Prologue

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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-

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 multi-tracked, amplified, and always noisy polyphonies and polyrhythms of "listening without prejudice" is the real future of sound studies.

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