective encounters between tourists and workers and among tourists themselves (including musicians, amateur and professional, who also vacation and take in local music and sounds and scenes), or through the sensibility one develops toward the environment. All of these sources, actors, and agents inform in myriad ways how workers and tourists experience life in these hotels, what they value, and who they are and are becoming. In this book, we view live performances, programmed musics, and all contiguous sounds and sound sources across technologies, species, and environmental presences as contributing significantly to an understanding of sound as a way of knowing and making place, and as a means of locating and heightening the social experience of being on vacation.

Exploring how music and sound help promote vacation sites, attract tourists, create employment, and drive revenues is crucial in a region whose GDP thoroughly depends on tourism.[19] To give only a few examples:

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In 2018, Index Mundi reports that in the Bahamas, "Tourism accounts for approximately 75–80 percent of the GDP and directly or indirectly employs half of the archipelago's labor force." "Tourism is Saint Lucia's main source of jobs and income—accounting for 65 percent of GDP—and the island's main source of foreign exchange earnings."[20] In "Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2018 Caribbean," the World/Travel and Tourism Council indicates that "the direct contribution of Travel & Tourism to GDP [for the region] was USD 17.9bn (4.8 percent of total GDP) in 2017, and is forecast to rise by 3.2 percent in 2018." The report adds: "In 2017 Travel & Tourism directly supported 758,000 jobs (4.3 percent of total employment). This is expected to rise by 2.8 percent in 2018 and rise by 2.2 percent pa to 965,000 jobs (5.1 percent of total employment) in 2028."[21] It should be emphasized that these numbers only account for the employment *directly* generated by travel and tourism.

The overall contribution of travel and tourism is even more impressive. "In 2017," we are told, "the total contribution of Travel & Tourism to employment, including jobs indirectly supported by the industry, was 13.8 percent of the total employment (2,434,000 jobs). This is expected to rise by 2.8 percent in 2018 to 2,502,000 jobs."[22] The money generated in foreign exports (money spent by foreign visitors) in the Caribbean was $31.8 billion (19.8 percent of total exports) in 2017. "This is forecast to grow by 3.7 percent in 2018."[23] Significantly, despite the growing number of people living below the poverty line worldwide and the challenges of 2016 (including acts of terrorism and massive migration), according to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), "international tourist arrivals grew by a remarkable 7 percent in 2017 to reach a total of 1,322 million, according to the latest UNWTO World Tourism Barometer [January 15, 2018]. . . . This is well above the sustained and consistent trend of 4 percent or higher growth since 2010 and represents the strongest results in seven years."[24] In the Caribbean, "Leisure travel spending (inbound and domestic) generated 89.1 percent of direct Travel & Tourism GDP in 2017 (USD39.3bn) compared with 10.9 percent for business travel spending (USD4.8bn)."[25]

There is no question that tourism constitutes an outsized portion of the Caribbean economy and that music and ambient sounds play a crucial role in the political economy of vacation spaces.[26] This political economy takes in the role of labor, work ethics, aesthetics, and the dynamics of the encounter, and it is these postcolonial conjunctures and the regimes of value that they index and mobilize that are explored by this book.

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Our empirical studies of all-inclusive hotels include five cases presented by researchers with long-term ethnographic and historical experience in the Caribbean. These chapters focus on all-inclusive resorts based in different islands, including the Bahamas (Rommen), Guadeloupe (Camal), Barbados (Harewood), Sint Maarten (Guadeloupe and Halfman), and Saint Lucia (Guilbault). The methodologies used in these studies vary according to the authors' research backgrounds in anthropology, ethnomusicology, and communication studies. The use of ethnographic tools, textual analysis, reflective and reflexive writing, ideological reading, as well as sociological, historical, and empirical approaches lead to different kinds of knowledge and different points of emphasis. Just as there is no standard narrative about the management, the workers, the musicians, and the tourists in all-inclusive resorts, in an interpretive project such as ours, expectations and appreciations of difference come with different emphases.

The following pages foreground the main themes that have emerged from our case studies.

The Politics of Inclusivity

In her chapter in this volume, Harewood points out that the logic driving all-inclusive hotels is often predicated on isolating/insulating tourists from the "sounds, tastes, smells, or feel" of local politics, histories, and economics. As Sheller puts it, the all-inclusive hotel "has long served as a way of creating spatial/temporal enclaves that carved out tourist territories and performances largely cut off from the surrounding locality, and from local inhabitants" (Sheller 2009, 1395). These spatial/temporal enclaves offer travelers the convenience of a one-price-for-everything model, actively commodifying experiences of and desires for inclusivity in the process.

And yet, all-inclusive hotels should never be confused with all-access, for the real economics of selling this model are predicated on its opposite — on curating exclusivity. It is not enough to market the conveniences of an all-inclusive resort without also reminding guests that their access to its pleasures is highly privileged. All-inclusive hotels do not adhere to a shared philosophy regarding local access to their grounds or to the entertainment they provide. Some all-inclusive hotels give access to locals, but only to those who can afford the high cost of the services offered. The extent to which guests are encouraged to venture beyond hotel grounds is also highly variable. As this volume illustrates, there exists within the all-

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inclusive model a wide range of approaches and possibilities for curating inclusivity and managing exclusivity.

Jerome Camal, for instance, examines the exclusivity of place generated in and through strategies that serve effectively to isolate tourists from easy access to the rest of Guadeloupe. Timothy Rommen, in contrast, explores the issues that arise when an all-inclusive hotel such as SuperClubs Breezes in Nassau, Bahamas, allows (even encourages) local residents to buy time at the resort (day and night passes are available). What kinds of challenges does entertaining both local visitors and tourists pose for the musicians performing at the hotel? How does the hotel profit from offering entertainment to both locals and tourists?

Francio Guadeloupe and Jordi Halfman address perhaps the most open model of access represented in this volume, exploring the Great Bay Beach Resort in Philipsburg, Sint Maarten, where full access to the resort is granted to local residents. Anyone may dine at the restaurant or rent a room. No day or night passes are required here—rather, local individuals are treated fully as clients just as are the tourists. They further examine the social and musical implications of one of the most radical ideas at play in Sint Maarten: that the entire island is commercially marketed as all-inclusive. Tourists visiting the Great Bay Beach Resort have thus secured accommodations and entertainment in the resort itself, but the entire island is presented as available to them and curated as an extension of the resort. Guadeloupe and Halfman ask: What socialization of the local population or pedagogical project has rendered this formula possible? To what extent is the framing of the island as an extension of the resort enhancing or undermining the market for the all-inclusive hotels in Sint Maarten?

The politics of inclusivity also impacts directly on scholarship in all-inclusive hotels, for questions of access accompany not only the research questions one can ask, but also directly structure the potential outcomes of empirical research in these spaces. No generalizations can be made about securing access for fieldwork at commercial enterprises such as all-inclusive hotels because permissions depend greatly on the protocols of individual institutions. As Greg Urban and Kyung-Nan Koh (2013, 139) note, "academically based ethnographic research inside corporations has grown only modestly since the 1980s . . . the questions of access to corporate inner workings pose both practical and ethical challenges."

The chapters included in this volume reflect well the wide range of challenges (both practical and ethical) and possibilities resulting from work-

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ing out in individual contexts these complex questions of access. In Saint Lucia, Jocelyne Guilbault was given permission to do on-site interviews with both management and musicians and to observe all of the activities including music. Although she was not a paying guest, this sanctioned access enabled her to address the management's notion of hospitality and the politics of musical aesthetics and labor for the management, the musicians, and the entertainment personnel. Like Guilbault, and building on his previous work on tourism in the Bahamas, Rommen was also granted broad access to the all-inclusive hotel in which he conducted research. He was also able to work with musicians with whom he already had long-established relationships. Although he did not stay at the resort, he was able to interview management, musicians, and staff on-site, and to participate in the daily and nightly musical and entertainment offerings throughout the hotel.

Harewood, returning home to Barbados, worked mainly off-site, for example, to interview the musician who regularly works at the boutique hotel where she conducted her research. She focused primarily on the sounds and silences of colonial history around the periphery of the hotel, especially as they played out at the UNESCO World Heritage Site located next to the all-inclusive. Her study led her to address the "quiet" of the hotel, where tourists are insulated (both sonically and politically) in relation to what she refers to as "the noises of violent colonial history"—noises that barely reach the tourists' ears.

Francio Guadeloupe, in addition to working at the University of Sint Maarten, is a member of the Sint Maarten Hospitality and Trade Association. Since in this context he works closely with the general manager of the establishment where he conducted his collaborative study (with Halfman), the question of access did not pose a problem. However, perhaps because of his close relationship with the general manager and due to his desire to avoid any potential conflicts of interest, he chose not to examine the inner workings of the corporation, instead conducting his study mainly in the lobby of the resort. His close attention to the sounds and faces that came his way turned into a field of investigation of its own, a critical examination as "a local" of his imaginaries of Others through sound. Thus, connections with management can at once present challenges as well as opportunities.

But permission to do research was not granted to all of us. In Guadeloupe, Camal was told that his research was of no interest to the administration (which in this case is part of a corporation), but that he was welcome to come as a paying guest and observe. While it was impossible for him as

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a researcher/tourist to fully experience the complexities of the structure of the all-inclusive corporation in Guadeloupe where he did his research, Camal was struck by the culture of the administration (by the inner workings and particular values of this social group) made visible through the embodied division of labor. This theme is central to his chapter.

The politics of inclusivity, then, is a major analytical node through which to understand all-inclusive hotels' infrastructure, entertainment activities, and aesthetic choices. It further reveals how the politics of access impact the poetics of the authors' writings, enabling certain paths of inquiry while foreclosing others.

Colonial Specters

When Radano and Bohlman wrote that "a specter lurks in the house of music and it goes by the name of race" (2000, 1), they were not thinking of all-inclusive hotels in the Caribbean. But they could easily have turned their attention to that context, for any inquiry into the political economy of all-inclusive hotels cannot fail to confront this specter. In the Caribbean, this plays out along paths charted by colonial histories, and it affects everything from labor conditions to modes of production and tourist expectations. From a political economy perspective, under the colonial regime, slaves' and ex-slaves' music-making and dancing until the early twentieth century offered free spectacles to colonial elites and visitors alike. In no publication of the time was it presented as a bonus. Rather, without having to say it, it was understood as part of the colonial elite's (and tourists') entitlement.[27] These mediations set the stage for a particular kind of listening to and engagement with the Caribbean.

While they can't be said to have determined in the last instance foreigners' experience of Caribbean sounds, these mediations can hardly be dissociated from the ways they have helped constitute the production, consumption, and circulation of these sounds in the contemporary moment. During the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, Caribbean sounds (not to mention bodies, flora, fauna, beaches, and reefs) have continued to be presented as readily available for consumption by those able to travel to the region or afford entry into its touristic spaces.[28] The all-inclusive hotel in the Caribbean, far from being immune to such colonial specters, in fact reproduces many of the conditions and logics that have animated these dynamics in the region.

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The chapters that follow encounter and confront these colonial and racial specters and illustrate how such specters powerfully shape the experiential and material realities that characterize all-inclusive hotels. However, as our case studies show, colonial specters are not experienced to the same degree or in the same way in every all-inclusive hotel. Harewood, for instance, explores the deliberate silencing of colonial histories in Barbados, illustrating how "colonial and postcolonial narratives produce a sound environment that converts some of the more disturbing noises of history into the more muted tones of Heritage." She is interested in what happens when, just outside the all-inclusive hotel she studies, a UNESCO World Heritage Site transforms grounds and sounds that once marked colonial power over local populations—that once marked freedom for some and slavery for others—into the more benign frame of national heritage. She questions what is at stake in translating the violence of colonial histories into a contemporary story about "little England." In the process, she illustrates how all-inclusive guests benefit from (and draw comfort from) the peace, quiet, and gentility that are, in fact, legacies of colonial domination, but which are narrated (and sounded) instead as part and parcel of a quaint local identity.

Camal understands the entire structure of the all-inclusive hotel as an example of how the plantation continues to operate as a model of power and control, and sees listening as a mode through which to "apprehend what would rather remain hidden: alienating labor practices and the long history of colonialism that informs them in the Caribbean." Throughout his chapter, he is alert to the rhythms of the resort. He listens for the "traces of their antecedents on the plantation but also for what they reveal about a contemporary labor regime intended to extract capital from the production of 'happiness.'" His analysis explores how the ideological and organizational structures of the plantation, translated into the context of the all-inclusive hotel, can help shed light on the power dynamics that continue to animate touristic encounters in the contemporary Caribbean.

Guadeloupe and Halfman, by contrast, acknowledge the historical dynamics of colonial specters and then address what it might mean to begin to undo the contemporary relations upon which such specters rely for their power. Working in Sint Maarten, they ask a series of questions designed to engage both tourists and locals in this island space of encounter, problematizing the nature of both categories in the process. They do this by positing Sint Maarten itself as an "unfinished project," electing to maintain a future

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open to new possibilities beyond those already charted by colonial histories. Ultimately, they ask what it would look and sound like to work toward resolving the colonial and racial specters that haunt touristic spaces like Sint Maarten.

Mediations and Expectations

We recognize that what makes a given music particularly apt at promoting a vacation site or for creating aesthetic pleasure does not reside in the music alone, but, as sociologist Antoine Hennion (2003, 2) argues, "in all the details of the gestures, bodies, habits, materials, spaces, languages, and institutions which it inhabits." Hennion goes on to point out that "mediations [be it an instrument, a particular stage, or media discourse, to name only a few] are neither mere carriers of the work, nor substitutes which dissolve its reality; they are the art itself" (3). To think about mediation this way does not take anything away from the creativity of the musicians (7) but reveals, instead, the things, discourses, consumers, and technology that are integral to the process of music's emergence, recognition, and appreciation. Put another way, it acknowledges how "[musical] taste, pleasure and meaning are contingent, conjunctural and hence transient; and they result from specific yet varying combinations of particular intermediaries, considered not as the neutral channels through which pre-determined social relations operate, but as productive entities which have effectivities of their own" (Hennion 2002, 3).

To be clear, the political economy of music and sound is not fixed. The musical pleasures, meanings, and expectations generated in and through the sounds of vacation are constantly changing, shifting in response to new technologies available at the time; the political party in power and its own politics of representation at a given moment (which can influence what is played at vacation sites); the regional and global musics that happen to be dominating the airwaves during a particular decade; the seasons (Christmas, carnival, summer); the weather (rain, storm, or sunshine) and its effects on ambient sounds; the hotel management's own musical tastes and the distinct skills of the musicians hired to play in that hotel that particular year; and so on. The mediations that are integral to the sounds of vacation also exert a cumulative effect on the ways these sounds are experienced. The memory of a film soundtrack shot in the Caribbean featuring the mellow yet vibrant tones of the steelpan in and of itself preforms, as it were,

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the expectation, the reception, the musical pleasure, and the meaning of the steelpan sounds heard some time later while on vacation. Based on such a "mediation perspective," the affective marketing and place-making of Caribbean sites as desirable vacation destinations through sound must thus be situated historically. Each author asks what historical mediations have continued to participate in shaping the expectations and imaginaries of a great majority of tourists regarding the Caribbean, its peoples, musical expressions, and sonic ecology?

The previous section has already introduced the legacies of mediation—the specters of coloniality—that continue to inform contemporary practice and tourist expectations in the region. From the outset, Caribbean music is raced and cannot be dissociated from the history of slavery. Up to the turn of the twentieth century, its description, almost exclusively articulated by colonial elites and missionaries, sutured local sounds and rhythms to black bodies, loudness, and exuberant sexuality. The growth of tourism in the twentieth century, moreover, was predicated on the expectations and imaginaries that such written representations (and later recordings and radio broadcasts) conjured among potential vacationers. The anticolonial, nationalist movements of the 1950s, and the postcolonial, nation-building efforts of newly elected governments throughout the region also deeply mediated how each country officially presented itself sonically—the idea being that it was not sufficient to be independent politically, but that one had to demonstrate cultural independence as well. The common practice, discussed by Guilbault and Rommen, of programming at least one night of local musical traditions each week in touristic sites such as hotels is an example of this rhetoric in action.

However, while such soundings were (and to some extent, continue to be) deemed crucial to distinguishing one island from others, they could not be the only ones performed. In fact, traditional music, or even the most well-known popular music from any given island, could hardly ever be the only music that musicians perform in hotel sites. Musicians, as much as elected officials and business people, made it very clear to the authors of this volume: they never want to be viewed as "premodern," as defined exclusively by back-in-time music or simply through the popular musics created locally. The delicate balance to achieve politically and culturally as much for the tourist industry as for the region and the world at large, then, is to be able to demonstrate local knowledge and pride while also exhibiting a cosmopolitan outlook and affinity. Anthropologist Aisha Khan addresses

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the kinds of challenges that this poses most eloquently in a passage that is worth quoting at length here:

> In the Caribbean we see a pull between two kinds of epistemological (and political) projects: the region as symbolizing the defiance of lodging culture in place due to its essential qualities of fluidity and hybridity, and the region as symbolizing the affirmation of lodging culture in place due to its history of being denied "ruins"—i.e., cultural heritage and traditions. Caribbean cultural thought reflects both of these projects of self-making, the struggle to locate culture and interpret authenticity in the face of so-called "mimicked" cultural reproduction and "artificial" rather than "organic" cultural genesis. The Caribbean exemplifies the wisdom of theoretically dislodging culture from place, and authenticity from natural origins while at the same time interrogating the meaning of "natural," the significance of "culture," and the ability to claim and redefine them. The Caribbean reminds us that decoupling "culture" from "place" and presenting these as consisting of performative flows without clear limits (as much as contemporary cultural theory does), requires a sense of ownership of one's history and possession of culture. Perhaps the key is that we have to feel stable to be able to valorize instability. (Khan 2013, 621–22)

How this delicate balance/instability through sound is managed and mediated in all-inclusive hotels is what the authors of this volume seek to address. And analyzing the day-to-day challenges of achieving such a balance in the contemporary moment requires both a sense of past mediations and an engagement with the current possibilities and expectations attendant to the political economy of sound and music in the region.

The Political Economy of Hospitality

As mentioned earlier, the political economy of all-inclusive hotels directly implicates the political economy of hospitality, which to a great extent is defined by entertainment. The substantial budget devoted to entertainment personnel (including musicians) raises a crucial question: *Who* is it that the all-inclusive hotels are entertaining? From the perspective of Caribbean governments, this question has a fairly straightforward answer: those individuals who travel to and stay at an all-inclusive hotel are cate-

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gorized as tourists.[29] And yet, as our case studies show, hotels generally go out of their way to refer to these individuals as "guests" or "club members," and specifically *not* as tourists. Why? The politics of naming, we believe, is at the heart of how all-inclusive hotels arrive at a sense of not only who they are entertaining, but also the type of hospitality—entertainment—they set out to provide. Referring to the travelers as "guests" or "club members" hints at the fact that hotel administrators view their paying clientele not as "tourists," but as vacation seekers (vacationers) who have chosen as ideal the all-inclusive resort.

Thus, Harewood, echoing Claudio Minca's (2010) powerful reminder, reflects on how "the island has been constructed in the European archive as this ideal space of re-creation." She adds, "The tourist industry has consistently made use of this ideal and it has been especially important to enclavic tourist properties like all-inclusive hotels." The all-inclusive hotel is conceived by vacationers and promoted by the administration as "away from the hurly-burly of 'modern' life and labor" and as a space of leisure, as a "fun property," to use Rommen's wording.

So, for the management of the hotel, the staff, and the musicians, the implications of thinking about the travelers as vacationers are numerous. In his essay, Camal describes a large sign in the hotel lobby that reads: "The goal in life is to be happy. The place to be happy is here. The time to be happy is now." As he explains, "the staff is there to turn this into a reality for every person who comes to stay at the resort." Through different sources of information (managers, musicians, staff, locals), different sonic experiences, and historical records, the authors in this volume inquire about the strategies the hotel management deploys to reach out to vacationers. The creation of an island of leisure and pleasure within a physical island can indeed only exist at the expense of erasing the insurgent and noisy sounds of that locale's past. But how does the hotel management create these distinct "islands" within island countries? How does sonic experience shape soothing, energizing, and pleasurable feelings of vacation? How do sound walls separate the inside of the all-inclusive from the outside? Moving out of the "peace and quiet" of the hotel and into the surrounding neighborhood and back again, Harewood asks, "What historical narratives are emphasized and what narratives are muted in the production of 'tourist island'?"

To heighten the feeling of vacation and hyperreality, the acoustic evidence of some of the most labor-intensive activity in the all-inclusive hotels are deliberately masked. For example, sounds of kitchen work are typically

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muted to the vacationers' ears. As Camal observes, the result is that "many tourists—complicit in the practice—would sooner remain blind [deaf?] to the work that their leisure demands." Additionally, the labor performed by entertainment staff and musicians, like that of the other employees, can go unnoticed, foregrounding for many of them the specter of colonialism, "blurring the lines between service and servitude." But, as Camal indicates, not everyone employed at the all-inclusive hotels views their work this way. Guilbault's and Rommen's ethnographies indeed show that for many of the interviewed musicians, their main concern is more about the opportunity and revenue their work provides than its vexed symbolism.

If the primary goal of hospitality at all-inclusive hotels is to procure satisfaction and enjoyment, the primary effect is to foster affective relations between personnel and vacationers. It is to create, as Guilbault puts it, "experiences that are memorable, emotional, and interactive." To this end, she explores the entertainment infrastructure that is put into place to provide music for the ear and for the body. Bearing in mind hotel management's concern to please, she further asks: What policies and politics govern the hiring of musicians? To what extent is aural architecture a preoccupation in hotel design and renovation plans to foster hospitality?[30]

For the staff and the musicians, then, entertainment is profoundly connected to the issue of employment. Each author in this volume thus provides detailed descriptions of how all-inclusive hotel performers work to "tune in" to the vacationers and, to paraphrase Guadeloupe and Halfman, to privilege antiphonic techniques to boost modes of social and affective engagement. Moreover, the satisfaction and enjoyment (or lack thereof) that vacationers attribute to these sonic performances translates into renewal or suspension of workers' employment. What is made clear, then, is how hospitality is measured in terms of the vacationers' relative degree of "happiness," and how this "happiness" is understood and monetized by management. In business terms, the production of happiness then becomes key to whether or not the vacationers will want to come back.

Curating Sounds

As the case studies in this volume attest, there is no question that musicians are beholden to the tastes and desires of their vacationer audiences, and that they are also keenly aware of the expectations placed on them by hotel management (good reviews, no complaints, happy guests, etc.). In

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fact, it is worth asking whether it is a priority for the hotel management to feature the "local" (food, music, traditions, style, language, etc.) in such a configuration of entertainment. If so, is the programming a way of marketing a nation-state's distinctiveness merely through decor, sounds, and overall atmosphere? The case studies in this volume illustrate divergent answers to these questions about the local, national, and international, but they all point to the efforts all-inclusive hotels deploy to cater for their visitors' various notions of vacation, as shaped by a globalized industry. In effect, business is curation, and curation is business.

That music and sound in all-inclusive hotels would be carefully curated should come as no surprise. Drawing on Ochoa Gautier's concept of aurality, Camal recalls the colonial efforts "both to make sense of the world through the acoustic but also to control the sonic environment." As he argues, "The myths that first came to life on the plantation continue to inform which sounds should be included, even foregrounded, on the resort and which should be eliminated. Some tropical sounds remain wondrous (the rushing of waterfalls, the gentle rolling of waves) while others still prove incommensurable (the shrilling of nighttime tree frogs—or are they crickets?) or threatening (the buzzing of mosquitoes)."

Like Harewood, Camal remarks, "The 'listening ear' shaped by colonialism and exoticism recasts roots reggae, steelpan, calypso, or zouk (all musical styles that have, at some point, carried an anticolonialist or anti-imperialist message) as evidence of the inherent warmth, happiness, and laid-back personalities of Caribbean people."

Influenced by the colonial history in the islands, in all-inclusive hotels, Guilbault writes, "there is a tacit management theory that understands hearing and listening as controllable or partially controllable through the staging of tourist space and the music programming by the staff." She reports how the entertainment management establishes the do's and the don'ts in relation to the selection of music. Lyrics perceived as containing "profanity" and the sounds of musics such as dancehall or reggaeton that could potentially disturb or annoy the vacationers are avoided. As she puts it, "Entertainment managers thus define through their musical selections the geo-moral space of the Sandals resort in terms of political economy." The goal, adds Harewood, is "to maintain what Minca calls the 'harmonious' interior of the all-inclusive island within the island."

Soundscape curation by all-inclusive hotels does not only pertain to environmental sounds and the music performed or diffused through the re-

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sorts' speakers. It also extends to speech accents. Guadeloupe and Halfman underscore how in promoting the whole island of Sint Maarten as an all-inclusive, Sint Maarteners of all social stations had to be "inducted into a cosmopolitan ethic friendly to the machinations of capital" and engage tourists on a daily basis as "a pleasant matter of fact." Their anecdote about the virtuosic ability of Sint Maarteners to switch accents to make visitors at ease is telling of how accents convert into assets and commodities in the all-inclusive context (extended here to the whole island). As they indicate, Sint Maartener children's ability to imitate foreigners' accents and their tendency to associate these accents with specific countries, ethnicities, and/or races show how stereotypes can emerge as much from the locals about the tourists as from the tourists about the locals.

The curation of business and the business of curation is also located in the empirical analysis of musical performance presented in this volume. Close attention is paid to how musicians use musical genre and style to express their identifications with their own nation-states and also with other places, histories, and futures. Rommen, Harewood, and Guilbault address how the strategies employed by all-inclusive hotel musicians are carefully calibrated not only to achieve both commercial and personal success, but also to signal their creative agency. After attending to the actual musical and political labor that the all-inclusive hotel musicians perform, these authors revisit the long-held assumption that local musicians would rather only play local music. Far more complex than a simple attribution to the imagined "evil" demands of the generic tourism industry, Rommen, Harewood, and Guilbault turn to the musicians' biographies to grasp what informs their musical tastes and affinities.

And this leads to what this book's authors find to be one of the strikingly common characteristics of the entertainment staff and musicians in the all-inclusive hotels: they are all seasoned travelers. The implications of this are significant. As Guilbault remarks, "The history of encounters in and through sound in a touristic site such as Sandals Halcyon [in Saint Lucia] must [thus] be viewed as encounters among cosmopolitans whose experiences may differ on numerous points and yet overlap in others. The entertainment staff and musicians can not only imagine but also relate to many of their guests' musical habitus and preferences." As employees of the all-inclusive hotels, they use this knowledge to reach out to tourists and to calibrate their performance of familiar sounds with new sonic experiences for

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them. In a similar vein, Guadeloupe and Halfman asked themselves what would be unfamiliar to Sint Maarteners (read the local musicians). Their answer: not much. "As most Sint Maarteners have access to more than fifty American TV channels in real time, and the middle class travel regularly to the United States, they can easily make the tourists feel at home. Genuine relations between tourists and Sint Maarteners are possible."

Questions of authenticity, tied as they are to notions of identity and grounded in locality, are thus complicated by the all-inclusive hotel musicians' intertwined local and international experiences, their multiple senses of belonging, and their globally local outlook. These musicians render moot the question of whether they are performing (or failing to perform) authentic, local music for hotel guests. Nonetheless, Rommen reports, the question for many islanders remains: What is considered local and what is global in cosmopolitan Nassau? What counts as Bahamian music in the contemporary moment? "The all-inclusive hotel," he suggests, "has now become the context within which the current shapes and future possibilities of what constitutes Bahamian music are being negotiated."

Labor Politics

Musicians playing at all-inclusive hotels need to be addressed not only as artists, but also as workers—as participants in the political economy of all-inclusive hotels. All of the authors in this volume explore critically what sustained attention to several factors can reveal about labor politics within these touristic spaces. These factors include hiring practices, the precarity of insecure or seasonal labor, the often negative perceptions of hotel musicians as a category of entertainer, the role (or, more often, the lack thereof) of musicians' unions, the expectations of management and audiences alike, and the demands that all of these factors place on musicians (and staff).

The political status of the island on which an all-inclusive hotel is located, for instance, determines employment visa requirements and thus significantly impacts hiring policies. Whereas in a French overseas department such as Guadeloupe, an all-inclusive resort can recruit workers from different parts of Europe without visas, the independent English-speaking islands have such strict employment visa requirements that most employees working in the resorts are locals. To assess how all-inclusive hotels have developed their approach to staffing, Guilbault and Rommen situate con-

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temporary labor politics in relation to the long history of the service industry in the Caribbean, and by doing so trace the dramatic changes that have accompanied the rise of all-inclusive hotels in the region.

Guilbault, for instance, learns from musician Ronald Hinkson that in years past, Saint Lucian hotels viewed musical entertainment as a source of revenue. This had concrete effects on musicians' ability to negotiate contracts, fee structures, labor conditions, and so on. But, with the advent of the all-inclusive hotel, music entertainment came to be regarded as "an expense, and accordingly is simply assessed as one of the 'services' the hotel provides." Guilbault thus explores what effects this transformation from partner in profit to contractor on a budget line continues to have on Saint Lucian musicians.

Rommen, too, traces the history of labor politics, illustrating how Bahamian musicians were, in the past, supported by a powerful musicians' union that assisted them with everything from contract negotiations to job placement and working conditions. Today, the union has largely lost the influence it once wielded, but perhaps more significantly, the all-inclusive hotel Rommen explores operates as a completely nonunion employer. What, he asks, does this mean for those who labor in such spaces, and how do musicians, in particular, manage the expectations of both audiences and their employers in such an environment?

Generating answers to such questions about the labor politics of all-inclusive hotels involves careful consideration of both the relative agency of the entertainment staff and musicians and attention to their material and "immaterial" labor. Here we are drawing on Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's definition of immaterial labor as entailing both a "manipulation of symbols" and a "manipulation of affect" (2005, 111).[31] Camal, for example, analyzes the structure of material and immaterial labor at Club Poseidon, pointing out that long workdays filled with specific physical tasks and highly routinized daily schedules are coupled with the emotionally taxing labor of consistently encouraging and cajoling hotel guests (club members) to participate in the fun atmosphere for which the hotel is known.

Musicians, too, are constantly engaged in both material and immaterial labor. Harewood, Rommen, and Guilbault examine the challenges and stakes attendant to everything from procuring equipment to laboring on stage, and also the ways in which the immaterial labor of these musicians often becomes a barometer of success or failure in all-inclusive hotels. As Rommen points out, reviews on tripadvisor.com and other travel sites

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become a powerful index of musicians' effectiveness—a form of performance review that is taken very seriously by management. The particular demands placed on musicians and staff in all-inclusive hotels, however, also leave traces on musicians and staff alike. Camal, for instance, reports that fatigue, boredom, and alienation among staff members is often the cost associated with doing their jobs—the human cost of producing the energy, excitement, and belonging that guests at Club Poseidon have paid to experience.

But schedules, routines, and expectations also offer opportunities for individual agency, and Rommen, Harewood, and Guilbault all explore how musicians' choices shape their experiences of their specific labor regimes and their relationships to their own product. Rommen, for instance, points out that some musicians are willing to perform music they do not personally enjoy in order to negotiate between the expectations of audiences and management, whereas others find musical pathways to ensure that they are, themselves, always deriving pleasure from their performances. Harewood reports similar considerations in relation to musicians who choose to perform classic Caribbean hits for tourists in Barbados. Guilbault makes similar observations but also underscores the gendered realities of labor politics, exploring how a female saxophonist navigates professional life in the hotels of Saint Lucia.

The labor politics in all-inclusive hotels, then, provides windows onto the political economy of sound and music in these institutions. Attending to *what* work and *which* expectations help enliven these spaces from day to day affords all of the authors insights into how the complex relations and affects that are produced by musicians and staff continuously affirm the value of the all-inclusive for vacationers.

The Commodification of Experience

The commodification of experience in the all-inclusive hotels is grounded in the ubiquitous commoditization process central to globalization (Brown 2003). As Guilbault reports, "Business scholar S. Maitel summarizes the contemporary orientation in marketing by this motto: 'Don't sell commodities, sell experience.'" As she points out, however, "What Maitel does not mention is how the selling of experience does not mean by default only 'new' experience." The all-inclusive hotels indeed convert into commodities daily or weekly activities that are part of the vacationers' routine at home.

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Listening to music diffused on speakers throughout the resort—a most common practice in public places at the vacationers' "home"—is part of commodity exchange at the resort. The hotels provide this commodity and sell it to vacationers who buy it as part of their vacation package.

Commodification aims to make experience reproducible, malleable, and salable. Take, for example, the "themed nights" discussed in Rommen's, Camal's, and Guilbault's essays. The weekly music programming that is offered as part of the vacationers' experience intersects with what is bought and what is sold. It is a musical experience that is monetized by the hotel. Similar to other commodities, the weekly music programming is reproducible from one week to the next for another group of vacationers. It is also malleable in the sense that it changes according to season, and in doing so can acquire an even greater value for the vacationers as well as for the hotel.

By including in December an evening of Christmas music, for example, the hotel boosts the "emotional economies"[32] of hospitality, the heightened emotions generated by the various hotel activities (musical and nonmusical) that simultaneously become constitutive of the hotel's "goods" and are sold to the vacationers.

The musicians' creative agency is also shaped and forged in the commercial arena of the vacation site. Rommen, Harewood, and Guilbault present instances of performing a familiar tune with a Caribbean inflection or performing a Caribbean tune with a twist of jazz. Knowing what tune to play to entice vacationers onto the dance floor indicates how musicians create musical meaning and, in doing so, consolidate musical value for both vacationers and hotel management.

Vacationers' participation in musical activities is also commodified at the all-inclusive hotels. Guadeloupe and Halfman, for example, reveal how participation becomes part of an "experience economy" (a notion from B. J. Pine and J. H Gilmore's work, explored in Guilbault's essay). "Leroy . . . made sure to constantly interpellate the tourists and the regular workers of the hotel, as an audience that was simultaneously part of his band. He gave them a sense that they were the ones entertaining themselves. His movement throughout the hotel had purpose, strategically sharing the microphone with specific tourists, or inviting them to dance and gain an audience while also being part of the audience."

An all-inclusive hotel audience enjoying itself here becomes what

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Smythe (1977) calls a "commodity audience" for other vacationers. Harewood productively uses this concept to explain both how this commodity audience is produced and how it becomes inextricably part of the commodification of experience.[33] In effect, the enjoyment of some audience members becomes the drawing card for others—a commodity that curates the experience of other vacationers. This commodity audience acquires yet another use value for the hotel management by becoming a selling point in promotional photographs—look at how these vacationers enjoy themselves—to attract other visitors. In addition, Harewood explains, the commodity audience becomes the product on which the hotel musician's work depends and out of which the hotel's commercial success is built.

All of the strategies used to heighten the vacation experience intersect with the commodities that all-inclusive hotels offer. Space in the resort is staged. Shows take place in different places around the property to offer a unique sonic experience of music mixed with different environmental sounds (see Guilbault). Architecture and landscaping are used to produce the "peace and quiet" that some vacationers are looking for, while the sounds of the violent colonial history of the heritage site nearby are muted to reinforce the vacationers' feeling of innocence (see Harewood). The hotels make use of sound technologies to enable music to be projected at different levels of intensity—loudly near the bar to energize the audience and quietly near the bedrooms (see Guadeloupe and Halfman). All of these strategies and many others turn experience—listening to environmental sounds, dancing to music played by a live band, exercising to the sound of music in the gym, musicians' performances—into commodities, into vacation products that are bought and sold in all-inclusive hotels. It is in this sense that music and sound are consistently central to the political economy of vacation in the all-inclusive Caribbean hotels.

Taken as a whole, this book speaks about political economy, but not in relation to the top-down level, the national organization of the tourist industry as mediated by ministries or tourist boards, nor in relation to the corporatization of tourist resorts that are linked to the travel industry. We do not principally examine the political economy of the sounds of vacation in all-inclusive hotels at the national, regional, or global level. In this volume, we instead address the political economy at the site of vacationers' presence, activities, and visitations, and at the site of the labor force that makes the tourists' experience of vacation memorable and pleasurable. We

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seek to make audible the silences and the erasures of the past, and to account for the cosmopolitan experience, knowledge, and work of the management, the musicians, and the entertainment personnel in these touristic sites.

NOTES

1. Malcolm Crick (1989, 311) goes further, asking, "Is it that academic personalities find it difficult to take as a serious area of research a phenomenon so bound with leisure and hedonism?" See also Botterill (2001, 209).

2. From "Political Economy" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

3. It should be noted, however, that Attali was not the first author to be preoccupied with questions related to the political economy of music. As Maynard Solomon indicates, "The earliest emphasis of the Frankfurt School was on political economy" (1979, 371). On the other side of the Atlantic, Marxist musicologists also paid attention to the inextricable interrelations between individuals, states, markets, and society. To give only one example, Sidney Finkelstein (1947, 1960), through his Marxist lens, discusses how material production shapes not only musical thinking and its products, but also the composers' philosophy about the market and their involvement with both patronage and music publishing. In the 1970s, sociologists like Simon Frith in *The Sociology of Rock* (1978), and Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo in *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here to Pay* (1977) have also argued that the history of music such as rock can only be understood by addressing the interrelationship between politics, markets, and cultural values. Since Attali, other authors, such as Jann Pasler (2008), have emphasized "political economy" as the focal point of their studies by using the term in the titles of their publications. Save for a few exceptions (for example, Hellier-Tinoco 2011), music studies addressing tourism still rarely engage political economy as the main point of inquiry.

4. As Denis Constant-Martin (1993) remarks, the prophetic quality of music, often mentioned in reference to Attali's book, should not be viewed as an isolated case, but as part of what Georges Balandier calls the "social detectors" [*révélateurs sociaux*] that enable one, in spite of apparent continuities, to detect changing trends (Guilbault's translation).

5. See, however, the limits of Appadurai's notion of value in Graeber (2001, 30–33).

6. Two points of clarification: The expression *sonic touristry* comes from Feld in an informal conversation with Guilbault. In "Notes on World Beat," Feld (1988) refers to Charles Keil's *Urban Blues* to address regimes of value and the circulation of commodities.

7. In the context of the Caribbean, musical genres are fraught with precisely the complications and nuances suggested by Myers. The cultures of circulation addressed by Lee and LiPuma are, moreover, particularly sharply delineated in all-inclusive resorts. This is the case because Caribbean musical genres tend to circulate as markers of particular communities and are often understood as bearing the sonic signatures of

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deep-seated and long-standing rivalries—rivalries that may matter little to the tourists wishing to hear "island music" but which matter urgently to local populations and local musicians. Any analysis of these cultures of circulation must then account for the fact that local musicians and service workers cultivate very different relationships to Caribbean genres than do the tourists they entertain and must therefore negotiate carefully between local and regional concerns and histories in the process of performing for their largely transnational audiences.

8. In 2012, Matei Candea and Giovanni da Col coedited a special issue of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* entitled "The Return to Hospitality: Strangers, Guests, and Ambiguous Encounters." They remark how in contrast to disciplines such as classics or history, anthropological discussions of hospitality have until recently been limited to analyses of "tourism as imperialist formation . . . or of the constitutive economic role of visitors in relation to the domestic sphere" (2012, S3). But, they add, the publications devoted to hospitality by prominent continental philosophers such as Jacques Derrida (1999a, 1999b, 2000) created a surge of interest in the subject. Anthropological discussions of hospitality are not new. As the authors put it, "they are both everywhere and (nearly) nowhere." Hospitality has been typically mentioned as a passing reference to Marcel Mauss's notion of gift or acknowledged as what makes possible ethnographers' fieldwork. However, until recently, scant attention has been given to hospitality as a theoretically important concept in the discipline. The same could be said about ethnomusicological studies.

9. See Scott's insightful remarks on the "Evidence of Experience" (1991).

10. See King (1995) on the subject.

11. As King reminds us, "The antecedent of commercial hospitality is the behavior of the courtier toward his sovereign or lord" (1995, 219).

12. This book's intellectual project is visually reinforced in its cover art, which exhibits right in the middle a dollar sign painted in black against a backdrop fleshed out by the revealingly selected red, green, and yellow colors—the colors of the Rastafarian activist movement.

13. See, for example, Erlmann (2004), Feld and Brenneis (2004), Keeling and Kun (2011), Samuels et al. (2010), and recently summarized in Feld (2012) and elaborated in Meintjes (2017).

14. Quiñones et al. (2013).

15. On tourism in general, see for instance Gibson and Connell (2005), Krüger and Trandafoiu (2013), MacCannel (2013), Rojek and Urry (1997), Urry and Larsen (2011), and Yelvington, Simms, and Murray (2012). On Caribbean tourism in particular, see Baver and Deutsch Lynch (2006), Cohen (2010), Daye, Chamber, and Roberts (2008), Gregory (2007), Padilla (2007), Sheller (2003), and Siegel and Righter (2011).

16. Notable exceptions include Cooley (2005), Hellier-Tinoco (2011), Kaul (2009), and the special issue on "Music, Travel, and Tourism" of the journal *The World of Music* (Baumann and Fujie 1999).

17. As J. J. Issa and C. Jayawardena (2003, 167) explain, "The concept [of all-inclusive hotels] was first introduced in holiday camps in Britain during the 1930s. Club Med is credited for popularizing the concept globally in the 1950s." As they indicate, however,

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"the credit for introducing a luxury version of the all-inclusive concept goes to a Jamaican hotelier. . . . In defining the concept of all-inclusives, one cannot ignore the significant role Jamaica has played."

18. As noted in this volume, Guadeloupe as an overseas French department marks an exception to this general hiring policy.

19. In a study titled "Beyond Tourism: The Future of the Service Industry in the Caribbean," Erikson and Lawrence (2008, 5) assert that "the Caribbean is the most tourism-intensive region in the world and tourism is the leading source of foreign exchange for most Caribbean nations."

20. From *Index Mundi*, "The Economic Profile of 2018," indexmundi.com, accessed on March 9, 2018.

21. From the "Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2018 Caribbean" report of the World/Travel and Tourism Council, https://www.wttc.org/research/economic-research/economic-impact-analysis/regional-reports/#undefined, accessed on March 28, 2018.

22. From the "Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2017 Caribbean" report of the World/Travel and Tourism Council.

23. From the "Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2018 Caribbean" report of the World/Travel and Tourism Council.

24. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2018-01-15/2017-international-tourism-results-highest-seven-years, accessed on March 28, 2018.

25. From the "Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2017 Caribbean" report of the World/Travel and Tourism Council. If Thomas Cook and Son travel firm was the most impressive economic organization to emerge in nineteenth-century Britain, Scott Lash and John Urry suggest, "there is some justification for suggesting that twentieth-century [and we could add, twenty-first-century] organized capitalism might be better described as "Cookism'" rather than "Fordism" (1999, 261).

26. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006, 163) aptly remarks, while culture is "an externality in economic theories of markets (the idea that markets operate according to their own logic and can be accounted for without reference to culture), economics is not an externality in theories of culture." In a hopeful footnote, she indicates that "some cultural economists are trying to address this issue" (2006, 197n5). The economics of music and sound-making in touristic sites, however, remain to this day largely unaccounted for.

27. For an elaboration on this subject, see Radano (2016).

28. For a more sustained meditation on these ideas, see Mimi Sheller's *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies* (2003).

29. That the "tourist" is a complicated and vexed topic is already amply demonstrated by the consistent and sustained engagement with this idea in mobility and leisure studies. An entire discipline called tourism studies has developed around the activities of such actors, and offers additional evidence of the intellectual resources committed to understanding tourists' practices. One of the clear findings emerging from these literatures is that there is no unifying or stabilizing definition of the tourist.

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Rather, just as there are many forms of tourism, those individuals referred to as tourists are profoundly variegated (by class, ethnicity, motivations for travel, etc.). This is, by now, a virtual truism—a truism confirmed throughout the essays in this volume.

30. See Blesser and Salter (2007).

31. While we recognize that Hardt and Negri's overall argument for immaterial labor has received ample critique (see Camfield 2006, Gill and Pratt 2008, Graeber 2008, and Wright 2005 for excellent examples), our purpose is to name and thus highlight the profound importance of symbolic and affective labor within the overall labor politics of all-inclusive hotels throughout the Caribbean. Our use of the term here is thus a heuristic claim.

32. We owe the expression *emotional economies* to Candea and da Col (2012, S12).

33. Smythe (1977, 3) explains his concept of commodity audience as follows: "I submit that the materialist answer to the question—What is the commodity form of mass-produced, advertiser-supported communications under monopoly capitalism?—is audiences and readerships (hereafter referred to for simplicity as audiences). The material reality under monopoly capitalism is that all non-sleeping time of most of the population is work time. This work time is devoted to the production of commodities-in-general (both where people get paid for their work and as members of audiences)."

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