



# Jamaican tourism and the politics of enjoyment

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## Abstract

Critical approaches to tourism, united by a refusal to conceptualize tourism as mere enjoyment, illustrate how Third World tourism typically involves labor exploitation, unequal gender relations, cultural destruction, and environmental degradation. Researchers presuppose, however, that enjoyment is an innocent and self-evident psychological phenomenon underpinned by and opposed to worthier objects of inquiry such as exploitation, domination, and discrimination by virtue of their politically serious, conceptually profound, and empirically complex properties. These critical approaches, however, are not critical insofar as they tacitly assume that the phenomenon of enjoyment is *just* enjoyment: easily enjoyed and unrelated to the problems of tourism. The main thesis of this paper is that a thorough theoretical conceptualization of enjoyment is necessary for any analysis of tourism to be sufficiently rigorous. The psychoanalytic concepts of Jacques Lacan and the work of Slavoj Žižek offer an unparalleled theoretical vocabulary with which to investigate the subjective, material, embodied, discursive, and enacted dimensions of enjoyment in tourism. The paper elaborates what I call a politics of enjoyment using key psychoanalytic ideas that include *jouissance*, the pleasure principle, the Other, and fantasy to critically explicate the contradictions, antagonisms, and impasses that (de)structure Jamaica's "One Love" and "No Problem" tourism product located on a Caribbean island renowned for beach bliss and civil unrest.

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## 1. Departures

The Caribbean is the world region most dependent on tourism and located in a transnational "pleasure periphery" (Turner and Ash, 1975). According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), each year, the Caribbean lures about 17 million visitors and 14 million cruise passengers with its tropical island attractions of 'sun, sand, and sea' (WTO, 2003). Such destinations, however, are also entangled in the complications of 'sex, security, servility,' and, more recently, 'September 11.' The political economic, cultural, and environmental problems that characterize Third World tourism are the most spatially concentrated in the Caribbean (e.g. see de Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999; Duval, 2004; Kempadoo, 1999; Mullings, 2000; Pantojas-García and Klak, 2004; Pattullo, 1996). While most international tourism traffic is between North America and Europe, the portion accruing to the Third World is steadily increasing,

and now accounts for approximately one-quarter of all arrivals (WTO, 2003). The annual growth of international tourism in the Third World over the last decade has been higher than the world average and receipts more than doubled between 1992 and 1998 (WTO, 2001). In 2002, the year following the events of September 11 that ushered in the most severe crisis in the history of international tourism, there was a decline in receipts by 2.6% but a record number of 703 million visitors (WTO, 2003). While the widely anticipated global collapse of the industry did not occur, economically dependent Third World regions, particularly the Middle East, South Asia, North Africa, and the Caribbean were severely affected.

Caribbean and Third World tourism are important areas of study for critical tourism geographers who examine the interrelated, dynamic, and contested spatialities of political economic, cultural, and environmental processes that operate through and are impacted by various forms of tourism (e.g. see Brohman, 1996; Harrison, 2001; Lea, 1988; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Weaver, 1998). These critical approaches are united by

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the assertion that a “deeper understanding of tourism is needed to appreciate fully its content and expression as well as its potential impact” (Mowforth and Munt, 2003, p. 1) because tourism “cannot be understood as just a means of having some enjoyment and a break from the routine of every day, an entirely innocent affair with some unfortunate incidental impacts” (ibid, p. 1). Geographers problematize tourism enjoyment by illustrating how Third World tourism relies on, for example, labor exploitation (Britton, 1991), cultural destruction (Weaver, 1998), and environmental degradation (Williams, 1998). These inquiries, however, are not critical enough insofar as they presuppose that enjoyment is *just* enjoyment: easily enjoyed and unrelated to the perennial problems of tourism. Such inquiries routinely assume that enjoyment is an innocent, self-evident, homogenous, peripheral, and psychological phenomenon that detracts from more worthy objects of inquiry (e.g. domination and exploitation) by virtue of their alleged politically serious, morally repugnant, conceptually profound, and empirically complex properties. Tourism researchers working in and across any of the disciplines in the social sciences have yet to explain theoretically or even consider how enjoyment may be related to—or even constitutive—of these key topics.

When tourism researchers find it expedient to investigate the status of enjoyment, they are usually uncritical and equate enjoyment with the supposedly apolitical and psychological categories of “fantasy” (Dann, 1976), “mood” (Hull, 1990), “euphoria” (Doxey, 1975), “arousal” (Floyd, 1997), “libidinal” (Hughes, 1998), and “pleasure” (Crompton, 1979) that comprise the “psychographic variables” of individuals’ “personality traits” (Argyle, 1996), “motivations” (Crandall, 1980), “leisure needs and satisfaction” (Kabanoff, 1982), “choice behavior” (Goossens, 2000), and “preferences” (Plog, 1974). Informed by consumer and marketing research literature, these studies conceptualize tourism enjoyment as something only available to tourists who are presumed to be rational, wholly conscious, and psychically-integrated individuals endowed with unimpeded agency, innate leisure needs, and autonomous consumer choice. These ‘social psychology’ understandings of enjoyment in tourism are complicit with a tradition of literature that describes rather than explains the processes that operate on, through, and beyond tourism (Britton, 1991; Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Critical and uncritical investigations of tourism, with their various methods, research questions, and objects of inquiry, are predicated on and limited by a normative dualism of enjoyment versus injustice. Theoretical and empirical evaluations of tourism have thus over-simplified, rendered enigmatic, and ultimately tabooed relations between enjoyment and injustice: on the one hand, from a critical perspective, enjoyment somehow manages to take place in a tourism industry plagued by

exploitation and exclusion. On the other hand, from an uncritical perspective, tourism enjoyment infuses a benign tourism industry removed from the antagonisms of poverty, prejudice, and subjugation. Critical and uncritical analyses of tourism, then, dismiss the seriousness of enjoyment and foreclose investigations of the interrelations between enjoyment and power in tourism.

This paper affirms “enjoyment as a political factor” (Žižek, 2002) because enjoyment is “embodied, materialized, in the effective functioning of the social field” (Žižek, 1989, p. 36) and therefore thoroughly spatial, generative of, immanent to, produced by, and obtained through socio-economic contestation and negotiation. I elaborate a ‘politics of enjoyment,’ by drawing on the psychoanalytic theories of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan, and the work of Slavoj Žižek, who was recently described as “the most vital interdisciplinary thinker to emerge in recent years” (Kay, 2003, p. 1). A critical ‘psychoanalysis of tourism’ fits within a research agenda that moves beyond impact studies and the modeling of tourism flows (Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Pearce and Butler, 1999) and is aligned with psychoanalytic geographic research that has illustrated the political psycho-spatialities of sex(uality), racism, exclusion, embodiment, and community (see especially Bondi, 1998; Nast, 2000, 2002; Pile, 1996; Sibley, 1995; Robinson, 1998; Wilton, 1998).

In contrast to geographer’s previous engagements with Lacanian theory (see especially Blum, 1998; Blum and Nast, 1996, 2000; Bondi, 1997; Doel and Clarke, 2002; Gregory, 1994; Wilton, 2003), I draw on a burgeoning interdisciplinary body of work associated with the “new” (Mellard, 1998) or “post” (Jagodzinski, 2003) Lacanians. These writers primarily use Lacan’s later (post-1960) works to reevaluate critical understandings of, for example, race (Lane, 1998a; Seshardi-Crooks, 2000), gender (Salecl, 2000; Verhaeghe, 2001), discourse (Bracher, 1993; Bracher et al., 1994), politics (Stavrakakis, 1999), history (Brennan, 1993; Copjec, 1994), embodiment (Copjec, 2002), sexuality (Dean, 2000), nationalism (Žižek, 1993), ideology (Žižek, 1989), environmentalism (Stavrakakis, 1997) legal theory (Caudill, 1997), popular culture (Žižek, 1991; McGowan, 2004), and qualitative research (Vanheule, 2002). Unlike geographers and the ‘new Lacanians,’ I ground psychoanalytic theory in a ‘non-Western,’ ‘global south,’ or Third World setting (see also Apollon, 1996; Bhabha, 1994; Derrida, 1998; Fanon, 1967; Mannoni, 1991; McClintock, 1995; Plotkin, 2002; Robinson, 1998; Sachs, 1996).<sup>1</sup> I also aim to intensify existing tentative

<sup>1</sup> Evidently, there is an important and complex historical geography that concerns the tensions of theorizing marginal spatialities and subjectivities whereby theories emerge from and are directed at the “core” and/or the “periphery.” For a Lacanian psychoanalytic critique of the migrant intellectual liminality in Homi Bhabha’s work, see Resch (1997).

engagements with psychoanalytic theory in tourism studies (e.g. see MacCannell, 1998) by initiating a belated and much-needed dialogue between tourism research, psychoanalytic approaches in geography, and social theory (cf. Bracher, 1989; Davis, 2001; Kingsbury and Brunn, 2004). Finally, I hope to alert scholars who routinely use psychoanalytic theory to the relevance of international tourism as an object of inquiry (cf. Grinstein, 1955; Lingis, 1998; Penney, 1998; Žižek, 1998).

The main thesis of this paper, then, is that a thorough theoretical conceptualization and politicization of enjoyment is necessary for any analysis of tourism to be sufficiently critical and rigorous. Given that making “theoretical sense of ‘fun, pleasure and entertainment’ has proved a difficult task for social scientists” (Urry, 2002, p. 7), tourism researchers and geographers should endeavor to become theoretically ‘literate’ in enjoyment (cf. Copjec, 1994, p. 14) because the unsettling political implications that tourism *and* enjoyment are not entirely innocent affairs have yet to be considered. My argument is illustrated in the following two sections: part one briefly reviews critical literature on the political economic and cultural dimensions of Third World tourism. It presents a new agenda for critical tourism studies as a response to the limitations of current psychological approaches to tourism vis-à-vis the theoretical challenges posed by psychoanalysis. Part two draws on Lacan’s concepts of *jouissance*, pleasure principle, the Other, and fantasy to delineate the theoretical contours of a politics of enjoyment in the context of Jamaican tourism. My purpose, however, is not to deductively apply psychoanalytic theory and reductively proclaim that Jamaican tourism is all about the ‘libidinal political economy, stupid!’ Instead, my aim is to demonstrate a “true implication or inter-implication—and not a mere ‘application’—between psychoanalysis and socio-political analysis” (Stavrakakis, 1999, p. 4) in order to critically reevaluate current understandings of tourism, the political, and enjoyment.

## 2. Itineraries

As a consequence of its scale, complexity, and diversity, international tourism is studied by many disciplines, including economics, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and geography (Hall and Page, 2002). Stephen Britton (1991) was one of the first geographers to note the theoretical shortcomings of traditional studies of tourism that modeled locations, visitor volumes, patterns, impacts, and travel flows. He called for a more critically engaged and theoretical approach to tourism, one that has been answered in the past decade in studies by Aitchison et al. (2000), Briguglio et al. (1996), Crouch (2000), Hall and Lew (1998), Hall and Page (2002), Harrison and Husbands (1996), Harrison

(2001), Mowforth and Munt (2003), Ringer (1998), Rojek and Urry (2000), and Shaw and Williams (2002). While conceptual or paradigmatic consensus on tourism and tourists has not been achieved, researchers do agree on an empirical point: exponential increases in international tourism arrivals since the early 1980s have fundamentally altered the tourist industry (Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Rojek and Urry, 2000; Urry, 2002; Weiler and Hall, 1992). Widely recognized are two forms of tourism (Shaw and Williams, 2002; Weaver, 1998). On the one hand, conventional “mass tourism” is commercial, seasonal, and typically located along coastal areas; it involves a high volume of tourists who generally adhere to their own cultural norms; and it relies upon high-density and standardized accommodation to produce a homogenized product and experience (Crompton, 1979; Doxey, 1975; Goossens, 2000; Smith and Eadington, 1992). On the other hand is the post-1980s growth in “alternative tourism,” a term that encompasses a range of strategies (e.g., ecologically and culturally responsible, or sustainable, tourism) that purport to offer benign alternatives to the economic, cultural, and environmental problems associated with mass tourism (Weaver, 1998).<sup>2</sup> Alternative tourism is typically small scale, ‘low-impact,’ located in remote rural areas, controlled by families or locals, and holistically planned. It is also regarded as culturally authentic, ecologically sustainable, and politically emancipatory (Smith and Eadington, 1992). Below I briefly review these literatures, but do only insofar as they direct attention to tourism in the Third World (where possible the Caribbean) and to critical debates over the relative merits of alternative tourism and mass tourism.

### 2.1. Political economies of Third World tourism

During the 1960s, many Third World countries embraced mass tourism as *the* policy for development to bring in foreign currency, counteract negative balance of payments, diversify the economy, and generate employment (Brohman, 1996; Ulack and Del Casino Jr., 2000). Early critiques of mass tourism development in Third World countries traditionally rested upon the foundations of economic dependency theory. This theory contends that through an uneven and unequal structural relationship of surplus expropriation and

<sup>2</sup> Alleged to have first appeared in the Manila Workshop on international tourism conference in 1980 (Weaver, 1998), alternative tourism has also been called “new tourism” (Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Poon, 1993); “third generation tourism” (d’Amore, 1985); “new postindustrial tourism” (Krippendorf, 1987); and “special interest tourism” (Weiler and Hall, 1992). The emergence of alternative tourism as an object of inquiry is also demonstrative of the intertwined histories of the analysis of tourism and the development or innovations in modern tourism.

underdevelopment, weak “peripheral” Third World countries with low levels of domestic demand can become economically dependent on dominant “core” First World countries. By the late 1970s, a number of studies had documented the economic effects of mass tourism on small islands in the Caribbean (Bryden, 1973; Hills and Lundgren, 1977; Perez, 1974). Britton’s analyses of Fiji were the first in geography to use dependency theory and to specifically identify mass tourism as an exploitative form of development (Britton, 1980, 1982). Britton’s studies prompted numerous others that documented how monopolistic, foreign-owned mass tourism corporations in the Third World created the following problems: loss of control of local resources; low multiplier and spread effects outside of tourism enclaves; lack of articulation with other domestic sectors; and high foreign exchange ‘leakages’ (Bélisle, 1983; Pattullo, 1996).

Given the distinction between economically dependent Third World countries and dominant First World countries, researchers have argued that the political economy of mass tourism is analogous to a master-servant colonial relationship (Britton, 1980; Lea, 1988; Nash, 1989; van den Abbeele, 1980). Despite formal political independence, for many Third World destinations, and particularly for the smaller island states in the Caribbean (Pattullo, 1996; Perez, 1974), mass tourism is argued to have created a plantation-style form of domination that juxtaposes a hedonistic resort-based elite located on the coast with an impoverished, unskilled, subservient labor-supplying interior (Gonsalves, 1989; Nash, 1989; Shivji, 1973).

Others have criticized this view, however, arguing that western scholars’ bias against mass tourism development may itself be Eurocentric. These researchers note that Third World countries may have many reasons for pursuing mass tourism, and they point out that it is presumptuous to assume that all such developments are inherently colonial in nature (Brown, 1998). Advocates of alternative tourism, in turn, claim that this sector’s ownership structures can help the industry avoid the exploitative labor relations characteristic of mass tourism development (Harrison, 2001). Consequently, alternative tourism has been encouraged and viewed benevolently by some dependency theorists (e.g. see Poon, 1989). This view, however, fails to acknowledge that, despite fewer tourists and the local ownership of resources, all forms of tourism can reinforce hierarchical relations and skew egalitarian development efforts (Brown, 1998; Harrison, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Weiler and Hall, 1992).

## 2.2. *Cultural dimensions of tourism in the Third World*

Debates over the cultural impacts of international tourism in the Third World parallel those found in the political economy literature. On the one hand are studies

of the negative dimensions of international tourism development in the Third World. Some researchers note that international tourism invariably reproduces unequal relations between visitors and guests (Harrison, 2001). The dominance of First World countries over cultures in the Third World is exemplified by contrived indigenous performances of ‘staged authenticity’ (MacCannell, 1999), where the tourists’ demands for spectacles of cultural exoticism often result in the acculturation of indigenous communities (van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984). Studies have also documented severe forms of cultural destruction associated with international tourism in Third World destinations, including crime and prostitution (Pizam and Mansfield, 1996; Ryan, 1993; Smith and Eadington, 1992; Weaver, 1998). Mass tourism in particular is thought to increase crime rates in the Third World because of tourists’ conspicuous wealth and vulnerability as outsiders (de Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999; Harrison, 2001). The effects of international tourism on gender relations have also been a focus of research. The international tourism sector is profoundly gendered, with women concentrated in the low paid service or informal sectors (Enloe, 1989; Momsen, 1994). Sex tourism is a significant part of Third World tourism, particularly in Southeast Asia (Ulack and Del Casino Jr., 2000). Research has examined unequal gender relations as a form of cultural dependency manifest in women’s (Mullings, 1999, 2000) and men’s (Manning, 1982; Pruitt and Lafont, 1995) commercial sex work (see also Ryan and Hall, 2001; Puar, 2002a,b).

On the other hand, some claim that international tourism can actually strengthen indigenous customs (McKean, 1989), reduce ethnic prejudice (Reisinger, 1994), safeguard the resources of women (Kinnaird and Hall, 1994), even promote world peace (d’Amore and Jafari, 1988; Var and Ap, 1998). Routinely depicting the socio-cultural forces in tourism in Third World countries as a one-sided form of domination overlooks the capacities of locals to adapt, resist, and pursue their own interests (Milne, 1998). Researchers also note that cultures in the Third World are not static, defenseless, or in need of “protection” (Harrison, 2001; Ringer, 1998).

With respect to the division between mass tourism and alternative tourism, researchers have pointed to the development of “cultural tourism,” a form of traveling that focuses on the lifestyles, values, beliefs, and customs of people (Stebbins, 1996). Keller (1996) and Craik (2000) have disagreed on the size of this sector, but both note approvingly that cultural tourism can be a positive force in local communities. And while there are some who claim that alternative tourism can reinforce the cultural hierarchies enjoyed by local elites (Brohman, 1996; Reed, 1997), others stress that such developments are more likely to be integrated into local communities

(Butler, 1999; Pretty, 1995). Even mass tourism developments may arguably strengthen the hand of local authorities vis-à-vis the national state, but the extent of such impacts has not been verified (Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

### 2.3. *Towards a new agenda: tourism and psychoanalysis*

Explanations for the injustices of Third World tourism usually rely on a political economic approach because it “still provides the most systematic critique of Third World tourism” (Mowforth and Munt, 2003, p. 78). Cultural accounts are evoked to provide crucial insights into the historical precedents and socio-symbolic contexts that overlap and exceed political economic explanations. These two approaches are extremely adept at and valuable for diagnosing the problems of Third World tourism. They struggle, however, to explain, on the one hand, *why* processes of subservience, commodification, exploitation, and prejudice are able to pervade with such uncanny complicity and stability *any* form of tourist activity in the Third World and, on the other hand, *how* these often conspicuous processes affect the people who participate and invest in them. Following Žižek’s (1998) analysis of critical approaches to racism, we can claim that the political economic and cultural accounts of Third World tourism: “*simply return to each other their own lack*. When socioeconomic analysis fails to account for some key feature...critics evoke a need to supplement it with an analysis of the cultural context, and vice versa” (p. 154, emphasis in original). It follows, then, that these cultural and political economic approaches in Third World tourism studies are far from complimentary because they “cannot effectively function as the two halves, that brought together, provide a complete account of the analyzed phenomenon. We must give psychoanalysis another chance” (ibid). In tourism research, however, psychoanalysis cannot be given another chance because it has yet to be given any chance. Researchers’ terse and sweeping criticisms of psychoanalysis have resulted in widespread rejection, denigration, and misconception:

Unfortunately, the concepts of the id, ego, and superego, and the dynamic psychosexual stages of development do not lend themselves to measurement through personality tests, let alone by means of questionnaires...it is our experience that the psychoanalytic-based theories of Freud and most of his disciples have proved to be of very little value in data-based research. Not only are the concepts loose and hard to pin down for research purposes, but the dimensions cannot be tied directly into advertising or promotional programs. (Plog, 1987, pp. 206–209)

And yet, the psychoanalytic methodologies and theories, continually revised before and since the death of Freud, have produced numerous influential critical commentaries on empirical phenomena comparable to tourism such as travel, colonialism, consumption, and the culture industries (see especially Althusser, 2001; Baudrillard, 1981; Benjamin, 1968; Deleuze and Guattari, 1983; Fanon, 1967; Marcuse, 1966). Clearly, the failure of an earlier unpublished or clandestine psychoanalytic experiment in tourism research results not only from the lack of time devoted to reading over a century’s worth of primary psychoanalytic texts and interdisciplinary commentary, but also from a dogged belief in the epistemology and methodology of existing psychological approaches. The nearest tourism studies have come to critically engaging with psychoanalysis has been via feminist and poststructuralist approaches that critically address issues of power, sexuality, performance, hegemony, identity, discourse, and representation (e.g. see Cheong and Miller, 2000; Coleman and Crang, 2002; Hannah and Del Casino Jr., 2003; Hughes, 1998; Johnston, 2001; Morgan and Pritchard, 1999; Puar, 2002a,b; Rojek, 1998). These approaches to tourism, however, have yet to engage at length with the geographies of enjoyment, desire, pleasure, and fantasy that inform so much of tourism.

The subjective dimensions of tourism have been dominated by psychological approaches to tourism that are predominantly uncritical and focused on First World tourism. Since the early 1970s, research on the psychology of tourism has mainly examined pleasure, motivation, consumer behavior, image-perception, decision-making, and identity creation (e.g. see Doxey, 1975; Goossens, 2000; Morgan and Pritchard, 1999; Plog, 1974; Woodside, 2000). These studies also include two of the most cited models in tourism studies: Doxey’s (1975) “causation theory of visitor-resident irritants” that uses a four-stage continuum or “irridex” to model tourism development and local resident interactions ranging from “euphoria” to “antagonism.” And, Plog’s (1974) study of “why destination areas rise and fall in popularity by ‘psychographically’ categorizes tourists into groups of “psychocentric” tourists who prefer driving to familiar, relaxed ‘sun ‘n’ fun’ destinations, and “allocentric” tourists who prefer flying and the freedom to discover ‘strange cultures’ in ‘non-touristy areas’” (p. 57). There is no study, however, on the psychology of tourism that provides a critically informed and sustained evaluation of psychoanalytic theories.

While tourism researchers are willing to acknowledge the importance of unconscious processes, like behavioral geographers, these researchers encounter and treat the unconscious like a “stumbling block...a continual presence which is pushed to one side, out of the way, under the carpet” (Pile, 1996, p. 73). Arch Woodside’s

(2000, p. 13) diagram of the “field of consumer psychology of travel, hospitality and leisure,” for example, locates “unconscious processes” in marginal “stay at home/travel” decisions. Woodside’s confines the unconscious to a small circle that barely and marginally intersects a vast box containing numerous tourism processes composed of consciousness and decisiveness. Woodside’s understanding of the unconscious exemplifies the theoretical differences between psychoanalysis and the psychological theories preferred in tourism research. In Lacanian theory, for example, the unconscious is not a “species defining the circle of that part of psychical reality which does not have the attribute (or the virtue) of consciousness” (Lacan, 1995, p. 260). Following Lacan (1977), while tourism researchers usually “represent the unconscious as a cellar, even as a cave” (p. 187) the “unconscious is much more like the bladder” (p. 187) because it possesses a “*pulsative* function” (p. 43, emphasis in original) and acts like an “impediment, failure, split” (ibid) whenever “something stumbles” (ibid, p. 25).

Engagements with psychoanalysis in tourism research are cursory at best. In the discipline of geography, for example, Mowforth and Munt (2003) deploy psychoanalytic tropes in their “alternative critiques for alternative tourism” when they highlight the activities of “Ego-tourists” (p. 122) who “refuse to acknowledge their part in a larger entity or mass” (p. 123). They also suggest that a critical psychological investigation of the “First World new tourist—Third World local community interaction may be appropriately analysed according to Doxey’s Irridex...to describe the relationships of power” (p. 251). Similarly, in discussing resentment in the Caribbean tourism industry’s “new forms of slavery,” that is, the conflation of service with servitude, Mowforth and Munt (2003) claim that the “perception (*arguably psychology*) of tourism...reflects back on deep-seated historical inequalities” (p. 71, emphasis added). This speculative clause, however, exemplifies the extent to which critical approaches to the geography of Third World tourism have explicated a relationship between psychology and power. Unfortunately, as is customary in tourism studies, Mowforth and Munt fail to define “psychology” and address how such relationships may be theorized or studied.

Even Dean MacCannell (1999), one of the most influential and highly-acclaimed critical tourism researchers, has argued that tourism is “not conscious of its aims. The tourist remains mystified as to his true motives, his role in the construction of modernity” (p. 178) where the “frontiers of world tourism are the same as the frontiers of modern consciousness” (p. 183). MacCannell uses psychoanalytic themes such as “the old arrogant Western Ego” (ibid, p. xxi), “touristic desire to share” (p. 96), and “to leave home and return, *fort-da*” (p. 200), but his exegeses never venture be-

yond a paragraph (see also MacCannell, 1998, p. 355; Dann, 1977).

Now, the evaluation of the potential contributions and liabilities of psychoanalysis depends on what one believes psychoanalysis is (not) and should (not) be (Kingsbury, 2003). Lacan’s psychoanalytic concepts are well-suited to reevaluate psychological approaches to tourism because the latter shares many theoretical and methodological assumptions with the Anglo-American psychoanalytic school called “Ego Psychology.” Much of Lacan’s half-century of writing can be read as a trenchant critique of the epistemology, clinical praxes, and hierarchical organization of Ego Psychology, which since the 1930s has been the dominant paradigm in the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA). Lacan’s project rallies against the “refashioning of a right-thinking psychoanalysis, whose crowning achievement is the sociological poem of the ‘autonomous ego’” (Lacan, 2002, p. 162). Lacan’s idiosyncratic clinical practice of variable length sessions and outspoken challenges to Ego Psychology’s claim to be the true heir of the Freudian legacy were deemed so troubling that Lacan was unceremoniously expelled from the IPA in 1953. That same year, Lacan delivered his inaugural public “Seminar” in Paris that would last for another twenty-seven years. Since Lacan’s death in 1981, an eclectic interdisciplinary group of academics and analysts, often labeled the ‘new Lacanians,’ have asserted that “the American reception of Lacan...has taken place under conditions of deconstructionist–feminist–historicist theoretical *ensorship*” (Žižek qtd. in Fink, 1995, n.pag., emphasis in original) and have sought to tackle the “vicissitudes and deformations of Lacan in cultural studies” (Žižek, 2001, p. vii). The Lacanian scholar and psychoanalyst, Bruce Fink (1995), explains that because “few people paid any attention to what he [Lacan] said...we find ourselves in a situation where we must fight the same battles Lacan was fighting some 27 years ago” (p. 55).

Psychological approaches in tourism research typically perform a “psychologization of the subject” (Lacan, 1989, p. 9) whereby tourists’ psyches are equated with the immaterial mental activities or inner workings of individuals’ minds. Psychological approaches are generally unconcerned with how the psyche is “radically dialogic—necessarily passing through the Other” (Felman, 1987, p. 56), that is, the radical alterity of Other people and discourses. Psychology therefore usually “reinforces to an incredible degree the denudation of the subject” (Lacan, 1977, p. 142) because it is often underpinned by a positivistic epistemology which requires measurable and stable empirical phenomena. In formulating explanations for behavior, psychology is troubled by the dynamic, contingent, porous, and precarious, that is, unconscious and libidinal phenomena. Psychology, then, is aligned with the “supposed progress

of science...our increasing inability to think the category 'cause.' Continually filling in the 'gap' between cause and effect, science progressively eliminates the content of the concept of 'cause'—events leading smoothly, in accordance with well-known "laws," to other events" (Fink, 1996, p. 64). In contrast, Lacanian psychoanalysis "understands cause in a more radical sense, as that which disrupts the smooth functioning of lawlike interactions. Causality in science is absorbed into what we might call structure—cause leading to effect within an ever more exhaustive set of laws" (ibid).<sup>3</sup>

Lacan (1977) asserts the primacy of the unconscious and libidinal objects/relations and also argues that "human psychology cannot be conceived in the absence of the function of the subject defined as the effect of the signifier" (p. 207). In other words, psychology according to Lacan, ignores the socio-linguistic elements and prohibitions of the 'Symbolic' that constitutes the unconscious as a 'discourse of the Other' *qua* "phrases, expressions, commands, social and religious laws and conventions" (Fink, 1995, p. 62).<sup>4</sup> Psychological approaches have a tendency to reinforce rather than challenge the political economic and cultural *status quo* because psychology:

Transmits ideals: the psyche therein no longer represents anything but the sponsorship which makes it qualify as academic. Ideals are society's slaves. A certain kind of progress in our own society illustrates this, when psychology furnishes not only the means, but even defers to the wishes of market research... The unconscious as understood by psychologists is thus debilitating for thought, due to the very credence thought must lend it in order to argue against it. (Lacan, 1995, p. 262)

Given tourism's promotion of and reliance on profiting from happiness, relaxation, and fulfillment, a critical appraisal of the 'psychological' is urgently needed (see also Blum, 2002). Lacanian theory offers an unparalleled theoretical framework in which to critically explain how participants in tourist activities, understood as subjects of pleasure and enjoyment, are psychically, materially, and libidinally invested in socio-economic

spatial regimes that are composed of the politico-ethical civilities of desire, love, and pleasure *and* the discontentment of inhibition, anxiety, and subjugation (see Freud, 1959, 1961; Lacan, 2002). It is to the politicization of the often brutal psycho-spatial confluences of love and enjoyment in Jamaican tourism that I now turn.

### 3. Unpacking the politics of enjoyment

#### 3.1. *What is enjoyment and why is it political?*

In Lacanian theory, "enjoyment" is the closest literal translation of the French word "*jouissance*" that connotes a sexual, elusive, ineluctable, painful, overwhelming, and fascinating pleasure which can be likened to "getting a kick" from or "getting off" on something (see Fink, 1997, pp. 8–9). Given the nuances and difficulties of translation many Anglophones retain the French term.<sup>5</sup> The conceptual meanings of enjoyment vary throughout Lacan's work but it is an analytic category consistently used to re-radicalize and "return to Freud's meaning" (Lacan, 2002, p. 110) of psychoanalysis—especially his theories of the Oedipus complex, sexual difference, anxiety, castration, death drive, and superego. Comparable to Freud's notions of *lust* and *libido*, but unlike the latter's alleged masculine status, enjoyment can be either phallic (idiotic, fallible, masturbatory, and paltry) or feminine (ineffable and 'of the Other').

Lacan introduces the concept of enjoyment in the seminar of 1953–1954, where it is synonymous with orgasmic and physical pleasure. Here, Lacan also draws on Alexandre Kojève's reading of Hegel to explicate the role of enjoyment in the dialectic of the master and slave. In the seminar of 1958, Lacan deploys enjoyment to explain the alterity of the Other and the status of feminine sexuality. Enjoyment also defines that which opposes, sustains, and limits desire as a quasi-masochistic "paradoxical satisfaction which is found in pursuing an eternally unsatisfied desire" (Evans, 1998, p. 5). The meaning of enjoyment shifts once more in the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rose's (2002) critique that the 'progress' of cultural geography's ability to explicate the politics of landscape production covertly relies on structural explanations that largely ignore how landscapes are "called forth and put to task" (p. 462) through (following Bataille) a dynamic and unfolding 'labyrinth' of excess, overdetermination, idiosyncrasy, incongruence, potentiality, and proliferation.

<sup>4</sup> The Symbolic is a noun and one of the three "orders" or "registers" Lacan uses to distinguish and analyze the complex relations of psychical phenomena. The Symbolic shields the subject from the Real (see footnote 6) and is approximate to the totalizing spatialities of language, Law, communication, exchange, measurement, absence, lack, death, prohibitions, and the unconscious.

<sup>5</sup> I follow Žižek (1994, 2001, 2002) and translate *jouissance* as "enjoyment" in order to emphasize the individual, collective, socio-political, and ideological dimensions of enjoyment in and of tourism (see also Kay, 2003, pp. 162–163; cf. Braunstein, 2003; Johnston, 2002; Miller, 1999; Žižek, 2001, p. vii). For further discussion on the French word *jouissance* in its numerous Lacanian contexts see for example (Evans, 1998; Fink, 1997, pp. 225–227 n. 15; Macey, 1988, pp. 200–206). The category of *jouissance* has also been used by scholars to analyze literary texts (e.g. see Barthes, 1975) and popular culture (e.g. see Fiske, 1989). Human geographers, however, despite their sophisticated engagements and critiques of Lacanian theory, have surprisingly and unfortunately failed to address the complexity of the concept *jouissance* (see above).

pivotal *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis* seminar of 1960, where Lacan draws on Kant's philosophy to illustrate the ethical dimensions of enjoyment as a form of mental and physical suffering that is opposed to pleasure. During the late 1960s and the 1970s, Lacan codifies enjoyment in terms of *plus-de-jouir* (surplus/no more enjoyment), *jouis-sens* (enjoy-meant/enjoyment in meaning), *j'ouïs sens* (I hear sense), and *volonté-de-jouissance* (will-to-enjoy) in order to further his existing concepts such as the *objet petit a*, and introduce new ones such as sexuation, discourse, *lalangue*, *le sinthome*, and the Borromean knot (e.g. see Lacan, 1998).

Lacan's formulations of enjoyment, for the most part, can be read as a reworking of Freud's metapsychological concepts of the "pleasure principle" and the "reality principle." Freud contends that pleasure governs psychical activity "inasmuch as unpleasure is related to the increase of quantities of excitation, and pleasure to their reduction" (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1973, p. 322). For Lacan (1988), the reality principle is a "delayed-action pleasure principle" (p. 60) which "operates in the mode of detour, precaution, touching up, restraint" (Lacan, 1992, p. 28) because reality "isn't just there so that we bump our heads up against the false paths along which the functioning of the pleasure principle leads us... we make reality out of pleasure" (ibid, p. 225). In Lacanian theory, the pleasure principle, a law of homeostasis and prohibition which "commands the subject to 'enjoy as little as possible'" (Evans, 1996, p. 148), is repeatedly transgressed. Why? Because (non-psychotic) subjects unconsciously persist in the neurotic illusion of recuperating an impossible, prohibited, and frightening enjoyment that was blocked by a once-useful oedipal fantasy (that turned fear into a wish) and renounced through castration which assured the subject's psychic separation from the first m(Other) and birth into the Symbolic world of language, desire, and difference. Feher Gurewich (2000) notes that the efficacy of Lacanian clinical treatment depends on the analysand's acceptance and realization that the Other's enjoyment "we both fear and envy is in fact within us, yet not as all-powerful or malevolent, but simply as traces, as a legacy of the psychic separation from the primordial others of our childhood" (p. 89). Enjoyment, the aim of the drives—especially the death drive—is located beyond the pleasure principle and registered by the ego as suffering *qua* a painful pleasure derived from symptoms and anxiety. Enjoyment is also 'idiotic' because it is garnered through ignorance or whenever knowledge fails because it is excluded from the consciousness of the ego, that is, "prohibited to whomever speaks, as such" (Lacan, 2002, p. 306).

One of Lacan's most important and ambiguous concepts, enjoyment is "the 'place' of the subject" (Žižek, 1997, p. 48) and concerns the "very fundamentals of what one is tempted to call psychoanalytic

ontology" (ibid). But enjoyment, like the subject, does not strictly exist, it "ex-ists," 'out there' as a series of 'out-of-joint' and undecidable effects which can be evil, ethical, and obscene but are always excessive, traumatic, transgressive, unsustainable, and dangerous. Enjoyment is an "ecstatic release without hindrance" (Johnston, 2002, n.pag.) that is approached and obtained through language, the Other, and the circuitous paths of the drive (oral, anal, scopic, invocatory, death) and is an impossible satisfaction that it is "enjoyable insofar as it doesn't get what it's allegedly after" (ibid). According to Žižek (1997), enjoyment can also be understood as a "non-historical kernel" (p. 53), but "not something accessible only in 'metaphysical' or 'mystical' limit-experiences" (ibid) because enjoyment "permeates our daily lives" (ibid) as a pleasurable "thrill of the Real" (Kay, 2003, p. 4).<sup>6</sup>

Like Freud, Lacan conceptualizes the subject as not merely emerging from an oedipal family but also as a member and remainder of social groups that are defined, united, and threatened by their specific modes and organization of enjoyment and laws. In 1973, during a televised interview, Lacan argued that racism was increasing in the Western world because of the capitalist notion of "underdeveloped" and the multicultural logics of the "Other" were causing the organization of various social groups' enjoyment to go "off track" (see Lacan, 1990, p. 32). While typically laconic about such pronouncements, Lacan reveals that enjoyment is "as much as a problem for society as it is for the individual" (Evans, 1998, p. 20). Enjoyment is likely to involve guilt, rivalry, remorse, contrition, debt, destruction, and the "suspension of the reflex act, of the pursuit of satisfaction, of service to the community, of the 'good reasons' governing rational behavior" (Braunstein, 2003, p. 108). Bound to the Real which "*unites the psychic to the social*" (Copjec, 1994; emphasis in original), enjoyment informs numerous Lacanian explanations for the "uncanny logic" (Žižek, 1998, p. 154) of racism, sexism and other types of social domination and antagonism (see especially Copjec, 1994; Žižek, 1994, 1998, 2002). While most social theories assume that whoever is engaged in economic or cultural conflict "want an end to struggle in order to secure material gains they can achieve in only

<sup>6</sup> The Real, the "most underappreciated [of Lacan's registers] in Anglophone studies of French psychoanalysis" (Dean, 2000, p. 18), 'ex-sists' as a series of contingent, chimerical, and terrifying effects and barely elided encounters with that which fails, resists, subsists outside, and is inassimilable to Symbolic signification and Imaginary wholeness (see below). Spatially, the Real is anamorphic: "a certain limit which is always missed" (Žižek, 1989, p. 173), "always returns to the same place" (ibid, p. 17), and "without zones, localized highs and lows, or gaps and plenitudes... a sort of unrent, undifferentiated fabric, woven in such a way as to fill everywhere, there being no space between the threads that are its 'stuff'" (Fink, 1995, p. 24).



times of peace...psychoanalysis adds a difficult truth: when people and groups are locked in conflict, they are—beyond their immediate interest in securing sovereignty over another land or people—*already* experiencing intangible gains (Lane, 1998b, p. 5, emphasis in original). These ‘intangible gains’ are most forcefully gathered by the refusal of castration which means that enjoyment “has to be refused in order to be attained on the inverse scale of the Law of desire” (Lacan, 2002, p. 311). The struggle to resist and yield to enjoyment is one that oscillates wildly through collective and individual space because the “hatred of the Other is the hatred of our own excess of enjoyment” (Žižek, 1993, p. 206). That the stakes and conditions of enjoyment involve the thrilling possibilities of destroying oneself in the name of the Other and/or in the name of one’s Self renders the formulation of a ‘politics of enjoyment’ indispensable. If, according to Lacan, only love can ‘humanize enjoyment’ and allow it to ‘condescend to desire,’ then the theoretical contours of a politicized enjoyment can help illustrate the politics of Jamaican tourism which not only extols but also depends on the virtue, efficacy, and demands for “One Love.”

### 3.2. *The uses of enjoyment in Jamaica*<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the Lacanian psychoanalytic connotations briefly outlined above, the etymology of “enjoyment” derives from the Latin word *usufructus*, which refers to the exercise of a legalistic right to use and derive enjoyment from the resources of property without ownership or diminishment. While there is no clear paradigmatic and no disciplinary consensus on what tourism is and does, tourism differs from most other activities to the extent that it involves places that specialize in the production and maintenance of resources for the temporary use and enjoyment of travelers.

The socio-political economic struggles over the uses and enjoyment of resources for the benefit of outside powers and travelers characterizes much of the Caribbean’s troubled history of globalization and development (Klak, 1998; Richardson, 1992) and Jamaica’s history of tourism (Taylor, 1993). Jamaican tourism began in the late nineteenth century when the island was used and enjoyed as an exotic ‘Garden of Eden’ health resort by rich American tourists who were transported on steamships owned by banana traders from Boston (see Sheller, 2003; Taylor, 1993). Despite gaining political independence from the United Kingdom in 1962, the oppressive coincidence of daily economic survival and an increasing dependency on the visitations and enjoyment of tourists became sorely apparent by the late 1970s when the issue became a rallying cry for Michael

Manley’s administration: “we’re more than a beach, we’re a country” (see Pattullo, 1996, p. 151).

Under the influence of CIA intervention, Manley’s quasi-socialist/non-capitalist economic path to development eventually failed and the subsequent bloodshed incurred during his removal from office in 1980, almost led to the collapse of the Jamaican tourism industry. Given Jamaica’s increasing dependency on tourist dollars during the 1980s and 1990s, and a survey conducted just prior to Jamaica’s fortieth anniversary of political independence that revealed 53% of Jamaicans believed their country would have been better off had it remained a British colony, these days, Jamaica’s authorities are more likely to rally behind slogans such as ‘500 years ago Columbus logged Jamaica. Now it’s your turn.’

Such incitements and imperatives to enjoy Jamaica are not only used to attract tourists, they also pervade the legal administration of tourism. The Jamaican Ministry of Tourism and Sport (2001), for example, defines its tourist product as “*anything* tourists enjoy—natural environment, built and cultural heritage, attractions, and the facilities and services used to make enjoyment possible” (p. 33, emphasis added).<sup>8</sup> Similarly, at an international scale, the WTO’s “Global Code of Ethics for Tourism,” endorsed in 1999, by the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, has outlined the “‘rules of the game’ for destinations, governments, tour operators, travel agents, workers and travelers.” The document states that the “prospect of direct and personal access to the discovery and enjoyment of the planet’s resources constitutes a right equally open to all the world’s inhabitants.” The WTO’s ostensibly benign all-inclusive “democracy of enjoyment” (Žižek, 1991, p. 167), however, is comparable to Donatien–Alphonse–François—the Marquis de Sade’s—declaration: “Let us take as the universal maxim of our conduct the right to enjoy any other person whatsoever as the instrument of our pleasure”

<sup>8</sup> What is also interesting about the Ministry of Sport’s definition is the anonymity of the category ‘tourists.’ Tourists are obviously composed of different socio-economic and cultural groups with various motivations, constraints, and ways of organizing enjoyment (e.g. see Cohen, 1972; Puar, 2002a,b). There is a comparable anonymity in this paper’s use of ‘tourists’ and ‘Jamaicans.’ This is the result of focusing on the repetitions of the Real in Jamaican tourism, for example, enjoyment and antagonism, rather than the differential Symbolic network of Jamaican tourism, for example, its various cultural identities. A Jamaican national, for example, could be a tourist or ‘guest,’ and a Cuban, for example, could occupy the position of the Jamaican *qua* ‘host.’ In terms of race, for example, Jamaicans are typically chromatically categorized or Symbolized in terms of ‘white,’ ‘off white,’ ‘high yellow,’ ‘coolie-royal,’ ‘chinee royal,’ ‘red,’ ‘brown,’ ‘high brown,’ and ‘black’ (Baker, 2000, p. 56). The scope and the timing of the writing of the paper also means that my empirical data is primarily composed of concise newspaper reports collected during preliminary research, rather than analyses of the ‘lived experiences’ of people as reported during ethnographic work.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Foucault (1985).

(Lacan, 1992, p. 79). Little wonder, then, that tourism has become not only one of the world's largest industries but also the global activity *par excellence* which is capable of sanctioning the spatial concentration and division of people with extremely diverse economic resources and cultural identities.

But *why* is tourism, despite its many alternative forms, so resilient in this ability to localize and render durable uneven and unequal international divisions and juxtapositions of labor and consumption? Apropos of Mowforth and Munt's (2003, p. 1) claim that tourism "cannot be understood as just a means of having some enjoyment . . . an entirely innocent affair;" tourism cannot be understood as just a means of having some injustice, an entirely guilty affair. My conviction is that it is not sufficient to simply unveil the dirty secrets concealed behind tourism's innocent facades. We must begin to analyze the 'secrets' of the spatialities of tourism practices and relations themselves; that is, we must begin to explain where, how, and why tourism takes place as it *affects* and *fascinates* its participants (see Žižek, 1997, pp. 52–53). The success of many tourist places and practices, for the most part, depends on its participants jubilantly complying with a leisure ethic or 'fun morality' (Baudrillard, 1998) comparable to the ferocious and sadistic command of the superego: "Enjoy!" (Lacan, 1998, p. 3).

Tourism enjoyment, then, is neither innocent nor entirely transgressive, but rather, involves a threat of Otherness and is "*in its innermost status something imposed, ordered*—when we enjoy, we never do it 'spontaneously', we follow a certain injunction" (Žižek, 2002, p. 9, emphasis in original). Now, doing justice to the complex spaces of tourism's impacts and fascinations requires sensitivity to make complex the concepts one employs. Like Derrida's (1988) uneasy engagement with Nietzsche's categories of power and force, my uneasiness with Lacan's category of enjoyment is allayed by remembering that there is never any one thing called enjoyment, but only differences of enjoyment which "are as qualitative as they are quantitative" (Derrida's, 1988, p. 149). Lacan differentiates at least three modes of enjoyment (phallic, Other, and enjoyment) and as a term in a theoretical discourse, enjoyment is "sustained only in its topological relation" (Lacan, 1977, p. 89) with other terms.<sup>9</sup> Enjoyment, then, only makes sense if we relate it to the other concepts such as desire and fantasy. The former "crawls, slips, escapes like the ferret" (Lacan, 1977, p. 214) and is set in motion by the kinks,

slips, and failures of language to articulate our needs through demand. Desire, therefore is enlaced with 'fascinating' spaces of lack, that is, spatialities of deferral, liminality, metonymy, disjuncture, and anamorphism (see Kingsbury, 2003, pp. 354–355; cf. Pile, 1996, p. 144). Tourism elicits desire partly by intensifying relations and staging objects that foster lack and incite 'guests' and 'hosts' to think they would be better off *where* they are not. Desire never demands satisfaction but only desires desire as "*the desire for something else*" (Lacan, 2002, p. 158, emphasis in original). Tourist traps, then, are desirous spaces that ensnare tourists by providing them with an endless desirous search for a paradise of fulfillment through brochures, discount first class tickets, cut price hotels, romantic encounters, and that empty hotel room next door with a bigger balcony and better view. . . . Tourism is a mobile army of psychopolitical struggle in a quicksand of enjoyment.<sup>10</sup>

### 3.3. *Securing the pleasure principle in the pleasure periphery*

Making enjoyment possible—producing resources as viable *usufructs* for the pleasure of tourists—on an island originally called *Xaymaca* ('land of wood and water') by its original inhabitants the Arawaks, and now *Jamdung* ('to press down') by its contemporary urban poor—is threatened by Jamaica's notorious propensity for extreme enjoyment, that is, aggressiveness and violence. In 2001, the Jamaica Constabulary Communication Network reported that the number of murders in Jamaica increased by 30%, reaching an unprecedented total of 1138, one of the highest murder rates in the world (Penketh, 2002). According to the Caribbean Tourism Organization (CTO), Jamaica attracts over two million tourists annually making it the fifth most popular tourist destination in the highly competitive region of the Caribbean (CTO, 2003), its status as a paradisiacal island is damaged by media representations of 'vulgar' civil unrest (see also Skelton, 2000). Sustaining *usufructs* for tourists involves securing the pleasure principle, which in Third World regions of the pleasure periphery, is threatened by representations of people (as opposed to tourists) anarchically going 'beyond the pleasure principle.' Following reprisals of violence in sections of West Kingston in July 2001, the Jamaican Tourist Board (JTB), the Government Ministry of Tourism, Air Jamaica, and the Jamaica Hotel and Tourist Association (JHTA) announced the long-term marketing action plan "Operation Grow" to counter negative international publicity and rehabilitate the country's image (Davis, 2001c).

<sup>9</sup> Clearly, the theoretical and methodological opportunities posed by psychoanalyzing tourism enjoyment are numerous and as exciting as they are daunting. A thorough epistemological and methodological appraisal of current and potential psychoanalytic approaches in geography has yet to be written and beyond the scope of this present paper (but see Bondi, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> My formulation is based on Nietzsche's assertion that "truth is a mobile army of metaphors."

Long characterized as a ‘hell and paradise’ by tourism researchers (Taylor, 1993), Jamaica has the worst reputation of all the major Caribbean destinations for harassment, crime, and drug trafficking. The success of Jamaica’s tourism product where “little is left to chance—neither the mechanics and logistics of travel nor the content of experiences” (Britton, 1991, p. 455), depends heavily on its ability to delimit spaces that facilitate pleasure for guests, but not too much pleasure, that is, tranquility not monotony. Subjects in Jamaican tourism, then, are not so much egotistic ‘pleasure seekers’ as vulnerable ‘enjoyment relievers’ whose acts are primarily coordinated by pleasure or unpleasure obtained “*in the immediate* by the idea of the action to be accomplished or of its consequences” (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1973, p. 322, emphasis in original). The pleasure principle, which involves the Symbolic “dominance of the signifier” (Lacan, 1992, p. 134), enables tourist subjects to comfortably travel “from signifier to signifier” (ibid, p. 119) along, for example, advertisements, social relations, and built environments. The JTB’s brochures urge visitors to let “your travel agent help you come to the pleasure of Jamaica” and strives to “do everything we can to assure a ‘no problem’ vacation,” even though they “speak English, with a few embellishments.” While the vast majority of civil unrest takes place in or around the capital city of Kingston (several hours road travel from the major tourist resorts on the north coast), Jamaica’s major tourist resorts in Montego Bay, Ocho Rios, and Negril are nonetheless “landscapes for power and defence” (Brunn et al., 2001). These resorts, discursively, materially, and psychically secure, integrate and separate tourists’ *usufructs* with the help of fences, walls, close-circuit television cameras, patrolled gates, and special tourist police units on public beaches. The art of rendering subtle and tolerable for Jamaicans and tourists exclusionary modes of security was perfected by the Jamaican-owned company Sandals Resorts International.

Sandals, the largest and most successful tourism company in the Caribbean was founded by its Jamaican and current Chairman, Gordon “Butch” Stewart in 1981 a period when the entire Jamaican international tourist industry was threatened by outbreaks of violence surrounding volatile national elections. Sandals is marketed as a heterosexual couples-only all-inclusive hotel with enclave-style properties built to localize, isolate, and install the homeostatic pleasure principle with gates, patrolled perimeter walls, and barbed wire fencing to reward tourists with a sense of security and fantasy of luxury.<sup>11</sup> Sandals’ all-inclusive packages are now emu-

lated across the Caribbean, and Sandals currently markets itself as an “ultra-inclusive,” whereby guests staying at one resort get full access and privileges to all the other Sandals resorts.

Now, the success of Jamaica’s tourist product also depends on providing spaces for enjoyment, but not too much enjoyment, that is, arousal not anxiety. In addition to securing the pleasure principle, Jamaican tourism must promote and deal with what Lacan calls ‘*plus de jouissance plus de jouir*’ (a homophony of ‘too much/no more enjoyment’), usually translated as ‘surplus enjoyment.’ Insofar as Jamaican tourism generates and uses enjoyment, its activities and participants can appear either radically sublime or disgusting, depending on how they are positioned within fantasmatic space. Enjoyment is a volatile manifestation of the Real which resists but requires discursive mediation and can therefore permeate Symbolic “institutions as their obscene underside” (Kay, 2003, p. 163). Enjoyment, that bonds and threatens social relations, is dangerous because it is libidinal; that is, it is constitutively and irreducibly excessive: “if we subtract the surplus we lose enjoyment itself, just as capitalism... ceases to exist if it ‘stays the same’” (Žižek, 1989, p. 52). A recurrent politics of enjoyment in Jamaican tourism concerns the inevitable failures to Symbolically mandate appropriate forms of enjoyment. “Hedonism III,” for example, a hotel infamous for its mass nude weddings, regularly attracts strong condemnation from church leaders and local residents. Reverend Frank Cervasio, a holy beneficiary and participant of the nude weddings, called on Jamaica’s church leaders to “re-think their positions” on nude weddings because they could strengthen the tourism product if properly marketed (Evans, 2002, n.pag.). Similarly, in an open letter published in Jamaica’s *The Sunday Observer* newspaper, Father Richard Ho Lung accused influential hotelier John Issa (owner of Superclubs and the Hedonism hotels) of “making Jamaican hotels a snake pit for those who seek to be hedonists” (Ho Lung, 2000, p. 30). Ho Lung demanded that Issa change the name and activities of his “Hedonism” hotels because the category hedonism promotes “a vision of life that pleasure is our final end. Carnal pleasure of all types, sexual excesses, gluttony, drinking, carousing” (ibid).

The terminal excessiveness that makes enjoyment enjoyable, is thoroughly political because “what gets on our nerves, what really bothers us about the ‘other,’ is the peculiar way he organizes his enjoyment” (Žižek, 1991, p. 165). According to Lacan, what grounds the alterity of the Other—its overwhelming and unassimilable uniqueness—or what constitutes the otherness of the Other—is the way in which the Other is defined by and organizes its enjoyment. In March 2000, *The Jamaica Gleaner* newspaper reported the activities of a group of spring-break revelers who stripped naked and

<sup>11</sup> “All-inclusive” refers to how the cost of all meals, drinks, accommodation, entertainment, airport taxes, transfers, and gratuities are pre-paid and included in the total cost of the vacation.

used their tongues to lick whipped cream from each other's bodies "while a large crowd cheered them on at a popular establishment in Montego Bay" (Clarke, 2002, n.pag.). After protests from local residents, subsequent visitors have been ordered to refrain from "lewd and excessive conduct" by following guidelines issued by the police and the JTB. Yet, the incitement and pressures on most Jamaicans to make money by generating enjoyment in the tourist Other, always supersedes the Jamaica's conservative or pleasure-principled moral majority. In 2001, a year following the residents' complaints, Montego Bay recorded an 8000 number reduction in spring-break tourists who participated in the JHTA's programs including the "Foam Hook Up Party" that lead to "over 4000 American students drinking from Red Stripe-filled bongos dancing in a foam pit" (Silvera, 2001, n.pag.).

Jamaican tourism officials have attempted to reorganize and diminish the obscene and unsupportable dimensions of enjoyment by embracing alternative forms of tourism. Following the CTO's recommendation that the Caribbean region should develop an overall environmental convention that protects its tourism resources, governments throughout the region are now engaged in formulating sustainable tourism policies for the entire industry. In August 2000, Jamaica's "Master Plan" was completed by the Ministry of Tourism and Sport and key members in Jamaica's tourist industry. The document, informed by principles of sustainable development, aims to increase persons employed in tourism from 75,000 to 130,000, increase the sector's contribution to GDP from 8% to 15%, push visitor arrivals from 1.3 million to 2.2 million, move cruise ship arrivals from 907,000 to 2.2 million, and increase visitor spending from US\$1.4 billion to US\$2.9 billion. Jamaica's projects have included the JTB's 'Meet the People' program, 'community tourism' activities, and, perhaps most interestingly, forms of 'resort ecotourism.' Described as a "paradigm for the 21st Century" (Ayala, 1996), resort ecotourism involves corporations such as Sandals diversifying their traditional 'sea, sand, and sun products' through the promotion of alternative tourism opportunities and the integration of sustainable practices. And yet, arguably, *all* forms of tourism on Caribbean islands involve geographies of excess, overabundance, and unsustainability insofar as they depend on and promote the excessiveness of enjoyment and their environmental footprints consist of a resource-depleting international transportation infrastructure.

### 3.4. *One Love's dangers, tourism's ideological fantasies*

According to *The Jamaica Gleaner* newspaper, in April 2001, the newly opened "One Love Trail" for tourists to walk from the Ocho Rios Cruise Ship Pier to Dunn's River Falls had deteriorated into a "haunt for

thieves, pimps, and touts" (Davis, 2001a, n.pag.). The article reported that several tourists and an executive of a major cruise line had been robbed along the trail, "designed to improve visitor convenience and strengthen the anti-harassment programme," causing local residents to rename it the "One Mug Trail." "Ain't no love there no more," concluded one businessman.

The US\$690,000 trail's fall, its spatial 'desublimation' from a destination of "love" to a dive of "mug" exemplifies the precariousness and Sisyphean trials of Jamaica's tourism product tirelessly marketed as a "No Problem" vacation that is accommodated by a loving and diverse culture represented by Jamaica's national motto "Out of many, One people" (Dunn, 1999). A document compiled by the The Office of the Prime Minister (1999), *Jamaica's Tourism Industry: A Diagnosis with Strategic Options*, quantifies a major problem: "harassment is reported by 55% of visitors, and causes major damage to Jamaica's reputation" (p. 15). In response to tourist harassment, the Jamaican Ministry of Tourism and Sport demanded that "when visitors come to Jamaica we must make sure they really "feel alright" (in keeping with the invitation given in our "One Love" commercials used on television overseas) (2001, p. 2; see also Campbell et al., 1999). Following Freud (1961), Jamaican tourism is tormented by repeatedly promoting and seeking relief in a fantasy that assumes and depends on people ultimately desiring to forge harmonious social relations of One Love, in Rastafarian—"I-an-I," in Freudian—Eros: "making one out of more than one" (p. 65). Visitors and Jamaicans are somehow expected, even encouraged, to jubilantly surrender and enjoy a civil injunction—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (p. 65)—amidst divided neighborhoods of uneven socio-economic differences that belie the truth of the Latin dictum "*Homo homini lupus*": "Man is a wolf to man" (p. 69). Or, in Rastafarian terms: "Man is a wolf to mon," wherein "wolf" is someone who copies the practices and brings ill-repute to Rastafarianism. For Lacan, love is not only intimate but also radically external/Other, that is, "extimate." Love therefore poses a spatial problem for neighbors in Jamaican tourism because "as soon as there is closeness, there is a confrontation of incompatible modes of *jouissance*. For it is simple to love one's neighbor when he is distant, but it is a different matter in proximity" (Miller, 1994, p. 80). Jamaica's resort landscapes materialize the "universal tendency of debasement in the sphere of love" (Freud, 1961) and echo Freud's somber warnings that when in love, "we are never so defenceless against suffering" (p. 33) and that our neighbors have "more claim to my hostility and even my hatred" (p. 67). From a Lacanian perspective, Jamaica's tourism industry, the "hustle and struggle sector" (Kempadoo, 1999, p. v), relies on the maintenance of a "proper distance" (Žižek, 1998, p. 163) that separates Symbolic spaces or neighborhoods

of well-behaved ‘guests’ and receptive ‘hosts’ from the traumatic incursions of the Real, that is, violent disturbances such as muggings that resist and exceed Symbolic mediation. The inevitable failures and fissures of tourism’s Symbolic landscapes and practices can produce an antagonistic and “intrusive *overproximity*” (Žižek, 1998, p. 163, emphasis in original), whereby Jamaicans are transformed into “thieves, pimps, and touts” and the tourist an “ugly, empty thing, a stupid thing, a piece of rubbish pausing here and there to gaze at this and taste that” (Kincaid, 1989, p. 10).

The JTB and hoteliers combat discursive failures, in Lacanese, they attempt to fill the lack in the Symbolic or to refute the castration of the Other, through the proliferation of One Love Imaginary scenarios of socio-economic plenitude, harmony, and happiness. Such an Imaginary strategy relies on the support and protection of an “ideological fantasy” (Žižek, 1989, p. 30).<sup>12</sup> Here, ideology is not an “illusion masking the real state of things” (ibid, p. 33) such as exploitation and poverty hidden by hotel walls and fetishized by commodities; rather, ideology is “an (unconscious) fantasy structuring our social reality itself” (ibid, p. 33), that is, practices of tourism are permeated with unconscious enjoyment. According to Žižek (1989) Lacanian reading of Marx’s formula ‘they do not know it, but they are doing it,’ most Jamaicans and tourists know very well that resorts “Where Love is All You Need” (the motto of Sandals) veil other spaces of socio-economic antagonism, violence, and discontentment, but even so, they continue through practices of labor and consumption which demand certain attitudes to “feel alright,” to invest in and depend on the narcissistic illusion of One Love: “they are still doing it as if they did not know” (p. 32). Tourism thus requires “*a certain non-knowledge of its participants*” (p. 21, emphasis in original) so that if people come to “‘know too much,’ to pierce the true function of social reality, this reality would dissolve itself” (p. 21).

This “certain non-knowledge” as a “*form of thought whose ontological status is not that of thought. . . .* some Other Scene external to thought whereby the form of the thought is already articulated in advance,” (p. 19, emphasis in original) is one of Žižek definitions of the Lacanian unconscious. The unconscious of the One Love fantasy, then, takes place in “another locality, another space, another scene” (Lacan, 1977, p. 56), a “space of a lapsus. . . [where] there is no friendship” (ibid, p. vii), and “strictly speaking, on the opposite side

to love” (ibid, p. 25).<sup>13</sup> Now, Žižek argues that ideology relies upon fantasmatic backgrounds in order to sustain the consistency of subjects’ living experiences and the solidarity of cultural groups. Ideological fantasies are not merely at work, for example, in strategic representations of rapturous guests being serenaded and served by happy Jamaicans, but also, and perhaps more importantly, in marginal and seemingly utilitarian spaces such as pre-flight instructions for passengers on a plane.<sup>14</sup>

The ideological function of the One Love mantra is not so much to offer an escape or getaway holiday from reality, but rather to offer people the tourism product’s “social reality itself as an escape from some traumatic, real kernel” (Žižek, 1989, p. 45; cf. Goss, 1999, p. 49). “Fantasy,” a category routinely associated with tourism (e.g. see Dann, 1976), in Lacanian terms, is neither a dreamy psychological effect of people’s imaginations nor an indulgent “hallucinatory realization of desires prohibited by the Law” (Žižek, 1997, p. 14; cf. Reimer, 1990). Rather, fantasy is the way in which we gain access to ‘reality’ and intervenes whenever we make a distinction between the imagination and what ‘really exists out there.’ Fantasy, however, “creates what it purports to conceal, its ‘repressed’ point of reference” (Žižek, 1997, p. 7), such as One Love’s One Mug horrors. In addition, fantasy provides a kind of “Kantian ‘transcendental schematism” (ibid, p. 7) that constitutes, co-ordinates, and teaches us how to desire. Fantasy does not mean that if someone desires a Red Stripe lager and cannot get it, they fantasize about drinking one; the problem is more radical: how do they know that they desire the Red Stripe lager in the first place? Tourism fantasies provide answers with a schema of desirable objects such as friendly Jamaicans, hotel managerial positions, exotic culinary fare, “best employee” of the month awards, and white sandy beaches. In 1968, for example, the JTB staged for tourists a (racist) fantasy of servility and infantilization in Jamaican villas

equipped with gentle people named Ivy or Maud or Malcolm who will cook, tend, mend, diaper, and launder for you. Will “Mister Peter, please” you

<sup>12</sup> The Imaginary is the register that involves dual or binary relations. The Imaginary does not involve the imagination *per se* but rather concerns the ego and its illusory vicissitudes of totality, fragmentation, luring, narcissism, rivalry, specular imagery, spatial captation, non-disabled embodiment, sexual display, aggressiveness, and meaning.

<sup>13</sup> Jamaica Kincaid (1989) argues that Caribbean tourists do not know that “they [Antiguans] *do not like me!* That thought never actually occurs to you” (p. 17, emphasis in original).

<sup>14</sup> Žižek (1999) writes: “Aren’t they [passengers] sustained by a fantasmatic scenario of how a possible plane crash will-look? After a gentle landing on the water (miraculously, it is always supposed to happen on water!), each of the passengers puts on the life-jacket and, as on a beach toboggan, slides into the water and takes a swim, like a nice collective lagoon holiday experience under the guidance of an experienced swimming instructor. Is not this ‘gentrifying’ of a catastrophe (a nice soft landing, stewardesses in a dance-like style graciously pointing with their hands to the ‘Exit’ signs) also ideology at it purest?” (p. 91).

all day long, pamper you with homemade coconut pie, admire you when you look “soft” [handsome], giggle at your jokes and weep when you leave. (qtd. in Pattullo, 1996, p. 151)

Fantasy, then, is not necessarily rebellious because it does not stage the “suspension-transgression of the Law, but *the very act of its installation*” (Žižek, 1997, p. 14, emphasis in original) through a “narrative occlusion of antagonism” (ibid, p. 10). The Lacanian Law is a law of the signifier and refers to the Symbolic orders’ institutional discourses that seek to regulate social exchange and end up creating desire. The laws of Jamaican tourism officials are often complicit with a fantasy of heteronormative sexuality which defends against unacceptable and illegal forms of sexuality and enjoyment. But in Jamaica, to turn away deviant tourists in the name of the law is to turn away business. In an article on gay cruises, *The Jamaica Gleaner* reported that Mr. Maragh, a general manager of Lannaman and Morris, a shipping company that manages the Ocho Rios Pier, conceded that Jamaica’s predominantly anti-gay population was not ready to welcome homosexuals but said that “economic considerations could not be ignored in the event that such a cruise expressed the desire to dock here.” Maragh continued, “usually when a ship wants to make a stop here, we would give permission, but if a gay ship wanted to stop, it wouldn’t be a technical issue anymore, it would be a moral issue and it would be for the Government to decide.” Attorney Keste Miller argued that a gay cruise would not have a legal basis on which to land: “because our laws do not sanction homosexual activities. If you allow a ship full of homosexuals to dock in your port what you would really be doing is giving them the go-ahead to breach the law,” he said (Davis and Roxborough, 2000, n.pag.).

Fantasy, then, is “radically intersubjective” (Žižek, 1997, p. 8) because it enables the subject to defend against the threatening enjoyment of the (m)Other and answer the (m)Other’s enigmatic question: ‘*Che vuoi?*’ [what do you want?]-‘You’re saying this, but *what do you really mean by saying it?*’ (Žižek, ibid, p. 9, emphasis in original). Fantasy offers researchers a way in which to theorize the “coal face of tourism: the relationship between tourists and those they are visiting” (Mowforth and Munt, 2003, p. 63). From a Lacanian perspective, encounters between Jamaicans and tourists take place not when they tell each other about their “values, dreams, and so on” (Žižek, 1997, p. 19), but when they encounter the Other’s enjoyment that maybe discerned in a “tiny detail (a compulsive gesture, an excessive facial gesture, a tic) which signals the intensity of the real of *jouissance*” (ibid, p. 49). While people are usually aware of their role as ‘guest’ and ‘host,’ sometimes they “cannot fathom what object, precisely he is to others, what the exact nature of the games they are playing with

him is, and fantasy provides an answer to this enigma” (ibid, p. 9). The One Love fantasy protects tourists from potentially overwhelming encounters with Jamaicans’ enjoyment *qua* the excessive and compulsive choreography of harassment. Tourist’s initial encounters with Jamaicans often involve viewing poor roadside villages passed en route from the airport to the resort area or from the cruise ship to a natural attraction. Beyond the “stranger’s path” (Jackson, 1997), tourists’ full-fledged uneasiness and discomfort are typically precipitated by auditory encounters with voices of pimps, prostitutes, beach vendors, drug dealers, and other sources of ‘harassment.’ The fleeting image of socio-economic oppression seen through the window of a tour bus, or the unexpectedly harsh tone or Otherness of voices from a beach craft stall testifies that in Jamaican tourism, most of “the unpleasure” that tourists “experience is *perceptual unpleasure*” (Freud, 1961, p. 9, emphasis in original).

Usually inaugurated by restrictive plane seating arrangements and a dependency on the ‘quality service’ of workers or good (enough) maternal physical and emotional labor by flight attendants, tourists may feel less self-sufficient—infantilized by travel *qua* limited spatial mobility and increased dependence on others (see also Nast, 2002, p. 879). Most tourists on vacation in Jamaica sooner or later become disorientated by the detours of desire in places such as the street, beach, craft market, and crowded minibus station where (like a small child for his/her parents) they become “embedded in a complex network of relations. . . as a kind of catalyst and battlefield for the desires,” (Žižek, 1997, p. 9) of Jamaicans. According to Superintendent Paul Stanton of the Negril police, for example, when the Spring Breakers come to Negril to party the “taxi men, people selling fruits, jerk pork, chicken, peanuts, you name it. . . are here to see what they can get out of the spring break” (Clarke, 2002).

Intersubjective detours of desire, however, are usually more preferable for tourists and Jamaicans than the Real of tourism enjoyment: aggressiveness *qua* harassment or “the exercise of pressure to buy things” (The Office of the Prime Minister, 1999, p. 15). The Lonely Planet’s *Jamaica* tourist guidebook (Baker, 2000, p. 66), warns its readers about the “Jamaican character,” which it describes as, on the one hand, “schizophrenic and perplexingly volatile. . . sullen, cantankerous, and confrontational” so that “foreign visitors are shocked by the surliness they encounter,” and, on the other hand, “much of the population comprises the most gracious people you’ll ever meet.” Encountering one’s neighbor in a Jamaican tourist resort typically involves meeting the artful wordplay or “lyrics” of “hustlers” who aggressively sell the unwanted or superfluous enjoyment of, for example, crafts, jewelry, drugs, aloe massages, hair braiding, “irie” wristbands, tours into the ‘jungle,’

companionship, and bodies. The notoriety of harassment in Jamaican resorts is such that it has been Symbolized and commodified as part of the tourism product. Tourists who are wary and weary of harassment are able to invest in the “donned armor of an alienating identity” (Lacan, 2002, p. 6) by wearing T-shirts sold in gift-shops that are emblazoned with the following preemptive attack message: “Which part don’t you understand? No! I don’t want any weed, a guide, taxi, or my hair braided!”

Unfortunately, in Jamaican tourism, the public acknowledgement or politicization of the coincidences between pain and enjoyment is rare. In 2001, during an emergency meeting to discuss the Royal Caribbean’s (the world’s largest cruise line) seven-day ultimatum to formulate a plan that would effectively deal with the harassment of visitors at the Ocho Rios pier, then Minister of Tourism, Portia Simpson Miller was reported to have said that “*this was no time for politics* and that the industry faced a potential danger if the harassment of visitors continues” (Davis, 2001b; emphasis added). Today, the Jamaican government and tourism officials still struggle to ameliorate the alleged problems of sex, harassment, poverty, and social unrest with an ideological fantasy of One Love and remedies of alternative tourism initiatives. Is not the wider transformation of Jamaica’s socio-economic conditions and status as a Third World destination a priori hindered and forever prevented whenever the ‘political’ is regarded as an obstruction or disassociated from events where enjoyment *and* injustice collide and collude?

#### 4. Arrivals (slight return)

Enjoyment, the reason why tourism struggles to legitimate itself as object for ‘serious’ academic inquiry, becomes, from a psychoanalytic perspective, the royal road to the reevaluation of contemporary critical approaches in tourism studies. Taking enjoyment seriously—and no one takes enjoyment more seriously than Lacan—further critical understandings of tourism for several reasons. First, tourism geographies teem with enjoyment; from the twitches of excitement and to tics of frustration in airport departure lounges, to the expectant, impatient, and impotent collective squirming in just-docked plane aisles. And yet, in the study of tourism, critically informed and sustained inquiries into the precise theoretical and empirical status of tourism enjoyment vis-à-vis socio-political processes are virtually non-existent. Second, given that “every life, every activity, every event, every social or cultural practice is constituted and reproduced through representational, and affective modes of psychic processing” (Elliot, 1998, p. 7), a psychoanalytic conceptualization of

enjoyment furthers critical explanations of “how tourists, or tourism enterprises, behave and *why*” (Davis, 2001, p. 126, emphasis in original) by not only mapping the imbroglios of power, discourses, identities, and bodies, but also understanding how such imbroglios involve enchantment *and* conflict cherished by subjects and collectives. Like fantasy, what could be *more* political than enjoyment when it determines, in the Caribbean, for example, the fate of individuals, entire communities, islands, and a world region (see Lane, 1998b, p. 7)?

I am convinced that the political and conceptual renewal afforded by new tourism geographies of ‘sun, sand, and psychoanalysis,’ must affirm the more troubling implications of psychoanalytic theory that have, for the most part, been assimilated, disavowed, or “tamed” (Callard, 2003) by the culturalist, historicist, and social constructionist theoretical frameworks favored by contemporary critical human geography (see also Kingsbury, 2003). The assertion of a psychoanalytic approach, however, must be careful to avoid a “hubris that underwrites the affirmation of one particular [paradigmatic] framework over another” (Dixon and Jones III, 2004, p. 96). Furthermore, this paper should be read as a *preliminary* formulation of a ‘politics of enjoyment’ that does not address how other psychoanalytic approaches may reevaluate critical tourism studies (see Kingsbury, 2004). My intention has been to elicit a desire that is comparable to the desire Lacan’s writing has done for so many scholars including myself: the incitement for further reading, thinking, research, and writing.

In tourism studies, however, researchers typically recoil with shock and suspend their desire for critical analyses whenever troubling forms of injustice and enjoyment coincide, for example, the “*sickly* aestheticization [enjoying Third World poverty, racism, and class struggle] that is supported by new forms of tourism” (Mowforth and Munt, 2003, p. 80, emphasis added). Are not the dispositions towards these sickly enjoyments, or, more accurately, the perversions of aestheticism, fetishism, voyeurism, and exhibitionism, a crucial aspect of any ‘normal’ practice in tourism, particularly those in the Third World (cf. Freud, 1962, p. 97)? Despite the severe socio-economic problems that beset and are reproduced by Jamaican tourism, given its relative size, success, and stability, the vast majority of guests and Jamaicans *do* manage to enjoy participating in a One Love tourism product. Here, the radical implications of a politics of enjoyment can be explicated by posing a truly psychoanalytic question: to what extent are Jamaican tourism’s social relations motivated and bound by perverse enjoyment? In other words, to what extent does tourism, with its all spatial juxtapositions and concentrations, encourage guests to sadistically enjoy the exhibition and infliction of privilege, and

workers to masochistically enjoy disavowing their socio-economic conditions that are reproduced in their labor practices *qua* libidinal attachments in serving the enjoyment of the Other such as tourists and managers (see Rothenberg et al., 2003)?

This psychoanalytic line of inquiry challenges the culturalist and historicist assumptions that inform much critical human geography by raising the possibility that political resistance and subjectivities “might need to be theorized in terms of impotence, the loss of agency, or the lack of progressive transformation” (Callard, 2003, p. 307; cf. Meeks, 2000; Skelton, 2000). Lacan contends that we are *not* driven to seek our own good because we are forever succumbing to and doing battle with enjoyment, a doleful principle beyond pleasure (see Copjec, 1994, p.87). The possibility of ameliorating or revolutionizing the unjust conditions and relations in Jamaican tourism requires not only addressing its contradictions and intensities in terms of mapping the libidinal economy and unconscious fantasies in the discourses of tourism, but also demonstrating how tourism promotes the “enactment of a particular fantasy, which means ultimately occupying a particular position as object of the Other’s desire and *jouissance*” (Bracher, 1994, p. 126). Subjects are protected from the Other’s enjoyment and the Real of their desire by not only the pleasure principle but also fantasy. Insofar as Jamaicans and tourists work to protect themselves through a tourism fantasy of One Love, they will always be undone *and* thrilled by “that slightly funny feeling you have from time to time about exploitation, oppression, domination [that could] develop into full-fledged unease, discomfort” (Kincaid, 1989, p. 10). Fantasy and enjoyment are propitious categories in which to understand the brutal vicissitudes of Jamaica’s One Love tourism product because the place of “my neighbor’s *jouissance*, his harmful, malignant *jouissance*, is that which poses a problem for my love” (Lacan, 1992, p. 187).

A psychoanalytic politics of enjoyment in Jamaican tourism, then, commences with the acknowledgement that the copious appeals in brochures and resorts for a One Love and No Problem vacation are also invitations to enact a fantasy by desiring in the Other *qua* one’s neighbor the enjoyment of an unattainable surplus ‘X-factor,’ a chimerical object-cause of desire that has no positive consistency and is designated by Lacan as “*objet petit a*.” Exploitation, prejudice, and harassment, then, become not simply vulgar threats to our critical sensibilities but somber opportunities for tourism and its discontents including critical researchers to finally address and makes sense of the brutal lures of enjoyment in places where we love: “I love you, but, because inexplicably I love in you something more than you—the *objet petit a* —I mutilate you (Lacan, 1978; p. 263).

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