"Everything that needs to make the thing a whole": Aestheticization, exclusion and the political economy of Long Bay's tourism landscape

Anwen Davis

Abstract

Although a large volume of work has been conducted regarding tourism industries across the world, the dominant analysis in the geographies of tourism tends to draw upon post-modern discourse analysis and representational theories. This has resulted in calls to develop more materialist analyses of tourism landscapes. Using the case study of Long Bay, a small coastal settlement in Portland parish, Jamaica, this dissertation aims to do this by adopting a Marxist political economy approach to understand the social relations of production that characterise the landscape. Capitalist landscapes are defined by unequal social relations, namely between capitalists who own the means of production and labourers who depend on the sale of their labour to earn a living. Although the tourism industry differs from traditional productive industries insofar as much of the industry depends on the distribution of goods and services rather than the production of tangible commodities, the social relations of production and reproduction are transferable to tourism landscapes. Interviews with local labourers, business owners and government officials provided the key empirical data for analysis. The main results conclude that unequal land ownership in Long Bay is exacerbated by the tourism industry, resulting in the severe exploitation of labourers who are dependent on the industry's seasonal, low-wage employment. Moreover, gendered divisions of labour persist in both the workplace and domestic sphere, with significant material consequences for women who disproportionately hold low-paid, "caring" positions and conduct the majority of domestic labour. The third key finding is that local labourers experience direct and indirect exclusions from the landscape due to a lack of material wealth or time as well as unequal land ownership, which affects not only who has access to the land but also who spaces are intended for – in this case, the tourists. Although the research is specific to Long Bay, it illustrates the usefulness of adopting a Marxist political economy framework for analysing tourism landscapes more broadly. In turn, this dissertation aims to be suggestive of alternative ways to produce the landscape which can be used in future tourism developments to create more inclusive, equal landscapes.

Key Words: Jamaica, Tourism, Marxist political economy, Landscape, Exclusion, Aesthetics

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List of Abbreviations

CMO – Common Market Organisation

ESRI – Environmental Systems Research Institute

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GIS – Geographic Information Systems

IMF – International Monetary Fund

JTB – Jamaica Tourism Board

JTU – Jamaica Trade Union

STATINJa – Statistical Institute of Jamaica

TPDCo – Tourism Product Development Corporation

UDCJa – Urban Development Corporation Jamaica

UNWTO – United Nations' World Tourism Organisation

WTTC – World Travel and Tourism Council

1. Introduction

Sat at a table in a rented villa in Long Bay, I asked Ayanna a series of questions as she moved around the 3-bedroom villa: sweeping, dusting, changing bedlinen. Ayanna's busy schedule meant that it was more convenient for me to conduct our interview while she was working, with the added benefit that I would gain a first-hand insight into her life. Her 8-year old daughter, who she raises alone, sat on the sofa on the other side of the room, playing games on her mother's phone. The back doors of the villa were open, leading directly onto Long Bay beach, the sounds of the sea filling the villa. The sun was high in the sky; it was about 32°C – a normal day in February. Ayanna pulled out a red bandanna from the waistband of her jeans, mopped her forehead and sat opposite me. Just a 5-minute break before she continued with her work. It was a Saturday, but there is little distinction between days of the week for Ayanna. Employed as a housekeeper for various rented properties in Long Bay and San San (a settlement 15km north of Long Bay), she works Monday to Saturday from 9am until 3pm. Some guests require catering and, when this happens, Ayanna spends extra hours preparing meals. Sometimes this can take the entire evening. Since cooking is one of her labour tasks as a housekeeper, any extra hours Ayanna works are not remunerated as overtime and, instead, are encompassed within her weekly JMD$7,000 pay. Now 28 years old, Ayanna has lived in Long Bay her entire life. She grew up with her aunt from whom she learnt cosmetology which has provided Ayanna an additional income source – a labour activity which she does from her home, offering services to locals and tourists. When her paid-labour tasks are finally complete, Ayanna spends the remainder of the day cooking and cleaning in her own home and looking after her daughter. At night, she spends time on social media advertising her cosmetic services. Although she loves to go to parties and spend days at nearby beaches, these opportunities only arise a couple of times a year because leisure time is a luxury she does not possess.

1.1. Research Background

Ayanna is just one of 126,300 Jamaicans working directly in tourism (STATINJa, 2020), with this number more than tripling when considering direct and indirect tourism employment, representing 31% of national GDP (WTTC, 2020). Unsurprisingly, the Ministry of Tourism represents a significant force in Jamaica, receiving and controlling large sums of state money to enhance tourism through development projects and marketing. The Minister of Tourism has such an esteemed position that, during a tour of a national heritage site in Kingston, I was shown framed images of "the three most important men in Jamaica: the Governor General of Jamaica, Sir Patrick Allen, the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the most Honourable Andrew Holness and the Minister of Tourism, Honourable Edmund Bartlett."

Despite the importance of tourism in national and global economies and the uneven geography of the industry, the geographies of tourism remains a peripheral sub-discipline to the extent that, many tourism geographers in universities often find themselves placed in business schools, separate from geography departments (Hall and Page, 2012). This has a profound effect on the research being produced, shaping a large portion of the work towards business-related issues. Another pervasive trend in the geographies of tourism has been to place emphasis on discourse and representational theory, resulting in calls to develop more materialist analytical perspectives and connect the geographies of tourism with political economy (Bianchi, 2011). Focussing on Long Bay, a small coastal settlement in Portland parish, east Jamaica (Figures 1 and 2), this dissertation aims to contribute to works which bridge the gap between political economy and the geographies of tourism by exploring the following three research questions: (1) In what ways do the social relations of production materialise in and through Long Bay's tourism landscape? (2) To what extent is the gendered division of labour present in the social reproduction of daily life in Long Bay? (3) To what extent and in what ways does exclusion occur in Long Bay's tourism landscape?

As the opening vignette portrays, the daily life and lived experience of a tourism labourer is dominated by the struggle to earn sufficient money in an industry characterised by seasonal, low-

Figure 1: A map of Jamaica, indicating administrative boundaries and major cities.
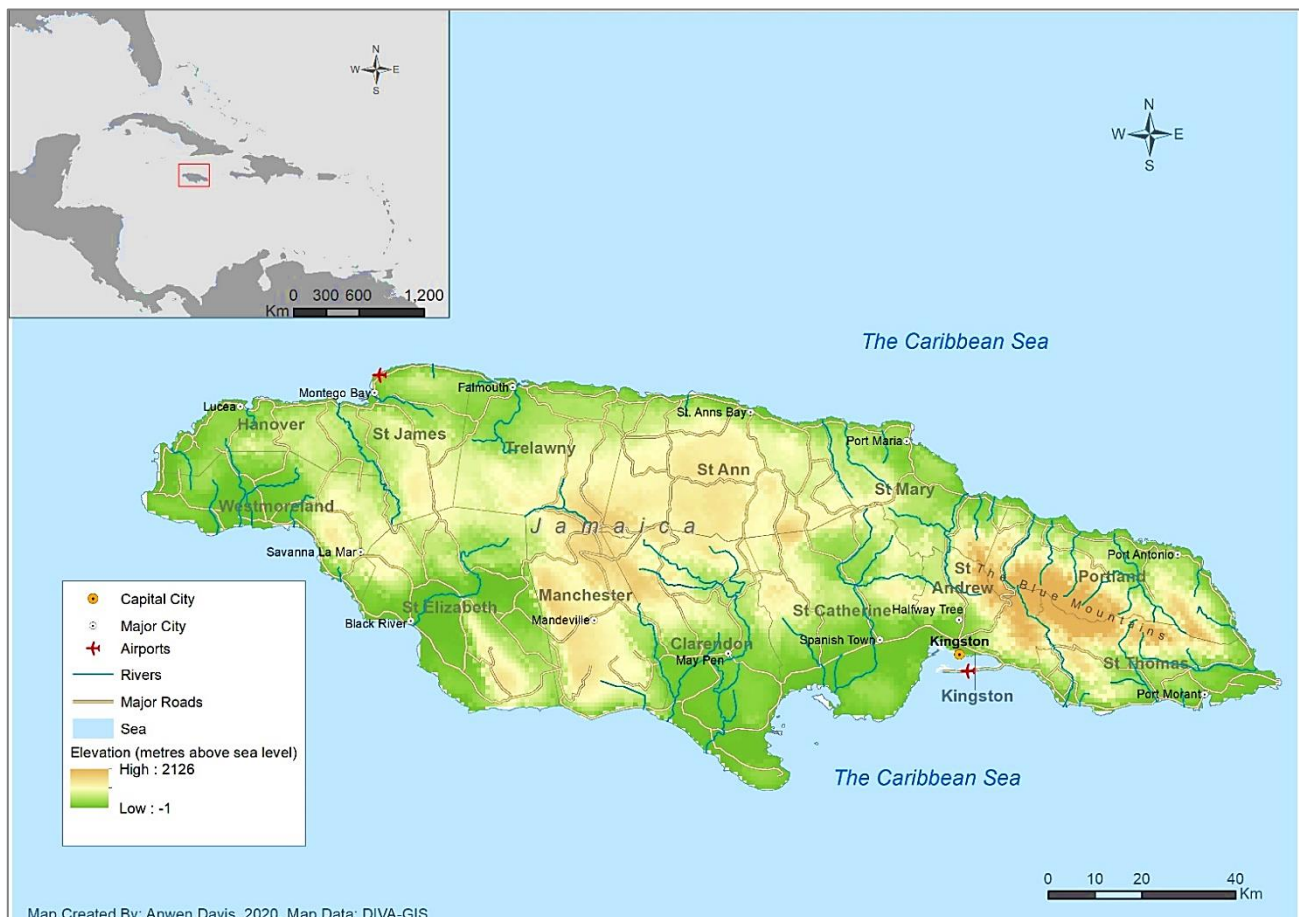
wage, low-skilled employment. Using data collected over a 3-week period in early 2020, I argue that a Marxist political economy framework proves useful in revealing and understanding the complex structures and relations at play in tourism landscapes. Capitalism is defined by 'the essential dichotomy of the two major classes': the capitalists who have control over the production and appropriation of the landscape and the labourers who must depend on the sale of their labour to the capitalists to secure their 'livelihoods' (Campling *et al,* 2016, p.1749). The two major classes are made more complex by other social relations such as gender and race, which exist separately from class relations but are, simultaneously, mutually productive of them. Moreover, although classes arise from exploitative social relations of production, they extend across an 'array' of informal and formal relations throughout societies, from education to housing to consumption practices (ibid., p.1747). Therefore, analysis of any capitalist landscape should consider class relations as a key point of departure (Bernstein, 2010), a contention which forms the grounds of my analysis. Exploitation and unequal distribution are inherent to the tourism landscape and in order to explore these structures and processes requires asking what Bernstein (2010, p.2) terms the 'key questions of political economy': who owns what, who does what, who gets what and what do they do with it?

Figure 2: A reference land-use map of the Long Bay case study area.

1.2. Thesis Structure

The following section, chapter two, will provide a review of existing debates in the geographies of tourism, landscape geographies and political economy, concluding with the research questions that emerged from the gaps in the literature. These gaps will pave the way for chapter three's justification of the conceptual framework and methods used to collect and analyse data. Chapter four will begin with a brief analysis of Jamaica's wider political economy. Then, under the headings of uneven land ownership, labouring the tourist landscape, aesthetics in the physical environment and Long Bay's tourism landscape as exclusionary, chapter four will thematically describe and analyse the data, leading into chapter five: a discussion of the results in relation to the research questions posed. The conclusion will summarise the key findings, limitations and usefulness of the framework used and suggest scope for potential research.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Landscape, Power and Aesthetics

Although it would be impossible to discuss and summarise all of the different understandings of landscape in geography and how such approaches are used, this section aims to explore the most prominent landscape traditions in the discipline, focussing on those which have helped to shape my research.

2.1.1. Landscape Traditions in Geography

In 16th century Western Europe, the word "landscape" (derived from the Germanic "*landschaft*") was political and legal in its definition, referring to a specific form of territorial and communal boundary (Olwig, 1996). However, 18th century Enlightenment art shifted the meaning of landscape, rendering it almost synonymous with "picturesque". This coincided with the emergence of geography as an academic discipline in the 19th century, with traditional regional geography being akin to "discovering" and exploring "new" territories (Domosh, 1990). Although "landscape studies" were not termed so until the 20th century, much of traditional regional geography was about describing landscapes. Central to this was the definition of landscape as the 'unit concept of geography' (Sauer, 1925, p.25), whereby each landscape differed from the next and the role of geographers was to divide the world into specific landscapes and describe them in terms of their physical, social and cultural characteristics (Hartshorne, 1939).

Contemporary landscape geography has diverged significantly. Aiming to summarise current debates, Wiley (2007) conceptualises landscape through a series of overlapping tensions. The first tension, proximity/distance, draws attention to the contradiction of landscape which situates 'detached spectators' as objectively observing the world (ibid., p.3). The viewer is given command over the landscape, yet who has the authority to command and observe is imbued in unequal power relations (Tolia-Kelly, 2007). Linked to this is the second tension of observation/inhabitation which describes the tendency in traditional geography to make observations whilst in the field. The 1970s saw a move away from this idea of what it meant to *do* geography, focussing instead on the cultural practices and values of landscapes from the perspective of the landscape's inhabitants (Wiley, 2007). Following this is the eye/land tension which highlights the paradox of landscapes as tangible, material entities that exist 'out there' (Duncan, 1995, p.414), but are also 'found in the eye of the beholder' (Wiley, 2007, p.6-7). Thus, landscapes are the material production of our own socio-politically embedded practices which shape how we see them (Mitchell, 2003a). The meaning-materiality binary ascribed to landscape is highly debated in geography; some (e.g. Marxists) adopt

an 'explicitly materialist' focus whilst, on the other side of the spectrum, others (e.g. non-representationalists) argue that meaning takes precedence because the material landscape is passive without imagined meanings which enable the material performance (Wiley, 2007, p.98). This is suggestive of the fourth tension, culture/nature, which denotes the ongoing debates surrounding the materiality and social construction of "nature" and the call by several geographers to 'abandon the dualism' (Cronon, 1996, p.24), instead acknowledging that they are mutually productive of one another.

Adopting a Marxist approach, Mitchell (2003b) describes landscape as having three use values. Landscape is an instrument of production since it is where commodities are produced. Secondly, landscape is an instrument of consumption because it makes labour possible through the reproduction of daily life. Finally, landscape has use value by way of exchange since it enables the circulation of capital, labour and commodities, as well as itself as a product for exchange. Neumann (2011) emphasises that, despite the different use values, it is important to note that landscapes are sites of production *and* consumption simultaneously. Thus, fundamental to capitalist landscapes are the '*conditions* under which labor power is applied' (Mitchell, 2003b, p.236). Using the example of strawberry farms in California, Mitchell (ibid., p.236) explores how landscapes obscure and absorb 'living labor', transforming it into a material, tangible commodity: 'dead labor'. Hence, landscapes play a key role in the establishment of 'living labor' conditions and these conditions simultaneously reproduce the landscape. Moreover, the (re)production of landscape occurs on a number of scales, including in relation to other landscapes, making it impossible to understand them in isolation (Mitchell, 2002; 2003a). It is through this dialectic relationship that landscapes are in a constant flux of being produced and so never reach a final stage of completion (Wiley, 2007).

2.1.2. Landscape as Power

A key assertion in landscape geography is that landscapes are simultaneously submersed in power relations, but also reproducers of hegemonic social structures. Feminists have critiqued the gendering of landscapes and the objectivity of landscape studies – a traditionally male-dominated discipline – due to the 'masculine gaze' of the observers and their analysis (Rose, 1993, p.110). Issues of 'voyeurism' have been emphasised by feminists who argue that observers of the landscape objectify the subject of their gaze (Wiley, 2007, p.88). Moreover, linked to nature-culture and feminine-masculine binaries, associations between landscape and "nature" have resulted in landscapes often being feminised in their descriptions (Rose, 1993). Similarly, post-colonialists have critiqued the 'imperial gaze' of landscape studies (Wiley, 2007, p.126), particularly the colonial narratives which frame "culture" as modernity and "nature" as pre-modern (Neumann, 2011).

Consequently, landscape has a significant role in the exotification and appropriation of the subaltern "Other" (Duncan, 1995), highlighting the hegemonic power relations that are engrained in and reproductive of landscapes.

These debates in cultural geography emphasise that ways of looking at the world are laden with our own cultural perspectives (Wiley, 2007). However, critics contend that such arguments fixate too much on the visual aspects and representation of landscape – a useful element but only one piece of the puzzle (Mitchell, 2002). Instead, considering landscape as a veil or 'smokescreen concealing the underlying truth of material conditions' addresses questions surrounding what cannot be seen and/or what is hidden from the visual landscape (Wiley, 2007, p.67). Landscape as a veil is a common methodology with Marxist analyses since it focusses on the social relations that shape and are shaped by the landscape both physically and materially (Mitchell, 2003a). Hence, the metaphor of landscape as a veil questions what is being obscured and what the 'texture' of the veil is (Wiley, 2007, p.70).

2.1.3. Landscape Aestheticization

In geography, there has been a general tendency to avoid engagement with landscape aesthetics which Benediktsson (2007, p.209) ascribes to the complexity of nature-culture debates which have resulted in a 'scenophobia'. However, using the example of the (unsuccessful) resistance against a mega hydropower development project in Iceland, he explores the aesthetic values of landscape, arguing that the visual is important and inherently political, so should be of interest to geographers. Aestheticization is the process of enhancing something's visual qualities, typically through conservation and privatisation, however it can simply be through the physical 'grooming' of places (Walks, 2006, p.472). Urry (1992) identifies three types of conservation that are linked to preserving and maximising the use value of a landscape: aesthetic conservation (conserving aspects of the environment that adhere to ideas of beauty values, often associated with "wilderness"), scientific conservation (preserving endangered landscapes based on hegemonic beliefs of what is "worth" saving and what counts as indigenous to the specific landscape) and cultural conservation (protecting communities of people, artefacts or historical sites from external intervention). Regardless of the practice, once a 'particular landscape vision' has been ascribed value, its upkeep is maintained so that it does not lose its aesthetic qualities (Boulton, 2011, p.224).

Although aestheticization appears to be an innocent process which does not intentionally (re)produce inequalities and exclusions, the notion of "choice" is associated with taste and consumption practices which are embedded in social relations (Walks, 2006). Through processes such as privatisation, zoning and development limitations, unequal social relations are reproduced

by excluding those who do not belong, often under the guise of aesthetic preservation (Walks, 2006). Through terms such as 'exclusive' or conservation rather than the more negatively connotated 'exclusionary', private property developments can obtain higher prices, directly excluding certain groups based on access to financial resources (Duncan and Duncan, 2001, p.390). Pow (2009) uses the example of Shanghai's Vanke Garden City to explore how gated communities and neighbourhoods are designed to create aesthetic living environments for those living within the enclaves. The process is inherently exclusionary due to the dialectic relationship between the aestheticization projects of the community and class identity: Vanke Garden City is designed for the "tastes" of the middle-classes but, because a key indicator of class in Shanghai is address, the residential complexes simultaneously reproduce class structures (ibid., 2009). Duncan (1973) similarly found that the spatial differences and relative wealth of neighbourhoods in Bedford, New York, which were originally implemented to conserve the rural aesthetics of the town, have resulted in the reproduction of class identities through the segregation of schools that children attend, the social clubs individuals are members of, and even religious practices. Hence, the process of aestheticization is inextricably linked to the material landscape, resulting in the reproduction and reassertion of social structures and hierarchies.

2.2. The Geographies of Tourism

The geography of tourism emerged in the post-war era as geographers began to give attention to tourism and leisure activities (Hall and Page, 2012). Simply defined, tourism is 'a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes' (UNWTO, 2020). This definition is critiqued for its simplicity since it does not differentiate between the various practices of tourism, the social distinctions between those who partake in these activities, nor does it consider the relationships between tourists and the places and people that comprise their experience (Crang, 2009, p.763). By way of critique, common themes explored by tourism geographers include those related to patterns of travel flow, land use, planning and development of tourist locations, and the impacts of tourist activity, particularly in the global South (Britton, 1991). Thus, due to the complex nature of tourism and the extensive theories, ideas and tools used to analyse phenomena, the discipline has become increasingly called the geograph*ies* of tourism to emphasise the connectivity and multidisciplinary nature of the subject (Hall and Page, 2012). Despite this, the geographies of tourism remain a less well-known, unfashionable branch of geography, often considered a 'sub-community' (Hall, 2013, p.28). The following section will outline some of the key themes and

debates that exist in the discipline, highlighting gaps in the literature that have helped to formulate and structure my own research.

2.2.1. Images and Place

Much of the geographies of tourism has been dedicated to considering the practice of tourism through a discursive, idealist lens (Crang, 2009, p.764). Tourism is essentially the practice of *tour*ing and escaping to locations that differ from one's everyday experiences. Thus, tourism is inherently based on 'the imagination of places that are elsewhere' (Knudsen *et al*, 2012, p.201). Since the 1960s, geographers have explored ideas of place image and reality and the effects these have. Tourism has been placed under the microscope for examination of differences between projected images and depictions of places 'as unreal' often in ways which 'demeans their inhabitants' (Britton, 1979, p.319). Drawing on this, Urry (1990, p.34) analyses the tourist 'gaze' as a socially constructed way of looking at landscapes, linked to fantasy and anticipation that are often materialised in the landscape based on notions of 'staged authenticity'. In the global South, much of this imagery is based on colonial projections that do not correlate with the image that states would like to project of their nations. For example, the exotification of the global South typically focusses on the physical environment, projecting ideas that such landscapes are unspoiled and undeveloped, as opposed to inhabited (Britton, 1979).

Technological advancements in travel have increased the scale and diversity of tourism destinations to varying effects, thus forming a growing area of research in the geographies of tourism (Momsen, 2005). For example, the 'conflict of interest' between the preservation of 'scenery' and the desire to experience it inherently results in the reduced longevity of such destinations due to the physical degradation of attributes that initially shaped the landscape as a site of tourism consumption (Urry, 1990, p.28). Tourism, therefore, cannot be considered independently from the environment but, as important is the acknowledgement that these landscapes have purposes beyond just as elements of the tourist gaze, namely as a site of economic activity (Urry, 1992).

2.2.2. The Political Economy of Tourism

Political economy examines the organisation, production and distribution of capital and the state and regulatory actors involved in these processes (Williams, 2004). However, a variety of critical perspectives can be adopted to explore these themes and relationships (Hall, 2013). Tourism landscapes – like all landscapes – are lived spaces that are a product of their social relational forms and, therefore, are more than just the attractions which draw in the tourists (Cartier, 2005). Landscapes are intrinsically linked to international regulatory frameworks, as well as national and

local government policy and intervention which shape and create the institutions, customs and habits of the landscape (Williams, 2004). Thus, tourism landscapes cannot be considered external to their history and socio-cultural contexts (Terkenli, 2004), emphasising that exploring the production system provides a useful analytical approach to understanding the landscape (Knudsen *et al*, 2012). Despite this, such approaches are not widely adopted in tourism studies, with the most prominent existing examples being that of dependency theory in tourism (Williams, 2004).

The tourism industry is one of the largest industries in the world so, consequently, has multi-scalar impacts (Smith, 2005). However, the complexity of tourism and its relationship with other industries has created debates within the geographies of tourism as to whether it can be thought of as a production system (Gibson, 2009). Productive labour is that which produces commodities as its outcome, whilst non-productive labour has different – often less tangible – outcomes such as the distribution of goods, services and capital which renders the latter 'a form of social consumption' rather than production (Shaikh, 2016, p.128). Therefore, many Marxist researchers argue that tourism operates differently to production systems since capital is extracted from the surplus to be further disseminated and increased in value, rather than producing a tangible commodity; thus, it is argued that Marxist frameworks and terminologies must be redefined (although not many authors have attempted to take on this challenge) in order to conceptualise tourism through a Marxist lens (Gibson, 2009). Regardless, tourism involves both productive *and* non-productive activities (Shaikh, 2016), so Gibson (2009, p.529) describes it as a 'hybrid economic formation' rather than a 'production system'.

Despite these debates, there have been attempts to theorise and explore the tourism industry as a production system. Most notably, Britton (1991, p.452) aims to conceptualise a 'more rigorous core of theory' in relation to capitalist accumulation and the production and supply of tourism. He argues that tourism is an 'amalgam of industries' which includes a plethora of activities which allow for the production and selling of tourism via, for example, the selling of attractions and experiences as well as the agencies who regulate the production process (ibid, p.456). Adopting this view of tourism landscapes depicts them as systems which are organised and characterised to accumulate capital, appropriate wealth and extract surplus from labour. Underlying this is the social division of labour, which (re)produces unequal power relations and exploitation in order to maximise profits through task and wage differentiation (Williams, 2004). This demonstrates the social and structural embeddedness of such systems which are reproduced along existing inequalities of class, race and gender (Gibson, 2009).

The tourism industry is increasingly owned and run by large multinational corporations with stakes in a variety of other industries such as real estate, finance and telecommunications (Gibson, 2009). Appropriation in the tourism industry generally occurs in two ways: through the ownership and privatisation of land that contains an attraction or, if purchasing is not possible, by appropriating land in close spatial proximity to the main attraction and creating a tourist experience to capitalise on it, such as building a hotel or developing a tour (Britton, 1991). Williams (2004) details the tourism commodification process further by segmenting it into four categories: direct commodification (privatising and charging fees for access), indirect commodification (services which support direct commodification but are technically accessible to all e.g. restaurants, babysitting, cleaning services), part-commodification (commodified products that would be consumed in everyday practices e.g. self-catering, driving one's own car) and non-commodification (activities such as hiking in a non-privatised park). Most landscapes are sites of all four simultaneously, but some weigh more heavily than others across certain spaces and times (Williams, 2004).

Inherent to tourism landscapes is the unequal distribution of resources and the resulting inequalities (d'Hauteserre, 2004). The relationship between tourism and poverty ("pro-poor tourism") is a central theme in the geographies of tourism, but a more critical approach has been adopted since the 1980s which analyses the disadvantageous nature of international tourism on local communities (Hall and Page, 2012, p.19). "Pro-poor tourism" analyses argue, for example, that the industry presents a preferable form of employment for locals – particularly in the global South – compared to existing economies such as agriculture and manufacturing (Momsen, 2005). Authors have also sought to emphasise the benefits that tourism can bring to landscapes by establishing infrastructure and amenities for tourists (e.g. transport, food and drink, entertainment) which may actually enhance locals' standards of living (Urry, 1990; Crang, 2009). Contrastingly, Dodman (2009) exemplifies a more critical analysis of tourism landscapes, arguing that, although tourism has contributed to national economic development and overall poverty alleviation in Jamaica, benefits are unevenly distributed which has, in fact, augmented inequality.

It is also important to consider the nature of tourism and holidaying as a central part of production systems – particularly in the global North – and thus an inherent element of capitalist societies (Williams, 2004). Capitalist societies are based on selling labour, so leisure activities become an escape from the 'demands and drudgery of everyday routines' – now considered a right of citizenship in wealthy nations (Britton, 1991, p.453). There is an illusion of choice associated with how individuals spend their non-labour time, but social relations are ever-present here, too, segregating leisure activities and tourism. Kingsbury (2005, p.114) explores the idea of 'enjoyment' as necessary to tourism, yet not as 'innocent' a practice as it seems since it is embedded in

exploitation and exclusion; who has the available time and resources to partake and enjoy tourism is shaped by social relations of production (Williams, 2004).

2.2.3. Feminist Critiques in the Geographies of Tourism

Gender remains an undeveloped aspect of the geographies of tourism – a key oversight since tourism is so global in its extent, affecting communities across the world (Pritchard, 2018). A key feminist critique has been to highlight and challenge the construction and imaging of tourism landscapes as being embedded in the "male gaze" (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000a). For example, there is a significant body of work which explores ideas surrounding the femininisation and sexualisation of landscapes in the global South, while tourism in the global North is often marketed as a 'masculine adventure' (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000a, p.894). Furthermore, several authors discuss prostitution, the host-guest relationship and the provocative marketing techniques used to frame local women – although male prostitution is increasing in tourism landscapes globally – as objects of sexual desire (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000b; Momsen, 2005).

Within the framework of political economy, feminist critiques have sought to reveal gendered social relations of production. Studies have highlighted the centrality of social reproductive gender roles in capitalist production systems and the inequalities these create, namely that women conduct the majority of unpaid labour which supports men's paid labour activities (Costa *et al*, 2017). Tourism is a major provider of wage-income, particularly in the global South, despite it usually being exploitative, lowly-paid, deskilled and insecure work (Gibson, 2009). Women make up the majority of tourism employees which exemplifies the gendered social division of wage-labour. That women disproportionately fill these roles further cements their positions as lower paid, unskilled earners, thus reproducing unequal gendered relations of production both in the workplace and domestic realm (Costa *et al*, 2017). Costa *et al*'s (2017) article examines the notion of an "ideal worker" in the tourism industry, concluding that gender role stereotypes are (unintentionally) adopted in recruitment processes that situate the ideal worker as masculine. Accordingly, women are required to demonstrate skills and commitment that would not be required of men which, in turn, leaves many female employees feeling like they have a poorer work-life balance compared to their male counterparts. Moreover, gender stereotypes are reproduced by employers when hiring candidates and designating roles; women are allocated to domestic roles whilst men are disproportionately hired in managerial positions (Williams, 2004). Thus, there is a foundation of feminist literature in the geographies of tourism relating to the social relations of production, but there is much scope to build on this.

2.3. Gaps in the Literature and Research Questions

Despite the breadth of discussions surrounding landscape in geography, little of this has traversed to the geographies of tourism. Of the articles and books within the geographies of tourism that acknowledge the importance of landscape as an analytical tool and framework, the dominant approach tends towards discursive analyses regarding the visual and ideological characteristics of places, rather than the contextualised social relations of production that produce the landscape (Terkenli, 2004). This latter approach is typically associated with political ecology and cultural Marxist studies which explore the dialectic relationships between landscape and economic production systems (Wiley, 2007). Although materialist frameworks prevailed in the 1970s and 1980s, they were not widely adopted in the geographies of tourism and were quickly superseded by postmodern analytical approaches which acknowledge the 'contexts of transformation' rather than placing landscapes *in* the overall context of transformation (Terkenli, 2004, p.345). Currently, studies which do explore production in tourism landscapes typically focus solely on labour rather than the entire production system (Williams, 2004). However, the 'fruitfulness of a totalizing approach' is that it 'can embrace all the moments of the social process, even while they are in tension one with another' (Cox, 2016, p.10). I aim to bridge this gap by placing production 'at the centre' of Long Bay's tourism landscape through the following sub-question (ibid., p.14):

1. **In what ways do the social relations of production materialise in and through Long Bay's tourism landscape?**

Moreover, despite the increasing volume of feminist literature in geography which critiques the masculine "gaze" of landscape studies (Rose, 1993), gendered marketing in tourism (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000a) and gender divisions of labour in the tourism industry (Costa *et al,* 2017), there remain several areas for exploration. I aim to build on this body of work by not only exploring gender divisions in labour processes, but also in the reproduction of daily life – the latter being a central but relatively neglected aspect of the social relations of production. Thus, the second research question emerges as:

2. **To what extent is the gendered division of labour present in the social reproduction of daily life in Long Bay?**

Discursive analysis on the ideas and images of places in tourism landscapes is well-covered in the geographies of tourism. The turn towards a "new cultural geography" in recent decades has, therefore, side-lined more materialist analytical perspectives of the aesthetic physical characteristics of landscapes in favour of discursive "non-representational theory" (Neumann, 2011). However, a

materialist analysis of aesthetics can be useful to understand the role of physical features, particularly since aesthetics are central to the production of tourism landscapes. So, the third sub-question builds on the first two, aiming to explore the exclusionary nature of tourism landscapes, including the material impacts of aestheticization practices.

3. **To what extent and in what ways does exclusion occur in Long Bay's tourism landscape?**

3. Conceptual Framework and Methods

3.1. Framework

The following section outlines the conceptual framework I will be using to answer the aforementioned research questions which seek to explore the tourism landscape and political economy of Long Bay using landscape as an analytical tool. I draw largely upon the works of Mitchell (2008), Duncan and Duncan (2001), Harvey (2010) and Bernstein (2010). Each author presents a different, yet overlapping, way to examine landscapes, typically adopting a Marxist political economy perspective and interpretation of the capitalist mode of production. I will begin by summarising each approach, before providing a brief description of how I apply them in the context of my case study.

The "social relations of production" is a recurring term across Marxist political economy and is a central component of all the frameworks that I draw upon. Walker (1985, p.169) defines it as 'the social conditions under which the human labour of transforming nature to support the populace is undertaken'. In other words, the social relations of production refer to the possession/ownership over the means of production, control over labour processes and the way in which surplus labour is extracted, based on exploitative relationships between labourers and capitalists. Although tourism is not a production system in the traditional sense that Marx wrote about, the social relations of production and reproduction are transferable to other capitalist systems, like tourism.

Grounded in the context of the Californian agricultural landscape, Mitchell (2008, p.47) argues that landscape is 'a concretization of social relations'. He situates social relations within a broader context and theory of capital circulation by providing 'a historical and materialist methodological foundation' to explore what landscape is, does and might be (ibid., p.34). Mitchell draws upon Lewis (1979), suggesting six axioms for consideration as a methodological approach to "reading" the landscape: landscape is produced; landscape is or was functional; no landscape is local; history does matter; landscape is power; landscape is the spatial form that social justice takes. Using this framework helps to 'raise important questions' about the landscape and explore why it looks the way it does (Mitchell, 2008, p.47).

Duncan and Duncan (2001) go further in exploring the connection between social relations and the physical landscape, presenting an analytical approach with a focus on how the aestheticization and preservation of certain aspects of the physical landscape are exclusionary and reproductive of social relations. In this sense, the approach helps to raise questions surrounding the physical environment

and respond to the critique that contemporary capitalist landscapes should 'grant the aesthetic its due' (Pow, 2009, p.387).

Considerably more technical in his terminology, Harvey (2010, p.123) seeks to examine the organisation, production and distribution of capital by outlining the 'evolutionary trajectory of capitalism'. Derived from Karl Marx's scattered musings on his mode of analysis, Harvey describes how capital must revolve through and between the following seven activity spheres in order to find and maximise profit: technological and organisational forms; social relations; production systems and labour processes; institutional and administrative structures; relations to nature; reproduction of daily life; mental conceptions of the world. '[C]apitalism cannot be reduced […] to questions of capital accumulation' since capitalist societies across space and time are defined 'in terms of how these seven spheres are organised and configured in relation to each other' (Harvey, 2010, p.121, 124). Importantly, capitalism did not create the spheres, but has exploited and manipulated them to 'produce a geographical landscape favourable to its own reproduction and subsequent evolution' (Harvey, 2014, p.146). Whilst each sphere does evolve 'on its own account', it is simultaneously dependent on and influenced by the other six, so that no single sphere dominates in any landscape (Harvey, 2010, p.123). Therefore, the activity spheres contribute to understanding how capital moves through the landscape, enabling one to question and decipher the relations inherent to capitalist societies. To concretise this somewhat abstract framework, I will describe some aspects of Long Bay's tourism landscape in relation to these spheres. As 'we can start anywhere and everywhere as long as we do not stay where we start from' (ibid., p.138), I will begin with the "technological and organisational forms" sphere, working dialectically across and between the – often overlapping – others.

Tourism in Long Bay is made possible by technological developments which have lowered the costs of air and cruise travel, making Jamaica an accessible destination for more people worldwide. Nature and the physical environment are also central to Long Bay's production, from the marketing of the landscape and image of place that tourists seek when they visit, to the seasonal variation of tourist arrivals and the precariousness natural hazards pose to local businesses. Since tourism is the core industry in Long Bay, most locals are involved in labour activities directly linked to tourism. Compared to the labourers, land/business owners have greater material wealth and power instilled by the nature of employers determining the labour conditions of their employees, producing hierarchical social relations between workers and employers. Labour processes determine the conditions of labour and, in Long Bay, this takes the form of seasonal, lowly-paid, low-skilled work. Gendered divisions of labour emphasise the unequal social relations and labour processes, with women typically employed as housekeepers and cooks whilst men often have higher-paid roles such

as tour guides and taxi drivers. Regardless of the role, it is standard practice in Long Bay to not possess a formal contract which places labourers at risk of further exploitation by their employers. Little is done by the state to regulate this, alluding to the institutional and administrative structures in the landscape. Similarly, the state minimum wage is determined by the cost of basic survival but, in reality, is not enough, particularly if one has a family. Hence, many labourers partake in other paid labour activities to supplement their income as well as unpaid labour which is necessary for the reproduction of daily life. Unpaid labour is another highly gendered aspect of Long Bay's landscape since women conduct most domestic tasks. Once paid and domestic labour are taken into consideration, there is little time left for enjoyment as part of the reproduction of daily life. The acceptance and normalisation of the everyday struggle and "hustle" is a prominent mental conception in Long Bay. The neoliberal principles of individual liberty that stem from the wider political economy result in a normalisation of individual responsibility and entrepreneurship amongst labourers, under a "survival of the fittest" mental conception.

To reconcile Harvey's abstract methodology, Bernstein's (2010) four key questions of political economy help to operationalise the theories and frame interview questions to explore the relevant themes:

1. Who owns what?
2. Who does what?
3. Who gets what?
4. What do they do with it?

Each question refers to a specific aspect of the social relations of production and reproduction, dividing the concept into smaller areas of analysis, free of jargon. The first question explores social relations of ownership and property, whilst the second examines the social divisions of labour, how labour is extracted and who has control over the labour process. In capitalist landscapes, the "who gets what" question typically refers to the distribution of monetary income, but Bernstein (2010, p.23) emphasises that it is about the social division of the 'fruits of labour' which encompass non-monetary income such as subsistence farming. Linked to this, the fourth question considers how the social relations of production and reproduction impact and influence social relations of consumption and accumulation.

I draw predominantly upon Harvey (2010) since he emphasises more concretely the dynamic nature of capitalist landscapes and the interconnectedness of the different spheres and processes, which parallels this research since I aim to investigate the social relations of production and reproduction in Long Bay's tourism landscape. Complementarily, the physical landscape is the point of departure for Duncan and Duncan (2001) and Mitchell (2008), elements of which I aim to replicate, primarily

through discussions of the image of place, preservation of the physical environment and the exclusionary consequences of Long Bay's tourism landscape.

3.2. Data Collection Methods

To address my research questions and explore Long Bay's tourist landscape, I used a combination of qualitative and quantitative data. Adopting a multi-method approach proved useful to investigate 'different levels of explanation', whilst also allowing opportunity for the research to inform and reshape my questions (Sporton, 1999, p.73). Interviews formed most of the primary data and were used to complement secondary data sources. Despite progresses made by critical GIS which emphasise the compatibility of 'unconventional spatial data' (e.g. interviews, photographs and emotions) being visualised and analysed using GIS, the uptake has not been as great as advocates had once hoped (Pavlovskaya, 2009, p.24). In this study, I make use of critical GIS as a valuable tool for data collection, presentation and analysis to explore Long Bay's tourism landscape. However, research is 'not just a product' but a process which can be reflected upon and improved (England, 1994, p.82), so this section will also discuss my positionality and processes I took to avoid unethical situations and outcomes.

3.2.1. Interviews

I conducted 29 semi-structured interviews with 32 participants, with an average duration of 19 minutes. Rather than a representative sample of the general population, I sought an 'illustrative sample' of participants linked to the research themes and questions (Valentine, 2013, p.112). Aside from the condition that all participants had to be over 18, I was keen to speak with a range of individuals, situated differently in the social relations of production and reproduction (see Appendix). Before going out in the field, I devised a breakdown of the different stakeholders I wanted to interview, justifying each category and how they related to my research, as well as deciding a suitable, yet realistic, target number of participants for each group (Table 1).

Table 1: The target and achieved number of interviews conducted per stakeholder group.

Stakeholder	Target Number	Achieved Number
Government/Municipality Offical	2	5
Business owner in Tourist Industry (e.g. hoteliers)	3	3
Labourers employed in Tourism	10	11
Labourers employed in Other Industry	10	6
Tourists	6	6
Other: Real Estate Agent	0	1
Total	31	32

Although I predominantly used opportunistic sampling when seeking labourers and tourists to interview, it was necessary to plan ahead and make contact with government officials, hoteliers and real estate agents prior to arriving in Jamaica. I was fortunate enough to recruit a family-friend who works for the national government, enabling me to use snowballing to be introduced to relevant individuals. I also researched hoteliers in the study location and sent out emails – akin to cold-calling – allowing me to arrange meetings in advance. Since I was relying on opportunistic sampling for labourers, I sought to maximise the variety of individuals I would encounter by going out into the field on different days and times (Parfitt, 2013).

I chose to use semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with open and close-ended questions as I aimed to collect a combination of objective and subjective information regarding the interviewees' experiences. Thus, the more organic, conversational form of interviews was selected as opposed to questionnaires which are typically quite standardised and, therefore, limiting in terms of how participants can respond; I wanted to encourage 'rich, detail[ed] and multi-layered' conversations in which participants could discuss themes and issues that I had potentially not considered (Valentine, 2013, p.111). Moreover, face-to-face interviews have the advantage of allowing for both verbal *and* non-verbal communication (de Leeuw, 2012). This was important because, at times, non-verbal communication such as laughter, pauses and gesturing revealed as much as – if not more than – the words being said.

I prepared interview scripts based on the data I wanted to collect (see Appendix), varying the scripts between stakeholders since some questions were appropriate for certain groups but not others (e.g. municipality officials were questioned on public policy, whereas labourers and tourists were not). As well as a "warm-up" where I detailed who I am, what my research consists of and participant consent, each script contained a combination of open-ended questions to provoke 'spontaneous responses' regarding experiences and close-ended to efficiently extract demographic and economic information (Parfitt, 2013, p.91). Interviews are often labelled as being useful for collecting subjective data whilst questionnaires are seen to provide more objective data (Valentine, 2013). I do not wholly agree with this as interviews proved useful for obtaining objective data which would not have been captured using a questionnaire. Information such as age is simple enough as is the number of children a participant has (although, one participant was pregnant so was able to say this). However, data regarding income proved less straight-forward, with a number of participants explaining that this varied seasonally or by the availability of work, so gave me their average or maximum income – something that was possible in an interview but perhaps not in a questionnaire.

Interviews took place at several sites such as bars, restaurants or on the beach. Fourteen (48%) of the interviews were recorded using the Voice Memo app on my smartphone, which was the preferred method as it enabled me to focus on the interview whilst providing a discreet, yet effective, mode of recording. Recording was also preferable because it captures 'all the nuances of sarcasm, humour and so on' (Valentine, 2013, p.123). Sometimes recording was not possible either because participants expressed that they would not like to be taped, or because the location was too loud and there was no quieter alternative, so detailed note-taking was used instead (Loubere, 2017).

3.2.2. GIS: Survey123

Collection of geospatial data was essential to my research project as my study area is a unique location and such data did not already exist for the variables I wanted to explore. To collect data in a format that is readily compatible with ArcMap, I chose to use ESRI's Survey123 (see Appendix). The Survey123 software is easy to use on a smartphone, thus minimising the equipment I needed. Furthermore, it requires neither cellular nor WiFi network to record data, which was useful as internet availability was sporadic when in the field (Steinberg and Steinberg, 2015).

Unlike some GPS devices which can give precise coordinates of locations (Steinberg and Steinberg, 2015), Survey123 is critiqued for not being as accurate. However, I was able to collect geospatial data accurate to ±5m which was suitable for my research. I also chose to include photos because they provide valuable representations of the geospatial environment, albeit a representation of the spaces the photos sought to capture rather than an objective perspective (Aitken and Craine, 2013). The photos in the survey acted as a visual, mnemonic device providing a reference of the landscape once I had left Jamaica.

3.2.3. Secondary Data

I used and drew upon a variety of secondary sources which were then supplemented by the primary data-collection methods. Secondary data is useful for providing high-quality contextual information from reliable sources regarding the landscape being studied (Clark, 2013). Not only does the data already exist so reduces time spent in the field, but secondary sources can often offer data at different geographical scales and covering extensive temporal periods, contributing to a deeper understanding of the landscape. For example, I used the World Bank and the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATINJa) as secondary sources for demographic and socioeconomic data. Similarly, there are several freely available, reliable GIS data sources online which I relied upon, as much of the necessary data would have been impractical to collect myself (Steinberg and Steinberg, 2015).

Although one of the key limitations of secondary data is that it is designed for the needs and requirements of the producers (Clark, 2013), it was possible to edit and customise the data to make it useful for my research project. For example, I used several real estate websites to access information on current land prices in Portland. The websites detailed asking price, lot size and showed the location on a map but this data was not available in a downloadable format, so I had to create my own data files. Having primary knowledge of the study area, therefore, helped me to assess, edit and verify the secondary sources I used. Throughout this study, I use the Jamaican dollar (JMD$) as the standard currency, sometimes converting between US dollars to enable a more coherent comparison, based on the conversion rate at the time of writing: US$1 equals JMD$138.

3.2.4. Coding Themes

'The process of developing the coding structure for your project is one that is inevitable circular, sporadic and, frankly, messy.' (Cope, 2010, p.445)

Having compiled my transcripts and notes, I coded them to evaluate and organise data in order to find and 'understand meanings in a text' (Cope, 2010, p.441). I had already initiated the coding process whilst collecting field data in order to initiate 'engagement with emergent themes' which, at times, helped shape and develop subsequent interviews (Loubere, 2017). Adopting Loubere's (2017) method of noting 'non-verbal signals, attitudes, and demeanours' proved useful for both recorded and non-recorded interviews, contributing to the codes identified from the standard verbatim transcripts. Moreover, coding also proved to be useful for highlighting themes that have been overlooked in existing literature, influencing my critiques and enabling me to formulate original ideas (Cope, 2010).

There are several ways to code and there is no standard way which works for all projects. I decided to begin by going through my notes and transcripts, highlighting relevant themes as they appeared in the data. Following this, I grouped similar themes, sentiments and events, allocating a "core" code to each group based on commonly identified themes (Crang and Cook, 2007). Each core was divided into analytical sub-categories that linked to the central code in either a complementary way or based on contrasts and differences (Figure 3). It is likely that codes will change, merge or illuminate new ideas after extensive re-reading (Cope, 2010). For this reason, I continued to look through and re-evaluate my codes to identify 'vital connections and/or glimmerings of new ideas' (Crang and Cook, 2007, p.139). This is a necessary part of the coding process as codes do not exist independently of one another but are intertwined and related (Cope, 2010). Consequently, I draw upon a combination of inductive and deductive reasoning since I started out by reviewing existing

Figure 3: The key themes that emerged from the data following coding.
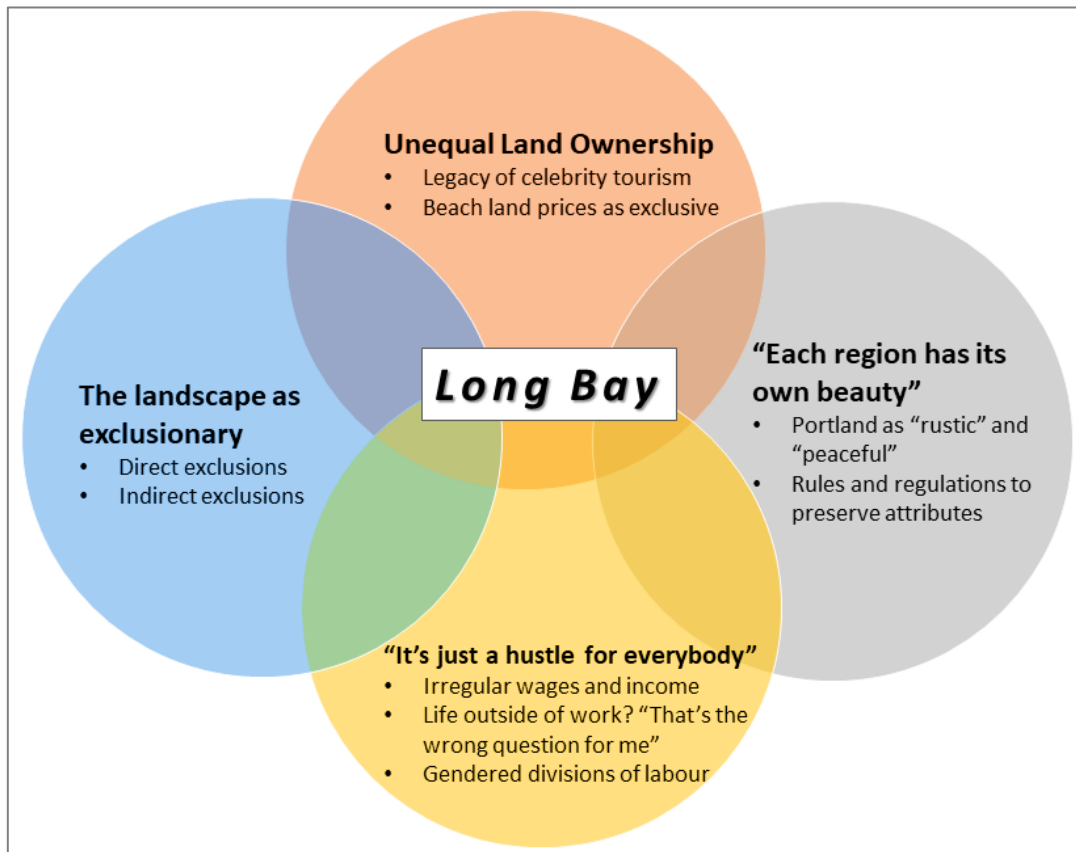
literature to identify gaps and formulate my own research questions (deductive research). However, at times, I derived a more inductive approach since I did not have preconceived hypotheses and, instead, sought to understand patterns which emerged from my data (Steinberg and Steinberg, 2015).

3.3. Positionality and Ethics

3.3.1 Positionality

Reflexivity cannot act to 'dissolve' power but it can make researchers 'more aware of asymmetrical or exploitative relationships' which have a bearing on all aspects of the research process, from data collection to interpretation to analysis (England, 1994, p.86). Being aware of and sensitive to the power relations between myself and the participants was important. As a researcher, producing a thesis from data collected from participants, I must be careful not to speak *for* the interviewees but only to 'reflect the voices of those who participated' (Bourke, 2014, p.3). Positionality exists insofar as individuals and groups are positioned in relation to one another which can take the form of either an insider or outsider perspective – or both simultaneously – based on background or socioeconomic characteristics (ibid.). I possessed both insider and outsider status which varied according to who I

was talking to; for example, I typically had greater insider status when interviewing young women compared to older men. Hence, there is a 'fluidity' to status (Kusek and Smiley, 2014, p.157).

Although the impacts of positionality are often very subtle, there were several occasions where I became aware of the bearing my positionality had on my data. For example, when asking for information regarding income, both my gender and Europeanness influenced the way questions were answered. As a woman asking, several male participants told me their income based "on a good week" or "on a busy day", perhaps in order to impress me (Kusek and Smiley, 2014) – a tendency which I did not notice with female participants. Similarly, despite knowing that I am a student and thus "poor 'cause it cost a lot to study in Europe", several participants emphasised their financial struggles, perhaps in order to be remunerated at the end of the interview.

Conversely, when interviewing government officials, the power relations were reversed and it was the interviewees who were in 'the dominant position' (Valentine, 2013, p.114). I noticed that I spoke significantly less and was required to prompt less in these interviews, perhaps because participants were used to being interviewed. Although this can result in questions being skirted around or redirected, I found that my positionality as a young woman conducting the interviews was associated with an air of unthreatening naivety, so government officials spoke more freely and informed me about "confidential projects" that perhaps they wouldn't have with a more senior male interviewer (England, 1994; Valentine, 2013).

3.3.2. Ethics

I took several steps in my data collection process to ensure that I adhered to ethical codes of conduct regarding research. Before beginning each interview, I explained my research to participants, making it clear what the data they provided would be used for so they could give consent. Highlighting the choice to partake was imperative as research can be intrusive, exploitative and sometimes detrimental to the people studied, furthering their marginalisation (England, 1994). I ensured that I asked for consent to record participants and respected their wishes if they said no or asked for certain parts of the conversation to be off-the-record. I also explained to all participants that they would maintain anonymity and, if necessary, I would refer to them only by alias.

4. Analysis

Using the conceptual framework detailed previously, this section will describe and analyse the data collected. The section will begin with a brief summary of Jamaica's wider political economy in order to contextualise Long Bay's tourism landscape. The following four sub-sections will then explore the key themes which emerged from the data (Figure 3). This will provide a detailed description of Long Bay's tourism landscape which will be further analysed and related back to the research questions in chapter five. The weighting of the analysis reflects the framework used and, since labour forms a substantial portion, the labour theme is larger than the other sub-sections.

4.1. Setting the Scene

To understand the present-day political economy of Long Bay, it is first necessary to situate the landscape in the broader Jamaican political economy and history. Jamaica was imperative to the British Empire as the third largest island in the Caribbean and Britain's primary cane-sugar producer under a slave-owning mode of production (Stinchcombe, 1995, p.6). When the slave-owning mode of production was finally abolished in 1834, Jamaica's new 'proletarian labour' (Mintz, 1985, p.69) – the newly freed slaves – continued to work on sugar plantations under similar structures and conditions as before, albeit for low wages (Bishop, 2013). In the mid-19th century, beet-sugar production overtook cane-sugar in the world economy and sugar production in the Caribbean began its irreversible decline (Mintz, 1985). Keen to find a new product, landowners in Portland parish switched their crop from sugarcane to bananas, a feat made possible by the region's fertile soil and high rainfall. Moreover, the two harbours at Port Antonio, Portland's capital city, enabled the bananas to be exported directly from the region. So, by the early decades of the 20th century, the banana industry drew in swathes of labourers from across Jamaica to Portland to work as truck drivers, dock workers and on plantations (Isaac *et al*, 2012). Following the success of the banana trade, Port Antonio experienced a short economic boom which provided significant wealth to the parish. However, the banana boom did not last very long due to disease and hurricanes damaging the crops, as well as disruptions to the shipping trade caused by World War I which meant that, by the 1920s, many banana plantations were discontinued with plantation owners renting and selling land to labourers who continued to produce bananas on a smaller scale (Isaac *et al, 2012*). Although bananas and sugarcane continue to remain a significant part of Jamaica's exports, post-1945 saw their share decrease as Jamaica experienced a period of rapid economic growth, not through the agricultural sector but driven by bauxite mining and, to a lesser extent, tourism (Lundy, 1999).

As it transitioned to independence in 1962, this economic growth did not, however, rid Jamaica of its colonial legacy which had rendered Caribbean economies 'specialists in production of primary products', beholden to raw material price oscillation and 'vulnerable to economic fluctuations' in the developed economies with which they traded (Bullock, 1986, p.138). The oil crisis in 1973 and consequent global recession impacted Jamaica greatly through a plummet in exports and the increased prices of imports (Brown, 1981). Consequently, the government sought financing from multilateral sources – namely the IMF, World Bank and Inter-American Bank. Such loans came with strict IMF conditionalities that removed tariffs, devalued the Jamaican dollar, curtailed government expenditure, controlled wage increases and eliminated food and agricultural subsidies. Unemployment peaked at 27.9% in 1980, resulting in major political unrest and civic violence, sparking a decrease in tourism and further economic decline (Bullock, 1986). Between 1981 and 1984, global bauxite demand decreased and Jamaica's bauxite export levels fell by more than 35% (Lundy, 1999), increasing the nation's reliance on multilateral sources of aid. To rub salt in the wound, in 1993 the Common Market Organisation (CMO) for bananas was established and the banana trade privileges Jamaica had with Britain were ended; instead, "dollar bananas" from Latin America flooded the global market at roughly half the price of the Commonwealth island bananas and of a more consistent quality (Isaac *et al*, 2012, p.109), rendering many Jamaican banana farmers obsolete.

Still suffering from the economic downturn of the latter half of the 20th century, the 2008 financial crisis brought Jamaica to the brink of an 'economic meltdown' and multilateral aid was sought again (IMF, 2019a). Thus, the 2013 Extended Fund Facility and 2016 Stand-By Arrangement were established. In its sixth and final review in November 2019, Jamaica's performance was rated "excellent" (IMF, 2019b). Through strict cuts to government expenditure on investment and welfare, public debt had fallen to below 100% of GDP for the first time since 2001 (IMF, 2019a). '[R]obust tourist arrivals' were central to growth and falling unemployment and this trajectory is sought to continue by 'extending linkages with [the] tourism industry' in rural areas (IMF, 2019b). Accordingly, the national government have situated Portland as the primary focus of future tourism development in order to realise the parish's potential as a high-end tourist destination. Already a popular location in Portland for visitors seeking a rural, off-the-beaten-track experience, the 1.5km beach settlement of Long Bay will likely be impacted by these development plans.

4.2. Unequal Land Ownership

4.2.1. The Legacy of Celebrity Tourism: "Portland – but that's for a different type of persons"

Portland is said to have become the 'playground of the rich and the glamorous' after Australian-American Hollywood star, Errol Flynn, first docked his yacht in Jamaica in 1942 and bought large swathes of land along Portland's coast (Manzoor, 2010). Although Flynn's plans to develop his own tourist resort did not materialise, other developers and hoteliers began to monopolise on Portland's newfound attractiveness in the 1960s, establishing luxury resorts such as the first completely all-inclusive hotel, *Frenchman's Cove*, which has hosted an array of celebrities, royals and wealthy business tycoons over the decades (Frenchman's Cove, 2020).

Whilst conducting my research and travelling between Port Antonio and Long Bay, I was regaled with stories about Daniel Craig's favourite jerk chicken take-out when filming the latest *James Bond* movie and the parties hosted by Sean Paul and Rihanna in their luxury apartment complexes. Whether such tales are true or not, the materialisation of this celebrity legacy in the landscape is apparent through the physical presence of the ostentatious and somewhat garish hotels built in the late 20th century, as well as in the naming of Port Antonio's marina, *Errol Flynn Marina,* to commemorate the movie star's contribution to Portland's tourism industry (Errol Flynn Marina, 2020). More subtly, luxury all-inclusive resorts and expensive holiday homes in Portland's rural locations, notably along the coast, transform the landscape into an 'elite' one (Müller, 2004, p.393), both materially and in the collective imagination. Hence, the notion persists today that Portland, as described by a real estate agent, is "for a different type of persons": individuals seeking a luxury experience.

Long Bay has a less glamorous background than other locations in Portland since it was not a well-known popular destination for a plethora of celebrity visitors. A Long Bay hotelier described Portland as "always known as a place for the rich and famous", but said that Long Bay, specifically, did not have this association and, instead, used to attract a "mature group of tourists". It is possible to see the remnants of the two hotels in Long Bay that were successful in the 1970s and popular amongst "mature groups" but, which have since gone out of business and become "run down"; one is now just a plot of empty land with a few small concrete protrusions indicating past foundations, whilst the other is a partially destroyed building surrounded by a high concrete wall. Today, some areas in Portland continue to attract tourists seeking an all-inclusive, luxury experience, but several residents described the type of tourists who visit Long Bay as "backpackers" and "younger people" which has "geared [the tourism industry] towards a different kind of taste which the millennials seem to have acquired".

4.2.2. The Price of Beach Real Estate: "Anything with beach becomes *really* expensive"

Tourism in the Caribbean is centred around 'sun, sand and sea' (Kingsbury, 2005). This is no different in Portland where, apart from Reach Falls and the Rio Grande River Rafting experience, most tourism-related activities take place along the coast. In an interview with the country manager of an inter-Caribbean tourism company, she described the phenomenon as an "international situation" whereby "any land on the beach is more expensive [because] everybody wants to just walk outside and be on the beach for miles." Figure 4 shows the spatial distribution of 37 real estate listings in Portland parish, illustrating that the more expensive land was located in coastal areas. The mean land price was JMD$346/ft² and further spatial analysis showed that, of the 13 plots located less than 500m from the coast, 9 were priced above the mean, with the minimum price at JMD$149/ft² and the maximum JMD$1,263/ft². When this was narrowed to 100m from the coast, 7 of the 8 plots were priced above the mean and the range was JMD$247 – 1,263/ft². This demonstrates that beach land is priced more highly in Portland than other plots, supporting the declaration that "anything with beach becomes *really* expensive".

Figure 4: Land price in Jamaican dollars per square foot for undeveloped plots in Portland that were listed in February 2020.
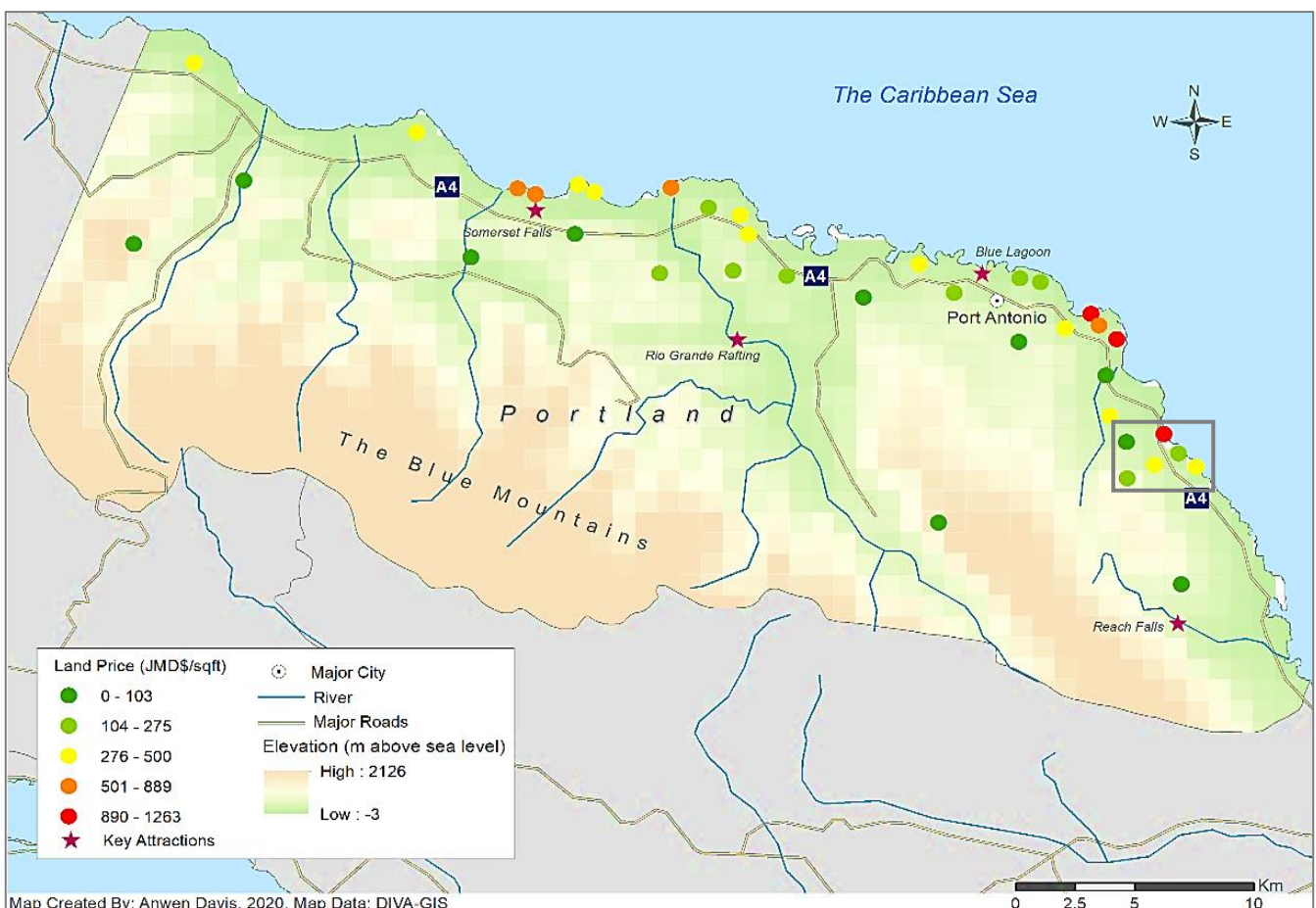
Focussing more specifically on Long Bay (framed in Figure 4), there were 6 listed plots of land in the area for sale, with a mean average land price of JMD$11,383,000. Since most labourers in Long Bay earn the national minimum wage of JMD$7,000 per week, totalling JMD$364,000 per annum, it raises the question as to who can afford to purchase land. Although it is not common in Long Bay to find second homeownership for personal use, there are several properties which have been purchased by individuals to rent to tourists. Short-term rental prices often reflect trends in the real estate industry and the wider global economy (Gotham, 2005), thus are heavily influenced by what tourists are willing to pay rather than locals. The average price per night quoted by Airbnb for a stay in February 2020 was JMD$10,000, with JMD$4,000 at the lower end and an upper bound of JMD$24,000. These prices greatly exceed labourers' wages (JMD$4,000 per night is more than half of the weekly minimum wage), demonstrating that it is more profitable for landowners to rent their properties to tourists, as long as there is regular enough demand. The inflated prices of land pose the question of who benefits from the expensive – relative to the material wealth of labourers – short-term rentals. 'Anyone can list' their home on Airbnb (Wachsmuth and Weisler, 2018, p.1153), but hosts must either have available space to rent or the financial means to purchase a second property. One woman has "places that I rent out" in her house but explained that she has this space available because her children no longer live at home. Although there are several others who rent rooms to tourists, there is a differentiation between those who own the desirable beachfront properties which obtain prices in the upper bounds of the range and those who have cheaper rentals. This decreased availability and affordability of long-term rentals, combined with the unlikelihood of a local being able to afford to buy ever-more expensive land, highlights and reproduces the inequality of land ownership in Long Bay; as put by one labourer, "money begets money".

In addition to accommodation services, Long Bay has eight independent restaurants and bars, with the more expensive places geared towards tourists located to the south of the beach. With the exception of one couple who have a small beachfront restaurant/bar and own the land because they "got it from family", much of the land to the south of the beach is owned by one man, a German national who has been living in Jamaica for over 20 years and who rents to local businessowners. He also owns two beachfront villas which are rented to tourists. This resonates with Wachsmuth and Weisler's (2018, p.1150) argument that 'professional landlords' account for the majority of profits from Airbnb and similar home-sharing platforms. Moreover, the owner of one restaurant which attracts tourists from beyond Long Bay, rents the property and told me that "it's a dream of mine to own something like this, so basically when I saw it was renting, I took the opportunity". She spent

nine years working abroad which enabled her to possess the financial means to rent and take "the opportunity" when it arose. But, how many labourers in Long Bay have similar opportunities?

4.3. Labouring the Tourist Landscape

4.3.1. Irregular Wages and Income: "It's Just a Hustle for Everybody"

At present, it is estimated that tourism accounts for 31% of Jamaica's GDP (triple the global average) and employs 33% of the population, directly and indirectly (WTTC, 2020). Although settlement specific data does not exist, these proportions are radically greater in Long Bay and most locals rely on tourism as their main source of income through predominantly service labour roles such as cooks, housekeepers, tour guides and hospitality staff. Even those who do not work directly in tourism are linked to the industry through roles such as shop assistants, teachers and taxi drivers whose services are required for the reproduction of daily life for those who *do* work in tourism more directly.

Despite tourism work being more readily available than other trades in Long Bay, it is still subject to irregular employment and income inconsistencies since the industry is highly seasonal; in Jamaica, tourist season runs from December to April and then June to July. Even those who perform labour tasks that are in constant demand during tourist season are left with no or less frequent work during off-peak seasons. Labourers are only paid for the days they work so, according to a labourer who operates raft tours down the Rio Grande river, "if you don't work, you don't get no pay". This is common in the touring sector and, even though, per tour, guides can earn close to what other labourers earn in a week, it is important to reiterate that they only receive remuneration for the tours they conduct. For example, the rafter told me that "the office open at like 9 in the morning and close at 4 in the evening but we always come out and sometimes there's no trips go out. In the season, it's busy. Sometimes it's slow. Like now, it's in a season but business is pretty slow." He went on to inform me that he had not conducted any tours that week, so had not received any money, despite being at the site from 9am until 4pm every day. The attraction is state-run and each raft tour costs JMD$12,500 per person with most tours consisting of two passengers and, of this, rafters receive "like 5,000 [JMD$]" per tour (20% of the charge for two people). Despite each trip taking 2-3 hours downstream, it takes 5-6 hours to journey upstream, so each rafter can only complete one tour per day, capping their daily income at JMD$5,000. Moreover, this is the wage earnt by "captains" who own a raft and have been authorised by the municipality to operate it downstream through the issuing of licences. "Apprentices", on the other hand, are those "who wanna come in the business", with their task being to "bring the raft up" the river once the tour is complete and the tourists have disembarked in St Margaret's Bay. While "every captain gets the same" financial remuneration, apprentices only earn "a couple thousand dollars" despite their labour taking twice as

long and being more physically laborious. Furthermore, the upgrade from apprentice to captain is not guaranteed since the municipality only issues new licences to apprentices when "they're [the state agency] short of captains and business is available so everyone can get the trip [...]. And if there's too much captain and then no business, they don't take on anymore [...]. Sometimes it can take 10, 15 years and you never get to be a captain." Therefore, as well as having irregularities in terms of being paid, some individuals are never promoted to the higher pay bracket, irrelevant of their skills and work ethic and based solely on labourer supply and tourist demand.

Although this demonstrates a specific example, all the labourers that I spoke with in Long Bay seemed to rely on wages which are "not steady" due to the seasonality of tourism. To mitigate against the fact that "some days good, some bad", it was common for labourers to "work every day" or take on "extra hours" during busy periods so that income would be maximised. Consequently, it was frequently reported that "I work every day" (tour guide), "5 days [per week] would be the minimum but when they need us to work more… mmhm" (hotel waiter), "moretime me uh work every day" (beach cleaner), "all year round, every day of the week, 9am 'til 4pm" (tour guide), "I'm here from 11 'til 11" (cook). This made it difficult to determine the average wage in Long Bay, but all full-time labourers expressed that in a "good week" they receive, at a minimum, JMD$7,000 and the maximum quoted was JMD$200,000 (this latter value was an outlier: the next highest quoted was JMD$35,000). Although the average wage for a "good week" appears to adhere to Jamaica's national minimum wage, the irregularity of such pay indicates that the actual average spread over a year could be lower. Moreover, Jamaican labour laws define a full-time working week as 40-hours (JTU, 2020). However, labourers in Long Bay regularly exceed this with most working 6- or 7-day weeks with shifts that last 7-8 hours. This is possible since the institutional and administrative structures that are in place to regulate labour are weakly enforced and membership in labour unions are not widespread within Jamaica's tourism industry. The absence of 'formal contracts, rights, regulations, and bargaining power' is central to Long Bay's tourism landscape, shaping the conditions of labour (Davis, 2006, p.181). Of the 11 tourism labourers that I spoke to in Long Bay, none of them had an official contract which detailed their employment conditions, making it easy for employers to ask labourers to work "extra hours" without remunerating them for their additional labour; only 2 participants said that they *do* receive extra pay when they work longer than their usual shift.

The small, independent restaurants, bars and guesthouses in Long Bay are family-run so most of the owners do not employ staff, instead conducting all tasks themselves and, if necessary, recruiting the help of children. Consequently, the only two establishments which employ a significant number of locals are a yoga resort and a spa hotel. The yoga resort is an 11-room retreat owned by a couple (both have spent significant amounts of time working and travelling abroad) who employ 6

individuals: 1 yoga instructor (sourced from India), 1 cook, 1 gardener, 1 receptionist, 1 housekeeper and 1 waiter; in busy seasons, extra labourers may be employed to total a maximum of 9. The spa hotel (owned by a Jamaican national who studied and worked in the US) is larger with 21-rooms (and an additional 5 in the pipeline) and a restaurant. It employs a total of 30 staff, typically with 10-15 working at any given time: there are "waiters, there's cooks, there's room maintenance people, there's grounds maintenance people, there's the electrician. Yuh know. Everything that needs to make the thing a whole". Staff in the spa hotel report to the hotel manager who reports to the owner (chairman) and his son (the CEO), whilst at the yoga hotel, staff report directly to the owners. Both hoteliers that I spoke with told me that they pay their staff minimum wage, confirmed through separate interviews with members of staff. Based on the average charge per person per night at each boutique hotel – US$247.50 at the spa hotel and US$245.50 at the yoga resort – the weekly wage per staff member accounts for 20% and 21%, respectively, of each hotel's nightly cost per person. Although other monetary incomings and outgoings of the two businesses have not been considered, it is evident that labourers' salaries equate to considerably less than the hoteliers' incomes. Despite it being poorly paid, irregular, low-skilled labour, tourism work is still preferable to many due to the lack of variety of other industries in the region and it being favourable to the 'drudgery and dirt' of agricultural or fishing labour (Gibson, 2009). Consequently, the everyday "hustle" of ensuring sufficient income is an embodied aspect of daily life for labourers in Long Bay.

4.3.2. "Life Outside of Work? [...] That's the Wrong Question for Me."

In order to ensure an income which covers more than just basic survival, as well as to mitigate against the irregularities and inconsistencies of wage labour in Long Bay, many labourers perform other labour activities – subsistence or paid – in order to increase their total income. This was common across participants, regardless of age, gender or the type of wage labour they conduct (Table 2), supporting analysis that shows tourism landscapes in the global South as inundated with labourers who combine their work in tourism with other paid labour or subsistence activities (Bianchi, 2011). In Long Bay, the reverse was also the case; certain skilled labourers such as construction workers, electricians and plumbers are only required on a need's basis (Lopez-Alonso, 2017). So, although they are key to the production of the tourism landscape, in a small settlement like Long Bay, there is not copious demand for such tasks which results in irregular work and supplementary labour directly linked to tourism is pursued. This was the case for a skilled tradesman who does "carpentry" and "a likkle [sic] plumbing" but, despite being a single man with no dependents, does not get enough work for this to completely sustain him so he now cleans the beach and sells crafts to tourists as well.

Table 2: The main wage labour roles of 9 participants and the supplementary paid labour they also pursue.

Main Wage Labour Role	Supplementary Labour Activity(-ies)
Housekeeper	Cook, Cosmetologist
Handyman	Subsistence farming with surplus sold at market
Cook	"This and that" [sells marijuana]
Shop Assistant	Keeps chickens
Tour Guide	Runs a bar "out the front of me house"
Tour Guide	Fishing
Tour Guide	Subsistence farming
Beach Cleaner/Handyman	Makes and sells crafts
Cook	Hairdressing

There are a limited number of hours in a day and, since labourers tend to conduct additional labour outside of their main wage labour in order to supplement their income, other aspects of daily life are compromised, namely enjoyment. This resonates with Lefebvre's (2003 [1970], p.32) 'tripartite division' of 'need, work, enjoyment' which co-exist in all social practices, although the emphasis placed on each element varies temporally and spatially. Whilst Lefebvre does little to elaborate on the term "enjoyment", I interpret it as representing activities that people take part in beyond labour hours; things people do that are not essential for basic survival, rather activities that they want to do. To explore what locals do for enjoyment, I asked all labourers in this study a variant of the question: what do you do when you're not working? The responses differed but the common theme was that life beyond wage-labour in Long Bay consisted of more labour activities. There were those who answered nonplussed as though my question was bizarre: "I stay home and do work there". Others' tones suggested that they felt resigned to their fate: "Me can't tell which day me nah work. Trust me 'cause if me at home, I'm working. And if I'm here [at the restaurant], I work". Then there were those who found it almost comical that I had asked such a question: "I'm always working [laughs]. That's the wrong question for me. I've been working the past 30 years, no vacation." Such responses indicate the 'relentless micro-capitalism' of the labourers in Long Bay (Davis, 2006, p.181). Outside of waged and supplementary labour, domestic work essential to the reproduction of daily life consumes any time left for enjoyment, so labourers are "always working". Moreover, "it's just a hustle for everybody" to earn enough money to survive and potentially provide better opportunities for their children. Therefore, when labourers do have "free" time, it is rare that individuals are able to partake in activities which require money. Also worthy of note is that none of the labourers I

spoke with seemed to expect their lives to be any different, reinforcing a mental conception of acceptance and normalisation of the struggle and "hustle" in Long Bay.

4.3.3. Gendered Divisions of Labour

Of those employed directly in tourism in Jamaica, 63.2% are women (STATINJa, 2020), indicating a fundamental social division of labour in tourism landscapes. Thus, it is interesting to explore how the prevalence of women employed in tourism shapes and is shaped by broader social relations present in the landscape. The daily routine for women in Long Bay consists of an infinite series of tasks that are essential to their labour both in and outside of the home – as mothers, partners, employees/business owners – creating a sense that women are constantly trying to "catch up". Many of the labour tasks women in Long Bay perform do not have clearly defined endpoints which results in labour encroaching upon other aspects of life, for example maintaining social media accounts to advertise and brand their businesses when "I should be sleeping". Having flexible availability is an assumed attribute of labourers in Long Bay, placing them at the demands of their employers, impacting women's social reproduction labour tasks. For example, following an issue with my accommodation, the host told the housekeeper to come to the property and change my room first thing in the morning, despite her young child being unwell and needing to be taken to a doctor's appointment. A similarly common experience of women in Long Bay is the never-ending task of motherhood: "I'm a mother so my day never ends", laughed one woman who went on to describe that, aside from the physical tasks of cooking for children, helping with homework and making sure they have clean school uniform for the next day, she has to provide emotional support. This can take the form of spending time "on the phone, listening and giving advice" to children who are studying/living away from home, or lying awake "unable to sleep, worrying about where I'm going to find 6000 dollars to buy school books".

By contrast, none of the men in this study mentioned domestic labour tasks when I asked what they do outside of work. Both men and women in Long Bay typically have more than one source of income and so have further tasks which must be conducted once their wage-labour is complete. For men, this usually takes the form of "a little farming" or "fishing" (for subsistence with any surpluses sold at markets) and the making and selling of crafts to tourists, whilst women typically pursue cooking or cosmetology. Due to men's lack of participation in certain reproductive tasks, they tend to have less responsibilities than women overall which materialises as men having a more concrete end to the workday. Consequently, although the relentlessness of labour and the "hustle" of everyday life is felt by all in Long Bay, the idea that "I'm always working" means different things to women and men.

As well as there being gendered differences between domestic labour responsibilities, there are distinctions in the types of wage-labour that women and men partake in. Whilst men in Long Bay labour as tour guides, taxi drivers, bar staff, craftsmen and gardeners, the women I spoke with all had roles as housekeepers, waitresses, shop assistants and cooks (although men also labour as cooks). When interviewing the two hoteliers, I asked about the gendered division of labour in their establishments and, whilst they said that they do not consciously hire men and women for different tasks, both admitted that there is a tendency for women to over-represent certain roles. When pressed on why this was the case, the owner of the yoga retreat (a woman herself) said it was due to "cultural differences" based on where "persons feel comfortable so females generally send applications to do housekeeping, men do gardening". This is common in tourism landscapes with women disproportionately employed in roles associated with "caring" and domesticity (Purcell, 1997; Lopez-Alonso, 2017). Hence, the gendered divisions of labour evident in the social reproduction of daily life are reflected onto wage-labour, based on notions of what women are capable of and good at.

These gendered divisions of labour have significant material repercussions. In Long Bay, housekeepers, cooks, gardeners and waitstaff are paid JMD$7,000 per week for the work they perform and are often not remunerated for any overtime procured. On the other hand, tour guides, taxi drivers and craftsmen are paid for the jobs they *complete*. Tour guides quoted that they earn JMD$1,500 – 5,500 per completed tour and craftsmen, similarly, earn "about 3,000 or 4,000 dollars" per craft sold. Although such labour activities require demand, during tourist season these labourers can usually complete dozens of tours/sales every week, amounting to relatively large sums of money. One tour guide and taxi driver said, "in good season, if I work every day, I can earn [pause] around $200,000 dollars a week". Therefore, the stereotypical attributes of what it means to be a woman, situates them as well-suited to the 'less prestigious and less well-paid work' (McDowell, 2003, p.5).

Interestingly, even though the positions that women hold are typically lower paid than the labour men in Long Bay conduct, paid domestic work in the tourism industry tends to be more regular and less affected by the seasons. Consequently, 4 of the 5 women in this study who had a partner said that, because of the regularity of their work, they were the main income provider in their household. Even though women in Long Bay have, arguably, busier workdays, comparable hours and similar annual financial contributions, they conduct a disproportionate amount of reproductive labour. One interview was with a couple who run a food shack and when asked how they divide their tasks at work, the man said, "Me and my wife do the cooking. Both of us". She added that, "Whoever isn't cooking will do the washing up and stuff. I will do it, he will do it". Yet, on domestic work, it was the

woman who replied, "I take care of the house chores. That's how I relax." When I noted that the man labours as a cook so, surely, he does some of the cooking at home, he laughed – almost abashed – and said that his wife does it all. Hence, social relations which reproduce women's roles as responsible for reproductive labour persist, despite their over-representation in the more prevalent forms of wage labour in Long Bay.

4.4. Aesthetics in the Physical Environment: "Each region has its own beauty"

4.4.1. Portland as "rustic" and "peaceful"

As described by a government official, Jamaica has "lots to offer" and "each region has its own beauty and attracts a different type of tourist." As the organisation in charge of marketing tourism domestically and internationally, Jamaica Tourism Board (JTB) presents Jamaica as being divided into regions which possess certain characteristics to attract specific tourist groups. Their marketing of Portland is framed as 'for its distinct natural beauty', instantly drawing attention to the physical aspects of the parish's landscape (JTB, 2020). Similarly, across interviews with labourers, tourists and government officials, the dominant image of Portland (and Long Bay, specifically) that emerged was a "rustic", "peaceful" and "beautiful" place, with lots of "natural" features (Figure 5). Although it is a chicken-egg situation with regards to whose imaginings of place came first, it is evident that Portland's tourism industry is closely tied to its physical landscape.

Unlike other settlements in Portland which have alternate industries, such as Manchioneal, a fishing village and Boston Bay, a market town famous for its jerk cookshops, Long Bay's sole industry is tourism. And what do tourists want when they visit Long Bay? As found by Britton (1991) and Kingsbury (2005), a central part of the experience sought by tourists in this study was one that contrasted their daily lives. One tourist explained, "I'm from London […], but here you've got the

Figure 5: A word cloud of the adjectives and phrases used to describe Portland and Long Bay by participants. The size of the word indicates the frequency with which the descriptor was used.

beach and the sand and you've got the mountain side [the Blue Mountains can be seen from Long Bay]. […] Just having both, you realise you've got everything." Another similarly attributed her attraction to Long Bay to, "Coming from the big city [Toronto], here it's countryside and quiet". Therefore, one of the key considerations for tourists visiting Long Bay is to have an experience which starkly contrasts their daily lives in their home countries. Although Portland is marketed and imagined as a "peaceful" and "quiet" region, Long Bay stands out as a symbol of this when contrasted with slightly livelier, more popular tourist destinations in the parish such as San San and Port Antonio which are home to larger resorts. That Long Bay is slightly less well-established is another attractive feature of the settlement to tourists; all the tourists interviewed expressed that they liked Long Bay because there are "not so many tourists". One man, appreciating the irony of his statement, laughed and said, "I'm a tourist but I don't like tourists."

That Long Bay attracts tourists seeking a "peaceful", "paradise" experience was noted by the owner of the spa hotel. "Most people who come here [Long Bay] want privacy and they don't want to be among the [pause] maddening crowd". As well as having a 15-room low-rise building, the owner has built 6 individual cabins – with 5 more in the pipeline – scattered across the resort to give guests "privacy" at triple the cost of one of the hotel's standard rooms. Although this hotelier has been able to capitalise on tourists' imaginings of Long Bay as "peaceful" and "quiet", these same traits and images highlight the boundaries of the tourism as an engine of growth and development. Tourists are attracted to Long Bay to be free from the "maddening crowd" of other tourists and, consequently, the landscape is preserved to maintain this small-scale tourism, in turn limiting the benefits of tourism for labourers selling crafts, offering tours or catering for tourists.

4.4.2. Preserving the Aesthetics

Having marketed and established Portland as a destination for tourists seeking a "rustic" experience in a "natural" and "peaceful" environment, this image is preserved and reproduced by a variety of stakeholders in order to continue to attract tourists. Preservation can be ideological such as by Long Bay projecting and embodying an image of what it means to be a coastal settlement in Jamaica, but it can also be more concretely materialised in the physical landscape, aided by municipal and state regulations (Duncan and Duncan, 2001; 2004). When discussing the different regions in Jamaica and Portland's "character", one government official said, "to maintain that beauty and the lushness of Portland area, that needs to be preserved […] we made a policy that there should be no development of buildings in Portland that goes above the skyline." To reinforce this, there are strict planning procedures in place in Portland, whereby one must submit an application, detailing the design and purpose of any permanent structure – "concrete structures" – to the municipality who

decide whether it can proceed. This is done to prevent the region from becoming a "concrete jungle", preserving its "lushness" and "natural beauty". Many entrepreneurs in Long Bay, however, avoid the process entirely because "they [the municipality] want their money too – they want their pound o' flesh. So they charge you a fee per square foot for building a typical, permanent structure." As a result, in Long Bay, many of the small food shacks and bars (Figure 6a) are wooden structures which are not classified as "permanent", so do not require regulative planning procedures and the associated fees. Therefore, the municipality's regulations serve both to control the construction and form of permanent structures while allowing – if not encouraging – wooden buildings which also embody the municipality and JTB's marketing of the "rustic" Jamaica, aimed at tourists who "enjoy living in the thatched houses. […T]hat sort of appeal of the rustic is so appealing to them, coming from other lives in concrete structures" (government official). However, these wooden structures are vulnerable to natural disasters and, as an island which experiences annual hurricanes and sometimes earthquakes, locals can lose their livelihoods suddenly, as was the case for one beach cleaner who "did have a spot on the beach but the hurricane [Ivan, 2004] take [sic] it away". Hence, planning regulations and restrictions in Portland go beyond questions of who owns land and what they do with it (Bernstein, 2010), towards one of what *can* be done with it.

The state also plays a key role in the preservation of certain characteristics of Portland's environment under notions of aesthetic and scientific conservation (Urry, 1992). Several of Portland's key attractions are marketed and described as conservation projects, drawing on aspects of the uniqueness of the environment, wildlife and biodiversity. For example, Reach Falls is described on its official website as 'an ecological sanctuary' (UDCJa, 2014), whilst JTB emphasise that the Rio Grande Raft Tours pass 'through a lush valley, with wildlife on either side' (VisitJamaica, 2018). Both attractions are owned by Tourism Product Development Corporation (TPDCo) and state regulations restrict any developments near these national conservation sites, preserving the "lush"

Figure 6: (left to right) a) Wooden food shacks in Long Bay; b) The dense forest land and banana plantations surrounding Reach Falls; c) Rio Grande river rafting tour start point.

tropical vegetation surrounding the attractions (Figures 6b and 6c). The Rio Grande raft tour maintains an "exclusive" allure through the limited number of licenses issued which maintains the aesthetics and prevents an influx of the "maddening crowd". Although the Blue Lagoon is not owned by the state, strict planning restrictions are similarly in place which limit developments around the lagoon, preserving the aesthetics of the physical environment. There are only a handful of luxury villas, representing some of the most expensive real estate in Jamaica: one villa was for sale at US$1.3m. Therefore, conservation of the physical environment renders these landscapes exclusive and accessible only to very few.

The preservation of the image of Portland as "natural", ironically, requires labour to maintain the aesthetic qualities that locals and tourists, alike, described as "authentic" and "natural". Landowners and, occasionally "some foreigner who interested in seeing it clean, they put in a likkle [sic]" to pay for labourers to rid the beach of waste, namely plastic. Although most of the plastic found on the Long Bay's beach is washed up by the sea, tourism contributes to the production of this waste. After a storm, I watched the sea deposit copious amounts of plastic onto the shore, including plastic bottles (locals typically drink tap water) and a child's foam body board with the printed logo of a hotel chain located a few kilometres away. Once the storm passed, three locals who labour cleaning the beach could be spotted collecting the rubbish, working all afternoon under the sun. Interestingly, these labourers do not only clear away environmentally damaging waste; organic debris such as seaweed and fallen palm fronds are also collected in black binbags and burnt in the evening, preserving the clean, white sand beach.

4.5. Long Bay's Tourism Landscape as Exclusionary

Long Bay as a tourist destination is founded on the imaginings of place and the preservation of certain aesthetic elements. When combined with the social relations and material inequality characteristic of the landscape, it becomes apparent that Long Bay's tourism landscape is one of exclusion experienced by local labourers. Using GIS as a tool, I explore the spatiality of this exclusion based on two categories which I term "direct" and "indirect" exclusion. Direct exclusion refers to private land ownership, charging for entry to attractions and any associated legalities which prevent access. Indirect exclusion is based on interview data regarding which spaces labourers do not use and the reasons behind this. Although there are variations between individual labourers in this study, the maps illustrate commonly reported reasons behind exclusions, indicating general patterns of spatial exclusion in Long Bay.

Figure 7: (left to right) a) An overgrown plot of land in Long Bay; b) A gate to the rear of the yoga hotel's property.

Land ownership is the most obvious form of spatial exclusion in the landscape, since it limits who can access the land, often with hard boundaries defining the perimeter such as concrete walls and fences. Several plots that do not have hard boundaries but are, nonetheless, privately owned, are overgrown and "nuh kept nice" (Figure 7a); so, aside from a few teenagers who occasionally climb the trees to harvest coconuts, the land remains generally inaccessible to locals. A second common form of direct exclusion stems from circumstantial access to certain buildings and facilities. For example, whilst individuals are welcome to access shops and churches if they are purchasing goods or partaking in a church service, they do not have access to these spaces out-of-hours.

In a similar vein, access to public land is circumstantial insofar as one cannot freely use public spaces if they require access via private property. For example, Long Bay beach is – like most other beaches in Jamaica – a public space, but the northern portion of the beach is largely inaccessible to locals since, reaching that section of the beach from the road would require trespassing private property where the rented villas are situated. A more extreme example is a small bay by the yoga retreat. The hotelier informed me that, by nature of it being a beach, any member of the public can use it since it does not belong to the resort. The owners are "happy to let the peoples use it" but she then admitted that it is mainly tourists staying at the hotel who use the beach. Walking around the resort, it quickly became clear as to why locals do not share this bay with tourists, in spite of it being public land: the bay is sheltered on either side by rocky walls which make it only accessible via the hotel. Although a central ethos of the yoga resort is to "create a community here, here in Long Bay", the two gates providing entrance to the resort are padlocked (Figure 7b), even during the day, and manned by the property caretaker, not to mention the German Shepard which guards the resort.

Thus, it is not possible for locals to reach the land which, legally, is just as much for their use as it is for the tourists staying at the yoga resort.

A fundamental aspect to the exclusionary nature of Long Bay's tourism landscape is the indirect material exclusion of labourers. As a product of the labour processes and reproduction of daily life, labourers seldom have the time or money to participate in leisure activities: "I don't use this beach much [laughs]. I have work to do." Additionally, Long Bay is home to a number of restaurants, bars and a café but, with the exception of 3 small bars which are set up out of the front of the owners' house, all of the establishments are priced with tourists in mind. Whilst the more expensive places are located in the south of Long Bay, with 4 situated directly on the beach, the outlets which are intended for local consumption are found in the northern part of the beach along the road. The average price in one of the tourist-aimed restaurants ranges from JMD$1,500 – 4,500 per meal (21 – 64% of the weekly minimum wage) and a 33cl bottle of Red Stripe beer is JMD$200 – 350, compared to JMD$150 in the local bars. Due to the cost of eating out, this is an activity rarely done by local labourers and, instead, on a couple of occasions I saw men sat at bars having purchased a drink, eating plates of food that they had brought from home. The costly prices at restaurants and bars located on the beach in the south of Long Bay has exclusionary consequences for labourers who do not have the disposable income to make use of such spaces. Hence, when they do have the resources and time to partake in activity outside of their daily labour tasks, there is a spatiality to it. Since beach land in Long Bay is more expensive than other plots, this limits who can afford to own the land which, in turn, shapes who the landscape is designed for and who it excludes.

A further aspect of the spatiality of exclusion in Long Bay is that much of the accessible landscape adheres to the "natural" image that is projected and embodied. Vacant plots of land and the lack of infrastructure on the beach are key elements to preserving Long Bay's "peaceful", "natural", "countryside" character (Figure 8). However, this means that "there's not really much to do here" for locals. One labourer explained that she does not use the beach in Long Bay because there are

Figure 8: Long Bay beach

"no bathroom facilities", making it awkward to use for locals but convenient for tourists who "rent the little cottages nearby" that back directly onto the beach. Instead, when local labourers go to the beach, they travel further afield to ones which have toilets, showers, sun loungers and umbrellas, albeit at a price. Moreover, several labourers expressed that they prefer to travel to other beaches because, "When we do have time fi go to the beach and bathe or fi go chill, well, we don't use this beach. 'Cause I'm on it every day. Working [laughs]." Hence, when local labours have the time and resources to relax, they want to escape the environment that they labour in every day.

Whilst figure 9 depicts labourers' direct exclusion from space in Long Bay based on the physical accessibility of land, figure 10 illustrates indirect exclusion. Here, spatial exclusion is explored in terms of how labourers are excluded from spaces that they do legally have access to. The most frequently reported reasons behind indirect exclusion have been grouped into two overarching categories: that there is "Nothing there […] no facilities" for locals and that labourers lack the material resources to partake in the consumption of certain spaces. Figure 11 combines the spatial data to depict the exclusionary consequences of Long Bay's tourism landscape as experienced by labourers. Of the total land area surveyed, 89.9% was exclusionary based on one or more of the above reasons. Thus, it is clear that there are significant limits to labourers' participation in the shaping and consumption of space in Long Bay due to private land ownership, the image of place and who's interests the landscape is shaped to reflect and the lack of material wealth that local labourers possess as a result of the "hustle" of everyday life that they endure.

Figure 9: A map of land accessibility in Long Bay. Apart from sites of circumstantial access and non-bounded, accessible land, the plots indicate direct exclusion.

Figure 10: A map of indirect exclusion in Long Bay based on local labourers' lack of material resources and inequalities regarding who the landscape is designed for.

Figure 11: A map depicting the extent of direct and indirect exclusion in Long Bay as experienced by participants.

Map Created By: Anwen Davis, 2020. Map Data: Anwen Davis using Survey123.

5. Discussion

Having analysed the most significant findings from this study, this section discusses them in relation to the three research questions and wider theories. Using a Marxist political economy approach has helped to unpick the organisation, production and distribution of capital in Long Bay as well as the various actors involved. Delving more specifically into the gendered relations, the results are indicative of distinct labour divisions both in the workplace and the domestic realm which incur material inequalities and repercussions for women. Finally, the data has shown that Long Bay's landscape is highly exclusionary towards local labourers, notably due to processes of aestheticization and preservation of the physical environment that prioritise and reproduce the marketed image of place.

1. **In what ways do the social relations of production materialise in and through Long Bay's tourism landscape?**

All landscapes are contradictory in terms of them being landscapes of privilege and exploitation simultaneously (Mitchell, 2002). However, the surface appearance of Portland's tourism landscape as one of privilege and elitism, derived from its celebrity legacy, suggests that a lot is happening to obscure the other side of the coin. Patterns of ownership and possession are fundamental aspects of the social relations of production since they determine who owns the land which, in turn, impacts how the means of production are organised and distributed (Bernstein, 2010). Analysis of real estate prices in Long Bay show that land is unaffordable for labourers who earn the weekly minimum wage, particularly if the land is located by the beach (Darling, 2005). Consequently, much of the prime beach real estate in Long Bay is owned by a few individuals. Since tourists are willing and financially able to pay much higher short-term rents than locals, landowners are unlikely to forgo higher incomes in favour of 'undercapitalized land' by renting to the latter (ibid., p.1022). This is evident in Long Bay where much of the beach land is reserved for tourist consumption. Ownership also determines the organisation of the tourism industry in Long Bay more directly since most locals are unable to afford to establish their own businesses in prime beach locations which attract more tourists and, therefore, produce more income. There are exceptions whereby locals have inherited beach plots, but their relative lack of material wealth makes it harder for them to compete with the higher-end businesses.

The concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few not only gives these individuals a monopoly over the tourism industry in Long Bay, but also control over labour processes and conditions through their position as employers (Harvey, 2010). In Long Bay, the lack of alternative

industries exacerbates this unequal power relation since it is the owners of prime beach real estate who control the labour process, whilst non-landowners must sell their labour to earn a wage to ensure their own – and any dependents' – daily reproduction (Bernstein, 2010). In Long Bay, such labour takes the form of hospitality staff, tour guides and maintenance staff: "Everything that needs to make the thing a whole". However, tourism is reliant on seasons and so too are the labourers whose employments is often dependent on the flow of tourists. Moreover, the absence of 'formal contracts, rights, regulations and bargaining power' furthers labour exploitation (Davis, 2006, p.181). In Long Bay, it is uncommon for labourers to have a formal contract detailing the terms of their employment which, consequently, situates them at the whims of their employers who often require them to work extra hours for little or no remuneration. The lack of institutional regulation of the tourism industry enables such labour conditions to be commonplace and go unchallenged by labourers (Lopez-Alonso, 2017). Hence, labour processes in Long Bay illustrate Bernstein's (2010, p.111) description of the 'working poor of the South' as pursuing 'their reproduction in conditions of […] income insecurity and "pauperization" as well as employment insecurity'.

This "pauperization" is also a product of the unequal distribution of capital in Long Bay: the third fundamental aspect of the political economy. Although it typically refers to the distribution of financial income, other 'fruits of labour' do exist such as that generated from subsistence labour or unpaid domestic work (Bernstein, 2010, p.23). Focussing first on the distribution of monetary capital, it is evident that income from tourism in Long Bay is not evenly distributed and, characteristic of capitalist landscapes, employers receive a larger portion of the price that tourists are charged than the labourers see. Although the state has set a definitive minimum wage based on what is "acceptable" for the reproduction of daily life in order to 'keep everyone [labourers] at a level just above subsistence' (Bianchi, 2011, p.18), beyond this employers have the structural power to determine how much they pay their employees, driven only by their competitors (Harvey, 2010). Low wages are fundamental to the (re)production of capitalist landscapes since they secure the social relations and wealth disparities between capitalists and labourers (Harvey, 1985). In Long Bay, labourers' wages do not oscillate significantly higher than the minimum wage of JMD$7,000 per week. Although this adheres to state laws and ensures basic survival, it is not sufficient to provide for a family nor does it enable the reproduction of daily life beyond essential needs. Consequently, many labourers pursue additional labour activities to supplement their income, illustrating that, for many, their 'livelihoods are pursued through complex *combinations* of wage employment and self-employment' (Bernstein, 2010, p.111). Therefore, tasks that provide financial income account for a substantial proportion of labourers' time, encroaching upon other aspects of daily life which also require labour. Pahl's (1985, p.251) statement that '[t]here is nothing new in the *types* of work

[wage-labour, reproductive labour, other tasks]: what is distinctive is rather the way that one type grows at the expense of another' is apparent in Long Bay. Non-waged labour activities such as childcare and domestic labour are compromised due to the 'relentless micro-capitalism' that is labourers' lives (Davis, 2006, p.181), in turn, impinging upon the non-monetary "fruits" of such tasks.

As well as detracting from unpaid tasks, paid labour also encroaches upon non-labour activities linked to the social reproduction of daily life such as leisure and consumption practices. Labour processes determine not only the distribution of monetary capital, but also the amount of non-wage-labour time labourers possess, impacting their consumption practices and activities. Thus, the distribution of capital and labour processes are strongly linked to social relations of consumption (Bernstein, 2010). For capitalists, whilst further investment into their enterprises forms a central element of what is done with capital, their greater incomes relative to labourers' enables higher standards of living. For example, both hoteliers interviewed had more than one place of residence and had the time and resources to pursue leisure activities. On the other hand, most of the labourers' income goes into subsistence and providing their children with better opportunities; there is little time or money for consumption practices beyond the strictly necessary. Labourers in Long Bay, therefore, illustrate a social group who place little emphasis on 'enjoyment' since the 'need' and 'work' parts of Lefebvre's (2003 [1970], p.32) 'tripartite division' are prioritised – a product of the unequal distribution of capital and demanding labour processes of the tourism landscape. This reality is rather paradoxical since tourism is an industry centred around enjoyment and leisure for visitors, emphasising the material inequalities between tourists who spend large sums of money on leisure services, compared to the lowly-waged labourers whose tasks revolve around ensuring tourists' enjoyment.

The social relations of production in Long Bay materialise in and are reproduced through the organisation, production, distribution and consumption of capital. Considering Harvey's (2010) activity spheres and Bernstein's (2010) questions of political economy provides a useful means to explore these relations in the tourism landscape and realise their interrelatedness. Not only does such an approach reveal what is being obscured, but it also draws attention to the processes at play in Long Bay, or, as Wiley (2007, p.70) describes it, the 'texture' of the 'veil'.

2. **To what extent is the gendered division of labour present in the social reproduction of daily life in Long Bay?**

Although the relentlessness of labour and the "hustle" of everyday life is experienced across the board, the gendered division of labour is a key aspect of the social relations of production in Long Bay's tourism landscape. Social differentiations and structures precede capitalism but, nonetheless,

are exploited and manipulated by it to ensure capitalism's survival (Harvey, 2010). Gender differentiations form one such 'widespread, […] oppressive and exclusionary' category inherent to capitalist landscapes (Bernstein, 2010, p.115). In Long Bay, there is a clear division of wage-labour activities along lines of gender; women are predominantly employed in hospitality roles associated with "caring", whereas men fill a broader range of labour roles from taxi drivers and tour guides to gardeners and cooks. Costa *et al*'s (2017, p.69) study on the tourism industry in Portugal found that, although managers emphasised that there is 'no discrimination' based on gender during hiring processes, women disproportionately hold lower-paid, unskilled "caring" positions. This was similarly found in Long Bay, with employers reporting that they do not discriminate against hiring women in certain roles because of their gender; rather, it is largely women who apply for these roles, resulting in them disproportionately conducting "caring" labour. That women are significantly more likely to apply for these roles indicates a fundamental mental conception of Long Bay's landscape surrounding what women's labour consists of, linked to the overarching differentiation which situates women as responsible for most of the reproductive work such as childcare, cooking and cleaning (Katz, 2004). Consequently, through a combination of women applying for roles they believe are suited to their skills and employers – perhaps unconsciously – favouring women for these roles based on their (assumed) skills and experience from the domestic sphere, the gendered division of labour persists in Long Bay.

This has significant material repercussions since labour roles are not waged equally and domestic, "caring" labour dominates the lower end of the wage range. Moreover, such roles have 'few development opportunities or employment rights' so women's wages stay low, reproducing the cycle of women's employment and the gendered division of labour (Costa *et al*, 2017, p.66). Although this is true of Long Bay, interestingly, hospitality roles are in constant demand throughout tourist seasons which results in regular work for those who conduct this labour. So, despite women's labour being waged lower than men's on average, the regularity of their work results in a more consistent income (Lopez-Alonso, 2017). Accordingly, women in Long Bay actually equal or surpass men's income across the year.

In her analysis, Katz (2004) notes the potential for dynamics within the household to shift as women secure their places in the labour force. The amount of time spent on domestic labour has a negative correlation to the 'level of participation in formal employment' (Pahl, 1985, p.244) and, as these labour dynamics are reworked, attention is drawn to the reality that, despite women and men sharing responsibility over income provision, women remain disproportionately responsible for reproductive labour in Long Bay. This suggests that, although there is potential for household

dynamics to be reworked, this has not yet happened so perhaps shifts are needed in other activity spheres to realise this transition.

3. **To what extent and in what ways does exclusion occur in Long Bay's tourism landscape?**

The physical environment is a central aspect of tourism in Long Bay. Visiting tourists expect to have an "authentic" experience in a "natural" Jamaican landscape – an image which is disseminated and marketed by relevant internal stakeholders. Simultaneously, tourists exotify the landscape, seeking experiences that are often based on imperialist imaginings of the local environment (Britton 1979; d'Hauteserre, 2004). In response, the physical landscape is preserved and enhanced through conservation agendas, privatisation and physical 'grooming' to replicate these aesthetic ideals (Walks, 2006, p.472). The landscape, therefore, is designed to reflect the consumer's 'exoticized' expectations (Appiah, 1991, p.354), a phenomenon common in Long Bay from the local craftsmen selling handmade calabash carvings to the white sand beach, cleared free of any seaweed. Moreover, aesthetic preservation also occurs at the state level through regulation and conservation policies (Duncan and Duncan, 2001), such as Portland parish's restrictions on building developments and charging fees for certain sites, as a means to regulate and preserve the "natural" image of place.

Although this is an image embodied and reproduced by the state, locals and tourists, it has significant material consequences for local labourers. Beach land is more expensive and, as a coastal settlement, much of the land in Long Bay is unaffordable for labourers, directly excluding them from privately-owned land. Rather than the more negatively connotated label of 'exclusion', these sites are marketed as 'exclusive' which emphasises their desirability and permits capitalists to charge higher prices for 'exclusive' experiences (Duncan and Duncan, 2001, p.390). Moreover, labour processes and unequal distribution of capital reproduce the material inequality between capitalists and labourers, furthering the latter's exclusion from the landscape since they have neither finances nor time to pursue enjoyment and leisure activities. Williams (2004) describes this latter form of exclusion as the 'indirect commodification' of tourism landscapes because, though services such as restaurants, bars and housekeeping are technically available for all, labourers rarely have the means to partake in such consumption practices, thus excluding them from these spaces. Although "pro-poor tourism" argues that the industry can establish infrastructure and amenities which also serve the needs of locals (Hall and Page, 2012), this was not found to be the case in Long Bay. Instead, this study has highlighted that tourism is not as 'innocent' a practice as it seems but instead is embedded in exploitation, material inequality and exclusion, whether intentional or not (Kingsbury, 2005, p.114).

6. Concluding Remarks

'[L]andscape is more than a way of ordering and representing the world (though it is certainly these things); it is also the *material basis* for, as well as a *result of*, economic and social activity and therefore a central site of struggle over the shape and structure of the political economy.'

(Mitchell, 2012, p.43)

Mitchell's (2012, p.43) contention concisely sums up what this dissertation has sought to achieve: to apply a critical lens of analysis to Long Bay's tourism landscape in order to explore 'the shape and structure of the political economy'. The surface appearance of Long Bay's tourism landscape is one of elitism, luxury and enjoyment, whereby tourists visit for short periods of time for an "exclusive" experience of an "authentic" Jamaica. A critical investigation into the political economy of the landscape provides a means to explore not only what is being obscured by this 'veil', but also the processes and structures which form its 'texture' (Wiley, 2007, p.70).

Despite the prevalence of discussions surrounding landscape in the geographies of tourism, there is a lack of engagement with approaches which consider the contention that landscapes are constantly being shaped by and productive of social relations and production systems. Similarly, although there has been some coverage of women's participation in tourism labour, I have sought to build upon this by exploring the gendered division of wage-labour *and* social reproductive labour. Moreover, since tourism in Long Bay is centred around the aesthetics of the physical environment, it would have been imprudent to ignore this aspect of the tourism landscape. Hence, this dissertation contributes an analysis of a tourism landscape through a Marxist political economy framework which explores the social relations of production, whilst also seeking to bridge the gap between the geographies of tourism, landscape geography and political economy.

Predominantly through interview analysis, this research has shown that Long Bay's tourism landscape is one of inequality and exclusion. Jamaica's colonial history is entrenched in unequal land ownership and this legacy has continued into the contemporary landscape; the lack of material wealth of local labourers renders them unable to afford the, relatively, expensive land. This process of unequal land ownership is exacerbated by the tourism industry and global real estate markets (Gotham, 2005), which price beach locations as more expensive, on average, than land located further inland. This lack of possession situates labourers as powerless over production systems and labour processes since it is the capitalist owners who determine what is done with the land, how the production system is organised and how the 'fruits of labour' are distributed (Bernstein, 2010, p.23). Although there are certain labour laws, such as the national minimum wage, there is little regulation of labour processes which results in the severe exploitation of labourers who, some weeks, work

more that the legal 40-hour week with no remuneration for any overtime accrued. Yet, in other weeks, notably off-peak tourist season, labourers find themselves without wage-labour and, therefore, no income. Interestingly, this latter finding applied more specifically to men who, despite conducting labour activities which tend to pay more than the tasks deemed women's work, were more dependent on the flows of tourists, whereas women held positions that were required year-round so were less affected by the seasonality of the industry. Regardless, employment is neither regular enough nor paid enough to ensure the reproduction of daily life beyond essential needs, resulting in many labourers pursuing supplementary labour activities, both paid and subsistence.

Whilst labourers may appear 'free' to sell their labour and 'free' to change employer or to seek better labour conditions, the social relations of the capitalist production system renders labourers dependent on the sale of their labour to enable the social reproduction of daily life, reproducing the cycle of material inequality whereby possession and control over the labour processes lies in the hands of the minority and labourers lack the land ownership and finances to truly be 'free' (Bernstein, 2010, p.26). Long Bay further exemplifies this since, as a settlement dependent almost exclusively on the tourism industry, there are a limited number of jobs available, little difference in the conditions of labour and the overall distribution of capital bears little variation between employers. Instead, labourers "hustle" every day between their wage-labour and additional paid labour activities to pursue an income which ensures, at a minimum, the reproduction of daily life and, at best, the means to provide their children with better opportunities. However, the combination of wage employment and self-employment accounts for a large portion of labourers' time, impinging upon unpaid social reproductive labour which is also a necessary aspect of the production system. Labourers must prioritise their labour activities and, in Long Bay, wage-labour comes out on top. This is unevenly experienced since the gendered division of reproductive labour places greater responsibility with women. This division is not without material consequences since it secures women's roles in lower-waged, low-skilled "caring" labour roles whilst the demanding nature of wage-labour encroaches upon reproductive labour, limiting women's ability to reap the "fruits" of unpaid labour.

The relation to nature is inherent to Long Bay's tourism landscape, discernible through the interwoven relationship of tourists' expectations of the landscape and the marketing (and embodiment) of the physical environment as a "beautiful", "peaceful" "paradise". As the dominant industry in Long Bay is tourism – monopolised by a few – the physical landscape is preserved and sculpted to reflect the tourist's (i.e. the consumer's) 'exoticized' image of place (Appiah, 1991, p.354). Not only do such aestheticization processes directly exclude labourers from the landscape through privatisation, but much of the remaining space is designed to reflect tourist's imaginings.

Even though local labourers can, in theory, use these spaces, they are indirectly excluded on the grounds that they do not have the financial means nor time to partake in the consumption of the landscape. Of the land surveyed in Long Bay, 89.9% was exclusionary towards labourers due to, at least, one of the following reasons: private land restrictions, a lack of material wealth or time, or that the land served no purpose other than to remain undeveloped and/or overgrown, preserving Long Bay's image as "natural". Although exclusion in the landscape is often unintentional (Walks, 2006), it suits the capitalists who can charge higher prices to tourists under the guise of "exclusivity" and, ironically, through the selling of "authentic" products and experiences which are unattainable for the local labourers.

Adopting Harvey's (2010) activity spheres as an analytical framework has demonstrated the dynamic nature of the different spheres which are productive of and produced by the relations of production. Rather than work methodologically through each sphere, this thematic analysis has shown that each sphere evolves both separately and dialectically with the others. Although such an approach highlights the complexity of landscape, it has also shown to be a useful guide for what to explore and look out for in order to understand the social relations present in the landscape. This research stems from a small-scale, local case study of a coastal settlement along Jamaica's east coast which, despite illustrating a microcosm of Jamaica's wider tourism landscape, is not representative of all tourism landscapes on the island, let alone tourism landscapes across the world. However, the conceptual framework applied is transferable to other tourism landscapes and has proved useful at highlighting and examining the various processes and structures at play in the landscape. So, although this study is very preliminary in its scope, it does pave the way for future research.

While it is beneficial to examine other landscapes using a similar framework to test the usefulness of such an approach, I would argue that it is also important to attempt to operationalise the theory to assess its contribution to development projects. Harvey (2010, p.138-9) proposes the 'co-evolutionary theory' to structure 'a revolutionary movement' whereby it is necessary to 'move within, across and through the different spheres' in order to change and reorganise the social relations of production. This dissertation is not so radical in its aims, yet can still, hopefully, suggest an alternative way of producing the landscape which may be conducive for future tourism developments. For example, Portland is labelled "the next frontier of development" for tourism growth in Jamaica and is high on the Ministry of Tourism's (2020) agenda, with the current aim being to revitalise the region as a destination for "high-end", 5-star tourism. Plans have already been announced to expand the runways at Jamaica's two main international airports by 500ft to enable direct flights to and from China, Russia and the Middle East. However, a further aviation project at a smaller international airport in the north of the island is also in the pipeline; this project plans to

provide the necessary infrastructure to support an increase in private jet arrivals as a key part of Portland's future as a "high-end" tourism destination, thus opening the region to – as described by the country manager of an inter-Caribbean tourism company – a "new dimension of persons". Although the Ministry of Tourism and Portland parish's municipality aim to positively enhance the tourism landscape to benefit both the national and local economy, this is not guaranteed to happen and it is, perhaps, as likely that the development of "high-end" tourism will reproduce, or even amplify, the existing social structures and inequalities present in the landscape. The results from this analysis, therefore, could prove useful for indicating where changes need to be made in order to reorganise the social relations of production and create a more inclusive, equal landscape.

A second area of future research would be to explore women's intersectionality and the gendered division of labour. For example, potential research could explore how the social relations of production have different impacts for women without children, single-mothers and mothers with partners. Such an investigation would build upon research into the gendered division of labour since material inequalities are experienced to differing extents between women. In a similar vein, there is future potential to research into the gendered spatial exclusion experienced by men and women. Although an initial aim of this study that was not feasible due to time constraints, such a project would prove fruitful for exploring exclusionary consequences of the social relations of production, drawing attention to the spatial differences between men and women's uses of space in the landscape.

Tourism in 2019 represented 10.3% of total global GDP, 10% of all jobs and 25% of net new jobs created in the previous 5 years (WTTC, 2020). Despite already accounting for a large proportion of the global economy, this trend is only set to increase. However, the industry has an uneven geography; in some nations, tourism represents an almost insignificant percentage of total GDP, yet for others like Jamaica, tourism represents the driving force for the national economy. Writing in the time of Covid-19, this dissertation seems particularly relevant for highlighting the precariousness and insecurity of the tourism industry. Given that the impacts of the pandemic are not evenly distributed, it is the poorest of the poorest nations who will be hardest hit – among them, those relying on the tourism industry to meet their basic needs. Having increasingly looked to tourism as a source of development possible within the confines of the IMF's tutelage and having, last year, painstakingly but successfully brought its debt below 100% of GDP, Jamaica now looks set to require ever-greater support with ever-more conditions. Acknowledging this, perhaps it is time for the geographies of tourism to climb the ranks and become a more integrated branch of geography, relieving itself from the title of 'sub-community' that it currently holds in the discipline (Hall, 2013, p.28).

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8. Appendix

8.1. Participant Descriptions

Participant Number	Profession	Gender	Age	Nationality
1	Restauranteur/cook	Female	40s	Jamaican
2	Hotelier	Female	30s	-
3	Real Estate Agent	Female	40s	British
4	Hotelier	Male	60s	Jamaican
5	Taxi Driver/Tour Guide	Male	30s	Jamaican
6	Restauranteur/cook	Male	30s	Jamaican
7	Restauranteur/cook	Female	30s	Jamaican
8	Country Manager for Caribbean tourism company	Female	50s	Jamaican
9	Government Official	Male	50s	Jamaican
10	Government Official	Male	70s	Jamaican
11	Product Developed for Caribbean tourism company	Female	40s	Jamaican
12	Government official	Male	50s	Jamaican
13	Retired	Male	70s	German
14	Shop Assistant	Female	40s	Jamaican
15	Shop Assistant	Female	40s	Jamaican
16	Tradesman	Male	50s	Jamaican
17	Job seeker	Male	50s	Jamaican
18	Boat Tour Guide	Male	30s	Jamaican
19	Raft Tour Guide	Male	50s	Jamaican
20	Gardener	Male	60s	Jamaican
21	Job Seeker	Male	20s	Jamaican
22	Walking Tour Guide	Male	30s	Jamaican
23	Waiter	Male	20s	Jamaican
24	Tour Guide	Female	50s	Jamaican
25	Tradesman	Male	50s	Jamaican
26	Housekeeper	Female	20s	Jamaican
27*	-	Male	20s	British-Jamaican
28*	-	Male	30s	Romanian
29*	-	Female	20s	Romanian
30*	-	Female	20s	Canadian
31*	-	Male	50s	Swedish
32*	-	Female	50s	British

*tourists

8.2. Interview Scripts

8.2.1. Government Official/Minister

- What significance does the tourist industry represent in Jamaica? *(GDP? Employed? Who are the tourists?)*
  i) How has this changed/developed over time?
- What is the spatial distribution/geography of tourism in Jamaica?
  i) Why have these areas been the focus?
  ii) What do other locations have instead and/or lack to be successful tourist regions?
- Who are the key owners of the tourist industry? i.e. who controls tourism in Jamaica? *(International corporations and chains? National chains? Small-hold owners?)*
- What does "private land" mean in Jamaica?
  i) Who can purchase land?
  ii) Once bought, who has access to it? *[E.g. Swedish allemansrätten vs UK trespassing]*
  iii) What are the laws regarding inheritance and ownership?
- What policies and institutions are in place to facilitate the tourism industry?
  i) How does the government support/facilitate the development of tourist locations (e.g. are there initiatives in place for companies and businesses to develop projects such as tax breaks)?
  ii) And to support/encourage individuals to work in and even move to such locations in order to work?
  iii) Is there a minimum wage in place for workers? And other legislations such as maximum working day duration, termination of employment laws etc?
  iv) Hence, which stakeholders are the policies and institutions designed to benefit?
- How does the government ensure that the Jamaican landscape is preserved and maintained so that the future of tourism is sustained?
  i) Are there rules and regulations with regards to development projects?
  ii) If yes, what are these and their purposes?
  iii) If no, why not?
  iv) Who decides and makes these decisions?
  v) Who enforces them?
- What is done with the revenue generated by the tourist industry, considering the different owners on a variety of scales *(a lot of the larger firms in the travel and tourism sector are international corporations or affiliated with inter. corporations)*?
  i) Who benefits from it?
  ii) And where (i.e. which locations)?
  iii) Are there any groups and/or places which do not experience the benefits of the tourist industry in Jamaica?
- I have come across the Jamaican Tourism Board in my research so far – why was this board established?
  i) What do they do?
  ii) And what is the significance of it being established as fully funded by the Jamaican government in 1955?
- Which areas of tourism are growing the most at present? And which are declining?
  i) Why?
  ii) What is the spatial nature of these trends?
  iii) Are there institutions and policies supporting certain tourist projects at the moment?

- Where do you see the future of Jamaica's economy and labour market? Or, how do you see the future of Jamaica's tourist industry? Why?

8.2.2. Business Owners

- Demographic data:
  i) Age?
  ii) Gender?
  iii) Marital status?
  iv) Children? Other dependents?
  v) Who do you live with?
  vi) How many people in your house are employed? Who is the main income provider?
  vii) What's the highest level of education you have completed?
- What policies and institutions are in place to facilitate the tourism industry?
  i) How does the government support/facilitate the development of tourist locations
  ii) Why did you decide to start your own business?
  iii) How did you do it?
  iv) Why this location?
  v) Why this form of tourism?
  vi) What groups of tourists does your business attract?
  vii) Who are your biggest competitors? And why?
  viii) Were/are there any incentives in place to aid businesses like yours to enter the industry?
- Do you own the land and property?
  i) If yes, how long for?
  ii) If no, who does?
  iii) In what ways does the type of ownership restrict/enable?
  iv) Are there rules and regulations about how the environment can be developed and used?
  v) If so, who makes these decisions? Who enforces them?
- What labour is required in your business to ensure its success?
  i) Who conducts this labour? Including, what is your role?
  ii) How do you source your staff? And how many employees do you have?
  iii) How do you decide what to pay staff? How much? And how often?
  iii) How are the tasks divided?
  iv) Are there differences according to gender?
  v) Age?
  vi) Any other factor? *[Nb. Be careful around topic of sexuality and ethnicity]*
- What is your daily life like outside of work?
  i) Where do you live?
  ii) How long is your commute and how do you travel?
  iii) Have you always lived there?
  iv) If no, where did you live before and why did you move?
  v) What do you do when you aren't at work?
  vi) What other responsibilities do you have?
- Do you come here when you're not working?
  i) Where?
  ii) Why? What do you do?
  iii) Or, why not?

- GEOSPATIAL DATA: Can you provide me with information about the parameters of private land locally? Also data on movements linked to work and daily life.

8.2.3. Locals (both employed and not so just tailor questions/phrasing accordingly)
- Demographic data:
  i) Age?
  ii) Gender?
  iii) Marital status?
  iv) Children? Other dependents?
  v) Who do you live with?
  vi) How many people in your house are employed? Who is the main income provider?
  vii) What's the highest level of education you have completed?
- Where do you work? And how did you get into this role/area? *(may have more than one job so will ask regarding both)*
  i) What is your role?
  ii) In terms of tasks, what do you do on the day-to-day? Thus, what are you responsible for?
  iii) Who do you report to?
  iv) How often do you work? Does this change seasonally?
  v) What hours do you work?
  vi) How long have you worked here?
  vii) What is the status of your employment? Permanent, temporary, other?
  viii) How much are you paid?
- How is work shared out and who decides?
  i) Are there differences according to gender?
  ii) Age?
  iii) Ethnicity?
  iv) Any other factor? *[Nb. Be careful around topic of sexuality]*
- What is your daily life like outside of work?
  i) Where do you live?
  ii) How long is your commute and how do you travel?
  iii) Have you always lived there?
  iv) If no, where did you live before and why did you move?
  v) What do you do when you aren't at work?
  vi) What responsibilities do you have? What proportion of your wage do you spend on different responsibilities (e.g. rent, food, schooling, clothes, bills, entertainment and other etc)?
- Do you come here when you're not working?
  i) Where?
  ii) Why? What do you do?
  iii) Or, why not?
- GEOSPATIAL DATA: movement across the study area linked to labour and daily life. Any differences/similarities?

8.2.4. Tourists
- Why have you chosen to visit Jamaica?
  i) And why this specific location?
  ii) How did you come to find out about it?
  iii) Where have you come from?

iv) How long are you here for?

v) What do you like about this location so far?

- How has your trip looked so far?

i) Where have you been?

ii) What activities have you done? *[NB think in terms of private land and public, paying for entry to places etc]*

iii) What plans do you have for the rest of your stay?

8.3. Survey123 for ArcGIS Survey