

Re-Constructing Place and Space

Re-Constructing Place and Space:
Media, Culture, Discourse
and the Constitution of Caribbean Diasporas

Edited by

Kamille Gentles-Peart and Maurice L. Hall

**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

P U B L I S H I N G

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INTRODUCTION

KAMILLE GENTLES-PEART AND MAURICE L. HALL

The Caribbean is a fertile environment that fosters complex identities created through the fusion of cultures brought to the islands, identities that Caribbean peoples then take with them as they leave their nations and settle into new homes. Traditions transmitted within these primary and secondary migratory communities are continually subject to loss, gain and reinterpretation. Communication practices play a role in this process as they help to maintain, express, transfer, and challenge the diasporic subjectivities of the Caribbean. *Re-Constructing Place and Space: Media, Culture, Discourse and the Constitution of Caribbean Diasporas* examines the role of cultural performances and mediated expressions in the construction and maintenance of Caribbean diasporic communities.

The Caribbean diaspora is conceived of in two ways in this volume: It refers to the communities developed by peoples who came or were brought to the Caribbean islands, as well as the cultural spaces created by peoples who leave or are displaced from the Caribbean, and resettle in new homes. In this sense then, the volume speaks to and foregrounds the Caribbean as not only a place of emigration from which diasporas sprout, but as a diasporic space itself, and illustrates how subjectivities constructed by Caribbean emigrants are as much informed by the cultures in their new homes as by the cultures that shaped the Caribbean.

The objectives for the book are two-fold. The general objective is to contribute to discourse on diasporic identity and performativity. The more specific aim of the book is to highlight the diversity and complexity of Caribbean peoples' production of and engagement with cultural forms. Though much work has been done to debunk the exoticized images of Caribbean nations, people from these countries are often perceived as an essentialized, undifferentiated category, and as technologically and intellectually backward, incapable of sophisticated cultural production, interaction and interpretation. *Re-Constructing Place and Space: Media, Culture, Discourse and the Constitution of Caribbean Diasporas* seeks to

present a more complex picture of Caribbean people, one that highlights their complicated and dynamic relationship to communication processes.

The volume emerged from the 2009 *New Media and the Global Diaspora Symposium: Exploring Media in Caribbean Diasporas* held at Roger Williams University in the United States. The event sought to encourage academic discourse focused on Caribbean migratory populations, foregrounding the role of communicative practices in transmitting and sustaining their traditions. It was also designed as an interdisciplinary forum for Caribbean researchers who study the nature, significance and consequence of Caribbean migration. In keeping with the spirit of the symposium then, this volume applies a transdisciplinary lens to understanding the diversity and complexity of peoples from the Caribbean region and their diasporic communities.

Defining Diaspora

The concept of diaspora deployed in this volume is not an essentialist one; it is not monolithic and uniformed across persons. Rather, diasporas are “embarked upon, lived and re-lived through multiple modalities... for example, of gender, ‘race’, class, religion, language, and generation” (Brah 2003, 618). We conceive of diaspora as necessarily experienced and interpreted through the prism of identity categories so that the diasporic experience and subsequent identities are always anchored in multiple, serial locales. Furthermore, rather than being viewed as a fixed, innate set of conventions, traditions and linguistic practices, or as simply a moment on the assimilation-insulation continuum, we understand diasporic spaces as cultural constructs borne from the continuous negotiations of cultural groups.

Diaspora and Hybridity

We read Homi Bhabha’s (1994) notion of cultural hybridity as arguing that cultures exist significantly within the discursive expressions and articulation of themselves, thereby removing traces of their original influences and becoming phenomena which are unique, creative and almost always liminal; the products of cultures meeting and mixing exist in a temporal Third Space. Stuart Hall (1995) echoes this notion of cultural hybridity in his conception of diasporic identity when he states that questions of identity are not simply a matter of “discovery of tradition,” but rather are issues of invention borne from the negotiation of retention and assimilation (283). Analogously, in her discussion of South Asian

immigrant women in Britain, Parminder Bhachu (1993) contends that “ethnic” identities, which are often perceived as comprising of and being most influenced by fixed elements from the country of origin, also include other forces that are equally important in their construction. She states:

“[I]dentities are contextualized and not stable, despite a common core of key fundamental religious and cultural values that constitute their cultural roots. They shift according to the forces that operate on them...[The shifts] result not from conscious emulation of particular subcultures, or necessarily through the politics of confrontation, but through their natural familiarity with particular [dominant culture] economies...and symbolic and material cultures. From these they appropriate, transform and reproduce unselfconsciously, and also strategically” (110).

Bhachu (1993) and other scholars point to the dialogic relationship between diasporas and their receiving cultures, characterized by negotiations of traditions from the countries of origin and the customs of the receiving nations; this process results in the strategic reinvention of immigrants’ traditions, and the construction of a cultural duality or hybrid identity.

Diasporas then cannot be perceived as perpetuating cultures that have been fossilized or mummified. Rather, diasporic spaces have to be seen as actively producing new cultural practices and forms in which the traditions, values and mores of original homelands are recast within the new cultural context, and the dominant culture is reinterpreted to facilitate the practices from home. Relatedly, we also cannot perceive immigrants as being separated from their cultures, especially not in this age of hyper-connectivity when expatriates can access and participate in their cultures from afar. Instead, we have to recognize that cultures of the homeland are reflected and reworked in present diasporic situations, helping to shape and give meaning to the immigrant experience.

Diaspora and Power

One of Bhabha’s (1994) compelling contributions to the theory of hybridity is his argument that when cultures collide where there is a power inequity, such as in the colonial history of the Caribbean, the obvious binaries of oppressor and oppressed, victor and victim are inadequate to explain cultural production. The oppressed and the victim influence the dominant culture just as much as the dominant culture shapes its colonial conquest to its own ends. Similarly, diasporas are characterized as much by the culture of the immigrants as by that of the majority culture within which they develop. According to Hall (cited in Papastergiadis 1996), there

is a never-completed process of differentiation and exchange that occurs between the mainstream and its margins, and the cultural communities within the margins.

Furthermore, given that cultures are forged and maintained by ideological forces, it is important to note that the interaction between diasporic spaces and the dominant culture is not harmonious. Rather, much like other cultural processes, it entails power struggles between dominant parties seeking to influence and control the product that is being created (Darling-Wolf 2004), and immigrants wanting to claim agency in their new homes (Ong 1996). In other words, diasporas are forged through struggles for cultural citizenship. According to Aihwa Ong (1996), cultural citizenship is the result of immigrants' negotiations of the subjectifying power of receiving nations. She states that "the different institutional contexts in which subjects learn about citizenship often assess newcomers from different parts of the world within given schemes of racial difference, civilization, and economic worth" (Ong 1996, 738). In other words, one's country of origin, and the history of its relationship to the receiving country, always already informs how one is perceived (racially, intellectually and economically), and the place one is given in the socio-economic system of the dominant society. Immigrants wrestle with these hegemonic processes in an effort to resist marginalization and claim social and cultural agency (Ong 1996). This form of struggle is particularly salient for non-white immigrants from the Global South (such as those from the English-speaking Caribbean) residing in Western nations, as they have to struggle against ideologies that label them as intellectually inferior, and available to be used. Diasporas are thus always spaces of self-definition and resistance in which immigrants struggle against, but do not fully evade, the imperialistic institutions of their country of residence. The cultures that are created, then, reproduce, in a modified form, traces of dominant hegemonic cultural forms (Dayal 1996).

In sum, we perceive diaspora as a discursive space created by immigrants that is continuously being negotiated and remade in response to hegemonic cultural and social discourses within their diasporic locale.

Cultural Productions Theorized

One of our objectives in this introductory essay is to develop an explicative framework for understanding the intersections and, to some extent, the influences of history, culture and power on diasporic identity as expressed through communication practices and processes of cultural production in the English-speaking Caribbean.

Cultural Hybridity and Cultural Practices

The postcolonial Caribbean is as much a product of its colonial past as of the modern influences of globalization and the significant cultural, technological, and economic power of the United States, the huge neighbor to the North. As suggested above, Bhabha's (1994) cultural hybridity provides a theoretic context within which to explore novel forms of Caribbean cultural expression such as calypso, reggae and other forms of music, art, and theater in the Caribbean. Moreover, his development of the idea of a two-way cultural influence between the dominant culture and its margins also helps us to contextualize socio-religious rituals, such as Carnival in Trinidad and pocomania in Jamaica, and Caribbean-wide political and social phenomena, such as Rastafari; these practices derive some of their explanatory power from analyzing the influences of history and power on their development as vital forms of cultural expression.

But we believe there is more. The contours of a region or a nation are no longer defined simply by the boundaries of the nation state. To this end, migration and increased travel and electronic communication between and among people in geographically defined nation states have recreated and reformed the notion of what counts as "nation," thereby erasing and rewriting the traditional boundaries of what we consider to be stable, recognizable, discrete sites of cultural identity negotiation. Cultural production becomes a central focus of analysis when examining how and when identity becomes diasporic with all the implications for understanding transnational processes of communication.

Performativity

Communication practices in the Caribbean, more specifically the English-speaking Caribbean, which is our focus, are a wonderful and complex mixture of phenomena. The language used in everyday interaction, for example, is English, but an English that is heavily accented by and embedded within African grammatical structures. One therefore has to think about speech in terms of a continuum of expression, from language based on the Standard British written grammatical form to language based on an oral form that is very loosely derived from West African grammar systems. By way of general comparison, most North American scholars concur that communication practices in the United States are a product of the need for coordination and co-orientation. Frameworks as varied as Pierce and Cronen's (1980) coordinated management of meaning and Karl Weick's (1995) sense-making, which have historically undergirded a lot of

the thinking about U.S. communication practices, have focused largely on uncertainty reduction as a significant goal in communicating. And while that focus may be changing, communication scholars from the Caribbean must operate on very different assumptions when seeking to explain communication practices. Because of a history of slavery and oppression, the goal of communication has largely been ambiguity linked to resistance. That is, language forms have developed in Caribbean cultures to evade transparent meanings, thereby confusing the oppressor.

The various forms of creole or dialect English were deliberately developed by African slaves to confuse the slave master and to ridicule those who held power over them. In more recent times, the argument can be made that these discursive practices exist to heighten group solidarity along the lines of social class and shades of skin color. The politics of language use have often been directly related to the politics of power and resistance. Communication practices in the Caribbean also give expression to mimicry. One imitates the slave master in speech and behavior to gain favor or to create devastating parodies that are forms of resistance. Mimicry just as often involves self-parody, a huge source of humor and stress relief. Understanding communication from the perspective of tropes such as Resistance and Mimicry requires an additional theoretic lens beyond concepts of cultural hybridity. We have found great utility, therefore, in deploying concepts of Performativity.

Performance Theory is certainly complex in its scope, in part because of its origination out of two somewhat overlapping but ultimately very distinct schools of thought (Jackson 2004). We view Performance Theory through lenses similar to those developed by scholars such as Conquergood (1991), Denzin (2003), and Madison (2005). That is, we understand performance to operate as both theory and method, with utility for both analysis and intervention in political and social contexts that have been complicated by any history of oppression, and in this case, colonial oppression. We certainly understand that performance is potent as literary and theatrical expression, particularly when linked to an ethnographic project. Understanding the performance of social identity in a variety of contexts is powerfully elucidated when linked to aesthetic re-presentations of reality in a narrative text or on a stage, with all the issues of representation that that entails. What particularly compels our interest when we think about Performance Theory in the context of the Caribbean, however, is the focus on the body. Performance has entailed a focus on embodiment in ways that we think are very relevant to understanding the link between power, history and the development of diasporic identity through communicative practices and processes of cultural production.

The Body as Lynchpin: Performance and Hybridity as Figure and Ground

We conceive the concept of performance as figure and the concept of cultural hybridity as ground in our explication of the communication practices on which we choose to focus. In our minds, the lynchpin that integrates both frameworks is the body. There are very clear reasons for this. The enslaved, black body became a metonym for the savagery of Western European colonialism in the Caribbean. Yet, we agree with Bhabha (1994) that binaries of black/white, oppressor/oppressed are too simplistic. To some extent, accounts of black originary performances or white originary performances are fiction, the truth of which largely exists only in the discourses that promote them. The black, white, and brown migrating body has extended and complicated our understanding of nation, identity, culture and its production in geographic sites as different as the Caribbean, the United States, and Western Europe.

It is no accident that a Caribbean writer and intellectual such as Braithwaite (1995) frames Caribbean social identity within narratives of exile and alienation: No inhabitants of the Caribbean are native to the islands upon which they live. All have come from somewhere else, often brought there by extreme force and violence. They cannot return to the places from which they have come because they are no longer singularly African, Indian, or Chinese. Yet, they cannot stay put on these islands if they wish to survive, and so large patterns of migration and now serial migration have all, but extended and/or reformed national boundaries so that Jamaica, for example, exists as much in sections of Brooklyn, New York or North London as in the island that bears its name (Hall 2010). To add to the challenge, media technology, tourism and travel constantly bring forms of North American culture into the Caribbean and bring forms of Caribbean culture into North America that constantly challenge and change accepted performances of social identity.

In this volume, we show how the negotiation of social identity in the context of the English-speaking Caribbean has produced mediated and other forms of communicative practices and performances that challenge or complicate some of the accepted theories of communication developed by our North American colleagues. In this book, we don't try to cover all communicative practices, but concentrate on a select few that we think exemplify our ideas. We look at carnival, mass mediated texts, embodied performances of gender, class, and religion as phenomena that capture our sense of the kinds of communicative contexts and/or practices that reflect diasporic negotiations; moreover, we employ a case study approach to do

this. That is, we provide qualitative description of these phenomena based on ethnographic and auto-ethnographic data collection methods, and use these data for our analysis and explication of the performance of Caribbean diasporas. The contribution of this volume lies in extending the knowledge of how cultural retentions have impacted communication practices in the English-speaking Caribbean, and the communication practices of immigrants to the United States and parts of Western Europe who are from the English-speaking Caribbean.

Chapter Outlines

The first section of the book, titled *Media and the Caribbean Diaspora*, examines the ways in which mediated forms of communication that feature meaning-shaping and message delivery are implicated in the construction of a Caribbean Diaspora.

The first chapter, *Virile Bodies, Docile Subjects: The Representation of Black Caribbean Masculinities in Mainstream International Media Targeting Female Tourists* by Nickesia S. Gordon, explores the power dynamics present in the writings of mainstream international media that feature vacation and other narratives about the Caribbean. Gordon uses semiotic analysis to deconstruct the portrayal of Caribbean male identities, mainly in popular U.S. magazines targeting women. Using Foucault's notion of the body as "political anatomy," the author looks at how particular meanings of Caribbean masculinities are produced by the narratives of these publications, meanings which are inextricably linked to the political economy of tourism in the region, and which create a reality in which the male body becomes a site for the codification of the Caribbean as a sexual wasteland. The author argues that this construct of Caribbean masculinity is problematic and represents an "outsider" masculine identity, which, when circulated by mass media such as women's magazines, perpetuate the notion that Caribbean masculine identities are inherently dangerous. This chapter vividly explores issues of media content, embodiment and performances of masculinity to produce insights around exploitation and commodification of African bodies that both link and mark Caribbean populations throughout the diaspora.

The second chapter in this section, *(Mis) Perception of American Media Reality: Narrating Dissonance in the Actuality of Cultural Assimilation* by Jennifer M. Keane-Dawes, outlines how television images that are available in the Caribbean affect perceptions of life in the United States. Keane-Dawes discusses her own migration to the United States in search of this TV-based reality, and outlines the disconnect between the

media reality and her actual experiences in a series of narratives published in a newspaper over a period of ten years. This chapter explores the power of the media to construct an imagined community of readers who vicariously experience a journey of deconstructing the mythological America that is a product of the media, while simultaneously reinforcing a shared identity construction as Caribbean immigrants. Keane-Dawes underscores diaspora as a discursive construct, existing significantly in and through mediated communication.

The third chapter in this section, *Indo-Caribbean Folk Music From Oral Tradition to Cybertecture* by Peter Manuel, explores some ways in which Indo-Caribbean music culture has been conditioned and animated by particular forms of mass media—from manuscript culture through the Internet—that have been prevalent and available over the course of the last century. This chapter constitutes a case study, and a compressed and encapsulated history of changing media cultures that illustrates how Indo-Caribbeans have made creative use of the media available to them in ways that have been idiosyncratic and at the same time representative of global developments. This chapter is a remarkable study of the creativity of marginalized people in appropriating technology as a means to sharing art and meaning across the Caribbean diaspora. The study also illustrates that as a construct, diaspora is not a singularity, but reinforces and underscores that there are multiple formations of diaspora even within a group with a shared identity, such as Caribbean immigrants.

The second section of the book, titled *Cultural Performances and Caribbean Identity*, looks more closely at a variety of performance forms, such as Carnival and Reggae, to argue for the complex cultural formations that occur within and extend beyond the nation state with remarkable political and social implications for living as immigrants in developed Western democracies.

The first chapter in this section, *Play Mas: The Forging of a Caribbean Diaspora* by Ken Archer, considers one of the Caribbean-derived Carnivals in North America as an avenue through which the migrant West Indian community has claimed its "right to narrate" its stories. Archer examines some of the ways in which Caribbean migrants in New York have utilized the Brooklyn Carnival and the performance of music, masquerade and dance in the context of these celebrations to facilitate the consolidation of a diverse, diasporic community, as they strive to "fill the gap" and recoup the "loss" experienced in these away-from-home places. The chapter explores the ways in which Carnival as a performance genre links this community with its places of origin, while

enabling development of historicity and a common sense of Caribbeanness among the participants and their audience.

The second chapter in this section, *Reasoning on Rastafari: African Authenticity, Caribbean Identity and Mass Popularity* by Osei Alleyne, explores Rastafari as a diasporic African product, and unpacks it as an emergent religion that, while a reconstruction, remains true to a timeless African essence. Alleyne argues that through Reggae, Rastafari has developed a diaspora of its own among Caribbean migrants and other groups. This chapter also examines the influence of Rastafari and Reggae on the identities of Caribbean immigrants in major Western centers. Most importantly, Alleyne uses this chapter to challenge notions of fixed identities by arguing for a rethinking of what is “authentically” African. Alleyne’s work underscores the role of contested identities and the fragmented discourses in shaping and reshaping cultural and social boundaries within and outside the nation state.

The third chapter in this section, *Shango Dances Across the Water: Music and the Re-Construction of Trinidadian Orisha in New York City* by Ryan Bazinet, gives an account of the Trinidadian Orisha religion and music, and their reconstruction in New York City. Afro-Trinidadians in Brooklyn have been remarkably successful at recreating a number of aspects of their culture, and especially notable among these are the music and religion known as Orisha. These Trinidadians employ a multitude of techniques to reconstruct home in the diaspora by transforming apartments, backyards, and churches. Based on Bazinet’s ethnographic research among Brooklyn-based Afro-Trinidadians over two years, this chapter offers insight into a poorly understood spiritual and musical practice that is an important part of the Caribbean diaspora. The study reinforces the salience of orality, performativity and embodiment in both the creation and maintenance of diasporic identity.

Certainly, the Caribbean is a vibrant example of the mixing of various cultures. If one looks at the English-speaking Caribbean alone, there are influences of British, Indian, Chinese and various Middle-Eastern cultures on the food, speech, and rituals of these countries. These mixtures of cultural influences have resulted in cultural expressions that are unique in themselves, and distinct from any of the original influences that led to their creation. This book is designed to be an exploration of this phenomenon, while also underscoring the utility of innovative theoretic frames, such as performativity, to illuminate and provide insight on the impact of emergent and dynamic processes of cultural production on diasporic identity formation.

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PART I:

MEDIA AND THE CARIBBEAN DIASPORA

CHAPTER ONE

VIRILE BODIES, DOCILE SUBJECTS: THE REPRESENTATION OF BLACK CARIBBEAN MASCULINITIES IN MAINSTREAM INTERNATIONAL MEDIA TARGETING FEMALE TOURISTS

NICKESIA S. GORDON

Introduction

The international political economy of tourism has long informed the oversexualization and exoticization of men and women who come from spaces outside of Euro America. From Egypt to the Caribbean, such individuals have been constructed as an erotic other conveying endless possibilities of erotic gratification for those seeking the possibility of sinful, sexual delights and limitless temptations (Sardar 1999). Specifically, Caribbean spaces have come to stand for Euro-American images of “pristine beaches, salsa, reggae and sexual black bodies” (Pertierra and Horst 2009, 109). This discourse of the essentialized, exotic sexual other is a derivative of colonial and postcolonial politics which sought to establish an elaborate system of accounting for differences between the West and the East. Edward Said (1993) first referred to this system, constructed through colonial power relations and actions, as Orientalism wherein the orient (or Global South) was construed as passive and its inhabitants as childlike entities to be loved, abused, shaped and contained (Sardar 1999).

This system of accounting for difference has permeated the discourse and practice of tourism for decades. Strain (1996) makes reference to this nexus when she explains how:

“This tourist gaze converts the locals into ideal natives trapped in a kind of primitivism, where touristic experience--whether simulated or actual--brings

the Western subject face to face with the spectacle of difference, the exotic landscape dotted with wondrously ‘alien’ human and animal faces” (72).

This system has also simultaneously given rise to the discourse and trade of sex tourism. Sex tourism, in the broadest sense, refers to the practice of travelling to another, usually “third world” country, for the purpose of paying for or otherwise initiating a sexual encounter with “locals.” At least, this is the version of sex tourism predominantly parlayed in popular magazines such as *Glamour* and *Essence*, which tout headlines such as “Sex Tourism: European Women Hit the Beach in Search of a Good Time” and endless variations of “How Stella Got her Groove Back.” These representations, while striving to establish the image of an empowered post-feminist woman in control of her sexuality, portray a much tamer version of the practice of sex tourism, a term that is also deeply associated with the illegal practices of child sex tourism and sex slavery. The ignorance of this exploitative dimension of tourism present in these stories belies a troubling romanticism that depoliticizes a very problematic issue. “Third World” tourism, in and of itself, is mired in certain inequitable power dynamics established through colonialism as previously mentioned. Mythifying the sex trade, as is often done in many tourism narratives, enables the continuation of such power relations and legitimizes the consumption of “third world” bodies. In this context, local bodies become market goods to be bought and traded accordingly, a notion that falls in line with Foucault’s (1984) idea of a bodily rhetoric wherein bodies become objects and targets of power.

Accordingly, this chapter is interested in exploring the power dynamics present in the writings of mainstream international media targeting women, which feature vacation and other narratives about the Caribbean. It uses a semiotic analysis to deconstruct the portrayal of Caribbean male identities, mainly in popular U.S. magazines targeting women. Using Michel Foucault’s notion of the body as “political anatomy,” the author looks at how particular meanings of Caribbean masculinities are produced by the narratives of these publications, meanings which are inextricably linked to the political economy of tourism in the region, and which create a reality in which the male body becomes a site for the codification of the Caribbean as a sexual wasteland. In this regard, the male body, disciplined and dissociated from power, becomes a potent symbol for the economic utility/exploitation of the Caribbean as a place. The author argues that this construct of Caribbean masculinity is problematic and represents an “outsider” masculine identity, which, when circulated by mass media, perpetuate the notion that Caribbean masculine identities are inherently dangerous and must be contained, especially when in Western spaces.